

JPRS 69568

8 August 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1428

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
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20000324 154

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Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET		1. Report No. JPRS 69568	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.																			
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1428				5. Report Date 8 August 1977																			
7. Author(s)				6.																			
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201				8. Performing Organization Rept. No.																			
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above				10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.																			
				11. Contract/Grant No.																			
15. Supplementary Notes				13. Type of Report & Period Covered																			
				14.																			
16. Abstracts The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.																							
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors																							
<table border="0"> <tr> <td>☒ International Affairs</td> <td>Propaganda</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐ Albania</td> <td>Political Science</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐ Bulgaria</td> <td>Sociology</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☒ Czechoslovakia</td> <td>Military Organizations</td> </tr> <tr> <td>☒ East Germany</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>☒ Hungary</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>☐ Poland</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>☒ Romania</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>☒ Yugoslavia</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>						☒ International Affairs	Propaganda	☐ Albania	Political Science	☐ Bulgaria	Sociology	☒ Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations	☒ East Germany		☒ Hungary		☐ Poland		☒ Romania		☒ Yugoslavia	
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☒ Romania																							
☒ Yugoslavia																							
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms																							
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15																							
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151				19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED																			
				20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED																			
				21. No. of Pages 120																			
				22. Price PCAD6																			

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

STOPH HOLDS CORDIAL TALKS WITH BULGARIA'S TODOROV

Friendship Treaty Initialed

East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1712 GMT 15 Jul 77 LD

[Text] Berlin--At the invitation of Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, visited the GDR on 14 and 15 July 1977.

The two chairmen discussed further all-round cooperation between the GDR and the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria and topical international issues.

They established with satisfaction that the fraternal cooperation between the GDR and the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria is developing to the benefit of both peoples on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and is contributing toward the strengthening of the socialist community of states.

The two chairmen emphasized the successes which have been achieved in specialization and cooperation in production and in the field of research and development, particularly in machine construction, in electrical engineering and electronics, and in the chemical industry and in modernizing and reconstructing a number of plants.

They expressed their satisfaction at the good development of trade which has been aided by the conclusion of a series of agreements on cooperation, including those in the field of polyurethane chemistry, the chemical industry, machine tool construction and electrical engineering and electronics.

The two chairmen affirmed their strong determination unceasingly to strengthen and consolidate the fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community.

The two chairmen reaffirmed that the GDR and the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria would continue to support the strict adherence to and consistent implementation of the principles and recommendations agreed in the Helsinki Final Act which constitutes an uniform whole.

Both sides advocate that the Belgrade Meeting, which is of a consultative nature, should contribute constructively toward deepening mutual relations, consolidating security and developing cooperation in Europe as well as continuing detente.

They are heavily opposed to the attempts of revanchists and reactionary forces of imperialism to falsify the final act of the Helsinki Conference and to interfere in the domestic affairs of other states.

Both sides support the disarmament memorandum submitted by the USSR at the 31st General Assembly as well as the Soviet draft of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

The GDR and Bulgaria will continue to advocate that an agreement be reached at the Vienna talks on a mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe on the basis of the principle of undiminished security and taking into consideration the security interests of all European states.

The two chairmen stressed that the strict adherence to and application of the treaties of the socialist states with the Federal Republic of Germany are important for stabilizing security and detente in Europe. Both sides call for the strict observance of and full application of the four-power agreement on West Berlin.

The talks took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete agreement in all issues discussed. During the visit, the foreign minister of the two countries, Oskar Fischer and Mariy Ivanov, initialed the new treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the GDR and Bulgaria.

Stanko Todorov invited Willi Stoph to pay a visit to Bulgaria. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Stoph's Speech

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Jul 77 p 2 AU

[Report on toast by Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph at a Berlin dinner in honor of Bulgarian Council of Ministers Chairman Stanko Todorov on 14 July]

[Text] We are pleased that you have taken up the invitation to this working meeting which, in implementing the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress and the 11th BCP Congress, is to contribute to the deepening of the friendship and universal cooperation between the GDR and the Bulgarian People's Republic. This was stated by Willi Stoph in his toast at the Under Den Linden Palace. We can note with satisfaction that in the indestructible joint alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community our bilateral relations, which rest on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism of socialist internationalism, are developing well. The motor of the collaboration in the most varied fields was and is the tested militant alliance

of our Marxist-Leninist parties, the SED and the BCP. And this will remain so in the future as well.

The agreements concluded during the friendship visit of a Bulgarian party-government delegation to the GDR in 1974 between comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council are being successfully implemented. These far-reaching stipulations serve the universal expansion of our relations to the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of strengthening the community of socialist states. The cooperation between the state organs and social organizations was expanded according to plan. All this has resulted in our peoples' drawing closer together.

Willi Stoph went on to say: In compliance with the comprehensive program of socialist economic integration the economic and scientific-technical cooperation between our two countries was quickly developed and its effectiveness has been raised. In this context we can point out the good results achieved concerning cooperation and specialization in production and research.

Thus the fraternal relations that firmly link our two countries in the community of socialist states have substantially grown in all fields, and--of this I am sure--they will become still closer in the future. This lofty purpose is also served by our current meeting.

At present the preparations for the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution are the central issue in our countries' domestic scene. Jointly with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries as well as the entire progressive mankind we will celebrate this historic anniversary.

With their foreign political activities our two parties and states are standing shoulder to shoulder with the CPSU and the Soviet Union. They are making untiring efforts and support the personal endeavors of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, to achieve new progress on the road of detente despite the dangerous activities of incorrigible cold warriors. In the interests of socialism and of the peaceful life of all peoples, we devote all our strength to the consolidation and expansion of this process. The concept adopted by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in November 1976 in Bucharest is a constructive foundation for this. The proposal submitted at this meeting to conclude a treaty among all Helsinki Conference participants in which they commit themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against one another, is likely to further improve the international situation and to reduce the danger of a thermonuclear war.

Any genuine progress toward stable peace on our continent depends on the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act as a whole. In line with this, the GDR advocates that the Belgrade Meeting be carried out in a business-like and constructive atmosphere as well as in exact compliance with the Helsinki Final Act. Our special attention is devoted to the discontinuation of the arms race and the adoption of concrete measures allowing us to make headway in solving the undoubtedly involved problem of curbing armament. The GDR is ready to contribute to the best of its ability to a successful settlement of these decisive questions.

The talks we have started today are marked by the atmosphere of close fraternity and firm affinity that is characteristic of the relations between good friends and communists. We are certain that your visit to our country will serve the further development of our cooperation in the interest of our peoples, and thus the strengthening of socialism and of peace.

CSO: 2300

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GDR LEADERS GREET POLISH COUNTERPARTS ON ANNIVERSARY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jul 77 p 1 AU

[GDR state telegram on the 33d anniversary of the Polish People's Republic]

[Text] To Comrade Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee,

Comrade Prof Dr Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic,

Comrade Piotr Jaroszewicz, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, Warsaw.

Dear Comrades: On the occasion of the 33d anniversary of the Polish People's Republic we convey to you and to the fraternal Polish people the most cordial greetings and congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the people of the GDR as well as on our own behalf.

In the past 33 years the workers class and all working people of people's Poland under the leadership of the PZPR have created a successfully developing socialist state with which the GDR is fraternally linked. We sincerely welcome the important results achieved by the fraternal people in implementing the decisions of the Seventh PZPR Congress. On this, we congratulate you and all of our country's working people from the bottom of our heart.

Firmly linked with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states, the Polish People's Republic is making an important contribution to implementing the CPSU Peace Program, and it enjoys great respect and recognition among the progressive and peaceful peoples in the world.

It gives us great satisfaction that under the leadership of the SED and the PZPR the unbreakable friendship and universal cooperation between our socialist neighbor states and peoples are constantly developing and deepening on the foundation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism.

Linked by the community of our goals and the unshakable alliance with the CPSU and the peoples of the Soviet Union, we jointly celebrate this year the 60th anniversary of the Red October.

The visit of the party-state delegation of the Polish People's Republic to the GDR in May this year was an outstanding event in our fraternal relations. With the conclusion of the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance of 28 May 1977, a document of historical significance, a new phase of close, universal cooperation between our parties, states and peoples was initiated. This friendship treaty opens far-reaching prospects for our fraternal alliance, strengthens the power and unity of the socialist community and serves the struggle for lasting peace in Europe and the world.

Rest assured, Dear Polish Comrades, that the GDR will also in the future make every effort to purposefully promote and deepen the fraternal friendship and universal cooperation between our parties, states and peoples.

We wish you, Dear Comrades and all working people of People's Poland new successes in building the developed socialist society and combine with this our best wishes for steady health and personal well-being.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

CSO: 2300

BLOC COOPERATION IN HEALTH, EDUCATION DESCRIBED

Pharmaceutical Industry

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 77, 1 Jul 77 pp 2-3

[Article by Werner Hohtanz, general manager of the VVB (Association of State Enterprises) for the pharmaceutical industry: "Socialist Economic Integration in the Service of Health"]

[Text] The most important task of the pharmaceutical industry of the GDR is to provide a long-term stable supply of medicines to the health system. This involves both the supply of a broad assortment of high-quality pharmaceuticals and the greatest possible efficiency in production. To achieve both goals the pharmaceutical industry of the GDR has for years cooperated closely with its partners in the member nations of CEMA. After the Ninth SED Congress socialist economic integration, as an important intensifying factor, was further increased. On the one hand, this applies to scientific and technical cooperation, increasing specialization and cooperation in production; on the other hand, it applies to cooperation in socialist rationalization, information and documentation, and electronic data processing.

For the period of time up to 1980 the pharmaceutical industry of the GDR has already concluded agreements on specialization and mutual delivery of pharmaceutical products with its partners in four socialist countries, and agreements with two others are currently being prepared. With that the proportion of specialized products in the mutual exchange of goods will further increase.

Development of New Preparations

Scientific and technical cooperation concentrates primarily on the development of new preparations, the optimization of production procedures, the systematic rationalization of methods of testing and analysis, and mutual investigation of new synthetic hormones. The coordinated research programs include such important treatment areas as heart and circulatory medicines, psychopharmaceuticals, antidiabetic medicines, and antibiotics. These correspond to the growing demands of the health system in the socialist countries and insure the necessary scientific and technical advance for future production. Scientists in the fraternal countries are currently working together on approximately 50 research and development programs.

The most important partner of the pharmaceutical industry of the GDR in the international cooperation with the fraternal countries is the USSR. In the past year alone two-thirds of the exports to socialist countries were sent to the USSR. These deliveries are supposed to increase to 160 to 170 percent by 1980. The GDR supplies the USSR primarily with antidiabetic medicines, heart and circulatory medicines, and psychopharmaceuticals and in exchange obtains antibiotics, vitamin C, analgesics, and hormones for animal feeding.

For years there has been a close, labor-dividing cooperation between enterprises and facilities of the East German pharmaceutical industry on the one hand and research institutes of the Ministry of Medical Industry and of the Academy of Sciences in the USSR on the other. Good relations exist, for instance, between scientists from the Pharmaceutical Works VEB in Dresden and the Institute for Pharmacology and Chemotherapy of the Academy of Sciences in the USSR in the development of new circulatory pharmaceuticals. The scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries is established in long-term work programs.

Stable relations likewise exist with the partner associations in Poland, the CSSR, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria.

Cooperation in the manufacture of special insulin products resulted in a considerable increase in production at the Tarchomin Pharmaceutical Works near Warsaw. At the Chemical VEB in Berlin it was possible to accelerate the development of Berlinsulin through the information exchange. As a result it was possible to begin production of this product considerably earlier than originally expected.

Specialization agreements for the production and mutual delivery of pharmaceuticals until 1980 were likewise concluded with the CSSR, Bulgaria, and Hungary. These agreements are based on the long-term commercial agreement between the GDR and the aforementioned countries and are thus highly binding. In addition, there exists a specialization agreement for labor and fine chemicals with Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria. In consultations and deliberations with representatives of the pharmaceutical industry in Yugoslavia, Cuba, and Mongolia further steps were likewise agreed upon to confirm and intensify cooperation.

Labor Groups Increase Efficiency

Along with the bilateral relations, multilateral cooperation among the socialist fraternal countries is taking on increasing importance. Representatives of the East German pharmaceutical industry in the work groups "pharmaceutical industry," "veterinary pharmaceuticals," "chemical and biochemical fodder additives," and "industrial and fine chemicals" are making an active contribution in this regard. In all these subsections of the permanent commissions for chemistry and agriculture of CEMA, long-term agreements on multilateral international specialization and cooperation in production have been prepared or already concluded. The individual countries

assume the responsibility for the reliable supply of all other CEMA partners with certain products. This insures a high efficiency of production for these products, which are generally of small tonnage. Through the conclusion of specialization agreements for the production of chemical and biochemical fodder additives and veterinary pharmaceuticals it was possible to make important progress in the agricultural supply of the CEMA countries.

In the field of information and documentation long years of experience are already available in multilateral cooperation with Poland, the CSSR, and Bulgaria. In the future the USSR will also join in with the publication of the joint information service "Signa excerpta." This information service is of great utility in preparing and handling the topics of the science and technology plan.

Education Accomplishments, Plans

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 78, 5 Jul 77 p 6

[Article by Herbert Geerhardt, senior high school teacher and main department chief in Ministry for Education: "Multilateral Cooperation of Socialist Countries in the Public Education Sector To Be Expanded"]

[Text] At their second conference in the Bulgarian capital at the end of May of this year the ministers of education of the socialist countries assessed the cooperation of the fraternal countries in this area and established measures for expanding joint operations. The delegations agree in confirming that the substantive guidelines for cooperation agreed upon at the first conference in Moscow in 1975 have proved valid and the consequent multilateral measures are being realized.

To increase the efficiency of instruction--one of the guidelines for cooperation--a series of multilateral events took place. Foremost among these were the conferences of the directors of central pedagogical research institutions and events having a specific department of instruction as their theme. In 1975, for instance, the sixth symposium on chemistry instruction took place in the GDR. In the same year the sixth symposium on history instruction was held in Poland. Problems were discussed concerning the role of history instruction in the development of a scientific world view. This year the CSSR is organizing the seventh symposium on the theme "The International Significance of the Great Socialist October Revolution in History Instruction in Socialist Countries." Questions concerning the improvement of history books, as well as problems and prospects in the training of history teachers are also on the agenda. In 1979 a symposium on the same subject will be held in the GDR.

In October 1977 the first international seminar on problems of mathematics instruction is taking place in the CSSR. Last year Romania held the fifth international polytechnic seminar on the theme "Polytechnic Education and

Its Connection With Production and Life." In 1975 an international symposium on special education took place for the first time; its continuation is planned for 1977 in the CSSR and for 1979 in Hungary.

Also important are the multilateral conferences on school equipment and technical aids to instruction, at which cooperation in the development, production, and distribution of aids to instruction are discussed. This year the host is Hungary; last year it was the CSSR.

The results of the joint deliberations, congresses, and conferences on the various aspects of training and education of the young generation are monographs, collections of essays, and materials; but above all they contribute to the enrichment of the socialist countries' fund of experience in this area for the benefit of each individual country.

Focus on Communist Education

In the further development of cooperation among the socialist countries, the focus is on the efforts to improve communist education. Thus conferences took place last year in Moscow, Bratislava, and Berlin on education in communist morality and behavior, on the education of the younger generation in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, and on the formation of a world view in instruction and extracurricular work. It was their task to work out the theoretical bases of the communist education of schoolchildren, to organize joint research projects, and to determine the concrete historical content of communist education under the conditions of the developed socialist society.

At the end of 1976 a meeting of experts from the ministries of education of the socialist countries was held in the GDR concerning questions of sociological instruction. Experiences regarding the ideological effectiveness of sociological instruction were exchanged. The next meeting of this sort is expected to take place in the USSR in 1978.

Third Conference in Budapest in 1979

On the basis of previous experiences the ministers for education of the socialist countries agreed at their second conference in Sofia that the multilateral research on the topic "current bourgeois education" and the activities of the council of experts' "campaign against bourgeois school policy and education" are to be continued in the GDR in 1978 and in the CSSR in 1980.

Again and again in the joint work the significance of basic and supplementary training of teachers is underscored and the social standing of the teacher in the training and education of schoolchildren is emphasized. This topic was taken up by the third conference of educators in socialist countries which

took place in Poland in June 1977. The rectors of education colleges in socialist countries also confer regularly. This year the rectors are meeting in the CSSR in November.

In the final protocol of the second conference it was agreed that the third conference of ministers for education in socialist countries will take place in Budapest in 1979.

8992

CSO: 2300

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSR DEPUTY PREMIER: PRESENT ACTIVITIES OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 12, 6 Jun 77 pp 16, 17

[Article by Ladislav Adamec, member of the Central Committee, CPCZ, and deputy premier of the CSR Government: "National Committees One Year After the 15th Congress"]

[Text] The statement by comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, during its last, seventh session, is also valid for the work of national committees. Comrade G. Husak emphasized the necessity of constantly combining the elaboration and implementation of the resolution of this session with conclusions drawn by the Central Committee during its previous meetings. Also, he stressed the necessity of ensuring the policy implementation of the party congress on all levels comprehensively.

The road which was taken by the new national committees after last year's elections to representative bodies and which follows the decisions of the 15th CPCZ Congress is characterized by its purposefulness and broad organizational effort.

These basic features stand out, first of all, because the communists in plenums, councils and commissions are very active and, under the guidance of party organs, see to it that our policy--whether in the form of clearcut tasks or positive results accompanying it--will reach the broad masses of the working people. This is also reflected in the attention paid on the regional, district and local levels by the deputies and public officials to their well-organized, specific agenda and routine, day-to-day management operation.

The expression of the party's concern about the future development of our cities and villages and the systematic strengthening of the authority of representative bodies is, first of all, the effort to create good collectives in the individual organs of national committees. Where people understand each other and are capable of accepting comradely criticism and where the interest of the entire society is paramount in daily thought and action, it is guaranteed that increasing demands will result in greater inventiveness and initiative at work.

This fundamental aim can be achieved not only by equipping a large group of activists with necessary political and specialized knowledge, but also by inducing the individual person to consciously submit to the views of the collective and to enrich its capabilities and efficiency by his own experience and knowledge.

The reliable foundation for this is laid when the operational plans themselves reflect all society's interests and a viewpoint corresponding to the considered positions of the deputies and their voters. For the national committees, the Leninist principle of the key element, consisting of charting the decisive tasks for a given period, is also valid, without diminishing the concern for minor, seemingly secondary problems, suggestions and justified demands of people.

The communists have always successfully maintained these positions in people's governmental and administrative organs and are, also, injecting them today into the entire system. It is, therefore, fully justified that the agenda includes very often one of the most important problems, i.e., smooth implementation of the electoral programs of the National Front. This has been grasped in most places, not only as a mere control of what has been accomplished as a partial balance of completed work, but it is also considered from broader viewpoints. The above mentioned organs are following with great attention how the very implementation of electoral programs motivates activity and initiative, how socialist emulation asserts itself and how these factors affect the consciousness of people and what educational impact they have. Thus, for example, the plenum of the national committee of the west Bohemian region dealt with the implementation of election programs in close connection with the evaluation of socialist emulation results achieved by the national committees last year. In this effort the integrating role of higher levels of national committees has been demonstrated, which generalize the experience of local organs and rely on cooperation of large activist groups.

Similar results have been achieved in other instances. When the Council of the National Committee in the capital city of Prague discussed the results achieved during the first quarter of the year in the implementation of election programs and, several weeks later, dealt with the progress in citizens' initiative, it was able to project the experience gained in ensuring the developmental tasks of the city in forms and methods of volunteer assistance by the citizenry. The participation of the working people in solving some shortcomings was organized mainly along those lines.

It has been stressed many times, and in contemporary circumstances it is doubly valid, that one of the important tasks of deputies and officials is to successfully enlist the citizens for socially useful work and achieve [the result] that every individual will contribute within his possibilities to our common endeavors.

The representative bodies cover the broadest hinterland when they react with sensitivity to everything bothering the citizens and utilize all their functions and broad jurisdiction entrusted to them by our society. This basic correlation has been confirmed by long-term experience. It is not accidental, therefore,

that during the first half-year of 1977 all regional national committees have been dealing thoroughly with, among other things, the positive and negative aspects of local economy and services. They do not merely analyze the problems but stress, first of all, the adoption of long-range development plans. The proof of it is the attitude of the south Moravian regional national committee, which, in its June plenum, will undertake the review of one of its previous resolutions concerning the concept of development and distribution of services for the population up to 1990 in the area of local economy.

Experience shows that national committees handle such problems not as "a future, non-binding consideration," but as specific sociopolitical tasks discussed during the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee. Therefore, together with problems of local economy, the examination covers also its social efficiency and correlation with long-range economic development, set in the documents of the 15th congress of the CPCZ and elaborated in the sessions of the Central Committee.

Regional national committees (for instance, in the central Bohemian and east Bohemian regions) will return in the current first half-year to the resolutions of the third session of the CPCZ Central Committee and adopt measures promoting further development of machine-building within their jurisdiction. They will discuss not only how the local economic enterprises, for which they are directly responsible, will assist in completing the tasks of this key industrial branch, but also how the functions, assigned to and implemented by national committees, will contribute to increased efficiency of the economic standards. This will undoubtedly create incentives for closer cooperation between centrally managed enterprises and organs of the people's rule and administration.

This cooperation's purpose is plans that are comprehensively conceived for an all-around development of cities and other settlements in the spirit of the policy adopted by the 15 congress.

This mission is also reflected in the attention devoted to ensuring the decisions of the sixth session of the CPCZ Central Committee on housing, proven, among other things, by the program of the May session of the South Bohemian Regional National Committee. All regions are including into their plans the tasks assigned by individual sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. They will gradually deal with capital investment problems or, more specifically, with the solution of building apartment houses, action "Z", etc.

From this it follows that the party's policy implementation is assured in a responsible and intelligent way on the regional, district and local levels. Party organs and organizations merit praise for the fact that regional problems meet with response also at the lowest levels, are concretized and adjusted to local conditions and clear, controllable commitments are assumed in preparation for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The common features and aim of these approaches, which show great initiative, are anchored in the implementation of indicators whose source is the Sixth Five Year Plan.

The decisive viewpoint in judging the success of the work is whether the interests of the whole society are realized. Therefore, in formulating new election programs, the way of satisfying citizens' actual and justified demands has been selected. Working initiative is also oriented in that direction. Looking at it from this angle, we have attached considerable importance to the cooperative solution of the development of infant homes, kindergartens, youth corps, and other institutions which will serve the rapidly growing young generations. Plans of a number of regional and many district national committees, where the conceptual problems of building kindergartens are among the priorities, responded to that need. Some regional national committees correctly include the concern for kindergartens within the scope of implementing the Czechoslovak educational and pedagogical system, which is part of the chief problems targeted in their guiding and organizing activity. For instance, the Council of the North Moravian Regional National Committee takes into account this comprehensive concept.

National committees are directing their long-range attention also to problems of cultural life. The common feature of the broad interest of national committees in these problems is, first of all, awareness that efficiently managed culture and, with it, the entire field of art contributes to formation of the socialist man and makes his self-realization an important mission.

One of the decisive trends of this activity consists in an efficient upbringing of the young generation. A good way to increase youth participation in the life of cities and communities and give them a healthy outlook are, among other things, also traditional discussions with young people. They play a significant and irreplaceable role in the development of initiative and in the training of future young deputies, activists and administrators. Systematic cooperation with the Union of Socialist Youth and broadening opportunities for cultural, social and sport activities of the young are also proving useful.

Also, this type of work with the young generation and achieved, positive results clearly demonstrate the development of socialist democracy. It is indisputable that its manifestations are multiform and find vast support in civic involvement and activism. The proof of it is the increased attention paid by national committees to expanded participation of citizens in management, especially in large cities and new settlements.

Recently held elections to citizens' committees have amply demonstrated that people in our country are directly participating in solving all the problems of socialist construction. We systematically support the use of their experience, views and knowledge, which come to the fore in public meetings, deputies' days, encounters with agitators and on other occasions. The enhancement of socialist democracy is an important part of management and organizational activity by the deputies and functionaries, who are firmly supported by party organs and organizations.

In this way they implement one of the significant points of the Programmatic Statement of the CSR Government, which says:

"Further improvement of the system of operation, organization and functioning of national committees will continuously be the center of our attention, also. The overwhelming majority of the deputies work in the primary levels of these organs. They are in close touch with the population in order to satisfy its needs, and they are able to efficiently influence the people's life, especially women, youth and retirees. It depends primarily on their good work to demonstrate more fully and convincingly the advantages of national committees and the achievements of socialist democracy."

Review of the efforts of national committees, since the 15th congress and the general elections to the representative bodies, demonstrates that they have chosen a purposeful working system and that they seriously ensure the economic, social and political aims of the directing force of our society--the Communist Party. It is gratifying that, in addition to operational aspects, they stress a conceptual, long-range view on the development of all their functions. They have thus laid a good foundation for successful work in the coming years, for active participation of all honest citizens and for all-round safeguarding of the tasks of election programs.

6314

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

EUROCOMMUNISM CALLED DIVISIVE CONCEPT INVENTED BY IMPERIALISM

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 26, 29 Jun 77 p 7

[Article by Ivan Broz: "European Communists in Struggle for Peace and Socialism"]

[Text] The most important event in the international communist and workers' movement last year was, undoubtedly the Berlin conference of European communist and workers parties whose anniversary we are recalling just in these days. The conference which was attended by the leading representatives of 29 European communist and workers' parties greatly strengthened the struggle of European communists and of all progressive forces for peace, security, cooperation, national independence and social progress--not only on our continent, but throughout the world. It is certainly not insignificant that the conference was held in the international situation in which the principle of peaceful coexistence became the principal tendency in international relations. The conference, of course, emphasized also that the activity of the opponents of the relaxation of tension had by no means slackened, that it continued that the feverish armament race was even gaining momentum in some capitalist states and that the nuclei of the danger of war still existed.

The conference precisely specified the most important revolutionary forces today: the countries of the socialist community, the working class in the countries of capital and national liberation movements and the progressively oriented forces in the developing countries. These principal revolutionary forces are capable--together with all democratic and peaceloving forces--of neutralizing the intrigues of reactionary circles in the West and of foiling the warlike ambitions of the military-industrial complex and of other "hawks" which ominously still circle over our planet.

The Berlin conference fully confirmed the results of the Marxist-Leninist analyses--namely, that the struggle for peace is closely interlinked with the struggle for social progress. The final document entitled "For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe" was worked out on this basis and adopted. Precisely this program, which is in close harmony with the foreign political tasks set by the 25th CPSU Congress, the 15th CPCZ Congress and congresses of other fraternal parties, represents an absolutely clear proof of

essentially identical interests and goals of the working class in the socialist and capitalist countries. It is based on the four great action goals:

1. to intensify the process of relaxation by effective measures in the area of disarmament and consolidation of security in Europe;
2. to annihilate fascism and to defend democracy and national independence;
3. to develop mutually advantageous cooperation and better mutual understanding among nations;
4. to insure peace, security, cooperation, national independence and social progress throughout the world.

The most important of all tasks today is putting a stop to the feverish armament and achieving disarmament. This most urgent categorical imperative of the day stresses the collective responsibility of the communist parties, both in the socialist and capitalist countries. Peace profoundly corresponds to the social essence and humanistic ideals of the working class in the whole world. Only in peace can the working class discharge its historic mission: to build a society of socialism and communism in which there will be no room for the exploitation of man by man nor a weapon which one nation could draw against another.

The process of international relaxation, which started some time ago, created favorable political conditions for specific measures designed to limit favorable political conditions for specific measures designed to limit strategic and conventional armament. The first though modest results have already been achieved on the long and difficult road to the general and complete disarmament. The communists have always played and continue to play a very important role in this process. In the socialist countries it is the state policy which consistently translates the principles of peaceful coexistence into everyday practice, while the communists in the capitalist countries exercise pressure on their public, on the governments and on responsible public officials, to put it briefly on everybody, so that the process of relaxation does not stop halfway. There still exists, indeed, the danger that reaction will constantly challenge further steps toward the political relaxation, especially if those steps are subsequently backed up by the adequate measures in the area of military relaxation. The level of political confidence attained so far would thus be undermined, and tension and risks of military conflagration could arise again. Head of the delegation of our party, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Husak, drew attention to this fact in his speech to the Berlin conference in which he said:

Extreme rightist, fascist and revanchist forces mobilize against the policy of relaxation. Under their pressure, delays take place in the implementation of the measures already agreed upon, in the negotiations on further steps toward the relaxation of tension and toward the expansion of cooperation. Expenditures on armaments increase and tension intensifies in various places of our planet. All this makes it clear that we must judge the situation realistically and

must not slacken our effort, but that, on the contrary, we must further intensify our common struggle for peace and security in Europe. It is necessary to consolidate and improve upon the results already achieved and to expose the opponents of the relaxation of tension and vigorously combat them. We face a permanent task of mobilizing on the largest possible scale the progressive, democratic forces, regardless of the differences in their political views and convictions, for the common struggle for these eminently humane goals."

Imperialism, however, tries to exercise additional pressure and play additional tricks. After having been forced by the objectively existing shifts in the worldwide relation of class forces to retreat, it changes its tactics. Its ideologists are now doing everything possible, and even impossible, to drive a wedge between socialism and other sections of revolutionary forces. Their most modern instrument is "Eurocommunism," which they present as the position of the West European communists. This "term," however, has been spread by bourgeois manipulation with a quite clear intent: to persuade the population of the capitalist countries that "socialism is unacceptable for the developed European states." The communists can answer such pseudoarguments only by even more solidly closing their ranks, [that is] by their firmness in protecting real socialism in the struggle for the interests of the working class and working people in the capitalist countries.

The communist parties are united by the common world view: Marxism-Leninism and the fundamental principle of proletarian internationalism. If, in the communist movement, the exchange of views and experience continues on the various ways in which the revolutionary goals can be achieved, then this is not an exchange with the ideological adversaries but with the friends or those whose position is close to ours. This kind of exchange of views and discussions must be strictly separated from the struggle which we must wage against real opponents of Marxism-Leninism, against all varieties of rightist and "leftist" opportunism. This is no longer a comparison of different experiences, but an irreconcilable battle in which it is necessary to fight for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to protect it from dogmatism and revisionism.

Proletarian internationalism was and is a powerful and time-tested weapon of the communist and workers movement. This was again emphasized in the theses from the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which were published on 31 January 1977: "The solidarity of the working class and communists of all countries in the struggle of nations for the national liberation and social progress, the voluntary cooperation of equal and independent fraternal parties and the organic fusion of national and international interests of the working people in their policy--this precisely is proletarian internationalism in practice."

The Berlin conference confirmed that the logical tendency toward the internationalization of economic life and of the class struggle brings, quite objectively, the communist and workers parties closer together. Already because imperialism constantly tries to achieve the maximum unity of all re-

actionary forces in their struggle against the revolutionary movement, any kind of isolation of any communist party would only play into the hands of our class adversaries and could have serious consequences.

The unity of action of communists and workers parties under the contemporary conditions is achieved in the form of voluntary cooperation of equal, independent parties. Although no organizational center exists, it is obvious that the Soviet communists have the largest amount of experiences, and it is, therefore, nothing bad to say that we must learn from them. After all, this year's 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution reminds us of the road that the first country of socialism has travelled under the guidance of the CPSU. This is the glorious road to the fulfillment of the long-cherished dream of mankind--to the classless society. Already, for this reason, it is worthwhile to draw upon the rich experience and knowledge of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in pressing for peace, in the revolutionary struggle of nations and in search for new ways in which the developed socialist society can be built.

10501

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HANES: REAL SOCIALISM MUST BE BASED ON MARXISM-LENINISM

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Jul 77 p 3

[Article by the president of the Assembly of Nations, Federal Assembly, Dalibor Hanes: "Ideas of Revolution and Ideas of Counterrevolution"]

[Text] Sixty years ago the revolutionary ideas of the working class became a material force which created the immortal achievement of communism--the Great October Socialist Revolution. From year to year up to the current, the sixtieth year, the activating effect of that not only highly historical event but also a constant moving force of the revolutionary process, which it had initiated, is steadily growing. This may be confirmed quite irresversibly: for the scientific truth and reality of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, transferred into a revolutionary action, 6 decades were sufficient to penetrate deep and forever into the working man's brain and heart. The embodiment of those ideas and their incarnation in the socialist reality in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other countries of the great family of socialist countries--that is the strategic victory of the Marxist-Leninist ideas. Realistic socialism provides a material platform for revolutionary ideas; it is a basis for their growing authority and great magnetic force. The continuous ascendancy of socialism in every area of the material and spiritual life in itself serves, therefore, simultaneously as an offensive of its ideology and theory. There cannot be the slightest doubt today about the fact that the socialist ideology is the most influential spiritual movement on this earth.

The scientific ideas of dialectic materialism, not the unscientific, idealistic bourgeois ideas are on the offensive. The ideas of revolution, not the ideas of counterrevolution are on the offensive. The ideas of proletarian and socialist internationalism, not the ideas of bourgeois nationalism, are on the offensive. There is no such an area of human activity where, in the social practice, the scientific communist ideas would not prevail over bourgeois ideology. That is so because our socialist ideology is consistently materialistic and, therefore, capable of a creative recognition and utilization of the natural and social laws. Our view of the world strictly respects the dialectics of the evolution in nature and society; for that reason, it is a scientific doctrine of a conscious, revolutionary transformation of society in harmony with the laws of its development, in other words, in the innermost interest of the

working people. Our ideology is based on the scientific knowledge of mutual relations and links between the forces of production and relations of production, and, thus, it articulates and justifies the working class' revolutionary mission, which nothing can replace. Therefore, it is also a tool for the implementation of that revolutionary mission. To utilize that system of laws and to act in accordance with it in the interest of the working class and of all the working people--that is the inalienable right, mission and duty of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party.

Our socialist ideology serves as a decisive means for a genuine economic and political liberation of the working class and all working people. Our socialist ideology provides, simultaneously, a theoretical source for building of a socialist society and its material-technological basis, for an improvement of the socialist social relations and for the education of the socialistically thinking and acting man--a patriot, internationalist.

Could bourgeois ideology offer to mankind any equivalent value? It could not! In fact, the very philosophical substance of all the directions of bourgeois ideology contains a denial of the material nature of the world, a denial of the objective laws of natural and social evolution. After all, bourgeois ideology has one mission only: to prevent the laws of social progress from winning. Its credo is to guard strictly the immutability of bourgeois conditions, which history has mercilessly undermined. As a matter of fact, with all its unscientific, idealistic doctrines, bourgeois ideology is trying to deny the historical mission of the working class. The entire enormous arsenal of the action of bourgeois ideology has focused on preventing the working class from acquiring its class consciousness; it is focused on bringing it close to the system of the bourgeois class supremacy and on depriving it of its revolutionary mission. Bourgeois ideology reflects, in all those expressions, the spiritual poverty of the highest, yet the last of the exploiting systems--capitalism in its imperialist form. In all those expressions it obstructs social progress and revolutionary changes.

All our knowledge irrevocably comes to these conclusions after nearly 130 years, which will pass next year, since the writing of The Communist Manifesto and the triumphal journey of its ideas into the political consciousness of the working class all over the world. The ideas of The Communist Manifesto, linking scientific communism with workers' movement in their entire revolutionary substance, are invincible in their opposition to bourgeois ideology. Every idea contained in the manifesto, therefore, has become a target of political, economic and ideological attacks of the bourgeoisie. To be sure, The Communist Manifesto--the programmatic document of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat--expressed quite clearly and unambiguously that the revolutionary liquidation of the capitalist system necessarily follows from the historical mission of the proletariat.

If the working class is to fulfill that mission, it must be internationally united in its class struggle on the political, economic and ideological fronts. Capitalism is international: Therefore, the struggle of the working class with it must also be international; it must be organized; it must have a strict, revolutionary discipline and firm, profound consciousness. Such, and only

such, is the revolutionary point of departure for the class struggle of the working class: A persistent class struggle must follow and lead to the socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat; it must continue also under socialism in order to build a classless communist society. Although political struggle is in the forefront--because, in the final analysis, only thus can the working class achieve its revolutionary victory and gain political power--its ideological form is becoming increasingly more relevant in this class struggle. The ideas of scientific communism are confronting here constantly with bourgeois ideas. Through its ideology and, of course, also through all-power political and economic tools, the bourgeois is trying with all its strength (which is still considerable) to intensify the conflict between the objective interests of the working class and its subjective activity. The destructive influence of bourgeois ideology on the process of political self-awareness of the working class represents one of the dangerous obstacles on the path to a realization that, in its struggle to wrest political power from the bourgeoisie, the working class has nothing to lose but its shackles, as it is written in the manifesto.

Therein lies the perennial value of the reliable compass of the working class--its revolutionary ideology--able to give orientation to the working class and enabling it to realize subjectively its objective class interests, its place and role in history and its position in the politico-economic system of capitalism. The value of this revolutionary ideology depends, simultaneously, on the unmasking of the real and, therefore, antihumane and antidemocratic face of the bourgeoisie, on enabling the working class to differentiate between its friends and allies on the one hand and its enemies and opponents on the other hand and on enabling it to find the right ways and means to victory.

The social experience of this century has tested, verified and confirmed the applicability of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideas based on thoroughly scientific principles, which is the highest possible criterion. How could one help not thinking optimistically also about the future? It is not socialism, it is not the world revolutionary movement that is lacking optimism. The worldwide historical act from which our revolutionary optimism flows incessantly, the act that turned the idea of the historical mission of the working class into reality--the Great October Revolution--that is the start of a merciless trial of history over the last of exploiting systems: capitalism.

The viciousness of the old social era is reflected in the bourgeois ideology; it is an ideology of the internally obsolete capitalist social system, which can no longer keep in step with the historical initiative of the new social era and its predominant tendencies to solve the problems of the modern world, which is divided into classes, on the path leading to socialism; it is an ideology peddling the bourgeoisie's own desires but presenting them as "class neutral" and beneficial to one and all. This ideology of the same, old, class substance belongs to a society which has no future and which is trying to defend itself by glorification of the bourgeois parliamentary democracy, orations about pluralism, freedom, humanism and human rights, while protecting, at the same time, the innermost interests of capital. It is facing an increasingly more difficult task: to hoodwink magnanimously the trustful workers and most of the people that everything that is presented by the contemporary state-monopolistic capitalism is somehow in their own interest. The workers and all the strata of the working people in capitalist countries who are exposed to innumerable symptoms of the general crises of capitalism, however, are

less and less attracted by the pseudopoetic tones with which the bourgeois ideology is trying to entice them. They are not attracted, although the bourgeois ideologists are trying their best to defile, humiliate and obscure the image of "socialism for every day." Despite their efforts, however, this daily experience has the most convincing impact on a simple working man. It affects him because the daily practice of socialism is free from exploitation; its totally natural principles of daily life are embodied in the power of the working people and their extensive social guarantees, women's equal rights and a future for the young generation, independent development of prosperous economy without crises and unemployment, brotherhood of nations and a truly humane culture.

Just as socialist ideas, converted into realistic socialism, found within them the material weapon which serves most efficiently against the system of bourgeois rule, so our socialist reality found the ideas, which it had formed, to be its spiritual weapon with which it attacks bourgeois ideas.

Thus, even now, as the victorious advance of the revolutionary ideas into the consciousness and actions of millions of working people all over the world has confirmed, a thousand times over, the transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat existing in the "national framework" into an international dictatorship of the proletariat, as predicted by Lenin, this takes place in an all-encompassing, fierce, dramatic conflict of those revolutionary ideas with counterrevolutionary ideas which are also trying to affect the people's minds so as to become a material force. In this struggle, the bourgeoisie has put everything into the battle because everything is involved there. It still has considerable means at its disposal; however, it is facing an extremely powerful opponent, so much more so that it is grasping for every means of spiritual manipulation. Nevertheless, it is always prepared to attack with overt violence the democratic, national-liberation and anti-imperialist forces wherever the use of such violence is still possible. Because even such opportunities are becoming more and more scarce and have already become practically inapplicable as concerns the socialist countries, the struggle on the ideological front has reached a so much greater scope and a so much more vicious form. However, the historical initiative is forever on the side of socialism. In fact, it was exactly socialism which, by its political influence stemming from a powerful material basis, has forced imperialism to shift a considerable part of its forces to the ideological front. That is a front without any truce. The aggravated ideological attacks of imperialism against the socialist countries this year have also convinced us about that. For its attack against socialism and for the extremely difficult service of defending the system of its class supremacy, international capitalism has summoned all those whom it commands--presidents, premiers, ministers, anti-communist centers, traitors and renegades, paid agents and their lackeys from various countries, professors and journalists, aggressive Zionists as well as hardcore anti-Semites, ex-emperors and crown princes, revanchists, cosmopolitans and those individuals who are as easily inflamed by patriotism as straw. All those apologists of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie have the same scenario: the less freedom in the capitalist world, the more they keep on yelling about the "free world;" the less democracy in the capitalist world for the working people,

the more they are lecturing about "genuine democracy" to the socialist countries; the more antihumane, jingoistic, racist or even fascist the capitalist system appears, the more it screams about humanism and human rights. As Goebbels used to emphasize: The lie must be colossal. As for the colossal dimensions, hypocrisy and false allegations, the system of the bourgeois rule is indubitably on an ascending line. They would like to set everybody against everybody in the socialist countries; they are fabricating and exaggerating putative controversies; like parasites, they are feeding on anything; they are trying to penetrate into the slightest crannies and make them deeper; they are trumpeting to the whole world lies and half-truths; they are generalizing exceptional phenomena; they are presenting problems which developed on the new roads of building of socialism as deficiencies stemming from the very essence of socialism; they are trying to infect the people's consciousness with bourgeois nationalism; they are trying to deafen the minds of the working people in the capitalist countries and confuse the people in socialist countries and they are trying by all means to conceal the misery of their ideology and the shame of their deeds. By means of its propaganda, the bourgeois state is trying to turn its weakness into strength and presents the forms of the class struggle which it cannot suppress as a gift of freedom. The competitive conflicts of the bourgeois parties, none of which wants to impair the basis of the capitalist society but fights for a larger piece of the government pie, are presented as an expression of freedom, and the reflection of such conflicts in the press is interpreted as freedom of the press. If communist parties are legally established in the conditions of bourgeois democracy, this fact is interpreted as liberalism of the bourgeois constitutions, whereas in fact this reflects the objective reality that capitalism cannot get by without the working class and that the working class is always organized in a party which class and that the working class is always organized in a party which is fighting for its class interests.

The solution of urgent problems of the present time depends on the practical attitudes of the social democratic and socialist parties in the Western states. As long as those attitudes were not devoid of political realism, they contributed positively to the hopeful changes in international relations. Otherwise, they obstructed the understanding between states, as well as detente. We respect every realistic attitude, because the problems of the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress are the most relevant social problems which the international workers' movement must solve. A united action with the realistically thinking representatives of the social democratic and socialist parties is the approach to these fundamental questions for which the communists have been calling; however, that does not mean, of course, that the ideological differences between the communists and social democrats are to be overlooked, because no rapprochement of scientific communism with reformism can be considered at all. As it was stressed at the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, said parties "...emphasized their readiness to contribute to an equal cooperation with all democratic forces, particularly with the socialist and social democratic forces, in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress."

One cannot help seeing how the approaching 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is aggravating, from day to day, the hatred of the world reaction toward all that is Soviet, all that is socialist, all that is communist. However, we are living in an era when nobody can denigrate any more the greatness of the achievements created by the Soviet people in six decades, followed, after [the first] 30 years, by the nations of other socialist countries. Even the cleverest possible attacks on the part of bourgeois ideology cannot debase the true meaning of our great work and of the accomplishments of socialism, which the bourgeoisie hates because socialism crushed the idealistic myth about the permanency of the capitalist rule.

Bourgeois ideology lost its progressive character a long time ago. It is decadent, full of nostalgia for the past that has been overcome by historical evolution. It is called to fulfill tasks with which it can cope less and less--to defend the class interests of the monopolistic bourgeoisie. It is counterrevolutionary, because it has to assist in preserving and securing a historically defeated social system. It is counterrevolutionary, because it has to falsify the character of our era--the era of the socialist revolutions and of a transition from capitalism to socialism on the world-wide scale--and because it has to invent some future for capitalism. It is counterrevolutionary, because it must be a spiritual alternative to scientific communism and an ideological weapon of the counterrevolutionary policy of imperialism against socialism. It is counterrevolutionary, because, although unable to respond realistically to the vital political and social problems of our times and so much less so to the questions of the future social development, it is creating false awareness and giving untrue and unscientific answers to those questions.

For us the uncompromising fight of ideas of the revolution with the ideas of the counterrevolution is not self-serving. We are subordinating it to our political tasks consisting of constant guarantee of an active adoption of the Marxist-Leninist worldview by the working class, because for the working class such a revolutionary theory and ideology are no luxury but a necessity of life. At the same time we are taking care that the socialist awareness of all our working people continue to increase constantly, which is reflected in the practical constructive work by which the realistically existing socialism is formed as a historical negation of capitalism. The socialist revolutionary ideas are the most effective weapons against the counterrevolutionary ideas of capitalism of the imperialist type. And finally, by this conflict of antagonistic ideas we are helping the working people in the capitalist countries to liberate themselves from the influence of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas, because--a fact which they feel clearly in their daily lives--it is not far from the sly bourgeois theories to their most ruthless practical application.

There are very many proofs which may convince modern man about the change that has occurred in the international balance of power and which is changing it further, irreversibly, for the benefit of socialism. Not a few proofs have confirmed the fact that despite all, often considerably hazardous, operations which it is performing and to which it submits, capitalism in its imperialist stage is incapable of breaking out from historical defensive. The existence

of two world systems--the socialist and the capitalist--which are represented by their social orders, dynamism of the economic development, their concept of democracy, their ethics and, thus, also by their ideological effect on the consciousness of the nations, makes their comparison feasible. And, precisely from such a comparison, the vital truth of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism comes out victorious as the truth confirmed by the Great October Socialist Revolution and, then, by the next six decades, during which socialism in its true form has been built on a national and international scale. From that comparison our socialist ideology comes out victorious, linking its consistent scientific essence with the revolutionary character. That is the success of the struggle which the Marxists-Leninists are waging for the victory of communist ideals, for social progress and national liberation, for friendship among nations, against the ideas of war, social oppression, militarism and colonialism. It is a struggle for an active participation of the masses in a revolutionary transformation of the world, in the building of socialism. The ideas of the revolution, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, are a sound program for that epoch-making historical process. The ideas of counterrevolution, the bourgeois ideas, have no future whatsoever.

9004

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM NOT THING OF PAST

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 26, 29 Jun 77 p 1

[Article by Ladislav Hrzal: "Internationalism Is Not An Anachronism"]

[Text] Internationalism is one of the permanent values of socialism because there cannot be real socialism without internationalism. V.I. Lenin many a time urged the workers not to think only from the standpoint of "their" country because, as he used to say, this was how a poor thickhead--a nationalist petty bourgeois--thought who did not understand that he was only a puppet in the hands of the imperialistic bourgeoisie. He asked the workers to think in terms of their participation in the preparation, propaganda and speeding up of the worldwide proletarian revolution. "This is internationalism; this is the task faced by the internationalist, revolutionary workingman, a real socialist," he emphasized.

We can ask ourselves whether these words, written in his work "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky" more than 50 years ago, are still valid today and whether, after all, they were not uttered only and primarily in the polemics against K. Kautsky's views, and were not, therefore, dated. They were certainly uttered in a specific historical context: Like today's revisionism, also, K. Kautsky's rightist revisionism forgot the alphabet of Marxism, deliberately falsified it and committed--as Lenin wrote--"quite small" frauds, which ultimately, however, were of fundamental and decisive importance.

If we compare Kautsky's views with the views of Czech revisionists in 1968, we find their mutual affinity and motivation. This conclusion is by no means surprising: In different contexts and under different conditions--but with the identical consequences--the principles of proletarian internationalism gradually disappeared from the tenets of revisionists and were eventually replaced by the petty bourgeois, nationalistic radicalism, which essentially differed very little from slogans such as: "Nothing but the Nation!" We cannot be astonished even by the phenomenon that it seems to many people, again today, that the principle of proletarian internationalism is not national enough, and they try to replace it with other terms or they simply ignore it. Yet, proletarian internationalism is as valid today as it was 50 years ago.

Lenin drew attention to the international nature of capital: "Capital is an international force. If it is to be defeated, there must be an international association of workingmen, an international brotherhood of workingmen." The internalization of capital has increased many times since those days.

International monopolies have become more powerful: Their power has enormously increased; so it is more true today than ever before that the worker's economic status is not national but international, that his class enemy is international and that the conditions for his liberation also are international. The unity of the working class, the international unity, is more important than the national unity. These fundamental characteristics of proletarian internationalism of Lenin hold good today also. It is therefore not at all incidental that revisionists and opportunists of all kinds try to deny them; they want to prove that they have become obsolete, that the struggle for the national interests of workers or for regional interests of some sort, which are contradictory to the international interests, are the most important issue today. If we compare these assertions with our recent experience from 1968, we find that the ideologists of democratic socialism in our country sang a similar song to the same music and with the same text, when they came out with the demand: "Socialism? Yes, but ours, democratic, humanistic, with a humane face."

The slogans of sovereignty and of national independence, the glorification of nationalism--all this had only one single goal: to disrupt our friendship with the Soviet Union and other countries of socialism, to trample on the guarantee of our further development and to replace proletarian internationalism by "national socialism" and cosmopolitanism. Nationalism was their strong weapon, and they hoped that with the nationalistic demagoguery they would push into the background or dull the experience of our nations from the recent past. They miscalculated.

Demagoguery cannot be carried out endlessly, because people, after all, do not have such a short memory as to forget the 1930s and the war.

Proletarian internationalism of the Soviet Union manifested itself in World War II and, also, afterwards. This is a fact which cannot be covered up, even by the most blatant demagoguery.

We have learned in practice, after 1945, that proletarian internationalism is an inseparable feature of the international communist movement and of the Marxist-Leninist theory. The so-called national socialism does not exist; the whole of mankind, after all, experienced the "national socialism" of Hitlerite fascism. Scientific socialism cannot be anything else but international. Socialism in national colors is contradictory to scientific socialism and, in the final analysis, serves imperialism. There is no wonder, then, that Brzezinski and other anticommunists are willing to preach such socialism.

Proletarian internationalism acquired--after the birth of the Soviet Union and after 1945, when a socialist community came into being--new important features. This, however, is not to say that the idea of proletarian internationalism has been abandoned. "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" Only a consistent implementation of this line, indeed, is the guarantee of the successful devel-

opment of individual countries and of the entire socialist community. For this reason, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee G. Husak emphasized at the 15th CPCZ Congress: "One of the decisive sources of the successes which we have achieved is our membership in the socialist community. We jointly solve many tasks and problems, share our experiences and thus multiply our forces.... We shall intensify and expand international relations with the fraternal parties and countries. We shall further consolidate our indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union, which is the basis of our state and national freedom and the security and happy life of our society."

10501

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

GDR'S HONECKER, STOPH GREET MPR COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jul 77 p 1 A

[Message from GDR Head of State and Party General Secretary Honecker and GDR Premier Stoph to Mongolian Head of State and Party First Secretary Tsedenbal and Mongolian Premier Batmonh]

[Text] To Comrade Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, first secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the People's Great Rural Presidium of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR].

To Comrade Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers Ulanbataar.

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the people of the GDR as well as on our own behalf we convey to you, the MPRP, the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, the Council of Ministers and the people of the MPR the most cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings on the 56th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian People's Revolution.

Under the immediate influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution whose 60th anniversary we will celebrate this year, the Mongolian people followed the example of the Russian proletariat and in 1921 led the people's revolution to victory.

Evidence of the historical stretch of road veered by the Mongolian people led by its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the MPRP, in close alliance with the party and the country of Lenin as well as with all states of the socialist community, is provided by the important revolutionary changes that have been brought about in the MPR. With diligence and great enthusiasm the MPR working people have scored great achievements in implementing the orienting decisions of the 17th MPRP Congress for the further shaping of the material-technical base of socialism and the constantly better fulfillment of the people's material and cultural needs.

With great satisfaction we note that the traditional fraternal relations and the comradely cooperation between our parties, states and peoples are successfully developing and deepening on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism, on the basis of the unbreakable friendship with the Soviet Union. The course and the good results of the official friendship visit of a MPR party-government delegation to the GDR in May this year are convincing proof of this. The new treaty on friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the MPR opens a qualitatively new phase of our collaboration and will serve to constantly draw our peoples closer together in all sectors of social life, to the benefit and advantage of the entire community of socialist states.

With all our hearts we wish you and the fraternal Mongolian people further successes in building socialism as well as in strengthening peace and security in Asia and in the world. We combine with this our best wishes for good health, energy, and personal well-being.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

GDR'S HONECKER, STOPH GREET AL-BAKR ON IRAQ'S NATIONAL DAY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jul 77 p 1 AU

[GDR state telegram to the Republic of Iraq]

[Text] To the secretary general of the regional leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and President of the Republic of Iraq, Comrade Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, Bagdad.

Esteemed Comrade al-Bakr:

On the occasion of the Republic of Iraq's national holiday we convey to you, the leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, the Government, the Revolutionary Command Council as well as the people of the friendly Republic of Iraq, the most cordial greetings and most sincere congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the people of the GDR, as well as on our own behalf.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our sympathy for and high appreciation of the efforts made by the friendly Iraqi people in the further construction of an independent national economy, and for social progress.

With genuine satisfaction we note that the close friendly relations and the fruitful cooperation have further deepened to the mutual benefit and advantage of our peoples and states.

Our joint endeavors constitute an effective contribution to the rallying of all anti-imperialist forces.

We wish the leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, the state leadership and the people of the Republic of Iraq further successes in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism, for safeguarding the revolutionary achievements and for further social progress.

We wish you, esteemed Comrade Hasan al-Bakr, good health, personal well-being, energy and much success in your responsible office.

[Signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

BERLIN'S QUADRIPARTITE STATUS INTERPRETED

GDR Military Journal's Explanation

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 24, Jun 77 signed to press 13 Jun 77
p 7

[Reply by Prof Dr Alfons Steiniger to Seaman G. Krueger: "Question-
Answer: Four-Power Status?"]

[Text] Seaman G. Krueger would like to know: What is there to Western
assertions that a four-power status also exists as far as the capital of
the GDR is concerned?

Prof Dr Alfons Steiniger replies:

Five years ago, a quadripartite agreement went into effect which confirms unconditionally and without time limit that, as before, the area of occupation of West Berlin is not a component of the FRG and that it will not be ruled by it in the future either. This was a heavy defeat for those NATO circles who had conceived an act of annexation which ran counter to international law in two ways: first, West Berlin was to be incorporated into the FRG and, secondly, by claiming the four-power occupational status which had ceased to exist in 1948 for a "Greater Berlin," this raid was to be extended to the capital of the GDR. This "Greater Berlin" had, however, been smashed by the reactionary forces themselves. On its territory there exist now side by side the area of occupation of West Berlin and the capital of the sovereign German Democratic Republic. The right of occupation over all of Berlin, however, ceased to exist not only because of this but also because, through massive abuse for tens of years, the Western powers of occupation have forfeited their rights outside the Western sectors. In 1948, they illegally transferred the illegal separate currency from the illegally created Trizone to West Berlin. With this illegal currency split, they prepared the split of Berlin, which they then brought about by the illegally promoted transfer of the seat of the Greater Berlin Magistrat to the Western sectors. This destroyed the capital function which, according to the intentions of the Potsdam agreement, had been intended for all of Berlin in a unified antifascist-

democratic Germany. On these intentions of the Potsdam agreement, however, rested certain cooccupational and coadministrative rights of the Western powers in the capital of the then Soviet Zone of Occupation of Germany, which now became null and void.

Logically, the four-power agreement is also only based on four-power responsibility for West Berlin and pertains only to West Berlin. As is known, the USSR left the exercise of rights of occupation in the West Berlin sectors to the three Western powers under conditions which were to be strictly observed. The cultivation of connections between West Berlin and the FRG were permitted provided that all principles and detailed provisions of the agreement were observed (i.e., a strictly limited presence of FRG organs, which must not engage in any constitutional or official actions, however), as well as a strictly limited representation of West Berlin interests abroad, not including questions of security and status. The attempt to adulterate these exactly defined connections by turning them into "ties" violates both the text and the spirit of the agreement. To put the quadripartite agreement, which was such a complicated compromise, to a capacity test means to place normalization in question. In August 1975 in Helsinki, the federal chancellor had no choice but to agree with that statement by Erich Honecker. In stark contrast to this is the "Berlin declaration" issued in London on 9 May of this year by the United States, Great Britain, France and the FRG, which runs counter to international law, is unrealistic and is opposed to detente. But inventions are short-lived. To invent rights of occupation in respect of the capital of the GDR is as provocative as it is illusory and, in the last analysis, does harm to the security in Europe and the permanent inhabitants of West Berlin.

West German Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 Jun 77 p 6

[Article by 'Ws.': "'Raid on the Capital of the GDR'--New Attacks on the Four-Power Status of Berlin"]

[Text] Berlin, 23 June--The GDR has asserted once more that the four-power status of all of Berlin is valid only for West Berlin. "To invent rights of occupation in respect of the capital of the GDR is as provocative as it is illusory and, in the last analysis, does harm to the security in Europe and the permanent inhabitants of West Berlin," writes GDR international law expert Professor Steiniger in the latest issue of the GDR military journal VOLKSARMEE. He does so in reply to a reader's question on what there is to Western assertions that a four-power status also exists for the "capital of the GDR." Once more, Steiniger thus details the Eastern thesis, which denies that there continues to be a four-power status of all of Berlin.

The four-power agreement, according to Steiniger, "confirmed 'unconditionally and without time limit' that, as before, the 'area of occupation of West Berlin' is not a component of the Federal Republic and is not ruled by it. This, he says, was a heavy defeat for those "NATO circles" who had conceived an "act of annexation which ran counter to international law in two ways: first, West Berlin was to be incorporated into the FRG and, secondly, by claiming the four-power occupational status for a 'Greater Berlin,' this raid was to be extended to the capital of the GDR."

This "Greater Berlin" had, however, been smashed by the reactionary forces themselves. On its territory there now existed side by side the "area of occupation of West Berlin" and the capital of the sovereign German Democratic Republic. The right of occupation over all of Berlin had, however, ceased to exist not only because of this but also because, "through massive abuse the tens of years," the Western powers had "themselves forfeited" their rights outside the Western sectors. In 1948, they had illegally transferred the "illegal separate currency" from the "illegally created Trizone" to West Berlin. With this "illegal currency split" they had prepared the split of Berlin, which they had then brought about by the illegally promoted transfer of the seat of the Greater Berlin Magistrat to the Western sectors. This had destroyed the capital function which, according to the intentions of the Potsdam agreement, had been intended for all of Berlin in a unified antifascist-democratic Germany.

"On these intentions of the Potsdam agreement, however, rested certain cooccupational and coadministrative rights of the Western powers in the capital of the then Soviet Zone of Occupation of Germany, which now became null and void," writes Steiniger, twisting the historical facts and, above all, disregarding the London protocol of 12 September 1944 which forms the basis of the four-power status of all of Berlin and precedes the so-called Potsdam agreement (which contains no provisions about the status of Berlin).

Therefore he is also wrong when he concludes further that the four-power agreement is also only based on "four-power responsibility for West Berlin" and pertains only to West Berlin. Again contrary to the historical facts, Steiniger asserts: "As is known, the USSR left the exercise of rights of occupation in the West Berlin sectors to the three Western powers under conditions which were to be strictly observed." The cultivation of connections between West Berlin and the Federal Republic was permitted provided that all principles and detailed provisions of the agreement were observed (among other things, a strictly limited presence of organs of the Federal Republic, which were not permitted to engage in any constitutional or official actions, however), as well as a strictly limited representation of West Berlin interests abroad, not including questions of security and status. The attempt to "adulterate these exactly defined connections by turning them into 'ties'" was a violation of both the text and the spirit of the agreement.

To put the four-power agreement, which was such a complicated compromise, to a capacity test, meant placing normalization in question. In August 1975 in Helsinki, the federal chancellor had agreed with that statement by Honecker. In stark contrast to this was "the Berlin declaration" issued in London on 9 May by the United States, France and the Federal Republic, "which ran counter to international law, was unrealistic and was opposed to detente."

8790

CSO: 2300

COMPLAINTS ABOUT LANGUAGE DEPRECIATION NOTED

'Dissipated Language'

East Berlin SONNTAG in German No 24, 12 Jun 77 p 2

[Letter to editor from Peter Braune, Potsdam, Friedrich-Engels-Strasse: "Wooden Language." For related information see JPRS 66216, 25 November 1975, No 1163 of this series, pp 14-18]

[Text] Esteemed editor: If you should at any time consider discussing the quality of language in your newspaper, it might not be bad idea for you to use as a warning example the introduction to the article by N. Ludwig ("Wooden Russia--Industrial Soviet Union," SONNTAG No 23, 5 Jun 77 p 10). Sure, no academic discipline--including that of literature--can manage without the appropriate vocabulary and terminology. But the style of the preface mentioned is designed to serve as a prime example of "dissipated" language, an academic hodgepodge well suited to deter any layman from reading the subsequent--interesting--article. ("One of the central and traditional artistic objects of contemporary multinational Soviet literature, the main concern of which (...) a realist sociopsychological development of the ethical-moral countenance of the contemporary within the framework of his social and individually personal..., " and so and so forth.)

With individually personal regards.

Unintelligible Abbreviations

Dresden SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG in German 11 May 77 p 2

[Commentary by Rolf Freudenberg: "WKA" (Wir Kuerzen ab, We Abbreviate)]

[Text] WKA--we abbreviate, Modern man has got quite used to the normal abbreviations. The letters WBK are unlikely to suggest "Wanderers Bauchkneipen" [hikers' belly-ache]--people know it means "Wohnungsbaukombinat" [housing construction combine]. They also know HOG stands for "Handel-sorganisations-Gaststaette" [trade organization restaurant], not for "Henne ohne Gedaerm" [hen without guts].

However, we do seem to have a never-ending congress of inventors here, with just one item on the agenda: NAV--"neue Abkuerzungsverfahren" [new abbreviation procedures]. And at the next session of the congress new abbreviations assail us, the standard consumers of German, in full force. Everybody is afraid of asking what they mean because nobody likes to expose himself to the speaker's condescending look, hinting at mini intelligence in the questioner. Therefore let me give you some tips: A ZVK is not a "zeitweilige Vereinskappheit," [temporary shortage of associations], but a "Zentrale Vorbereitungskueche," [central preparatory kitchen]. And an ACUB is not to be understood as an "Allgemeiner Club unternormaler Busen" [general club for subnormal bosoms]; behind this acronym hides the "Agrochemische Untersuchungs-und Beratungsdienst" [agro-chemical investigation and counseling service].

A particularly pregnant abbreviation was presented to the amazed citizens of Dresden on the occasion of the May Day demonstration: "My obligation to the PWT: 2 T h AZE" said one banner, or TE--"Trageelement" [carrying element]. The author by no means intended to assure us that he meant to organize for the next "Posaunen-Wettbewerbs-Tumult 2 Tage mit Hunderten anstrengender ZerreiBproben fuer Erwachsene" [for the next trombone competition tumult 2 days of hundreds of arduous tests for the eardrums of adults]; actually he had accepted as his personal contribution to the "Plan Wissenschaft und Technik" [Plan for Science and Technology], "2,000 Stunden Arbeitszeit einzusparen" [the obligation to save 2,000 working hours]. DMD--no, not "Dringlicher Medizinischer Dienst" [Emergency Medical Service], but: "Da musste draufkommen!" [That had to end badly!]

I cannot wait to see whether someone will at some time offer us a BUFF, a "Buch unserer Fimmelfinessen" [book of our maniac ingeniousness].....

Ah well: BZSVW! And that certainly does not mean: "Bitte zerplatzen Sie vor Wut" [Please bust with fury]. All it means is: "Bis zum selbstverstaendlich voraussehbaren Wiederlesen!" [until the definitely foreseeable next article!] R.F. (not Republique Francaise but Rolf Freudenberg).

Unintelligible Journalese

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 67, 6 Apr 77 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "Newspaper Language in GDR Often Hard To Understand." For related information see JPRS 67880, 8 Sep 76, No 1289 of this series, pp 25-26]

[Text] The intelligibility of the articles published by the GDR press continues to be inadequate. That is asserted in the most recent issue of NEUE DEUTSCHE PRESSE, published by the central executive of the GDR association of journalists. "Unintelligible abbreviations, complicated sentence structures, technical terms not intelligible for everybody" make it more difficult "to absorb the ideas which the journalists wish to convey." NEUE DEUTSCHE PRESSE emphasizes that the use of foreign words represents a "special problem."

The extent of general intelligibility of the foreign words used so lavishly must be "appraised as relatively low." Studies have shown that 15 percent of the foreign technical terms and 75 percent of foreign words without technical connotation could easily be replaced by intelligible German synonyms which, in addition, were often more expressive. In this connection NEUE DEUTSCHE PRESSE objects in particular to so-called fashionable foreign terms "which are neither appropriate, nor accurate, nor generally intelligible, which are meant to sound original but in fact make the article hard to understand and merely inflate it." The relevance and persuasive force of many journalistic contributions could well be increased by restraint in the use of unnecessary foreign words, more attention to the intelligibility of the foreign words and an end to making the readers absorption of ideas more difficult.

11698

CSO: 2300

RESEARCH DEVELOPMENTS IN MARXIST LINGUISTICS

New Study Center

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 108/109, 8-9 Jun 77 'IWE-KULTUR' supplement, p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Scientific Center for Speech Theory Established in Leipzig." For related information see JPRS 68736, 7 Mar 77, No 1361 of this series, pp 13-20, and JPRS 64957, 10 Jun 75, No 1090 of this series, pp 42-53]

[Text] A "Leipzig linguist group" has been established at Leipzig University. It is going to be the function of this body to pull together the great potential of the Leipzig linguists, transcending departments and institutes, in order to set up a scientific center for Marxist speech theory. Thirty-five scientists are cooperating in the linguist group; the departments of Marxism-Leninism, foreign languages, African and Near East Studies, and journalism are represented. The investigations are mainly concerned with relations between language and society, language and thought, as well as language and scientific-technological progress.

Linguistic Changes in Socialism

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 97, 23 May 77 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "'Perceptibly Changed' Language in the GDR"]

[Text] Language in the GDR has "perceptibly changed in the course of the building of socialism." According to the East Berlin NEUE DEUTSCHE PRESSE this applies, for example, to the use of language. In the GDR the criterion for cultural language is not the hazy concept of "good German." Instead it matters "whether a relevant, memorable and party-like style has been found, which responds to the respective communicative situation."

At the same time the influence and example of the working class is rising along with the historic fulfillment of its mission. That is demonstrated by many new composites.

The first four volumes of the "Woerterbuch der Deutschen Gegenwartssprache" [Dictionary of Contemporary German] alone include more than 600 neologisms originating in the GDR. Statistics show that the most frequent composites are formed with the words plan, enterprise, pioneer and culture; the first two clearly indicate the sphere of production.

11698
CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

EXPERIENCE GAINED FROM PARTY MEMBERSHIP CARD EXCHANGE EVALUATED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 7, Jul 77 pp 8-19

[Article by Sandor Borbely: "In All Areas of Party Life We Make Good Use of Experiences Gained From Party Membership Card Exchange"]

[Text] In October 1975, the Central Committee undertook to implement the decision of the Eleventh Congress on the party membership card exchange. We can report to the Central Committee that, according to the decision, the card exchange has been carried out. After the carefully planned and implemented preparatory work, new party membership cards were issued in all the basic organizations of the party. The guiding party organs have analyzed in detail all the lessons and experiences which must be made use of in further work.

The card exchange was carried out in accordance with the decision of the Eleventh Congress and the guidelines of the Central Committee. The order of party life embodied in the organizational rules were completely realized in this work. Nowhere was the authority of party organs or party organizations violated. The rights of the party members were respected everywhere.

The entire process of the exchange helped the party organizations and members participate with greater readiness in implementing the Eleventh Congress decisions. This was the basic function of the task, for the growing requirements of building a developed socialist society is levying increasingly greater demands on the party and individual members. It has become the natural order of our life that in the vanguard of social progress — wherever we struggle with the most difficult tasks — the communists not only show the way but by their personal conduct give an example to their colleagues in the struggle. They show with their deeds how one may rationally live and work for inspiring goals and the community.

A particularly important method of this political educational work was the conversations conducted with the party members. The experiences clearly show that of the entire work process the most lasting impression on party members is exercised by this free, open and comradely exchange of ideas. On this occasion, too, we spoke of problems which we discussed on other occasions: the party's policy and its practical implementation, the fulfillment of

personal obligations by party members, and our other tasks. There are two reasons why these most recent talks turned into such memorable experiences. It became evident that it is by no means an incidental circumstance that every party member in his own basic organization conferred with his colleagues on the same side of the table. These were not special committees that "summoned" the party members, and these were not judgments that were delivered to them. These were exchanges of ideas among people who belong to one another, and have identical commitments. Now we can evaluate as particularly important and proper the requirement which obligates every basic organization to hold discussions with all party members, and not even leading party members can be excepted from this rule. This measure realized the principle, in practice, that party members should have equal rights and obligations.

It was this mode of conducting the discussions which enhanced respect for the basic organizations among the party members, as well as among the leaders of other organs. The talks were also useful because they afforded the opportunity to clarify many previous misunderstandings and prejudices and gave those affected a way mutually to end their old, accumulated problems.

All this could proceed in this way because the communists conducted their exchanges among one another in a comradely atmosphere and manner. The members who exchanged views with them were guided by a frank and helpful intent. Mutually, they sought for the best way to act in the future in solving common problems. There were also words about the party members' personal problems and individual cares.

It is necessary to speak separately of this motive for the comradely exchange of ideas because we are inclined, as we are stimulated by the tempo of a fast-moving life and engaged in struggling with cares and tasks, to forget about one another, and our relations with one another turn into work relations. We see before us figures, facts, tons, products and economic problems, and we forget that behind the statistics there are people who feel, live and are troubled by cares. Now, however, we paused for a moment and tried to extend one another a helping hand in a comradely and human way. In truth, the majority want this kind of attitude, or its continuation, and the draft resolution comprises their views on the possibilities for its solution. We ask the Central Committee to accept this recommendation of ours.

The experiences gained from these discussions, the opinions and recommendations of the party members have already been weighed by many forums. Membership meetings have summarized and evaluated the discussions, which were also qualified by the guiding party committees. This was a difficult task requiring very responsible work, because the things that were said in the discussions reflected the many layers and richness of our whole life.

The party members spoke realistically and moderately of our economic-political situation, the party's policies and its realization. Their views were characterized by a critical and self-critical and factual approach. They did not speak in generalities or as outsiders; they also analyzed their own responsibilities in speaking of their concerns. Their attention was bound by their own

duties and local problems. First of all, they sought answers to how they themselves could best participate in realizing the policy they judged correct, and they asked for help from their colleagues to this end. A view which incorrectly reflected the actual problem and could be judged one-sided because of the lack of well-founded information or other reasons was a rare exception. Such mistaken evaluations of the situation were clarified in the basic organizations or party committees for the most part during the discussions, or subsequently, but before the distribution of the new cards.

We must also speak of those views and recommendations which the Budapest and Megye party committees, for jurisdictional reasons, passed on to the Central Committee when the solutions exceeded their competence. The Political Committee did not judge or qualify these cases; they were received by the members of the Central Committee in summary form under cover letter without essential modification. It was the opinion of the Political Committee that these recommendations and views presented a basically true picture of the mood of the party membership. This is not contradicted by the fact the subjective opinions of the mediating organs adhere to and are reflected in them — we accept this as a natural thing. This summary, in fact, helps in a realistic judgment of the results and effects of the card exchange and a better understanding of the thinking among the party membership.

The great majority of the opinions and recommendations forwarded to the Central Committee — even though they do not contain precise facts in every detail, or solutions which can be judged as completely correct — reveal real problems, and these observations must be used in the further work of the appropriate party or state organs.

I must also speak separately of several problem clusters.

These include views which urge more consistent carrying out of decisions, the intensification of controls, and a broader application of accountability than heretofore. Various concerns are intertwined in a view like this. Above all, a frank concern for policies that have proved successfully is evident — that is, a good intention to help. Also expressed therein is that the solution of socio-political problems which have come to a head and are already on the agenda is made more difficult by personal conditions. It is a general demand of the party membership that we should advance more rapidly and purposefully, and we experience a broad effort at an effective and precise implementation of our decisions. As far as this portion of the opinions is concerned, we can only agree with them, for indeed an improved and more rapid implementation is a basic requirement.

But we can also perceive in these opinions a certain misunderstanding, or imprecise knowledge. The successful implementation of decisions is not always a function of our will; the development of circumstances is more determining in this respect. Obviously, if exact realization of our plans and the speed of realization depend on the understanding and will of the leadership, we would easily overcome the difficulties in most cases. But unforeseen circumstances

may arise external to ourselves which may strongly influence, or even hinder, the carrying out of some of our decisions. In case of a delayed result, therefore, we cannot call exclusively on accountability, independent of circumstances. It may be that no accountability, absolution or penalty will help in problems that rise unexpectedly, for the difficulties will remain. In evaluating the carrying out of decisions, this attitudinal concept must be strengthened among leaders and members.

But when in making a judgment, we emphasize the need to consider circumstances, we must also reply to views — as found in the aforementioned case — regarding the responsibility of leaders. We do not believe that we err in thinking that when some of them urge the most strict and consistent accountability, they are speaking of the problems of their leaders. This, however, belongs to an entirely different cluster of problems, which touches on party control, discipline, and cadre work alike. Basically, it touches on the party's leading role since it is an important condition for the consistent realization of our policies that in the guiding positions appropriate cadres should be engaged in every respect to the requirements for building a developed socialist society. We mean such people who never forget that they arrived in their leading positions as representatives of the working class, of the working people, and of the interests of society.

One important lesson of the discussions with party members is that difficulties arise at leading posts when the requirement of one of the basic principles of cadre policy generally recognized as correct is deemphasized. Those who expressed views urging controls are fully right in saying that performance alone can be the actual standard for leadership evaluation: who successfully solves, and how, his tasks, and how the area under his supervision is developing. It is undeniable, to be sure, that for the most part achievements and failures, errors, and successes and defeats — at least over the long run — are nowhere independent of the leadership, and its level. It derives from this that the party must constantly keep strengthening its control and assistance activity. When we speak of party control, we must put it very exactly. This manifold activity signifies in reality a conscious, planned and consistent control. When we fulfill such obligations of ours, it is not a manifestation of lack of confidence in our leaders but the realization in cadre work of one of the basic elements in the Leninist work style.

It is natural that the party membership should demand that we consciously develop and further strengthen the democratic features of cadre work. Leadership activity is nowhere a behind-the-scenes job independent of others. Those who realize orders and measures are the workers themselves. Therefore, there is nothing to justify that the evaluation of the leaders' activities should occur independently of the workers' views. Our experiences show that the solidity of our decisions is strengthened when we ask views from a broad circle of people in weighing leaders' activities.

Naturally, like in all our work, we emphasize assistance in party control as well. We must help the leaders at all places of work with training, information, education, and the creation of an atmosphere necessary for constructive

work so that they may in fact work successfully to satisfy the constantly increasing requirements levied on them. It is a basic obligation of party organizations that by casting their authority into the scales they should extend the fullest possible political and moral support to the leaders who are working toward correct goals with good methods, taking bold initiatives with a sense of responsibility, and maintaining order and discipline; and they should defend them against unfounded attacks and slanders.

We must also face up to the fact that there are leaders who despite every intention to help are unable to do their work according to requirements. In such cases, we are forced to draw personal conclusions, for delaying the solutions will cause not only material but also moral and political damage. Looking about with circumspection and properly evaluating previously performed work and services, we should find work for such comrades of ours in areas which represent both politically and morally a just and human solution. Naturally, in such cases, too, the interests of society come first.

We face problems of an entirely different nature in the case of those who manage the property of the working people irresponsibly, or mistake the power, the interests of socialism for their own interests. In such cases, the demand is really just that without respect for office or position we realize the full strictness of party discipline, namely accountability. If the above-mentioned views urge accountability in this sense, we are in full agreement!

All megye party committees unanimously forwarded to the Central Committee the request of the party membership for an improvement in information. Our party membership was always happy when before deciding some more important problem we asked for their views and recommendations, and then gave precise information after the decision. We must continue this practice in the future, in fact develop it. It was our experience, however, that frequently it was not lack of being informed from the center that disturbed the membership but rather a lack of local information.

Regarding the essence of the matter, in forming long-range goals the views of the party membership should be known — as this is proper — in accordance with previous practice before the decision is made. But it is an excessive and unsatisfiable demand that we do this in the case of all our decisions. We cannot accept doing this because it would slow down the undertaking process even where rapid, operative decisions are needed. Everyday experiences frequently face us with the solution of unexpected and urgent tasks. We are convinced that in such matters, in operative decisions made in partial problems, the party membership will not be surprised when it knows the lines of our policies and the most important resolutions. With the knowledge of the main policy lines, every party member can orient himself with assurance and influence the attitudes in his surroundings in a proper direction. It is essential that in the future we make sure our entire membership is thoroughly familiar with the essence of our policies and the main lines of direction.

In the approximately 2 years required for the card exchange, it was shown that there was full agreement among the membership with the decision of the

Eleventh Congress which clearly stated that the constant strengthening of the party's leading role is our basic obligation. Our party is successfully realizing its leading role in the building of socialism in all areas of society, and faithful to its historical calling. Our policies have not only found understanding among our people — as shown also in the discussions — but also active support because they faithfully express the goals of the working class and the basic interests of all society. We may rightfully say that the leading role of the MSZMP is built on mutual confidence between party and people, and it is being realized on this basis. The party interprets all its activities as a service to the people, because it well knows that it can realize the historical goals of the working class welded together with the working classes, and with the people.

The discussions have convinced us once more that our party can continue to guide and operate successfully on the basis of its policy which has proved successful for 2 decades and is constantly being enhanced. In all areas of state and social life the communists who work there represent and bring to realization the party's policies and resolutions. In social dimensions, on the other hand, it guides the building of a developed socialist society by convincing and mobilizing the masses.

Strengthening of the party's leading role is of necessity accompanied by the deeper scientific basis of its policy. Our work thus far and all the lessons of our entire life indicate to us the increasingly determining importance of a basic examination of the interrelationship, the theoretical generalization of experiences, and the successful use of the achievements of social science. Hence the party must always recognize in time the new problems of society's development so that it might provide, without delay, scientifically based answers.

The Budapest and all the megye party committees agree that the exchange of membership cards — in accordance with the endeavors of the Central Committee — should further strengthen party unity. We well know that one of the most important basic conditions of all our activity — our unity — must be forged anew daily. The party's basic organizations have proved to be good workshops to this end. It is of great importance that the whole membership has clearly proclaimed its agreement with the party's policy, with the resolutions of the Eleventh Congress. Opinions contradictory thereto were not voiced. Even among those who left the party, there were only a few who did not agree with us in political problems.

Party unity was strengthened by the fact that all the party organizations consciously strove for a more basic familiarity and understanding of Congress resolutions. In this way, a more unified outlook was formed in important practical questions of building socialism where previously no identity of concepts prevailed even among the leaders.

This does not at all mean that in certain partial questions we cannot perceive differences of view among party members. But it would be wrong to dramatize this, for we well know that the party members, although they identify with the party goals and main efforts, are never independent of their

social surroundings and of the characteristic interests and attitudes of their class and social group. The human attribute that for the most part everyone passes judgment on basis of his own experiences and generalizes on that basis is also true of party members. Obviously, positions that are born in this way do not always coincide with reality. It would be wrong to overestimate this phenomenon, but it cannot be left out of account.

The Budapest Party Committee and all megye party committees arrived at the same conclusions in analyzing the lessons and judging the party's internal situation. According to these, democratic relations exist in the party, collective leadership is being realized, and the democracy within the party meets the requirements of organizational rule. The party membership not only evaluates this fact adequately but also regards it as its common and at the same time personal affair — it protects, defends and strives to strengthen it.

This phenomenon is also worthy of note because among our political goals the further development of socialist — including factory and workshop — democracy is particularly important. Democratic centralism is one of the basic conditions of the party's successful operation, and at the same time it is the basis of public life and workshop democracy as well. Socialist democracy can be realized only if the democratic outlook is realized in party life, in all its activities, according to the Leninist principles, and relations corresponding thereto prevail. The truth of this is supported by all the experiences gained in the entire process of the membership card exchange. It is true that the card exchange was an internal event in party life, and still its effects also radiated into public opinion. The manner in which the party members exchanged ideas freely and openly, held discussions, had a favorable effect also on our environment. It strengthened the general democratic atmosphere and accelerated the general development of socialist democracy.

In weighing the lessons, our opinion is that for the enhancement of party democracy there is no need for a new framework and new organizational forms. The party's organizational rules — like the facts of the past period — completely assure the realization of democracy within the party. Our task is to keep it respected, always and everywhere observe the prescriptions of organizational rules.

Every possibility is given for a party member to state his view on any problem; and forums are also provided for democratic discussions. From the party members' opinions, however, we can draw the lesson that we should strive more to use existing possibilities and forms.

We think that in this connection we must speak about the importance of discussions within the party. We agree with the united demand of the party membership that we should guard and stimulate that democratic spirit of discussion which prevails today in the party. In judging the discussions, however, misunderstandings also arise. It is rational that various questions need to be subjected to discussion when the conflict of views can lead to a clarification of outlook and help in finding the correct solution. Let us start and encourage such valuable debates in the future as well. But it is our obligation to

oppose debate for its own sake, because such practice is alien to the party and causes damage.

It is unworthy of the party to have our debates burdened with charges of suspicion. We must ban this spirit from the party and our entire public life. It restrains open speech and a frank expression of opinion when one must fear that if he reveals his inner struggles, reservations, or counter-recommendations avowed with good will he will be accused of pursuing some kind of hidden purpose.

A basic condition of the atmosphere that reflects a democratic spirit of discussion is for the appropriate party organs carefully to collect and evaluate the opinions that were voiced and reply in a timely and worthy way to every recommendation. It is only in this way that the party members will feel it makes demonstrated sense for them to concern themselves responsibly with public problems, and feel thereby that their voice has an importance in the party.

We must change our bad habit of debating even when we should already be doing. I repeat that according to the written order within the organizational rules any party member may express an opinion freely about any problem at an appropriate forum — this is a right that belongs to every party member. It must be noted, however, that when the debate is concluded and a common position has been born, the party member must represent and implement the common decision and the position of the majority in a disciplined way. No one is excepted from this obligation. Every party member must know that he is responsible to the party for every action and his whole behavior.

On basis of the party committees' analyses, the Central Committee is informed that the party membership recognized our federation policies as one of the most important conditions of our successes thus far. The demand is general: let us continue, let us realize more purposefully this policy which has succeeded so well. A favorable possibility is created for this endeavor by the fact that our nation-building goals adopted at the Eleventh Congress have already become a national program. This circumstance offers us the opportunity further to widen and strengthen the socialist national unity of the people. Amid the realization of our goals, all the working strata of society find their sphere of respected work where they may express their constructive activity, and personal interests, too, may be realized parallel with common interests.

The opinion of the party membership is also unanimous in expressing that the condition for more successful realization of the federation policy is the strengthening of the party's leading role in social outlook and everyday practice. Let us solidify, with constant faithfulness to principle, the basis of the people's power, the worker-peasant federation, and resolutely oppose all such views and practices which would unsettle it.

As a result of our federation policy, we can further strengthen the party's relations to the masses by making good use of possibilities. In this way,

opportunity will arise to enhance the mutual confidence between party and people and continue open and frank discussions, which have already become traditional.

The most important lessons from the opinions voiced about party guidance of mass organizations also belong to these tasks. The party membership agrees that the mass organizations and movements in Hungary have found their role in socialist economic and cultural building work. Their responsibility has grown considerably in the past period and conformably can be expected to grow stronger in the future. Their activities perform a useful service to the building of socialism, the socialist intellectual education of their membership, and the representation of their interests. Their role is particularly important in strengthening relations between party and people.

The analyses clearly confirm that the system of party guidance for the mass organizations since the defeat of the counter-revolution has been correct. The practice is that the party does not make decisions for the mass organizations; decisions are exclusively binding on party members active therein. Their task is to represent, make known and by way of persuasion make acceptable the party's policy, and in this way assure the realization of correct endeavors in the activities of the mass organizations and movements. This is not only an unchanging demand, but a requirement on the working members of the organizations.

The party leaders correctly recognized that it is not enough merely to make demands on party members working in the mass organizations. They must stand beside them and help them in carrying out important tasks. Above all, we must take care to supply them regularly with information so that they will in a timely way know and understand the party's policies and decisions. The appropriate party leaders should hold regular discussions with the communists working in the mass organizations, weigh their experiences, and take their recommendations into consideration. This practice is a useful contribution to strengthening the role of party leaders.

It is necessary to speak now of these problems with greater emphasis because through the exchange of ideas conducted with the party members the basic organizations devoted great attention to evaluating party assignments. Reviewable and accountable tasks are now given with greater care to party members. At present, 85 percent of the party membership has controllable assignments. This may be regarded as a very important achievement.

With the card membership exchange, 2.7 percent of the membership left the party by way of resignation or dismissal. These are people who, frequently for completely varying reasons, have proved unsuitable for party membership. This percentage is not too high. In every case, the basic organizations and party organs proceeded according to the provisions of organizational rules.

But the picture is by no means favorable if we study the social composition of those who left the party. Despite all our efforts, the fact remains that

two-thirds of those who left the party are manual workers. We were afraid of this, and thus our earlier concerns were not groundless. It is food for thought, in particular, when we consider that some of them struggled beside us for decades, and in fact in many cases we had to part with members who joined the party in 1945. We are speaking of the fate of human beings and thus we cannot classify the emotional and rational motives according to formulas. The truth is that we need to examine each one of these cases, particularly of the pensioners, separately and microscopically if in fact we are to present a faithful picture of the lessons; we have to face the fact that not everyone can meet over a whole lifetime the high requirements levied on party members to live by strict standards, work and bear our common burdens. Having recognized this, there is also a warning lesson here that we should not pass responsibility to others; it is our responsibility substantially to improve political educational work and always provide time and energy to concern ourselves in a human way with our comrades.

Some of them, although not great in ratio, joined the party recently. This, too offers an essential lesson: we cannot judge with full certainty in advance whether those who have been accepted into the party will redeem the hopes placed in them and actually become suitable party members. It may happen in the future, too, that a candidate for party membership will err in his own judgment of himself, and may happen that the party organization will err in its judgment of the applicant. Thus we cannot completely exclude this possibility in the future either, but experiences warn us consciously to improve our work in membership approval.

It appears from statistics that the party composition corresponds to social ratios, to political requirements, and is developing in a healthy manner toward a good direction. According to experiences gained recently at the Warsaw international discussions, this subject is also occupying the attention of our sister parties in other socialist countries. It is reassuring that our development in this respect is like theirs.

According to our experiences, the composition of party membership significantly influences the character of the policies and the consistency of its realization. The changes which have taken place in Hungary in social and economic relations are also reflected in party personnel and social composition. The social basis has widened from which the party can recruit. Parallel with radical transformation in social relations, the class limits for selection party membership have ended. The close relationship of party and masses and our federation policies have exercised great attraction for strata that are sympathetic and surround the party, and smooth the road for workers who are still not party members. The developing ideological condition of our society also creates a favorable situation for their approach to us. As a consequence of the favorable effect of objective social changes, the ideological awareness of conditions for selection are also being constantly improved. And yet, we must determine the number of party members in such a way that the boundaries between the vanguard and the working masses shall not be washed away. Besides many other important factors, this also depends on the quality of our membership acceptance work.

Therefore, we shall continue to emphasize not a mass increase in numbers but quality requirements on the basis of manifold, basic and individual judgments.

A decent performance of work and average fulfillment of a citizen's obligations are not enough for party membership. Those who wish to join the party must show their willingness and capability to afford an example — to live and work in a socialist way. It is not enough that a member-to-be agree merely in great generalities with the party's policies. He must understand them in detail, spread them, defend them and consistently work for their implementation. We levy a high world outlook and moral requirement on candidates for party membership.

From all this we cannot arrive at the conclusion that we accept only ready-made, mature communists into the party. Such people can join us who have started out and are moving ahead on this road.

We must continue consistently to realize our basic political principle that excepting party functions, nonmembers may fill all positions if they are otherwise suitable. In this way, too, we defend the party against incidental, careerist elements.

In summarizing the experiences and lessons of the membership card exchange, we may state that it is a particularly important element of party-building work that we continue to prepare our new comrades for party membership in a more organized and conscious way.

In this manifold and complex task, particularly important duties fall on the older communists and the mass organizations, above all the Communist Youth Federation. The very best from all classes and layers have a place in the ranks of the party. However, it follows from the class nature of the party that the ratio of workers therein is not a matter of indifference. We must consistently realize the resolution of the Eleventh Congress that the main basis of membership acceptance are the large plants and that workers and cooperative peasants enter our ranks in their national majority. Good membership acceptance work must also provide assurance that the party will continue to be the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, which consistently represents the interests of all our working people.

We also received some recommendations which not only differed in their character from the others, but in our opinion were partly unacceptable, or there is no possibility for their fulfillment. A closer study of these may help us make better use of the card exchange experiences.

The Budapest and two megye party committees forwarded the view that "the moral and material respect shown to the elected bodies in the party is very modest." The recommendation is that this situation should be changed. In this form, we cannot agree with the statement, for the fact is that when someone moves into an elected position, this expresses moral respect beyond the trust itself. The whole course of life is a decision like this, a worthy

recognition of a whole series of struggles. How can we call this modest moral respect? As for the material remuneration of elected office holders, all such practice would be contrary to the basic concept of our party. We cannot forget that we are speaking of social-type activity, of a party commission, and if we were to "express our appreciation" with some kind of wage, we would actually destroy the moral rank of the offices.

It is another matter if we speak of recognition for work performed by elected officials, of respect for their demonstrated performance. Moral recognition cannot adhere exclusively to the membership body, to the function, but can only be addressed to successful work. And these two do by no means always coincide. We agree with the intention latent in the recommendation; all the comrades who are active in elected bodies, meet their commitments honorably, work for the public in a self-sacrificing way should always feel that they are surrounded by honor and respect. Therefore, those party organs and organizations can do the very most in which there are such people working.

If the comrades who made the recommendation were thinking of awarding distinction, we can only say there is no dispute with us. Every possibility is given for such moral recognition of party work that is well done, and the Political Committee, in its stated position, has already drawn attention to initiatives for awarding distinctions.

All megye party committees forwarded to us recommendations which urge showing greater institutional attention for our comrades who have been party members since 1945. We are aware and know that this thought has risen time and again in our party — mainly among those affected. The motive is obvious: it is well known that our party grants differentiated respect to its old members, primarily those comrades who began and undertook the struggle to realize our principles before the liberation. We have, in fact, thought of these comrades institutionally, too, in this respect. But we cannot do this for our comrades who became members during the time of liberation. We are aware and know that they did not have an easy lot who joined the party directly after the liberation and that they fought in the vanguard for the victory of the proletarian dictatorship under difficult circumstances in order that the hopes of every honorable working man could be realized. We recall their struggles with respect, and this is how we view them. In no way do we want to offend them with a view that work conducted after the liberation under legal circumstances is not comparable with illegal struggles by the preliberation party membership. If we accepted the recommendation, privileged distinction would be given to about 10 percent of the party membership, not rarely without justification.

But it is our obligation to give distinction to those who took part in creating the popular democratic system during the time of liberation and to draw more closely into party and social work members with great experiences. We fully agree that our party organizations should concern themselves with worthy political and moral respect, the solution of the personal problems of the comrades who joined the party after the liberation in 1944-1945.

With the agreement of the Budapest and Gyor megye party committees, we were informed that a number of the intellectuals and salaried people spoke of their

being discriminated against. Since we found similar views elsewhere, it is necessary that we speak of this matter separately. There are in various areas of life situations which foster, with cause, such unfavorable impressions. It also happens that responsible party organs may make it more difficult for mature and suitable intellectual workers and salaried people to enter the party for statistical reasons. We consistently oppose such phenomena.

But this is not the characteristic situation. The facts show that in our society the intellectuals — from production work to public life — receive adequate recognition everywhere and possibilities for constructive work. It is the party's conviction — and it proclaims this openly — that the number, role and importance of the intelligentsia, as well as the weight of intellectual work, increases in direct proportion with the advance of socialist building. Naturally, this cannot put into doubt the leading role of the working class. Statistical data and the facts of life convincingly show that the importance of the intelligentsia has been given adequate representation at every level of party, state and economic life.

Nor are the unfavorable generalizations justified by the data on school admissions. These show that those with an intelligentsia background are not discriminated against among those who acquire upper-level education. It is another matter, however, that we institutionally assure possibilities for the workers, among other things, in acceptance into the party, in housing, and continuation training. This is how we strive to level the existing disadvantages. The intelligentsia, too, must understand our effort without in any way regarding it as discrimination against itself.

In conclusion, let us say a word about party work style. One of the most important lessons of the exchange of membership cards was that the party members value highly the party's work style and methods. Nowhere did they demand that we change the work style in any basic element. On the contrary, they guard and defend the work style that has developed and proved successful since the defeat of the counter-revolution, and they strive to protect and develop it. The membership's demand may be summarized as follows: let us proceed on this road, let us make use of and enrich further our work style and methods.

Among these thoughts belongs the view of party members that there are no problems, and there can be none, about which we cannot speak openly with our fellow fighters outside the party. This frankness is the cardinal point of mutual confidence. We must not forget for one moment that our economic efforts are not goals in themselves, that our plans serve the happiness of the builders of a socialist society and human fulfillment. The goal of all our efforts is to establish the foundations of our people's well-being and a secure life.

It has proved true that every phenomena which is alien to the party's work style causes damages, or distorts its basic features. We can encounter such efforts, and therefore it is in our political interest to oppose them resolutely; for example, when on seeing our successes and progress we perceive dangerous signs of self-satisfaction in the attitude and mode of thinking of

certain leaders who ascribe the achievements to their personal accounts and forget that these were attained, are attained, with the devoted, constructive and frequently self-sacrificing efforts of the working masses.

This outlook is reflected in practice when the leader's one argument in his excessive self-assurance spring from a position of power, his sense of infallibility. The true wisdom, however, can be embodied only in collective thinking. Therefore, the above-mentioned leaders would be wiser if they engaged in observance of their environment and put their own activities, opinions and attitudes under a microscope as they do with others and with their subordinates. It is certain that their faith in their infallibility will be shaken, and they will act in a way worthy of man. Understanding for the cares of others will awaken in them after the word of command. Those who live and work this way will certainly gain the respect of those struggling beside them, and they will be honored not only as the local representatives of power but as men. A leader and communist cannot attain to a greater joy.

In striking the balance for almost 2 years of work in carrying out the membership card exchange, we can state that the efforts have been realized. The work which was conducted amid great political activity strengthened the party. It also provided a way for the leading organs to review the party's situation in a way that is faithful to reality. The evaluation shows that the party lives, works and healthily develops in a definite way through organizational rules. After the exchange of membership cards the party is all the more suited for performing the tasks that face it, and capable of organizing and leading the building of developed socialism.

The exchange of membership cards — which was the most important event in recent years in the party's internal life — was a great and successful work. In a difficult and complicated period of socialist building, the party fulfilled its task. Amid these important internal events of party life, the membership performed in an exemplary way in realizing the tasks resolved on by the Eleventh Congress. We succeeded, therefore, in averting the danger of turning inward.

The successful implementation of the task can be ascribed, above all, to the self-sacrificing, successful work of tens of thousands of activists. Let us recommend that the Central Committee express its recognition to all those party members who successfully carried out the Central Committee's resolution.

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HUNGARY

FUTURE DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIAL CHANGES DISCUSSED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Jul 77 pp 4-5

[Interview with Egon Szabady, deputy chief of the Central Statistical Office, by Denes Kovacs; date and place not given]

[Text] The anticipated composition of Hungarian society at the turn of the millenium interests not only research workers and practical speciaialists but also our public opinion. We discussed this with Egon Szabady, the deputy chief of the KSH [Central Statistical Office], a doctor of demographic sciences, and the chairman of the MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences] demographic committee.

[Question] Less than a quarter of a century separates us from the turn of the millenium. Children born now will be only 23 years old then, and it may be hoped that many middle-aged persons living today will still be alive. Let us discuss how the population will change in numbers, what will be the age composition of the Hungarian population in the year 2,000 A.D. Will the "aging" of the population continue?

[Answer] The forecasts indicate that the country's population, including the ratios of the main age groups will be only moderately altered by the end of the millenium. It is expected that the population will increase by 3 percent, and by the year 2,000 it will grow from the present 10.6 million to near 11 million. However, if the three-child family becomes the general family type instead of the present two-child family and life expectancy increases, the population will rise above 11 million. The bulk of the increase will be in the older age groups: the number of those above 60 years of age will be about 2 million 50 thousand, 160,000-170,000 more than in 1977. In addition, it may be assumed that the number of middle-aged persons will increase, the most significant increase to be expected in the 45-49 year age groups since the large generations born in the first half of the 1950's will reach this time of life at the turn of the millenium.

In the younger age groups, 14-39 years of age — to the extent the two-child family remains general — we can count on a decline of almost 200,000 persons, including stagnation in certain age categories. Finally, it is expected that those under 14 years of age will decline by 100,000 persons.

These demographic processes in the age composition of Hungarian society will be accompanied, necessarily, by small shifts of ratio, as for example, the ratio of those over 60 years will rise from the present 18 percent to 19 percent, while those under 14 years of age will decline from 20 percent to 18 percent. The ratio of the older age groups in our society will, therefore, be somewhat larger at the turn of the millenium than at the present. In this sense, "aging" will continue to the turn of the millenium, although not extensively. In this connection, it must be emphasized that the increase in the ratio of the older persons is already a general phenomenon in the developed countries, and in the developing countries the process began recently, which — among other things — is the result of an increase in the average life span expectancy.

[Question] The low birth rate, particularly in the past decade, has led to pessimistic forecasts. There were some who feared of the "extinction" of the nation. Or has the increase in the birth rate in recent years changed the earlier trends? How will the birth rate develop in the next 2 decades?

[Answer] It is true that in the 1960's the birth rate in Hungary was very low. The statistical analyses had already then drawn attention to the fact that live births were insufficient for the simple replacement of the population. But this did not justify the extreme pessimism voiced in places. An unfavorable trend in the live birth ratio for a number of years, or even a decade, will not bring up, even in the worst case, the danger of "extinction" for a nation. However, it was obvious to the experts that after a certain period of time the low live birth rate would become a retarding factor in development. The decline in births will, to be sure, narrow manpower replacement and thereby favorably influence economic and social development.

The population increase measures undertaken to change the unfavorable trends resulted in significant improvement, while the number of births had increased even before this after the introduction of child-care assistance. The increase in births — beginning in 1974 — is, however, mostly the result of the comprehensive population increase policy measures. This was also contributed to by the fact it was in these years that those women gave birth in the largest ratio who belong to the large 1950 generations. As smaller generations arrive at the child-bearing age, the number of births thereafter may decline if the number of children per family does not rise. In the second half of the 1980's we can expect 140,000 live births annually, or more, if there is a significant increase in the number — and ratio — of families with three or more children. From the expected age composition of the female population, a new wave of births will develop in the 1990's which will last until the end of the millenium.

With new population increase policy measures, the declining trend in the number of births can be favorably influenced. This would also be justified because there would be an end to the large numerical fluctuations among succeeding age groups which, among other things, caused difficulties in manpower replacement and education.

[Question] The radical transformation of the structure of our society has been one of the most characteristic features of the 30 years since the liberation. Hundreds of thousands and even millions passed into different social classes and layers; the working class increased, primarily from among the peasantry; the cooperative peasantry came into being, and a new people's intelligentsia began its work. In recent years these social processes have slowed down. How will this process of relayering proceed until the turn of the millenium?

[Answer] The creation of new political conditions following the liberation and the socio-economic transformation closely related thereto caused a profound change in the structure of our society that is without example in our history. All this occurred in a very brief time, and lasted essentially until the early 1960's.

A study which shows that almost one-fourth of active earners 18 years of age or older, more than 1 million persons, changed their social layer during the course of their life; this is an expressive picture of the process of transforming the social structure, of the dimensions of the mobility and relayering. A large-scale largely upward-moving relayering took place which was made necessary by economic development and possible by the cultural revolution. In recent years, this process has slowed to an extent. This is caused, among other things, by the fact that the basic social motions related to the transformation of the social system have come to an end. This indicates that with the laying of the foundations of socialism the most essential socio-economic transformation has already taken place.

The transformation of our economy's structure, which came on the agenda recently, requires that the relayering continue into the future. According to long-range forecasts, the number of active earners in agriculture, parallel with technical development, will decline by 300,000 - 400,000 persons by the end of the millenium, while an increase of 600,000 - 700,000 persons can be expected in the other branches of the economy. The development trend, however, will differ from the earlier one, and it may be expected that the trend experienced since the early 1970's will continue, that is, personnel increase will be evident not in the producer branches but primarily in the manpower-intensive and infrastructural service branches. In addition, we can expect in industry, agriculture and elsewhere — in harmony with our technical-technological development — an increase in the number and ratio of skilled physical workers and intellectual workers. At the same time, the advance of mechanization and automation, and its effect in replacing manpower, will reduce, over the long run, the demand for physical workers.

After these things, I believe it is obvious that the basis of our development will be the maintenance of the process of social transformation. For this, however, we not only need to create the purely economic-technical conditions, but the social ones as well, not least of all assure continuation education and the conditions necessary to social rise for those members of the young generation who are in a disadvantaged situation.

[Question] In the coming decades, therefore, the requirements on individuals will still increase. This means that more and more people will have to acquire qualifications. How will composition according to skills develop in the future?

[Answer] According to forecasts, one-third of the adult population over 18 years of age will complete secondary school, one-tenth of those over 25 years of age will complete college or university. In response to the large-scale changes, the country will have, in the year 2,000, one and one-half times as many persons who completed general school as in 1970, and the number of graduates from secondary school and upper-level schools will increase two and one-half times. In addition, the rise in the cultural level of the population will be promoted in ever-widening scope by self-study outside of school.

The change in the technical level of workshops and the expansion of automation requires that the number and ratio of skilled workers increase among the physical workers. At the same time, the mechanization of simple physical labor and the use of modern machinery in material movement and delivery will displace hard physical work. Accordingly, the ratio of skilled workers will exceed 40 percent of all physical workers as compared to the present 28 percent.

[Question] The turn of the millenium is fairly close, but still too distant for us to foresee complicated social processes. Therefore, in conclusion please give an answer to what is the probability, what is the "guarantee" that the social changes indicated above will in fact take place.

[Answer] Scientific forecasting is not without risks. Prior estimates can only be based on calculations which proceed from the present social composition and processes known today. Therefore it is necessary, from time to time, by taking new information into account, to review results. To restrict expected trends, the calculations are made ready in several variants, among which the variant accepted by the experts of the various branches of science will furnish the basis for long-range planning. In the foregoing, I based what I had to say on this "medium variant."

The opinions of research workers and practical experts in various branches of science built, in continuous discussions, on a familiarity with the different factors determining our socio-economic development in the following decades may serve as the best guarantee that the indicated social processes will, in great probability, take place. Of course, the opposite is also true; that is, demographic forecasts and hypotheses for 2-3 decades are inevitably necessary for preparing the long-range development plans of the economy — and of society as a whole. We cannot, of course, know with complete certainty what the socio-economic situation will be at the turn of the millenium, but we know enough to regard our forecasts as well founded — said Egon Szabady in conclusion.

HUNGARY

HUNGARIAN LEADERS GREET CASTRO ON CUBAN NATIONAL DAY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jul 77 p 3 AU

["On Cuba's National Holiday; Greetings Message by Hungarian Leaders"]

[Text] On the occasion of the National Holiday of the Cuban MSZMP Central Committee, First Secretary Janos Kadar, Presidential Council Chairman Pal Losonczi and Council of Ministers Chairman Gyorgo Lazar sent the following greetings message to Dr Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba:

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro:

On the National Holiday of the Republic of Cuba, the 24th anniversary of the attack at the Moncada barracks, the day of the national uprising, we send you, the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba and the people of fraternal Cuba sincere fraternal greetings on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Hungarian working people and ourselves.

The Hungarian people look with appreciation upon the lasting results attained by the Cuban people in the socialist transformation of society, the institutional consolidation of the people's power and the many-sided development of the people's economy and culture. The great successes attained by the Cuban workers class under the leadership of its vanguard, the Cuban Communist Party and Cuba's consistent internationalist policy and struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism serve as an example for peoples struggling for independence and social progress.

We take great pleasure in the fact that fraternal friendship and many-sided cooperation, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, between our parties and peoples serve increasingly effectively socialist constructive work and the unity of the community of socialist countries in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress and the consolidation of international peace and security.

On this significant anniversary of your revolutionary struggle, we wish you, esteemed Comrade Fidel Castro, and the fraternal people of the Republic of Cuba that, pursuing the path designated by the First Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, you may achieve further successes, for the good of our common cause, socialism and peace, in the construction of a socialist society and the prosperity of your fatherland.

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE ON POLISH NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Jul 77 p 3 AU

["The National Holiday of Poland; Greetings Message by Hungarian Leaders"]

[Text] On the occasion of Poland's national holiday, MSZMP Central Committee First Secretary Janos Kadar, Presidential Council Chairman Pal Losonczi and Council of Ministers Chairman Gyorgy Lazar sent the following message to Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic; and Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz:

Dear Comrades:

On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Hungarian people as a whole and ourselves, we send you and the Fraternal Polish people ardent comradely greetings and heartfelt good wishes on the occasion of your national holiday, the 33d anniversary of the rebirth of Poland.

The Hungarian people regard with sincere high esteem the Polish working people's job of national construction and the splendid results they have attained under PZPR leadership in socialist construction, the development of the people's economy and culture and the prosperity of their country. The assiduous activity of the Polish People's Republic for strengthening the socialist community, for the cohesion of the international communist and workers movement and for consolidating lasting peace and international security enjoys appreciation. Your country's foreign policy is supported by progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world.

We are glad that the Hungarian and Polish people are linked by ties of a traditional friendship, one that has gained a new substance and has been corned by the fact that the Hungarian and the Polish people have embarked on the path of socialist development. We are convinced that the firm alliance and cooperation of our countries and peoples will constantly develop, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, for the good of our peoples and the socialist community.

On the occasion of your great national holiday, with friendly and fraternal sentiments, we wish you and the Polish people as a whole further successes in accomplishing the magnificent objectives set by the PZPR, the construction of an advanced socialist society.

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

PROBLEMS, EXPERIMENT TO REHABILITATE PRISONERS DESCRIBED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Jul 77 p 4

[Article by L. E.: "Leaving Prison--He Who Once Lived on Prison Food"]

[Text] The criminal pedagogy special department of the Association of Hungarian Teachers in Special Education held its conference this year in Miskolc. Speaking at the national conference Lieutenant Colonel Dr Tibor Hazai, general deputy to the commander of the National Penal Authority of the Ministry of Justice, spoke about the direction in which penal institutions must be developed. This theme is most worthy of attention for research is being done around the world to find those methods with which it will be possible for those sentenced to loss of freedom to abandon their way of life which led to crime and leave the penal institutions in the best possible physical and mental condition. The speaker put it this way: "If we want to achieve these goals we must devote more time to educational work." This is all the more important because according to last year's statistics 35 percent of those sentenced to loss of freedom were 19-25 years old and 31 percent were 26-35 years old. So it is not a matter of indifference whether one can change the life ideas of young people who make up such a very large proportion, whether one can find a place for them in society.

Harmful Effects

Our administration of justice would like to give a reassuring answer to these questions when it seeks new ways to carry out punishment. At present the personality of prisoners is still affected harmfully as a result of isolation. To speak figuratively the greatly increased dependence of loss of freedom virtually forces people back into childhood. Among the unique symptoms of prison psychosis we find increasing aggressiveness, defiance reactions, an inability to make decisions, impressionability and apathy. Family ties relax during prolonged loss of freedom and a very large proportion of prisoners serving sentences longer than 2-3 years enter a world which has changed in the meantime without external and internal supports. It is understandable if at the moment of being freed the harmful influence of temptation, of old pals and new ones acquired in prison, of drinking buddies is felt with multiplied strength. The fact that in Hungary more than 70 percent of those sentenced are recidivists, criminals who frequently have been sentenced many

times--he who has once lived on prison food often returns to this fate again--permits us to conclude that the spirit and mechanism of punishment and the ability of society to receive back those punished are still not satisfactory.

Lieutenant Colonel Dr Tibor Hazai outlined in his speech those urgent tasks which might change the present situation. There might be a better differentiation of methods of punishment too. For example, there is a large empty space between fines and corrective-educational work. A semi-free institution might be introduced between the two forms of punishment, some sort of settlement type corrective-educational place of work. This might mean an obligatory place of residence and an obligatory place of work but it would have the great advantage that those in it would not break from everyday, free life and from the family. Current regulations also make possible the operation of such semi-free institutions but the conditions for setting them up have not yet been developed.

It would also be important to set up some sort of intermediate institution for those sentenced to long terms of punishment. At present the situation is that if someone has spent years behind prison walls he is almost completely cut off from everyday reality. A transitional stage should certainly be created, an institution where prisoners could prepare for their release under more relaxed, freer circumstances. According to the report of Lieutenant Colonel Hazai such transitional stages could be created in the original institution but it might be worth thinking of creating special "release institutions" too.

Self-Government

Naturally the theme of the criminal pedagogy conference was primarily the bringing together of useable educational experiences and tasks. In connection with this the speaker said that while leaving in effect the legal handicaps one might develop a system of favors in prisons which would have a good educational effect. For example it might be that prisoners who work well and are properly behaved might spend part of their sentence under less strict conditions. Thus it might become possible that if an earlier "prison inmate" went on to a jail stage he might be permitted to leave as a reward for further good behavior. A few days leave would be very attractive behind the walls and would provide a good soil for educational work.

Last fall the National Penal Authority started an experiment in the jail in Baracska. The report summed up the essence of the experiment this way: "The general development of socialist society demands that we use organizational forms, methods and tools corresponding to this development in carrying out punishment also. Taking into consideration the peculiar situation of carrying out punishment we might satisfy this demand, in the area of re-educating prisoners, by introducing self-government among other things. Self-government realizes in a most intensive way education and activation for communal life, democratic thinking and positive independence...."

Within a few months the experiment, for the time being only at Baracska, became a well proven practice. Under the guidance of well trained educators the prisoners themselves provided for the majority of the unique tasks coming up in the life of the institution. The duty network arranges the daily schedule and culture, sport, sleeping area and work area committees guide the everyday life of the community.

The self-government system is very significant from pedagogic, educational and personality-psychological viewpoints alike. The prisoners brought into the communal life free themselves of many of the harmful effects and consequences of the prison psychosis. They themselves decide on the selection and removal of self-government leaders and how to spend their free time usefully. Everyday life is now enlivened by deciding who can participate in sports or in cultural programs after the work is done. In the evening anyone can watch television and those who earn the right by their work and behavior can spend a total of 12 days at home each year.

Experiment

The introduction of self-government has favorably influenced the disciplinary situation in the jail. Some disciplinary violations which were characteristic earlier (such as refusing to work) have ended completely and the number of fights and violations of cell discipline has been reduced to a minimum.

For the time being the Baracska experiences serve as a guide for what is involved is one well proven experiment and not a general practice. But the future of domestic penal activity can hardly be imagined without such or similar practices.

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CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

AVIATION RESEARCH--One of the newest research institutes, the Center for Aviation Science and Information (RTK), established in 1975, is located at Ferihegyi Airport. The Center's task is to conduct civil aviation research and to provide aviation related information. According to the Center's chief, Adam Domonkos, RTK makes proposals to CEMA's permanent committee on civil aviation affairs concerning the types of new aircraft to be designed in the future, studies airport development, problems associated with noise level, collaborates in the development of standards based on examination and testing of various types of aircraft. The Center also provides information through its bureau and maintains the largest collection of books and periodicals in Hungary on the subject of aviation. The cadre consists of researchers, many with diplomas in more than one speciality, mathematicians, economists, aeronautical engineers, some of whom can speak three or four foreign languages. [Budapest HETFOI HIREK in Hungarian 25 Jul 77 p 3]

CSO: 2500

ROMANIAN COMMUNIST YOUTH UNION PLENUM CABLES CEAUSESCU

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jul 77 p 5 AU

[Report on cable sent by the Plenary Session of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY] to RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu on 13 July 1977]

[Text] The plenum of the UCY Central Committee has sent the RCP Central Committee through Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu the following telegram:

"Proceeding from your assessment of the great responsibilities incumbent upon us in mobilizing the great force represented by youth--who represent the majority of workers in many enterprises--the UCY Central Committee plenum has worked out tangible tasks for youth organizations to insure the mobilization of young people in all branches and sectors of the national economy so as to contribute to completely utilizing production capacities, improving the index of utilizing machines, substantially reducing materials and fuel and energy consumption, improving the qualitative level of all products, more rapidly increasing labor productivity and to improving, on this basis, the efficiency of all economic activity.

"The UCY organizations have opened 48 youth construction sites at industrial investment projects, of which 28 belong to the chemistry field. We want to assure you that on all these sites the more than 123,000 young brigade workers will make their full contribution to commendably fulfilling the tasks set by yourself.

"On the basis of prospects opened up for the shaping and all-round training of the future cadres of the national economy, science and culture, through the broad opportunities provided for all young people to train themselves for work and life and to acquire a trade in keeping with the requirements of socioeconomic development and their own aspirations, the measures worked out by the recent RCP Central Committee plenum on improving education at all grades, formulated under your leadership, have stirred interest and particular satisfaction among the ranks of the young generation. This is why we ask you to permit us, greatly loved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to express our feelings of profound recognition and gratitude."

Stressing that the recent decision on increasing the role of socialist units and of civic and mass organizations in observing legality, the norms of social conduct and the country's laws implies that the UCY has complex and highly responsible tasks to fulfill, the telegram continues: "In this spirit we shall intensify the entire educational activity to avoid and combat negative aspects, to integrate properly all young people into the labor process, and to establish in all youth collectives the norms of communist conduct and of socialist ethics and equity.

"Dearly loved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, proceeding from the great requirements facing youth, we assure you that, under the leadership of the party bodies and organizations, we will take determined action to continuously improve our work style and methods so as to make all young people understand their need and patriotic duty to devote all their energy and skill and all their life to resolutely implementing the program set by the party on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism."

CSO: 2700

CEAUSESCU, MANESCU CONGRATULATE TSEDENBAL, BATMONH ON NATIONAL DAY

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Jul 77 p 4 AU

[Message from Romanian President and RCP Secretary General Ceausescu and Romanian Premier Manescu to Mongolian Head of State and Party First Secretary Tsedenbal and Mongolian Premier Batmonh]

[Text] To Comrade Yumjaagiynhedenbal, first secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic,

And to Comrade Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian people and ourselves personally, we address to you and through you to the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Great Hural and the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic and to the Mongolian people comradely greetings and cordial congratulations on the 56th anniversary of the victory of the people's revolution.

Romanian communists and all our people rejoice from the bottom of their hearts in the successes achieved by the Mongolian people, under MPRP leadership, in insuring the society's revolutionary change, in building socialism's technical and material base, developing the economy and culture and raising their material and intellectual living standard. We wish the Mongolian people new successes in turning Mongolia into a flourishing industrial-agrarian country and in fulfilling the 17th MPRP Congress decisions.

We are convinced that relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the MPRP and between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Mongolian People's Republic will continuously develop, to the

benefit of the Romanian and Mongolian peoples and the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Manea Manescu, Premier of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2700

WEEKLY ON UNITY AMONG DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 29, 14 Jul 77 pp 5-7 AU

[Article by Marcel Dinu; "The Urgent Need for Consistent Actions To Promote Unity and Provide New Bases for Interstate Relations"]

[Excerpt] The imperialist circles are seeking to sow discord among the developing and nonaligned countries, to set them at loggerheads in order to undermine them and, in the last analysis, to facilitate the perpetuation of neocolonialist practices. Thus, one symptomatic such attempt is the fact that, before any regional or international summit meetings of the developing countries, the Western press abounds in details on bilateral differences between the participating countries and in statements predicting the failure of the respective meetings due to such conflicts. This was for example the case before the fifth summit meeting of nonaligned heads of state and government held in Colombo (August 1976), and, recently, before the OAU summit in Libreville. But, despite such predictions, and despite all the efforts made to fan enmities between some of the participants, one may say that both the Libreville and the Colombo meetings were dominated by a spirit of unity and solidarity. The countries participating highlighted their common interests and specific means of action. It is no coincidence that the field in which subversive attempts from outside bore no results was that of international economic relations, the establishment of a new world economic order.

Another method of attempting to undermine the unity of the developing countries is to put forth a veritable avalanche of arbitrary "classifications," thus, the developing countries are divided by certain authors into poor, less poor, rich and other countries, exclusively on the basis of the national income per capita. This is aimed at "divorcing" the oil exporting developing countries (members of OPEC) from the other developing countries, purposefully ignoring the fact that both groups suffered colonial domination and exploitation and that they have similar problems concerning their economic infrastructure, cadre training, foreign trade structure, and so forth. Another frequent classification divides those countries into "progressive" and "moderate" countries, in a bid to undermine the political and ideological unity of the developing countries and to oppose the

countries which opted for the socialist path of development to those which preferred the capitalist system. However, the question of social system is determined by the specific historical, social and national conditions prevailing in each country. Establishment of a socialist society in one of those countries can be decided only by the respective people, by the respective nation. In this respect, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: "Socialism constitutes a historical necessity of the development of human society, and it is inevitable that it should triumph, sooner or later, in the entire world. Socialism cannot be imported or imposed from the outside; on the other hand, its victory cannot be prevented by any outside force." Proceeding, thus, from the principle of respect for each people's sacred right to decide freely on its path of future development, without any outside interference, dividing the developing countries into "progressive" and "moderate" and opposing one group to the other in international relations is in contradiction to the unanimously recognized principle of peaceful coexistence between countries with different sociopolitical systems, and only serves as argument for the theory of "spheres of influence," invoked to undermine the unity of action of the developing countries at the international level.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIAN-BURUNDIAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON NZAMBIMANA VISIT

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Jul 77 p 5 AU

[Joint communique on 11-15 July visit to Romania by Burundian Premier
Lt Col Edouard Nzambimana]

[Text] At the invitation of the premier of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Manea Manescu, the premier of the government of the Republic of Burundi, Lt Col Edouard Nzambimana, paid an official friendship visit to Romania 11-15 July 1977.

During his visit, Lt Col Edouard Nzambimana was received by the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, with whom he had a cordial talk. The guest conveyed to the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, a warm, friendly message from the president of the Republic of Burundi, Col Jean Baptiste Bagazan. Most cordial wishes for personal health and happiness, as well as wishes for prosperity and progress to the friendly Romanian people from the Burundian people. Expressing thanks, the Romanian head of state conveyed to the Burundian head of state friendly greetings and best wishes for health and happiness, and to the friendly Burundian people wishes for prosperity and peace on behalf of himself and the Romanian people.

During the official talks, which took place in an atmosphere of complete understanding, cordiality and mutual esteem and respect, the two premiers exchanged information on their countries' socioeconomic development. They expressed satisfaction with the evolution of Romanian-Burundian relations, especially in recent years, in political, economic and cultural areas, and noted both sides' desire to expand and diversify fields of cooperation of interest to both. They highlighted the importance of the establishment of the joint production companies "Somiburom" for mining, geology and industry, and "Agriburom" for agriculture, as they facilitate the rapid development of cooperation in those areas. The sides also reasserted the determination of both governments to do everything necessary for the two joint companies to begin operation this year, under the best conditions.

The two premiers praised the role and contribution of the joint governmental Romanian-Burundian Commission for economic and technical cooperation

in developing the bilateral relations, and stressed the particular importance of the Fourth Session of the Joint Commission, which had preceded the Burundian premier's visit. They expressed their interest in intensifying bilateral economic contacts by consistently guiding and channeling the activities of the joint companies and by finding additional openings for cooperation to expand their sphere of activity. The premiers noted with satisfaction that the volume of commercial exchanges has increased, and expressed the desire to increase it further, on a mutually advantageous basis.

The two premiers highlighted the existence of important cooperation projects on cadre training and technical assistance, and agreed to support such projects in the future. At the same time, they emphasized the two countries' desire to develop close cooperation in the areas of culture, education, health and information.

The following documents were signed at the end of the talks: a general cooperation agreement between the governments of the two countries; a protocol on developing commercial exchanges and economic cooperation; an agreement on civil air transportation; the protocol on the Fourth Session of the Joint Commission; a protocol on cultural and scientific cooperation between the two governments for the 1978-80 period, and a cooperation convention between the Romanian Radio and Television Network and the Burundian Radio Authority.

The two premiers stressed that the development of Romanian-Burundian relations in political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural areas makes a considerable contribution to developing the national economy of each of the two countries, and is in keeping with the interests of the Romanian and Burundian peoples, with strengthening the solidarity and cooperation of the developing countries and with the cause of detente and peace in the world.

On discussing the major international problems, the two premiers noted with satisfaction that their countries hold identical or similar views on the major current issues. They mentioned the profound revolutionary national and social changes that are taking place in the world as a result of the assertion of the peoples' increasing resolve to build their future themselves and to secure a free and independent development.

The two premiers stressed that the socialist, nonaligned and developing countries and the small and medium-sized countries must play an ever more important role in solving mankind's great problems, with a view to establishing a new type of interstate relations, based on strict respect of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, full equality of rights, renunciation of the use or threat of force and mutual advantage.

Both premiers stressed the vital need to eliminate relations of inequality and the economic gaps from international life and to struggle for an active

international cooperation, for establishment of a new world economic and political order, for peace and security in the world, and for general progress. They expressed the firm determination of the Socialist Republic of Romania and of the Republic of Burundi--as developing countries--to make further efforts, together with the nonaligned countries, the members of the "Group of 77," and all other developing countries, to increase their contribution to finding specific ways and means of establishing a new world economic and political order and to consolidate their solidarity and unity of action, especially through intensified contacts and consultations among those countries.

The two premiers expressed satisfaction with the successes obtained by the Africa National Liberation Movements in their struggle for their countries' national independence and sovereignty. They stressed that the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia have the inalienable right to use any form of struggle, including armed struggle, to end the anachronistic colonial domination, neocolonialist and imperialist practices and the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid and to fulfill their legitimate aspirations for freedom, dignity and independence. Once again, they reasserted the two countries' determination to consolidate their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa and strongly condemned the policy of apartheid, racial discrimination and Bantustanization, as well as the repeated threats, provocations and aggressions staged by the governments of Salisbury and Pretoria especially against Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana. The two sides spoke out for the withdrawal of the illegal South African Administration from Namibia, in accordance with the pertinent UN resolutions, so that the Namibian people, led by its authentic representative--the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO)--can freely decide on their future.

Both sides highlighted the need to establish a climate of peace, understanding and cooperation among all the African states, so that they can consolidate their national independence and sovereignty, advance more rapidly along the path of socioeconomic progress, overcome all the consequences of colonial domination and efficiently promote the cause of total liberation of Africa and the cause of African unity.

The two premiers reasserted the two countries' principled positions on a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, on the implementation of concrete and practical measures to achieve general and primarily nuclear disarmament, and on enhancing the UN role in solving mankind's major problems, and hailed the decision to convene a special session of the UN General Assembly in 1978 devoted to disarmament.

The Burundian premier and his aides toured economic units and cultural establishments in Bucharest and in Maramures County. The guests were welcomed everywhere with special warmth, as an expression of the feelings of friendship and mutual esteem existing between the two countries and peoples. The Burundian premier expressed cordial thanks for the warm reception extended to him during his stay in Romania and invited Comrade Manea Manescu to pay an official friendship visit to the Republic of Burundi. The invitation was accepted with pleasure, the date of the visit will be set later.

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU, PREMIER EXTEND BASTILLE DAY GREETINGS

Ceausescu Greets d'Estaing

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jul 77 p 6 AU

[Text] To His Excellency, Mr Valery Giscard d'Estaing, President of the French Republic.

The National Day of the French Republic is a pleasant opportunity for me to extend to you warmest congratulations and cordial wishes for personal happiness and for prosperity to the friendly French people.

I am convinced that the traditional relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between our peoples will constantly develop in the interests of both countries and of the cause of strengthening peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Premier Greets French Counterpart

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jul 77 p 6 AU

[Text] To Mr Raymond Barre, Premier of the Government of the French Republic.

On the National Day of the friendly French people, I want to extend to you warmest congratulations and sincere wishes for health and personal happiness.

I am convinced that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries will continue to develop in all fields.

[Signed] Manea Manescu, Premier of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2700

MESSAGES EXTENDED ON IRAQI NATIONAL DAY

Ceausescu Greets Iraqi President

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jul 77 p 5 AU

[Text] To His Excellency, Mr Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, President of the Republic of Iraq.

The anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Iraq and the National Revolution is a pleasant opportunity for me to extend to you cordial congratulations and best wishes for health and personal happiness on behalf of the Romanian people and on my own behalf, as well as wishes for further progress to the friendly Iraqi people.

I am convinced that the good relations of cooperation existing between our countries will continue to develop and diversify to benefit our peoples and the cause of promoting peace and understanding throughout the world.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Premier Greets Saddam Husayn

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jul 77 p 5 AU

[Text] To His Excellency, Mr Saddam Husayn, Vice Chairman of the Revolution Command Council of the Republic of Iraq.

On the anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Iraq and of the National Revolution I take special pleasure in extending to Your Excellency warm congratulations and best wishes for personal happiness. I am convinced that the friendly relations between Romania and Iraq will continue to develop in the mutual interest of the two peoples and of the cause of peace and international cooperation.

[Signed] Manea Manescu, Premier of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

CASTRO CONDOLENCES TO GEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Esteemed Comrade, I learned with deep regret of the passing away of your mother. Comrade President, please accept our most profound condolences on your heavy loss. [Signed] Fidel Castro Ruz, President of the State Council and of the Government of the Republic of Cuba. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Jul 77 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2700

SURVEY EXAMINES CONFORMITY AMONG LCY MEMBERS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1379, 12 Jun 77
pp 5-7

[Unsigned article: "Communists and Conformists"]

[Text] A survey as part of the project entitled "Behavior of LCY Members in Basic Organizations," which was done by the Center for Current Political Studies of the People's University of the City of Zagreb to meet the needs of the Medvescak Opstina Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia in Zagreb, was conducted in 30 basic organizations of the League of Communists representing 17 percent of the total number of basic organizations in the area covered by the Medvescak Opstina Committee. Almost all of the most significant activities from industry and the construction industry and including trade, education, health, the law, and local communities were represented in the sample, which consisted of 698 members of the League of Communists. The poll was anonymous, and the study, which was conducted in the middle of last year, provided for the questionnaire to be filled out in one of the meetings of the basic organization of the League of Communists under the technical direction of staff members of the center and without any influence from the leadership of the League of Communists.

The word "conformity" is used in two meanings. On the one hand conformity means social adaptability and acceptance of the community's value system as embodied in behavioral norms. Conformity in this sense is a virtue and prerequisite to living together, mutual respect and tolerance.

However, conformity is used considerably more frequently in another, pejorative sense; in this case it signifies markedly uncritical acceptance of group norms without the individual's conceptualization of the facts or of the ideological stand and concealment of his own interests and shortcomings

by plunging into the facelessness of the group. In this second meaning the conformist is an individual reluctant to assume the risk of pledging support to anything new, a man whose main aim is personal security and inviolability, and not change--creation and the struggle for progress.

In the middle of last year the Center for Current Political Studies of the People's University in Zagreb conducted a survey at the request of the Medvescak Opstina Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia in Zagreb as part of the project entitled "Behavior of Members of the League of Communists in Basic Organizations." The data of this research project, an unusual one in Yugoslavia, were recently systematized and published in a recent issue of NASE TEME, along with an analysis by Dr Ivan Siber, docent of the Department of Political Sciences at Zagreb University and a participant in this research project.

In this account of the survey we will use Dr Ivan Siber's analysis and call the attention of our readers mainly to that part of the project whose purpose was to establish in qualitative and quantitative terms the manifestations of conformity by respondents who were members of the League of Communists in Medvescak Opstina and the causes of that conformity in our belief that the topic and the results of the project may be interesting for other communities as well. Before undertaking to define the goals of the study, the participants attempted to formulate certain basic hypotheses as to the causes of conformist behavior in Yugoslavia, basing their conclusions, of course, more on hypothetical assessments than on the results of empirical research, since so far there has been no research in this field in Yugoslavia. In the opinion of the organizers of the project, there are three basic sources of the individual's conformist behavior in the context of political action:

1. Personality Structure Inappropriate to the Social Relations of Self-Management. The present-day Yugoslav, member of our self-managed socialist community, even if he be a member of the League of Communists, is frequently a prisoner to a greater or lesser degree of a traditional mentality which for centuries has explicitly dictated a hierarchical value system which has resulted in absolute obedience to parent, teacher or leader and uncritical acceptance of an authoritative society built on that foundation.

2. Lack of Motivation for the Individual to Commit Himself Independently to Achievement of the Goals That Have Been Set. Political behavior is by and large the result of an awareness of one's own situation, of a particular ideological orientation and of the relative standing of various needs the individual wishes to fulfill. The behavior of the party member ought to be determined by the broad interests of society, by an awareness of the goals and tasks of the political organization, and by the ways in which those goals are realized. The more interested the individual is in the problems and goals the organization confronts, the more ready he is to act on his own and fight for achievement of his own position. Conversely: the less important the organization's activities and tasks are to him, the

more he will fit into the group and hide behind declarations, the leadership and the mass.

3. Perception of Pressures and Possible Undesirable Consequences for the Individual Should His Behavior Deviate From the "Official" Positions. The fear of pressure, in the researchers' opinion, could in part be the result of the individual's feeling based on past political experience, but to a far greater extent it may be a rationalization of his own weaknesses. Individuals have insufficient motivation for political action, or those who have strong remnants of obedience to authority in their mentality are seeking a justification for their conformist behavior ("there are all sorts of things they would like, they would be able to do, or they would know how to do, but it is dangerous") in the "possible" consequences of bold expression of opinions and attitudes.

Before we present the results of the survey concerning the conformist behavior of the respondents in the poll, it is interesting to note the preliminary answers which represent certain basic behavioral manifestations of the 698 members of the League of Communists in Medvescak Opstina who were polled.

All Formally Active

In answering the question whether they fulfilled the basic behavioral norms prescribed for a member of the League of Communists, such as attendance at meetings, more than 80 percent of the respondents answered affirmatively: they attend regularly. Only 15 percent said they "sometimes do not attend" meetings, while only 1.5 percent said that they "do not attend meetings regularly."

As for participation in proceedings at meetings, one respondent in seven said that he never took part in the discussion or very rarely, while half of the respondents said that they did take part, "depending on the problems on the agenda, but that they are not too active." One-third of the respondents said that they "regularly present their opinions and fight for certain stands."

Judging by this group of responses and certain other similar responses, the researchers take a qualified position in the feeling that one cannot put full confidence in them. In the opinion of the researchers, that is, since the respondents themselves were judging their own participation in meetings, it is quite possible that some of them tailored their answers to fit socially acceptable norms, that is, bent them in the direction of the responses which indicate the "expected behavior."

In his specific assessment of these answers Dr Ivan Siber even feels that most of the 46 percent of the respondents (one-half) who declared that they "take part depending on the problems, but are not too active" most probably represent members of the League of Communists who are not active, but they circled this answer because they consider it affirmative and socially acceptable.

The answers to this question point up very noticeably a tendency which will be confirmed many times over later on: it is the older members of the League of Communists who are the most active at the meetings, and respondents under age 25 can be said to be only half as active. The project also proved that respondents who have been in the League of Communists for a short time, even according to their own assessment, are only half as active as older members of the League of Communists.

When the responses to the question about formal activity at meetings were broken down, the researchers obtained very significant results showing that workers who do not hold supervisory positions are twice as inactive as those who do hold supervisory positions. Another interesting observation among supervisory personnel who are members of the League of Communists: supervisors in administrative departments are considerably more active than production supervisors. Finally: members of the party who are retired ask for the floor in meetings of the basic organization of the League of Communists twice as often as members of the party who are high school or university students!

What Are Party Members Satisfied With?

One question which brings us closer to manifestations of conformity read like this: What are you satisfied with in the work of your basic organization of the League of Communists? One respondent in 10 did not answer this question at all. Half declared that they were satisfied with the "sincere positions taken by certain members of the LCY," which is obviously a pleasant surprise. One respondent in four is satisfied with the length of meetings, the number of meetings and "the fact that the same people do not always speak up in the discussions." However, only 10 percent are satisfied that "the resolutions adopted are implemented."

What are party members not satisfied with in the work of their basic organization? Half of the party members are dissatisfied with the lack of discipline, the lack of interest members show in problems and the concern with secondary matters.

When dissatisfaction is related to occupation, secondary university students are by far the most dissatisfied that their organization is concerned with "secondary problems" (read: not concerned with the problems of interest to young people), while the highest number dissatisfied with ineffectiveness in solving problems are from the fields of health and education.

How Do You Like Your Fellow Party Members?

By correlating "clever" questions, the researchers obviously were closing the circle around the truth. This is undoubtedly the purpose of this question: How satisfied are you with the behavior of your fellow communists in the basic organization? One in three was quite satisfied. In "translation" this ought to mean that in the respondents' opinion every third member of the League of Communists meets their idea of the true communist.

If you are not satisfied, what are the characteristics of your comrades in the organization you are not satisfied with? Ten percent of the respondents think that the others are not prepared to assume responsibility, 4 percent think that others are not showing any initiative, 14 percent feel that others are concerned only with their personal interests, and as many as 1 in 4 (23.5 percent) feels that the others are reluctant to draw criticism, since they fear the consequences of their activity.

Of all the respondents, then, only 1 in 3 is satisfied with his comrades in the party. However, two-thirds of party members in local communities say that they are satisfied with their fellows! Half of those employed in transportation and utilities and municipal services are satisfied with their comrades. The most dissatisfied with the image of the party member in their basic organization are private craftsmen and tradesmen, secondary and university students, physicians and medical personnel.

Why Party Members Do Not Speak Openly

Why is it that members of the LCY rarely take part in the discussion and rarely present their attitudes? was the next question which party members polled in Medvescak had to answer. So far, then, we have seen that there are shortcomings in the organization's work and that members of the League of Communists are by and large not satisfied either with the work of basic organizations or with the image and activity of other members of the League of Communists. Now let us see where the respondents see the reasons for these shortcomings, and first we will establish how many members of the LCY are ready to openly express their attitudes: only one respondent in five feels that other members of the League of Communists in his basic organization are ready to openly present their attitudes. Four out of five of the respondents think that their comrades in basic organizations do not like to speak openly. Why?

One out of four of the party members polled felt that the others do not want to openly express their opinions because "they are not familiar enough with the problem being decided on." One respondent in five thinks that it is better to keep silent than to be misunderstood or to bear the consequences of what one says in public. One in 10 feels that it is not a good thing to find fault with the bodies of leadership in the organization, and 1 in 14 justifies the inactivity of his comrades (and obviously his own as well) by saying that members of the LCY are concerned "only with their own interests."

Why Did You Become a Member of the LCY?

What do the 698 party members polled say about why their comrades became members of the LCY? A very high percentage, even two-thirds of the respondents, believe that others entered the LCY because they accept the Program and because they want to participate in implementing it. Approximately 1 in 5, however, believes that others have entered the LCY in order to pursue his own interests or to obtain certain positions.

What Sort of a Communist Are You?

Obviously figuring that by crossing the response to the question How satisfied are you with yourself as a communist? with the answers to the other questions they would be able to verify sincerity and a self-critical attitude, the researchers nevertheless entered an area in which they themselves feel that the answers of the respondents are problematical. It is interesting that the respondents showed at this point a high degree of self-criticism.

Only slightly more than one-third of the respondents declared that they were satisfied with their own behavior as communists, slightly less than one-third declared that they were not fully enough committed, and a solid third declared that they are "the same as the others." Though by comparing this answer to the answer to the question How satisfied are you with others? it becomes obvious that the respondents are much better satisfied with themselves than with others, which was not expected, it is still surprising that as many as one-third of the respondents indirectly admit that they are not satisfied with themselves, but find a justification in that they are "the same as the others."

The indicative thing about this answer is that party members in local communities are the best satisfied with their own behavior, while those in education are the least satisfied. It is also very interesting that the youngest respondents are the least satisfied with themselves and that the satisfaction of the respondent increases with age.

Why Do You Keep Your Attitudes to Yourself?

There was a significant question about the extent to which the respondents are prepared to speak openly--and if they do not speak openly, why do they keep silent? We have already seen that in speaking about others the respondents felt that only about 20 percent of the members of the LCY were ready to express their own attitudes.

In speaking of themselves, almost 1 out of every 2 respondents feels that he always expresses his attitudes! When he does not, then this is primarily because "he is not familiar with the problems" or because "he has comrades who are better informed," to a somewhat lesser extent "because he does not want to speak out in public" and in 10 percent of the cases "so as not to draw criticism," or because he does not see the point of expressing his attitudes "when others are silent."

One of the most interesting discoveries in the survey lies in the answer to this question. That is, when the answer to the question Are you inclined to express your opinion in public? (we have seen that even in this dressed up and rationalized response only 1 out of every 2 party members says that he is ready to discuss his attitudes openly) is correlated to years of membership in the League of Communists, the following results are

obtained: about 80 percent of party members enrolled in the LCY before 1945 are ready to express their attitudes on every occasion. The readiness to present the respondent's own opinion publicly decreases with years of membership in the party. Only 57 percent of the party members enrolled between 1946 and 1955 are inclined to express their opinions in public, and on their own admission 40 percent of those enrolled between 1956 and 1965, 33 percent of those enrolled in the League of Communists between 1966 and 1971, and 28 percent of those enrolled since 1971 are prepared to fight for their own stands in public.

It follows unambiguously from these figures that party members enrolled in the party before 1945 represent a highly selected group, one that is quite clear in its ideological and revolutionary commitments.

"The fact that an enormous number of these individuals express a readiness even today to express their opinions," Ivan Siber concludes in this connection in NASE TEME, "is merely a logical extension of their revolutionary commitments. It is also probable that we can proceed on the premise, and these figures also make it clear, that the group of most recent members of the League of Communists, which is also the youngest group, will in some way hesitate to directly express their opinion. This hypothesis contrasts with the stereotype of the young generation as a militant and uncompromising segment of society, yet it is logical in view of the need for the individual to become accustomed to the new behavioral norms, to the group in which he is active, and to acquire a certain confidence in standing on his own feet in political matters.

"Without entering at this point into whether we expected this few individuals in the youngest group reluctant to express their attitudes, it is a fact that they understandably speak out in a lower percentage than other age groups. However, what is very difficult to interpret in the results obtained is the markedly negative trend between years of membership in the League of Communists and expression of attitudes.

"If we eliminate the categories at the beginning and end of the scale (individuals with longest and shortest membership), we must wonder why individuals enrolled in the League of Communists, say, in the period between 1946 and 1955 are prepared to express their attitude in only 56.8 percent of the cases, or why this percentage in the next group (enrolled between 1956 and 1965) drops to 40.6 percent. In both cases we are talking about mature people who ought to be at the height of their powers in taking responsibility for the development of society, so that we simply cannot accept their explanations that they are not sufficiently informed.

"Should we attempt to find an explanation for these figures," Dr Ivan Siber continues, "at least at the level of a hypothesis, assuming that we lack confident indicators, then it seems to us that the following facts can be taken as points of departure:

Young and Also Conformist

"1. The Communist Party had some 150,000 members at the end of the National Liberation Struggle, and then later this number increased more or less regularly to a figure over 1.4 million members. Without questioning the policy governing enrollment in the League of Communists and the justifiability or unjustifiability of such a large membership, it is a fact that the League of Communists is not as selective as it was in previous periods, and it is also a fact that the increased numbers and less selective standards necessarily bring about a decline in the quality of the membership, and it seems to us proper to take expression of the individual's own attitude as one of the quality indicators. The party which is in power is always attractive for other reasons as well, and not merely because of its ideological orientation.

"2. The period up to 1945 was extremely dynamic, as only a liberation war and social revolution can be. In that dynamism a generation grew up which took over the forms of behavior and reaction formed in that period as a part of its own personality and today is still prepared to apply that dynamism in its own political activity. The period since the revolution has been a time of social stabilization and of establishing the new social relations, but at the same time it has been a period of calmer social development, in which very significant and far-reaching changes have been made, but the intensity of universal involvement has not been so great.

"The period of building up the country immediately after the war had a higher element of universal involvement and impact on the population as a whole than the realization of the subsequent phases of our revolution has had. It is not our intention in this discussion to deny the stimulative aspects of social development at the present time, but only to emphasize that they are different in nature in a stable society with its value systems built up, institutions corresponding to those systems, and so on.

"Consequently, our interpretation (one possible interpretation anyway) would be that individuals form their political personality in the context of the general dynamism of society at a particular moment, and they then retain that form of behavior throughout the subsequent period.

"These two hypotheses concerning the large membership, and consequently less selective standards, and concerning the formation of reactions in particular phases of social development, might be an interpretation of the results obtained. Regardless of whether they are applicable or not, it seems to us that from the standpoint of society these figures are not gratifying, that is, that the steady decline in the readiness of the membership to independently express their attitudes is not in line with the goals of social development. If we have been one-sided in this discussion, it still seems to us that these figures demand a very serious public examination and certainly a more integral interpretation."

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YUGOSLAVIA

LCY JOURNAL CHALLENGES ASSERTIONS OF BULGARIAN ARTICLE

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 25 Jul 77 LD

[Text] Belgrade--The latest issue of SOCIJALIZAM, organ of the LCY, carries an article entitled "Bulgarian 'Amenders' of the History of the Second World War." In a well-argued way and with a host of historic facts and data, this article discusses the role of Bulgaria and her army in the Second World War, the participation of the Bulgarian Army in the fighting on our territory after 9 September 1944 and, finally, the attitude of Bulgaria and her party toward Macedonia and the Macedonians.

The immediate reason behind this article by Jovan Raicevic was the article published in the Bulgarian magazine NOVO VREME in February 1977 in which, as is stressed by the LCY paper, "Overall Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations during the Second World War are portrayed inaccurately and tendentiously."

After stressing at the beginning that the way in which the editorial of the Bulgarian magazine deals with these events "has undertones of a formal moral condemnation, and not the dignity of genuine Marxist methods in historical science," SOCIJALIZAM stresses that for this kind of history-writing the role of Bulgaria as a member of Hitler's coalition up to 9 September 1944 became almost a private matter concerning the Bulgarian court and its Fascist regime alone. At the same time, the quasi-scholarly arguments advanced by this article attempt to acquire for Bulgaria almost the status of a country which was a victor in the Second World War.

Moreover, it is known that previously as well Bulgarian historians wrote that in 1945 Bulgaria did not share the fate of a defeated country. This is because, during the last 8 months of the Second World War, the army of the fatherland front took part in the final operations against German troops. However, the actual international position of Bulgaria and the fact that, during the first postwar years, its government was not recognized by individual Western allies, SOCIJALIZAM stresses, are completely forgotten today. However it was precisely at that time that the new Yugoslavia was making great efforts to insure the Bulgarian people were not punished for the misdeeds of their Fascist rulers.

Continuing, the article in the organ of the LCY stresses the well-known fact that, according to Hitler's strategy, Fascist Bulgaria would play the role of "the gendarme in the Balkans." However, according to Bulgarian historiography, this role was of quite a secondary nature and only "local." According to Bulgarian historians, the occupation of neighboring countries (including parts of our country) only merits "moral condemnation." However, SOCIJALIZAM says, for these historians, on the other hand, this "tallied with the aspirations concerning the final 'national unification' of the Bulgarian people which allegedly had been denied them and prevented as a result of the outcomes of previous wars."

Thus it was shown that such "national unification" could "not be definitively achieved through cooperation with Hitler; however, it should and could have been done by Bulgaria's anti-Fascist front. This is what the footnotes of the modern Bulgarian historiography in fact say," Raicevic concludes in the article in SOCIJALIZAM.

He also replies to the question: What does all this serve?

"If Yugoslavia, with her national liberation war and socialist revolution, fought successfully for the status of a victorious country as a recognized member of the anti-Hitler coalition, why then should Bulgaria also not have such a status--true enough of a 'lower rank'--in order that she might 'more easily' raise all 'issues in dispute' in relations with Yugoslavia. Above all, the issue of Macedonia and the nonrecognition of the Macedonian nation in general and of the Macedonian nationality within the framework of Bulgaria in particular?"

Raicevic goes on to present a whole series of historically indisputable and documentary data and facts which refer to the behavior of the Bulgarian occupation army in Yugoslavia (1941-1944). In contrast to this, the above-mentioned editorial of the Bulgarian periodical waters down and hushes up the real role of Fascist Bulgaria. This includes "the evidence" which negates the occupation of Macedonia and which tries to suggest that the highest bodies of the Bulgarian Communist Party "most severely opposed Hitlerite aggression against neighboring countries." In this context, SOCIJALIZAM stresses that, right up to the liberation of Belgrade, the Bulgarian Communists had never said this openly and unambiguously because this would have been contrary to the so-called policy of "national ideals." A partial exception is the message transmitted by the Khristo Botev Radio Station in Moscow, which appealed to Bulgarian soldiers not to fight "against the fraternal Serbian people," but it is characteristic that no mention was made anywhere of Macedonia and of the struggle of its people for freedom.

The article in SOCIJALIZAM goes on to analyze the days of agony experienced by Fascist Bulgaria in the period when the Red Army was approaching the Bulgarian border. The article goes on to present the full text of the

agreement reached in Craiova on 5 October 1944, the meaning of which is totally distorted by the above-mentioned editorial and which the Bulgarian public never had the opportunity to see in its authentic form.

According to the journal NOVO VREME, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia figure in this agreement simply as two "Allied states." In this context, NOVO VREME remains completely silent about the well-known circumstances which led to the agreement and in which the talks had been held, and which in turn shed light on Bulgaria's position and Yugoslavia's attitude at that time. What is ignored among other things is the letter of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers Party (Communist) No 2 of 2 November 1944 which was addressed to Comrade Tito. It was written precisely in connection with the agreement in Craiova and says: "Our people feel guilty about the Yugoslav peoples--in particular the Serbian and Macedonian--because they have allowed their Fascist rulers to create from Bulgaria a springboard for German enslavers. The Bulgarian Army--Hitler's gendarmes in the Balkans--have committed a series of violence and treachery in regard to peoples fighting for freedom. Our people...are ready to sacrifice everything in order that the shameful memory of everything which has only recently taken place be erased as completely and as soon as possible. We want to blaze a trail toward eternal and unbreakable friendship.... We owe you eternal gratitude for the lessons learned and for the fraternal assistance which you gave to our first partisan detachment."

Ending his article, Raicevic notes that no one in our country has ever denied that the Bulgarian Army cooperated in the final operations against German troops on Yugoslav territory. This has been dealt with adequately in many of our military--historical and scholarly works and publications.

Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia showed readiness to forget the unpleasant historic past for the sake of new good-neighborly relations. Up to 1948--at the time of the so-called Dimitrov period--complete readiness for cooperation was forthcoming from the Bulgarian side as well.

The turning point for the Bulgarian side occurred at the time of the Cominform resolution. It is from then that the theses of Bulgarian historiography base their continuity: They persistently twist overall Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations; "they hark back to the greater-bourgeois ideas about San Stefano Bulgaria, to the abnegation of the Macedonian nation in general and the nonrecognition and denial of all national rights of Macedonian nationals in Bulgaria itself. They are making futile efforts to prove that Macedonians are Bulgarians, and that Macedonia is a Bulgarian land," SOCIJALIZAM says.

"It is this very idea which occasionally alarms the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and our public in general, and which throws a shadow on Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations and represents a brake to their even faster and better development. It is up to the Bulgarian side at long last to understand and grasp this," the LCY paper states in conclusion.

TRAINING AT LAND FORCES COMMAND/STAFF ACADEMY REVIEWED

Belgrade VOJNOEKONOMSKI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian No 2, Mar-Apr 77 pp 87-93

[Article by Lt Col Radisav Lukic: "Rear Services Officer Training at Land Forces Command/Staff Academy"]

[Text] Regardless of branch or specialty, officer training is a complicated process requiring the involvement of commands of units and institutions, military educational institutions, responsible agencies and officials of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, organizations of the LCY, and other entities. In this connection it is indispensable to examine not only the content of syllabi and curricula, the degree to which the training furnished in schools fits into the system of advanced specialization, and a great number of questions concerning the process of instruction itself, but, above all, the degree to which the training the graduates have received meets the present and future needs of the armed forces and of nationwide defense as a whole. From this standpoint the training provided in schools should be examined and evaluated as a process which must be organized in conformity with the future development of the conception of nationwide defense.

Rear support is becoming more and more important, since the needs of units and institutions are growing, and their support is the specific task of services in the rear sector. Since that is the case, the officers in all services and specialties, whether their work is planning, specific questions of the organization of work, technology or research, represent a limiting factor which is a sine qua non for successful performance of all the tasks related to further development of the armed forces and to combat readiness. This article contains only certain observations--the more thorough analysis which is certainly needed will demonstrate how complicated are the tasks and therefore how great is the responsibility borne in the training of officers, but such an analysis could not be done in such a short space.

In the middle of last year a meeting held at the CVVS [Higher Military Education Center] was attended by all heads of administrations of services and schools making up the CVVS, a representative of the Secretariat for

National Defense and other interested agencies and was chaired by the assistant federal secretary for the rear and the head of the CVVS. On that occasion an analysis was made of the status of rear services officer training in the YPA. The analysis was based on the need for officers at present and as projected in the medium-term and long-range plans for development of the YPA.

The principal topic at the meeting was "Rear Officer Training and Professional Improvement and Preparation of Appropriate Syllabi and Curricula." The topic was debated in terms of specific detail, since those present had brought with them analyses of the situation and of the officer needs of the services over a long period of time, and those analyses served as the basis for discussion. Issues covering the entire range of military schools as a problem area were paramount in the discussion, namely:

- i. development and education of rear services officers as a whole and in the medium-term plan;
- ii. the compatibility of present syllabi and curricula at the various levels of education and possible improvements in this respect;
- iii. precise definition of the purpose of officer training and preparation of appropriate syllabi and curricula whose content guarantees achievement of that goal;
- iv. the length of the course of study for fulltime students and special students;
- v. rationality and economic efficiency or, better put, the justifiability of military education in terms of the following factors: preparation for functional duties, for war, the length of the course of study, etc.

All participants in the discussion reached agreement on these issues, and that agreement can be compressed into the following conclusions:

1. Officer training for the services should continue in the land forces command/staff academy. Particular emphasis was put on the need to educate officers competent to fill the positions of assistant to the commanding officer of the rear and to perform functions in rear operations and also on the need for training of officers for the medical service.
2. As a field of study at all levels of education the rear should be broadened so as to cover all the material and other conditions of waging a nationwide defensive war. Emphasis was put on the need to devise a course in the economics of nationwide defensive warfare or the wartime economy.
3. The 1-year course of study should be retained for the field of technical support, while the justifiability of a 2-year course of study should be taken under consideration for the other services.

4. Needs should be examined, and the rear should be given its true place as a problem area in syllabi and curricula.

5. A special group should be set up to do the detailed work on improvement of syllabi and curricula and to carry on further study of this complex subject matter.

The conclusions adopted at the meeting provide the basis for further work in rear services officer training and furnish an approximate indication of the direction the work should follow. The task force, which was set up, has continued the work by carrying out the conclusions, so that its results were felt at the beginning of this academic year. Several new topics have been introduced in syllabi and curricula for quartermasters, and certain topics have been expanded with new material. There is now closer cooperation between the administrations of the services, the CVVS and the academic departments of the land forces command/staff academy concerned with the rear.

Last year the basic elements of syllabi and curricula of the command/staff academies of the branches of the armed forces were adopted; these basic elements now serve as the basis for preparation of new syllabi and curricula for all arms and services. As adopted these basic elements did not altogether cover the conclusions adopted at the meeting we mentioned, so that those bearing the further responsibility are offered an occasion to prepare new syllabi and curricula and to correct certain shortcomings.

The syllabus and curriculum should be the concrete embodiment of the general, special and individual goals of officer training. It is indispensable to adhere to the following basic principles in preparing the syllabus and curriculum:

i. the outline and content of the syllabus and curriculum must reflect the goal and purpose of officer training and link theory and practice;

ii. the content of the syllabus and curriculum and indoctrination and education as a whole must be based on Marxism as the ideology, science and revolutionary practice of our self-managed society;

iii. the scope and depth of subject matter covered in all subjects in the curriculum should be fitted to the psychophysical capabilities of the students, and their critical thinking and creative abilities should be developed;

iv. the syllabus and entire curriculum, as well as each of its subjects separately, should guarantee that both the indoctrinational and educational goals of officer training are simultaneously achieved.

If these requirements are met in preparation of the new syllabus and curriculum, then there is basic assurance that they will be up to standard. If we also add the need to avoid repetition of topics studied in basic officer training (military academies) and not to enter into the problems

covered by schools at the highest level (national defense school), we can conclude that the syllabus and curriculum will suit its purpose. Viewed as a whole, it must fulfill the basic requirements. However, when each subject is analyzed, whether it be those subjects common to all fields or subjects specific to the various arms and services, difficulties arise as to complete fulfillment of the various requirements. For example, if we wanted to ensure implementation of the principle "linkage between theory and practice" for courses of study related to the various services, the subjects which are related to "logistics" would have to incorporate new subject matter based on the practice and work of units and institutions in a variety of combat situations, and this would require additional class hours for which there is no time. A study of experiences from the National Liberation Struggle should be provided for by virtue of the selection of suitable and instructive topics, which also requires a certain number of class hours.

The optimum relationship between the subjects common to all the fields and subjects specific to the individual fields, between theory and practice, and between theoretical and applied knowledge constitutes a guarantee that the goals of indoctrination and education will be achieved; practice itself will demonstrate whether the basic elements which have been adopted have fulfilled their purpose.

These basic elements envisaged a curriculum made up of three components:

- i. subjects common to all command/staff academies;
- ii. subjects common to the particular branch of the armed forces;
- iii. subjects specific to fields within the land forces command/staff academy.

Three semesters of study of subjects common to all command/staff academies does not yield optimum success for the specific fields of the arms and services, since education conforming to a single syllabus and curriculum does not fulfill the basic principles and requirements. A marked example of departure from the requirement can be seen in the subject "general tactics." If we take for granted that tactics is the backbone of officer training and most important subject, it is natural for it to be given the most time and for it to cover the subject matter indispensable to every officer. "General tactics" is followed up by "tactics of the arms and services," which are indispensable to specialized education. The syllabus and content of "general tactics" is the same for all fields. We can say that this subject has been well designed for general military education, since the purpose of officer training is achieved by success in studying this subject. What can be said, for example, of the quartermaster field? In regular officer training the emphasis in the subject "tactics" is precisely on the subject matter now in the syllabus. This means that the topics are by and large repeated; there is little study of the new topics indispensable to performance of functional duties. The situation is much the same with the

technical support field. For these reasons and on the grounds of rationality in the educational system, there should be a reassessment of the optimality of the subject matter covered in the subject "tactics" for officers of the services and of whether that course offers a solid basis for study of "logistics."

Basic Elements of Methodology in Preparation of Syllabi and Curricula

The following methodological procedures should be followed in preparing the syllabus and curriculum:

- i. when the subject matter covered in a course is being outlined, it is of the essence that a study first be made of the purposes indoctrination and education are to fulfill, and then a comparison should be made with the capabilities of indoctrination and education on the basis of the needs for officers in the various specific fields;
- ii. once the content and function, the goal and task, of officer training have been defined, these functions and tasks should be incorporated into the curriculum in terms of the subject matter covered by the various courses;
- iii. the subject area and the subject matter should be specifically conceived in a definite time frame;
- iv. use of the syllabus and curriculum in the teaching process should be monitored and verified so as to assemble facts for possible changes and additions.

This section states that changes in the proportions as given among the subjects in the syllabus and curriculum may not be greater than 10 percent (the reference is to apportionment of class hours), which means that when the new syllabi and curricula are being taken under consideration and prepared, emphasis should be on finding appropriate subject matter within the course, rather than changing relationships and perhaps finding more acceptable solutions.

As long as we are discussing methodology, we should also say something about the methodology of administering the curriculum. Each course has its own method of seeing that knowledge is acquired gradually until the subject matter is completely assimilated. It thus appears from this angle that the courses are independent of one another. But the courses are closely interrelated in content, since one will serve as the basis for study and effective assimilation of what is taught in another; they cannot be viewed in isolation, but must be viewed together, so that the education purpose is achieved by instruction in two or more courses. In other words, this aspect of method was to some extent overlooked in the basic elements, and this is adversely affecting education within the specialized fields (specialized instruction). In the first, second and third semesters there is no study of the theory indispensable to practical performance of tasks

(specific to the arms and services), while at the same time students of the arms and services are put in the role of chiefs or staff specialists of units, and there is every reason to expect them to have a full acquaintance with their duties. The institution of a fourth semester of study only emphasizes this shortcoming, since it presents the specialized subject matter successively, first the entire body of theory, and then the tactical problems. It is thought that better results would be achieved if the fourth semester were abolished as a specialized period of study, and instruction would be given from the beginning of the course of study separately for the various fields in such courses as, say, "general tactics" and "tactics of the arms and services," while the other courses would be taken in common. A goodly portion of "general tactics" could also be covered simultaneously for all fields.

Instructors and students are confronted with new requirements when the mock command post is set up in the command/staff academy and is used in teaching each problem. Commands and staffs are made up so that they can function normally, i.e., administer, direct and command units. While the members of the command are separated by space and specific field, they must be united when they participate in making decisions, as they monitor the combat situation and in their timely reactions to all changes. This kind of teaching makes it indispensable that students in the specific arms and services master some professional and technical topics as well, which is not the case at present, nor do the basic elements make provision for it as adopted, leaving specialized instruction of the particular arm or service until the fourth semester. Participation of representatives of the arms and services in the operation of the staff contributes to a fuller understanding of combined-arms combat. However, if every problem was worked out in terms of the plans of the various arms and services, it would become possible to direct the services as a whole. The methodology used in administering the curriculum must include a better solution so that the students are given the knowledge they need for effective staff work.

It is a striking fact that the goals of the command/staff academy have been variously defined. Whereas the air force and air defense command/staff academy and the naval command/staff academy have defined the goals of education with utter clarity and without ambiguity, this cannot be said of the land forces command/staff academy. To some extent one must take into account the complexity of this school, in which officers are trained for all arms of the land forces and all services of the branches of the armed forces and in which it is difficult to find a common educational goal acceptable to all fields in which instruction is given. The educational goal as stated corresponds completely to the field of general military education.

When goals are being defined for all the fields, there are different points of departure in the discussion from the outset, since there is a great dilemma over whether the command/staff academy should replace schools for advanced training of officers of arms and services or whether it should provide some other knowledge indispensable to work in the commands of tactical

and combined-arms tactical units. To be sure, it has been emphasized that the CVVS will work very closely with the interested administrations of the arms and services in devising curricula, but still the goal should have been more closely defined. When the goals of officer training are clearly defined, this makes it easier to design curricula, dilemmas are reduced to a minimum, and major departures are avoided.

One new goal that has been envisaged for officer training is that officers should be given competence to perform peacetime duties, i.e., T/O assignments upon graduation. It perhaps seems at first that this task could be achieved without great effort, but even in a brief look at the list of topics required to furnish the necessary knowledge for performance of particular duty assignments forces one to conclude otherwise. For example, there is no need to emphasize the need for knowledge in the field of economics by officers in the quartermaster, financial, technical and other services, or a knowledge of physical inventories and financial transactions and for other subject matter which the basic elements did not envisage as separate courses. The statement that new courses can be introduced to incorporate subject matter which makes it possible to attain the educational goal does not promise a great deal, especially in the specific fields of the various services. The accuracy of this observation is sufficiently confirmed by the fact that in the 2-year or 1-year course of specialized study the same number of hours is given as in the present syllabus and curriculum. In other words, the number of class hours has remained almost the same, though the goals have been broadened. The way out of this situation should be sought in several directions: first, the aims of officer training should be defined more specifically, that is, there should be a specific list of all the duties for which the officers are expected to be competent; second, subject matter should be chosen so as to pursue achievement of the goals of officer training; third, the subject matter and topics should be proportioned among the proper courses; fourth, there is a question of whether the course of study should last 1 year or 2 years, etc.

Some of the dilemmas set forth in this article existed even previously. However, most have arisen from the basic elements of syllabi and curricula which are to serve as the basis for preparation of new syllabi and curricula. For example, was there any need to raise the question of the length of the course of study when it was clear that the conclusions adopted at the meeting unambiguously favored a 2-year course, not to mention experience gained over the last three generations, which also confirms this position.

Nevertheless, some of the problems that appear insoluble can be overcome or mitigated if all interested entities become involved, especially administrations of the services and the land forces command/staff academy. This is an occasion for units and institutions to become actively involved in preparation of syllabi and curricula, since they are the structures where officers of rear services will go to perform their functional duties.

Insofar as time is the factor preventing interested parties from participating in creation of curricula by 1 April, this does not mean that they cannot present worthwhile recommendations and opinions. On the contrary, this should always be done, since the teaching process should be improved and added to on an ongoing basis.

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YUGOSLAVIA

MILITARY SPENDING UNDER FINANCIAL PLAN OUTLINED

Belgrade VOJNOEKONOMSKI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian No 1, Jan-Feb 77 pp 3-16

[Article by Colonel Bude Sever, economist and attorney: "Budget, Earnings and Financial Plan of JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] in 1977"]

[Text] Bases of the Federation's Budget

In the 1977 budget funds for carrying out the Federation's obligations have been planned. In the course of determining the amount of funds for the budget, it was said that in 1977 the associated work is to be encharged with as few additional obligations as possible; at the same time, however, funds for carrying out the Federation's functions and obligations are to be provided. The Federal Assembly of the SFRY has approved 90,553,200,000 dinars as the Federation's 1977 budget. These funds will be obtained from the following sources:

Income generated by the Federation (customs, customs fees, federal taxes and other income of federal organs) --	36,402,000,000 din.
Contributions of the republics and provinces --	40,651,200,000 din.
Credit at the National Bank of Yugoslavia --	9,500,000,000 din.
Bonds to be issued by the Federation --	4,000,000,000 din.
Total	90,553,200,000 din.

This income structure points up two facts: to materialize the income for the Federation's budget, only the most satisfactory solutions were sought on the federal level; and these funds will be sufficient for the accomplishment of goals and functions of economic policy.

Contributions by the socialist republics and provinces have been reduced to realistic amounts without any additional encumbrance upon associated work.

Obligations of the socialist republics and provinces to cover the budget for 1977 are as follows:

Bosnia-Hercegovina	5,322,021,000	dinars
Macedonia	2,278,522,000	"
Slovenia	6,557,437,000	"
Serbia proper	9,760,451,000	"
Croatia	10,729,960,000	"
Montenegro	809,969,000	"
Vojvodina	4,491,602,000	"
Kosovo	701,238,000	"

It was further approved for a portion of the Federation's budget to be covered by taking out credit at the National Bank of Yugoslavia for a total of 9,500,000,000 dinars. Bonds to be issued by the Federation in the amount of 4,000,000,000 dinars constitute under present circumstances an economically acceptable solution. Persons with liquid assets at their disposal, by purchasing the Federation's bonds will receive interest of 10 percent and enjoy certain income tax advantages. It is important to point out that income tax advantages for the bonds apply equally to physical persons. Bonds will mature on 31 March 1979, which is a favorable period. Banks and corresponding institutions may maintain in the bonds a certain portion of pledged reserves--a factor which should further contribute to a more efficient placement of bonds.

Such coverage of the sources of income on the federal level points up the fact that, in the structure of these sources for the Federation's budget, the anticipated solutions are acceptable to all socialist republics and provinces, as well as to associated work as a whole.

With income thus planned, federal organs must ensure accomplishment of all obligations and functions which are encompassed by the social plan of Yugoslavia for the period 1976 to 1980, but which pertain to the year 1977. These obligations consist of the following:

Work of the federal organs and organizations	-- 5,073,237,000	dinars
National defense	-- 38,138,000,000	dinars
Supplemental funds to economically underdeveloped republics and SAP Kosovo	-- 6,139,000,000	dinars
Intervention in agriculture	-- 2,050,000,000	dinars
Obligations from earlier years	-- 5,444,900,000	dinars
Promotion of foreign trade exchange	-- 16,795,000,000	dinars
Other needs	-- 16,913,063,000	dinars

Funds for the support, development and modernization of JNA will be provided from the following sources:

Income of the Federation	--	36,345,000,000 dinars
Services which units and institutions of JNA render to third parties	--	500,000,000 dinars
Obligations of the Federation toward the settlement of accounts for 1975	--	<u>1,293,000,000 dinars</u>
Total	--	38,138,000,000 dinars

To ensure a more efficient accomplishment of the Federation's budget, a special law has been enacted. Its basic provisions are the following:

Obligations may not be created without prior approval and provision of funds;

If a third party incorrectly pays a claim out of the Federation's budget, he must return this amount at 0.05 percent interest for each day the money was at this disposal;

The Federal Secretariat of Finance is authorized to regulate correct use of the funds by means of budget inspections. As to JNA, it is expected that regulation will be performed in accordance with the directives of the Law on the funding and financing of the JNA;

Contributions of the republics and provinces must be paid in monthly instalments of one-twelfth of the total obligation. If this payment is not made, the Social Accounting Service may, pursuant to the order of the Federal Secretariat of Finance, automatically transfer the scheduled amount from the income of the republics and provinces to the account of the Federation's income;

To finance the promotion of the foreign trade exchange, 51.57 percent is automatically deducted from customs and paid in a specified manner;

The budget is prepared up to 31 January 1978;

The Federal Secretariat of Finance must submit by the 20th of each month a report about the accomplishment of the Federation's budget to the supervisory bodies of the Assembly of SFRY, the Federal Executive Council and the executive councils of the republics and provinces.

As can be seen, the obligations of the Law on carrying out the Federal budget, are specific and obligate all participants to carry out budget policy consistently.

Up to now experience has shown that, with respect to JNA, rarely have obligations been created which have not been approved by the financial plan. In 1977, this factor must also be given special consideration. The Federal Secretariat for Finance is authorized to regulate by means of budget inspections the correct and intended use of funds. This regulatory function for JNA is performed in accordance with the Law on Funding and Financing of the JNA.

Analogously to budget inspections, it would be useful for the Administration of Budget and Finance of SSNO [Federal Secretariat State for National Defense] to regulate the use of JNA funds. The aim of this regulatory function would be to determine whether funds are correctly allocated and used economically and efficaciously.

Unlike follow-up control, which is now performed at times by the regulatory organs provided on an organizational unit basis, this control would be more efficient since it would be performed in the course of the same year, while assignments are being carried out; or even before they are undertaken. Observations and recommendations of these organs of budgetary control would make it possible for the commands to reexamine their decisions in due time and undertake appropriate measures for a more economical expenditure of funds. This regulatory function would be directed to the more essential items, which require allocation of substantial funds.

Resolution Concerning the Policy of the Social Plan for 1977

While enacting the Law on the Federal Budget and the law on its execution, in 1977, the SFRY Assembly also issued the Resolution on the policy of the social plan of Yugoslavia for 1976 to 1980. This Resolution establishes the policy of social development, measures and actions to be taken for further development of positive achievements, and more effective elimination of weaknesses which have hindered economic development. The initial bases for defining the principles adopted in the Resolution were: first, the Yugoslav social plan for 1976 to 1980 which was enacted in the first half of 1976 and, second, the results of economic activity in 1976 with all its achievements, identifiable problems and noted weaknesses.

In 1976, our economy faced all the adversities which had accumulated over the past years. Economic recession of world proportions, particularly pronounced from 1973 to 1975, also affected economic activity in our country considerably. During that period, rising inflation caused a deficit which had to be covered by loans from abroad. To arrest such an unfavorable course of the economy, in 1976, many decisive measures were undertaken to slow down inflation and ensure a favorable level of liquidity. By engaging here all factors of our society, very good results were achieved. Inflation decreased from 33 percent in 1975 to 9.1 percent in 1976, which significantly improved the liquidity of our economy. Unsecured investments were largely obviated, financial discipline was strengthened, exports increased by 20 percent and imports decreased by 5 percent as compared to 1975. These measures significantly contributed to our ending the year 1976 with a surplus thus increasing foreign exchange reserves by 2.7 million dollars, and strengthening the dinar on the world market by 1.32 percent, while some traditionally convertible currencies lost in value. Results achieved in 1976 created on the whole favorable conditions for continuing this activity in 1977 and for directing all efforts to the further strengthening and development of the economy. In order to achieve this goal, the Resolution of 1977 places emphasis on the following activities:

continued realization of constitutional solutions in all areas of economic and social life; a more successful use of labor and funds; and the application of the principle of distribution according to work and its results. Thereby we should be able to attain an increase of 5.5 percent in social product, 3 percent in employment and productivity, 6.8 percent in total investments, and 4.5 percent in consumption, while general consumption is to fall behind the increase in the social product. It is further expected that export and services will increase by 6.5 percent and import by 8 percent. The increase in the cost of living is not to exceed the increase in 1976 and the development of economically underdeveloped areas, in particular SAP Kosovo, is to be accelerated.

For this reason it is essential to provide a more efficient functioning of the economic system. Higher income can be achieved primarily by increasing labor productivity and expending funds more economically. In this respect, a continued involvement of the Basic Organizations of Associated Work is expected. At the same time, we should become aware of how profitably individual units conduct business.

Investment should be directed to those branches of the economy which are most effective for the realization of the policy established by the social plan. Of particular importance for increased employment and better results is the development of the manufacturing industry, including also the work of assets under private ownership. These important reserves should be activated to the maximal degree in 1977.

Scientific research, invention, creativity and discovery must be given much more attention than up to now, so that scientific achievements may be used as soon as possible and to as large an extent as possible in our economic development. Acceleration of the total economic growth can be achieved primarily by increased productivity. The struggle for increased productivity at the moment is one of the most important tasks.

In the economic policy for 1977 it has been provided that until final accounting is prepared, the payment of personal income will be made by advance payments. If periodic account settlement indicates insufficient funds, personal income cannot be increased. Personal income can therefore increase in the course of the year only if business aims have been achieved and income increased; nevertheless, personal income paid in this manner also represents advance payments. The final account settlement and payment are made in proportion to business success as reflected in the final accounting.

The Resolution points out the harm of leveling and limiting personal income. In the forthcoming period this practice must be obviated. Those who work more and are more productive should also earn more. In this respect, any attempt at equalization and limitation may have a harmful effect.

The policy of acquisition and distribution of income should be aimed at strengthening the cumulative and reproductive ability of the economy. Organizations of associated work will be able to distribute financial resources

into funds for basic and manual trade resources, according to need. Conversions of short-term and long-term credit, likewise, ease the obligations of the economy.

It is expected that the monetary credit policy will make possible the establishment of more favorable conditions for use of commercial paper, so that it may become an increasingly viable mode of payment. The purpose behind the policy on interest is to stimulate savings; and, banks should conclude an interbank agreement on requirements for credit approval for investments. Priority should be accorded to investment credit which is established by the intermediate-term social plan, and to investment credit which promotes a more dynamic economic development, economic balance and further prosperity.

Housing construction is given priority; efforts should be made to compensate for the lag in certain regions and to increase the interest in participating with individual funds. In particular, it was pointed out that the validity of regulations on disposition of building sites must be re-examined. Recently, it has been felt that the solution to the communal infrastructure and urbanization presents particular difficulty. In some areas, public utilities and other side expenses unrealistically burden the cost of housing construction. It is expected that in 1977 these weaknesses will be eliminated, so that housing construction might be stimulated with a substantially higher participation of the citizenry.

The Resolution also provides for slowing down further inflationary activity and establishing more stable relations on the market. Formulation and increase of prices should be freer, but on the level of 1976. The price policy should conform to the economic policy of more qualitative and rational earnings. The influence of the organizations of associated work on the prices of their products should be considerably stronger. It is therefore essential to conclude appropriate self-management covenants and agreements, which are to eliminate the possibility of compensating low productivity with price policy and thereby creating very favorable ground for further growth of inflation.

All measures and efforts of sociopolitical communities should be directed to the strengthening of the United Yugoslav Markets. A sizeable contribution can be made by long-term negotiation and association of appropriate trade and production organizations of associated work. Results achieved will largely depend also on how much and how well our economy will perform with its products on the international market, considering the fact that about 25 percent is the usual record. Solvency of our economy is a major factor in the performance of our products on the foreign market and our participation in international economic relations. The Resolution, therefore, adds appropriate significance to this question. Furthermore, it should also be pointed out that it is necessary to carry out the conclusions and recommendations of the Fifth Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Colombo and, especially, that it is essential to promote relations with these nations.

It can be concluded that the Resolution indicates the directions which the economic policy is to take in 1977. Expected results can be achieved only if they are carried out in conformity with the agreed upon policy. Nevertheless, causes of instability are not thereby removed. On the other hand, the view that by price increase one cannot compensate for the lag in productivity and irrational production has not yet prevailed. This fact is confirmed by the price increase of some products in January of this year. A price increase, when not justified by objective reasons, cannot be tolerated; for this reason, it will be essential to take decisive measures in preventing such phenomena. Only by consistently carrying out the agreed upon economic policy can we ensure the continued development of our social and economic system.

In time, all-encompassing and objective analyses of our economic development and a more complete dissemination of information about the results achieved will contribute to undertaking timely and essential measures against deviation from directions in the economic development for 1977 as set by the Plan.

Program of Assignments in Accordance With the Financial Plan of JNA for 1977

For the accomplishment of assignments planned for JNA in 1977, during this second year of the intermediate-term plan of development and modernization of its units and institutions, a budget of 38,138,000,000 dinars has been allocated. This year's financial plan has provided for the assignments of each unit or institution as well as the necessary funding. The following will be made possible:

- further coordination of the organizational and formational structure of units and institutions with technical equipment. The planned provision of arms and equipment will increase the firing potential, mobility and efficacy of combined units, particularly of PVO [Antiaircraft Defense], the system of communications and command, while bearing in mind the proportional development of each branch of the armed forces;

- maintenance and repair of technical equipment, in order to achieve the highest degree of accuracy and reliability. This aim requires further efforts at giving increased attention to continuous maintenance and intermediate repair. It is, therefore necessary to obtain spare parts in needed quantities, especially for the technical equipment which will be no longer manufactured;

- instruction of the permanent and reserve units and institutions, primarily by means of regular instruction planned for 1977. Besides the regular schooling of cadets, military schools and academies will provide courses for a larger number of officers about the study and use of contemporary combat equipment and systems. Also, substantial funds have been planned for the training of youth, especially students. These various types of instruction and training will enable the members of the army and armed forces as a whole to become more adept at handling and using contemporary technology and carrying out the defense of our country more successfully;

--in case of war, material reserves of ammunition, military equipment, producer goods and working capital within the limits of established criteria;

--construction of new military buildings and completion of those currently in construction. In 1977 as set out in the intermediate-term plan, it is necessary to prepare for the construction of buildings, and the concomitant resolution of legal property issues, urbanization, planning and other factors which effect faster and cheaper construction;

--personal income of the permanent composition of JNA at the present level, and its further increase to be in accordance with changes in personal income in civilian society. The funds needed to maintain the present level of the social standard (vacation resorts, recreational facilities and other) have also been provided. Further efforts will be made to appropriately restructure the diet of soldiers and cadets of military schools in order to improve it and represent better various nutritional components;

--cultural and entertainment activities of all members of the Army, publishing activity, postal, telegraph and telephone, banking, communal and other services, acquisition of furniture and other items of consumption at the level achieved in 1976.

These are only some of the numerous activities and assignments for which the necessary funds are being secured in the 1977 operating year. Our needs, however, are beyond the means of our society, so that with the funds received we must accomplish all assignments. To achieve this aim, the approved funds must be used extremely rationally and economically and allocated to assignments which have priority in achieving the necessary level of combat preparedness of units and institutions. These measures must be taken because the funds intended for JNA are rather substantial and the army as a large consumer of goods and services can strongly influence the economic course of our society. On the other hand, the geostrategic position of our country, its non-aligned and independent policy, and the present international situation demand that we maintain a very strong army and armed forces, which must be armed and equipped with the latest arms and equipment. In such military and political circumstances, our armed forces must be capable of resisting any attempt at aggression against our country. Therefore, all subjective factors in making decisions must bear in mind especially the use of material and monetary means. A thoroughly satisfactory accomplishment of assignments as well as whether the funds spent justify the goal achieved depend largely on making rational, optimal and objective decisions. In our social economy these factors have special significance because 85 percent of the financial plan of JNA is realized on the domestic market.

Economizing Material and Financial Means Results from a Multitude of Immediate Assignments of JNA

a) Continued coordination of the organizational and formational structure of the units and institutions must be subordinated to the requirements and goals of the concept of defense of all Yugoslav nationalities. Each decision

within this framework must be preceded, among other, by economic analyses, using experiences acquired up to now as well as scientific methods and contemporary work organizations. In perfecting work methods, major possibilities still exist on all levels of command and leadership. An all-encompassing analysis of perfecting work methods and systems in each command or institution would reveal substantial reserves of time and consumption. Command organs would not need to accept the proposed decision and decide according to it unless supported by appropriate economic analyses, given if possible in several variants, so that the men in charge could choose the best. A decision which requires the most means may even be accepted, but on the condition that thereby the planned level of technical preparedness for combat is assured.

b) Assignments in the organization and functioning of the new system of ensuring backup provisions will contribute to rendering more efficient services. By combining administrative and executive functions in the barracks, garrisons and regions, conditions for a better and more functional organization of work and execution of assignments will be created. At the same time, the efficacy of all elements of backup provisions will improve, and conditions for a faster servicing of operative units will be created. In 1977, it is essential to continue with further improvement of the organization of the new system of ensuring backup provisions. This task will be continued more successfully if the commands are engaged, together with the all-encompassing cooperation of all organs which provide backup provisions. The goal is to create an organization which is economical, but adequately efficient in quick servicing of mainly operative units. It should be realized that a small organization cannot provide the quality of services that a large organization can; hence the integration of this system.

The organization of the new system of backup provisions in all respects corresponds to our concept of ONO [All People's Defense]. This leads to the conclusion that such an organization is most acceptable and most economical, and therefore requires the participation and support of all involved. In addition, it must be one of the priority assignments in 1977.

c) Major possibilities for a more rational and economical conduct of business exist also in construction. In 1976, the program of military construction was voluminous; construction of numerous general and personal projects was begun. The construction administration could hardly accommodate all these demands. Partly for this reason, all construction assignments could not be submitted in entirety for an all-encompassing and thoroughly scientific analysis. In such circumstances it is difficult to evaluate whether for each construction project the most satisfactory solution was found. Not infrequently, in making a decision, the estimate value was considered, which is substantially below the cost at the end of construction and affected, among other, by the conditions on the market. Additional funds are therefore difficult to obtain.

For 1977 the construction program has been somewhat decreased, in particular because of the lack of funds. The real needs are significantly greater; in the forthcoming period, it is therefore required to give more attention to

the needs of the construction. All these factors point to the conclusion that solid and timely preparations for building construction condition economical investment in this activity and in every project. Funds at disposal for 1977 must be allocated for the completion of projects already begun. Construction of essential projects, however, cannot be postponed for the next year. With respect to construction activity in 1977, it is essential to make preparations (resolution of legal property issues, urbanization, planning and other) for all those projects which have been planned in the intermediate-term plan. In this manner, the period of "long"-term construction will be shortened, which guarantees economy. Because substantial funds are invested in this activity, it is necessary that all participants constantly endeavor to spend the funds rationally and economically and maintain substantial reserves.

d) The army has at its disposal enormous material-technical means. Their correct use, care and maintenance constitute a crucial factor of combat readiness. Units and institutions perform technical maintenance and intermediate repairs. For these services the necessary funds are regularly planned; the spending depends on the relationship to technology. A large contribution here can be made by persons who deal with technology indirectly. Depending on technology, instruction and correct handling, it is possible to ensure their longer use and benefit. Of import here is the role which the commands and men in charge have, because with their own acts, personal example, supervision and control they constantly influence a more correct handling and use. All equipment should be in good working condition and should comply with--even surpass--the prescribed operational indices before they are sent for major and intermediate repairs.

In the new organization of technical units and institutions, conditions have been created for undertaking intermediate repairs at an even higher degree. Great savings can be effected in the area of care, maintenance and repair through a conscientious attitude, and thus a larger volume of assignments can be accomplished.

e) Substantial funds have been planned for instruction and schooling. The level of education as a whole depends on the quality of training and instruction, both in units and military schools. The aim is to achieve the maximal level of education by complying with the order to provide education, but with economical spending of funds. Because of the variety of assignments in training and instruction, correct planning and performance of assignments can produce substantial savings. Because of savings, it is possible to accomplish more assignments. In this respect, competition among units constitutes a very stimulating method. In evaluating the results, it is essential to evaluate the amount of funds and the expenditure of time required to accomplish them.

A re-examination of norms for training needs and the adoption of standard projects (drill fields, training grounds and others) is very important from the standpoint of economy and good management; these functions should be approached studiously and accorded full attention.

f) Purchases for the JNA in consideration of the funds spent are very significant from standpoint of economical management of spending. It is therefore necessary to present an organized approach on the market, to assure the quality of concluded agreements and to keep informed of how parties to agreements carry out their obligations and of what prices are obtained. The quality of carrying out these functions depends largely on how well organized the entire purchasing process is. In 1976 a consultation on purchasing took place, at which the existence of weaknesses was noted. There were cases where several persons from the same garrison were in the same enterprise and that agreements were made according to different prices. Most commonly, small orders result in higher prices.

In 1977 it is expected that this question will be approached in a more scientific and organized manner. With better organization, conditions would be created for producers to express more interest in the needs of the JNA. This is possible only if purchases increase in size and a categorization is made of who makes all the purchases of what and for whom. This would generate greater economic effects and ensure lower prices.

In each unit the plan of purchasing should be prepared on time and approved by the commanding personnel. In this manner, conditions for timely purchases would be created and it would be known ahead of time who may order what and how much. With planned purchasing better results would be ensured, and this would be reflected on the level of funds spent.

g) In the preceding period, significant results were obtained in the area of health care. In 1977, funds for health care were planned on the basis of monetary norms according to the number of insured. As a result, conditions are created for each command to follow up the spending of funds approved for this purpose.

Although the quality of service in military health institutions continues to improve steadily, individual insured members have chosen to seek health protection in civilian health institutions, where the cost to JNA are higher. This preference may have been prompted by the fact that in civilian health institutions it is easier to obtain sick leave for cures in health spas. Commands should review the causes of these phenomena and take appropriate measures to ensure that funds allocated for health protection are spent as economically as possible. All endeavors must be aimed at a high level of health protection, but with an economical spending of funds.

It is also very important to make timely payments for services which military health service institutions provide to users outside the JNA. In this respect, it is necessary to implement the directives of the Law on providing for payments among users of social funds. It is intolerable that these payments are not made for a longer period of time and because of that, major claims are outstanding.

Units and institutions earn a certain amount of income by providing services to third parties and by purchasing and selling surplus and used materiel. In the budget it has been planned that this source of income will provide 500,000,000 dinars and that these funds serve to cover costs, and for replenishing materiel. Although the Law on providing for payment among users of social funds makes possible timely payment of outstanding claims, certain units and institutions do not yet take sufficient advantage of it. Hence the substantial amount of unpaid debts. This is all the more difficult in that the units themselves dispose of income created as a cash source of their own. In 1977 much more attention ought to be given to this question, because these are the funds which enable the unit to accomplish certain assignments.

These are only some of the questions, activities and directions which demand our increased concern. Possibilities for more efficient operations and more economical spending of funds exist in all domains of activity and in the accomplishment of every assignment. It is therefore essential to determine how much the accomplishment of each assignment costs and whether it is possible with more planning and better organization to accomplish it with less money and time.

Conclusion

Funds approved for the 1977 budget will enable the JNA to accomplish its forthcoming assignments, provided maximal efforts are exerted. In the execution of assignments and economical spending of funds, the very best solutions must be found to raise the level of efficient operations to the utmost.

The Federal Secretary for National Defense, in his expose to the Assembly of SFRY, to explain the need for funds, said: "I wish to emphasize that the funds allocated in the Federation's budget for the JNA in 1977 are necessary. They mostly provide for the anticipated needs although, viewed objectively, the needs are greater. We will have to exert maximal efforts at more economical and rational spending in order to accomplish the assignments which our Supreme Commander, the League of Communists and our Socialist Community place before the Armed Forces." From these words of the Federal Secretary for National Defense, assignments and obligations of each member of the JNA clearly emerge.

Funds approved in the 1977 budget must be allocated to assignments according to the priority of combat preparedness. In the conduct of business and in each execution of assignments, questions of rationality and economy must be the focus of attention. With such use and spending of funds, it will be possible to provide the appropriate level of combat preparedness and justify the expenditure of approved funds.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

NEW SARAJEVO PARTY LEADERS--Sarajevo--Alija Lalic was today elected the new president of the Municipal Conference of the League of Communists of Sarajevo, replacing Dr Safat Serifovic, the former president who is taking up another post. The Municipal Conference of the League of Communists of Sarajevo also adopted a program today for the ideopolitical activity of the communists in this main town of Bosnia and Hercegovina in preparation for the 11th LCY Congress and the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina. In place of Bozidar Zan, who will become the secretary of the Preparatory Committee for the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Vojislav Miliijas, former secretary of the Municipal Committee of the League of Communists of Sarajevo, has been elected the new secretary of the Municipal Conference of the League of Communists of Sarajevo. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 28 Jul 77 LD]

NEW KOSOVO SECRETARY--Pristina--Mustafa Sefedini, new regional secretary for internal affairs of Kosovo, was sworn in today. [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1428 GMT 28 Jul 77 LD]

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