

JPRS 69716

31 August 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1439

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
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20000329 150

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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.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET		1. Report No. JPRS 69716	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1439			5. Report Date 31 August 1977	6.
7. Author(s)			8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
			11. Contract/Grant No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above			13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
			14.	
15. Supplementary Notes				
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				
<input type="checkbox"/> International Affairs <input type="checkbox"/> Albania <input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia		Propaganda Political Science Sociology Military Organizations		
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	21. No. of Pages 89
			20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price PCA05

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MLYNAR'S BACKGROUND, BELIEFS DESCRIBED

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 11 Jun 77 p 8

[Article by Angela Nacken: "From Prague to Rome"]

[Text] The 40-year old docent of legal sciences has the reputation of a talented politician with a developed sense for power and the possibilities it offers to the action-oriented. In Prague he stood in the shadow of power for 10 years. However, in June, when he accepted the offer by the Czechoslovak authorities to emigrate to Austria, the signatory of the "Charter 77" must have known what harm he was doing to the human rights movement. Zdenek Mlynar, a close collaborator of Alexander Dubcek, co-author of the party's "Action Program" was, as the "chief ideologist" of the Prague Spring, one of the most articulate fellow combatants of the lot.

But, in view of the changed constellation in world communism in Western Europe, Mlynar believes that he can apply himself for the objectives of the charter movement more purposefully in Western Europe than at home. The academician takes in stride the reproach by many of his fellow believers that he succumbed to pressure and the temptation of the exit passport. A few days ago, in Rome, he made the first contact with the leading members of the country's communist and socialist parties. The emigree hopes to be able to work at the Gramsci Institute. As long as socialism condones methods which are being applied in Eastern Europe, then, in Mlynar's opinion, the assurances of the Eurocommunists about the advantages of a socialist society cannot sound convincing. His recommendation to Eurocommunism is that it work out its own ideological positions on global problems and subject the experiences of the governing communist parties to reexamination. The former secretary and subsequent head of the Legal Commission of the Central Committee from 1964-1968 surely could make many a contribution.

The Czech from Vrchlabi joined the party in 1950 at the age of 20, studied for 3 years at the Law School of the Lomonosov University in Moscow, and was subsequently staff member of the highest Public Prosecutor's Office in Prague. Twenty years later the party organ, RUDE PRAVO, accuses Mlynar,

who in the meantime matured from a fanatic into a critic of the regime, of denouncing people in those years and "driving them under the gallows." In 1956, he changed over to the State and Law Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and was from 1962 till 1968 director of its theoretical department. In September 1968, already after the Soviet invasion of the country, Mlynar moved from the secretariat of the Central Committee to the party presidium. That same month he made a sensational televised speech in which he assessed the general direction of the reform positively, condemned the invasion, but at the same time criticised "political exhibitionism" and "irresponsible demagogues" who were given too much leeway.

Following this self-criticism, combined with the declaration that he would abide by the Moscow agreements "even if somebody described it with the horrible word collaboration," many saw in him a Czechoslovak Kadar. But a few months later Mlynar resigned from his post at the party presidium, was later suspended from all positions and landed at the entomological section of the National Museum. It transpired only in 1975 that he was the author of the memorandum to European communist parties which criticised the situation in the country. Mlynar is the highest official to emigrate to the West after his fall. In the hierarchy of emigrees he is, therefore, again at the top.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MLYNAR INTERVIEWED WHILE ATTENDING ITALIAN CP CONFERENCE

Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 21 Jul 77 p 9

[Interview with Zdenek Mlynar, exiled Czechoslovak CP official by Barbara Spinelli: "Berlinguer Must Not Break Ties With Moscow"]

[Text] Lucca, 20. "Carter's policy a cold war operation? But you must be joking! We cannot simplify for our own use and pleasure a complex phase of detente that has been opened by the new American administration. And then, we must find out in the name of what alternative strategy the campaign for human rights is held up to public scorn. I have the well-founded suspicion that behind this criticism there is the dream of inaction, and not a real fear concerning the future of East/West relations. By attacking Carter, Giscard seeks to 'stabilize,' to impose the status quo, on the left forces. Detente and Eastern Europe had nothing at all to do with it."

So says Zdenek Mlynar leader of the Czechoslovak "new course," the first great political exile of the opposition group that gathered around "Charter 77." He was in Lucca recently to participate in the conference organized by CESES [Economic and Social Study Center (of the Italian CP)] on the subject "Stability and Change in Eastern Europe."

In the "fiery spring" of 1968, Mlynar was the secretary of the Central Committee and a member of the Communist Party's executive board. His theoretical elaborations on the structure of the party and its pluralism became an integral part of the "action program" with which Alexander Dubcek attempted to reform the Czechoslovak political system. But his brief political career ended quickly. In November 1968 Mlynar was forced to abandon all his party jobs. He no longer found work as a student of politics and he turned into a trade which for him was a simple hobby, the study of insects. Even as an entomologist, however, Dubcek's ex-adviser is persecuted. He says, "It may seem incredible but even the books I wrote on the life of insects were subjected to censorship and they were sent abroad via clandestine channels, almost as though they were subversive texts. The objective was very clear: my name had to disappear from the face of the earth. They even prevented me from doing the simplest things such as collecting insects in the countryside. And the excuse

was that I could not leave Prague "for professional reasons." But the worst was still to come. On 17 January this year, I was abruptly fired because I had signed Charter 77. Since then, every move I made was checked; every person I chanced to meet, even the most insignificant, was searched and he was given a police record. My life became impossible and for that reason on 13 June I left Czechoslovakia. And the same thing happened to many other oppositionists. Just today I received a letter from Kusy, my dear friend and a philosopher of Bratislava. For many months he has been desperately searching for work. Recently he asked for a job as a street cleaner, but did not get it.

[Question] All this means that 9 years of "normalization" were not enough to reassure Husak. What effect can Carter's policies have on such a fragile regime?

[Answer] Actually, normalization has not worked and Husak was not able to become a Kadar. But the West cannot be subjected to the schedule the USSR imposes on its own empire. It is impossible to wait and see. And Carter has done nothing but to once more direct Brezhnev's attention to the principles codified in the Final Act of Helsinki. In the short run, certainly the policy of the new administration poses problems for the various dissenting groups and it is undeniable that repression has increased this year. But in the long run, Carter's strategy is a winner: sooner or later, the Soviet Union will have to answer to the challenge launched if it wants to find a way out of the blind alley it has backed into.

[Question] On the contrary, the critics of the U. S. president maintain that only the policy of small steps can be successful and that to destabilize the USSR and its empire is a dangerous game.

[Answer] It's a question of where the small steps lead. If the result is to bring about progressive improvement and a more accelerated rate of change, then the first steps are welcome. Even the alternative between stability and destabilization is poorly stated. Certainly the objective cannot be that of destabilizing the USSR and beginning a new phase of open confrontation between the East and the West. But neither can stability be seen as the perennial maintenance of the status quo in Eastern Europe, thus renouncing in the name of detente, the weapon of criticism. Otherwise even dissent would have to be condemned.

[Question] Even Eurocommunism represents a challenge to the stability of the Kremlin. What was its impact on the political balance in Eastern Europe?

[Answer] Eurocommunism and even Eurosocialism have greatly influenced the situation of the dissidents, and the reason is very simple. For the first time, in fact, the Eastern European regimes have not been able to silence the oppositionists by branding them as agents of imperialism since the entire European left supported them. This is true above all for the communist parties whose role in Eastern Europe is enormous. At the outside, it is much more important here

than in the West. The fact that they continue to be members of the international communist movement prevents Brezhnev from describing the dissidents as counterrevolutionaries. For this reason, it is not at all in the interests of the opposition that the PCI break its ties with Moscow. Because as soon as Berlinguer became a renegade and counterrevolutionary, the dissidents would automatically follow in his footsteps.

[Question] Then is the prudence of the PCI toward Moscow favorably considered by the dissidents?

[Answer] In a certain sense, yes. This does not mean that compromise with the USSR must be sought at all costs. The Eurocommunists must fight the battle for independence not only in our interests, but also in those of their respective nations.

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EAST GERMANY

AUGUST 1977 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30-31 Jul 77 p 10

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32, No 8, August 1977, signed to press 12 July 1977, pages 897-1008: "A Source of Ideas and Initiatives." The summaries of this EINHEIT issue's major articles have been translated and published in pages following this review]

[Text] At the beginning of its latest issue, EINHEIT publishes a fundamental contribution by Friedrich Ebert, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, titled, "Erich Honecker--Proven Leader of the Workers Class and Outstanding Statesman."

The journal also publishes seven contributions on the topic "Growth--Prosperity--Stability." From their various viewpoints, the authors illuminate the factors leading to the consistent implementation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy and to a high development rate in production.

Thus Claus Kroemke elucidates the special value of intensification and socialist rationalization, while Gerd Friedrich and Gerhard Schulz investigate the relationship between management activity and effectiveness in production. Proceeding from the results of the 31st CEMA meeting, Gerhard Weiss expounds the possibilities resulting from socialist economic integration for utilizing and expanding the great economic, scientific and technical potential of our community for the benefit of all working people and for the further strengthening of socialism.

Attention is also merited by an article in which Peter Neubert and Werner Roesch investigate how young workers, students and scientists participate with new ideas in the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and how they present their creative efforts, for example, at the "Fairs for the Masters of Tomorrow" (MMM) and at student performance exhibits. The authors point out that indeed this very MMM movement is growing increasingly into a pool of ideas and initiatives helping to develop and promote talent.

EAST GERMANY

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 8, Aug 77 signed to press 12 Jul 77
'For Documentation' addendum

Erich Honecker--Proven Leader of the Workers Class and Outstanding Statesman

[Summary of article by Friedrich Ebert, member, SED Central Committee Politburo; pp 899-908. A West German report on this EINHEIT article is inserted below the summary]

[Text] From his longtime cooperation at the highest party and government level, Friedrich Ebert extols the work of Erich Honecker on the occasion of his 65th birthday as a proven leader of the workers class and outstanding statesman. His life, full of fighting spirit, dedicated from earliest youth to the liberation of the workers class and to the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, led him, in the collective of the communists, to the top party and government position -- borne by the confidence of the comrades and all other working people, who see in him their most outstanding representative, whose work is a guarantee for our workers and farmers power's successful advance toward developed socialism and communism.

Personality Cult About Honecker

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 150, 9 Aug 77 pp 1-2

[Text] EINHEIT, the theoretical organ of the SED, has set down in its most recent edition, with a detailed encomium on state and party chief Erich Honecker, the basic orientation for the approaching festivities and tributes occasioned by Honecker's 65th birthday on 25 August. Erich Honecker, so it is stated in the birthday article written by Politburo member Friedrich Ebert, is among the personalities "who most deeply comprehend the objectives of their class, most clearly recognize the requirements of the struggle and are best qualified in explaining them convincingly to the masses and in organizing their capabilities." All party members and the other GDR citizens as well regarded him as "their most outstanding representative," whose work appeared to them as "a guarantee for the successful advance" of the GDR.

The entire population met him with "ever greater respect, veneration and love." "His ample abilities, comprehensive knowledge and upright character" had formed "in the course of a life full of fighting spirit." His work in the ranks of the communist movement had never stopped him from being a "learner." It had required of him "work and more work all the time." Many a hard test had been imposed upon him throughout, by which he had gained "above all energy, boldness and maturity." Any comrade could learn from Erich Honecker "what it means to fight with great energy and consistency, and firmly based on principle, for the realization of our goals."

The journal extols in detail Honecker's "most decisive share" in the reorientation of SED policy at the Eighth Party Congress in 1971. A new phase in the development of the SED had started at that party congress; the party performed there "a consistent turning to the immediate interests of the working people." The GDR citizens were right in closely connecting "this course of solidarity of the party with the people" with the name of Erich Honecker. "Through the power of example given by him day after day in word and deed, a new and wholly unprecedented relationship with the workers class party and its leadership" had developed all throughout the population. "A deeply felt and experienced matter of the mind and of the heart" had been from the outset for Honecker the solidarity and friendship with the Soviet Union. And he always had let himself be guided by considering CPSU experiences of "general importance."

Intensification and Socialist Rationalization for the Benefit of the People

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Claus Kroemke, deputy department chief in SED Central Committee; pp 909-918]

[Text] The intensification of the social reproduction process for the benefit of the people of necessity includes a decisive improvement in the effectiveness of live labor. That end is served by socialist rationalization which has the purpose of making labor more productive and creative, by the use of scientific and technological data, and improving the people's working and living conditions. A special point is made, as to rationalization priorities, of reducing jobs and improving the quality of production.

Management and Effectiveness From the Economic Research Viewpoint

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gerd Friedrich, deputy director of SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, member of GDR Academy of Sciences, chairman of Council for Economic Management Problems; and Prof Dr Gerhard Schulz, director, Institute for Political Economy of Socialism, SED CC's Academy of Social Sciences: chairman, Scientific Council for Political Economy of Socialism; pp 919-927]

[Text] The main issues are presented for improving management, planning and economic stimulation, meant to promote intensification all around, in conformity with the party's economic and sociopolitical goals, and to raise the efficiency and quality of production. Central attention is given to the economic activity of the combines and their further development, the management tasks for an accelerated implementation of scientific-technical progress and greater efficiency in it, the questions of conformity between economic and industrial enterprise benefits, and managerial responsibility for developing and using mass initiative.

On the Road of Socialist Economic Integration

[Summary of article by Dr Gerhard Weiss, member, SED Central Committee; deputy chairman, GDR Council of Ministers; permanent GDR representative at CEMA; pp 928-933]

[Text] The 31st CEMA meeting combined its assessment of the economic and scientific-technical cooperation among the CEMA countries directly with extolling the Great Socialist October Revolution. The meeting found that reciprocal relations among the fraternal countries' national economies were becoming deeper and more complex. Deliberations were engaged in on the tasks for continued dynamic economic growth for the CEMA countries' community.

Youth in the Struggle for Scientific-Technical Progress

[Summary of article by Peter Neubert, social scientist, political researcher in SED Central Committee; and Werner Roesch, pedagogue, social scientist, chief, 'Fair for the Masters of Tomorrow' central office at GDR Council of Ministers' department for youth problems; pp 934-937]

[Text] Initiated by the FDJ, the decisive political force in the MMM movement, the young generation is engaged in diverse activities in preparation of the 20th Central Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and the sixth performance exhibit for students and young scientists. The Ninth Party Congress and the 10th Parliament have oriented the MMM movement more strongly toward solving tasks of the science and technology plan. The creative participation by youth, supported by the government managers and other mass organizations, principally aims at deepening our intensification, primarily through scientific-technical progress.

Internal Production of Rationalization Means--A Commandment of National Economic Responsibility

[Summary of article by Adolf Goessel, economist; Rainer Paust, engineer; and Dr Heinz Wedler, member, SED Erfurt Bezirk management; the three authors are, respectively, scientific staff member, department head and director general at the VEB Watches and Machine Combine, Ruhla; pp 938-943]

[Text] The VEB Watches and Machine Combine, Ruhla, has had good experiences in increasing labor productivity, improving efficiency, and an ever higher grade of assortments more and more in line with what the customers want, through its own production of means of rationalization. The results of Ruhla document that coping with scientific-technical progress by the enterprises and combines includes the development of a technically demanding and organizationally well managed development of means of rationalization.

Scientific-Technical Progress in Crop Production

[Summary of article by Gerhard Ehrlich, social scientist, agriculture secretary in SED Leipzig Bezirk management; pp 944-950]

[Text] To get to a steady and continual increase in yield and efficiency in crop production, the production must become more and more industrialized and the intensification factors must be implemented in a complex manner. Science and technology play an ever greater role in this. By use of experiences made in Leipzig Bezirk it is being shown what the contribution is that comes from agro-chemical centers and kreis enterprises in rural technology in the intensification of crop production and how the fulfillment of their tasks is promoted by the political-ideological work of the party.

Continuous Advanced Training in the Interest of Personality Development and Social Progress

[Summary of article by Hans-Joachim Kloth, vocational teacher, department chief in State Secretariat for Vocational Training; Dr Gerhard Pogodda, section chief in GDR Central Institute for Vocational Training; and Prof Dr Georg Schmelzer, research program head in pedagogy section, Humboldt University, East Berlin; pp 951-957]

[Text] The working people's advanced training has always been an important party concern. Adult training has taken another upsurge especially after the Ninth Party Congress. The best successes have been reported in places where it was planned and implemented as part of the complex industrial reproduction process and condition for our intensification. We must, in using these positive experiences, purposefully tap all resources in training and advanced training which form personality and increase productivity, in accordance with our economic requirements.

Traditions of Our People's Art

[Summary of article by Dr Horst Oeser, deputy director, GDR Central House for Cultural Work; pp 958-964]

[Text] The legacy of our popular art production embraces all humanistic and democratic cultural traditions of the past and today also already includes the rich traditions in the development of a socialist national culture in the GDR. As sources that constantly must be tapped anew in contemporary works and programs this also includes the cultural achievements of the revolutionary workers movement as they relate to the shaping of the developed socialist society and the new historic dimensions of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Internationalization of Capital and Struggle of the Workers Class

[Summary of article by Dr Lothar Winter, lecturer, research on imperialism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 965-971]

[Text] The internationalization of capital has reached a new level, and the communists in the FRG are making a significant contribution to a theoretical analysis of it. From the development of the international monopolies and state monopoly integration, they are deriving concrete conclusions for the struggle for deepening proletarian internationalism and for the workers class unity of action. Proceeding from the doctrines by Marx, Engels and Lenin and from the experiences of the revolutionary workers movement, they are taking issue with the rightist and "left" opportunist opinions directed against that struggle.

'Social Market Economy'--Monopoly Capital's Morbid Concept of Domination

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Peter Hess, chief scientific researcher, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 972-977]

[Text] The 'social market economy' occupies a central role in the debate on the economic-political conception of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the FRG. That has been the slogan under which the power of monopoly capital was built up and propagandistically embellished. The truth is that the 'social market economy' is neither 'social' nor is it aimed at creating 'free markets,' but it is an economic, political and ideological concept of monopoly capital domination conforming in practice to state monopoly capitalism. Being in a deep crisis, that conception is incompatible with human dignity, freedom and social justice.

The Exploiters and the Exploited--'Social Partners?'

[Summary of article by Dr Guenter Kalex, political researcher, SED Central Committee; pp 978-983]

[Text] The "social partnership" between "employers" and "employees" that has been propagated by the state monopolist entrepreneurs associations turns out to be, theoretically as practically, a significant component of the class struggle strategy of monopoly capital. It aims at the stabilization of the profit system, the splitting of the workers class and its subjection under the tutelage of its exploiters. Realities in the FRG confirm instead that a "social partnership" between exploiter and exploited is impossible and that the workers class can enforce its vital interests only through the struggle against capitalist exploitation and monopoly power.

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LIBERAL DEMOCRATS ANALYZE PROBLEMS OF CLASS RAPPROCHEMENT

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 121, 28 Jun 77 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Evident Social Differences Between Classes and Strata in the GDR." A translation of the East Berlin LDPD-INFORMATIONEN article discussed below follows this commentary. For related information see JPRS 68886, 6 April 1977, No 1375 of this series, pages 94-102]

[Text] Despite the gradual rapprochement of classes and strata in the GDR and the "basic community of interests already prevailing" among them, the "classless society" propagated by the communists is still a far distant goal. This was recently emphasized by the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] in its LDPD-INFORMATIONEN. It was "wrong and harmful to consider accomplished tasks which are still outstanding." The final elimination of classes, the removal of the persisting profound social differences between town and countryside, physical and mental work was a "difficult and long drawn out operation." According to the LDPD-INFORMATIONEN the classes and strata in the GDR differ primarily by "the various stages and forms of development of socialist ownership of the means of production, the role of the social organization of labor, the definition of the socialist nature of labor and the type or amount of income." These social differences should be neither underestimated nor glossed over.

LDPD Organ on Classes and Strata in Socialism

East Berlin LDPD-INFORMATIONEN in German Vol 31 No 6, Jun 77 pp 13-15

[First installment of series on "LDPD in the Alliance--Problems of Shaping Developed Socialism" by Lutz Hoyer, staff member, secretariat of LDPD central executive]

[Text] Though socialism is no longer a class society in the traditional meaning of the term, it is not a classless society either. This statement--which reflects the basic appreciation permeating the first section of the Central Executive's report to our 12th Party Congress--summarizes many

problems of the sociostructural development of the socialist society. Some of them will be dealt with in greater detail in the following article.

Classes Are not the Same as Classes

Some will consider the above statement too vague, especially because it says twice over what socialism is not. That, however, derives from the historic position of socialism. Socialism is not the last stage of the class society --it is the beginning of the final abolition of classes. Let me remind you that the double negation has two points of reference. One provides the demarcation between socialism and the capitalist class society as well as generally any antagonistic class society; the second indicates the differences between socialism and communism.

In other words: The division of society into antagonistic classes and the exploitation of man by man is abolished in socialism, but class differences still persist. Socialism cannot, therefore, be defined as a class society because the characteristic features of a class society have been removed; for the same reason it is no longer possible to speak of classes in the original meaning of the term. After all, Lenin concluded the definition of classes with the sentence: "Classes are groups of people, one of which may acquire the labor of another as a result of its different position in a specific system of social economy."¹

Experience has taught us that a "jump" from the class society of capitalism to the classless communist society is impossible. That has several reasons. Let me cite only one. Although the development of capitalism resulted in a far reaching simplification of class relations, that development did not achieve a stage in which only the two main classes of this society, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, were left to confront one another. If this were the case, the removal of the exploiter classes by the socialist revolution would in fact largely coincide with the organization of the classless society. In fact, however, due to the development level of the productive forces and of the social division of labor achieved, other large working classes and strata (such as the working farmers, the social strata of the intelligentsia and the urban middle strata) continue to exist side by side with the two basic classes of the capitalist society. Here is the objective cause of the fact that, despite the elimination of the exploiter class, classes and strata generally have not yet been abolished.

The Historic Place of Developed Socialism

These reflections show quite clearly that statements about the social and class structure in socialism can be made only in connection with the definition of the historic place of socialism and--of particular interest to us here--the developed socialist society.

At our 12th Party Congress party chairman Dr Manfred Gerlach stressed the importance of this question for us LDPD members in the Central Executive

report. He said: "The definition of the historic position of the developed socialist society and its features...provides...us Liberal Democrats also with a clear long-term sociopolitical orientation for our efforts as allies of the working class and its party."²

As you know the communist form of society has two stages: Socialism and communism. These are two stages of one and the same formation, and the borderlines between them are not rigid. In the final analysis they differ by the extent of the economic maturity society has managed to achieve. The communist formation--defined in its second stage as the classless society--replaces capitalism and with it the entire era of the antagonistic class society. Between the capitalist and the communist formation "lies the period of revolutionary transformation of the one into the other,"³ that is the transition from capitalism to socialism which, in the GDR, extended from 1945 to the early 1960's. This is followed by socialism, the first stage of the united communist form of society.

The historic experiences of the countries of the socialist community of nations have shown that it is not possible immediately after the conclusion of the transition period to plunge into the building of communism, the second stage of the communist formation. Instead a prolonged period is needed for the all-round development of the productive forces and social relations and the further evolution of socialist consciousness. That is precisely what is happening in the shaping of the developed socialist society, a period which must not be confused with the developed socialist society itself. In our republic, for example, much remains to be done until we may claim "that the developed socialist society has been built in the GDR."⁴ In other words: Socialism, as the first stage of the communist formation, itself undergoes a process of maturation. The objective dialectic between socialism and communism is such that "only the complete utilization of the historic potential of socialism...produces the material and intellectual conditions conducive to the gradual transition to communism."⁵

The Evolution of a Class Structure Consonant With Socialism

What, therefore, is the inference for the social and class structure in socialism?

All experiences and requirements of the socialist construction lead us to the conclusion that the class structure consonant with the socialist society must be consciously developed on the historically long and complex road to the classless communist society.

It follows from the developmental standard of the productive forces and the social division of labor achieved at the time of the socialist revolution that the nonproletarian working classes and strata as "working" classes and strata (in contrast to the overthrown exploiter class) have various economic, intellectual and therefore also political functions vital for socialism both at the beginning and at all stages of the building of socialism. All we need

think of are the working farmers who, until communism, are the largest food producers and important raw material producers. Or the intelligentsia. As crucial social representatives and contributors of intellectual work (requiring advanced education), science, scientific-technological progress, education and culture, the intelligentsia hold extremely important functions and duties in the building and shaping of the new society.

The working class needs and uses its power to abolish in the shortest delay the exploiting classes buttressing the old society and their ownership of the means of production. The relationship between the leading working class and the working farmers, the intelligentsia and the middle strata is fundamentally different. These classes and strata are not "liquidated" by the working class; instead, led by the working class and cooperating with it they gradually disappear as a result of the emergence of the appropriate conditions. That requires other methods and longer terms than are needed to overthrow the capitalist class. This process can be completed only--and that is the crucial aspect--by way of cooperation, political and economic alliances, the gradual socialist transformation of the classes and strata in connection with the development of the socialist economy, the material-technological basis of socialism, the development of socialist ownership conditions, the socialist lifestyle, democracy and consciousness, and by way of the progressive adjustment of classes and strata with the leadership of the working class.

The Decisive Aspects of the Social Structure in Socialism

The socialist transformation of the class structure begins in the transition period from capitalism to socialism by the establishment of the political power of the working class, the removal of the capitalist exploiter class and the evolution and development of socialist ownership of the decisive means of production. The characteristic elements of the class structure of the socialist society evolve as a result of this revolutionary transformation, and this society is free from any class antagonism. In the GDR it is characterized mainly by the leading working class, the class of cooperative farmers, the social strata of the intelligentsia and other working strata. All classes and strata emerge from this revolutionary transformation (they themselves accomplish) with a different social and political standpoint than they held upon entering this process.

The planned shaping of the developed socialist society which began in the GDR in the early 1960's signaled a qualitatively new stage in the development of the classes and their structure. The novel feature of this historic stage consists especially in the fact that the classes and strata now develop by advancing from the bases they themselves created in the transitional period, and that the socialist nature of the classes, the class structure and the class relations are progressively defined. While the role of the working class grows, all classes and strata undergo a profound qualitative growth in this period of the development of socialism.

The decisive aspect of the social structure of the socialist society is represented by the leading role of the working class and the community of interests between the working classes and strata. "The nature of the socialist society can be understood correctly only if one appreciates the existing classes and strata as socialist groups of working people who are linked to one another by significant socioeconomic, political and ideological communities of interest."⁶

The policy of alliances pursued by the working class and its party--our 12th Party Congress explained to all members and the citizens close to us-- "continues to be of strategic significance. Its long-term nature results from the persistence of several, amicably linked classes and strata during the shaping of the developed socialist society and from the necessity in the future also not to leave anyone behind in the advance of our society but instead to persuade all to cooperate in the accomplishment of the tasks confronting us."

Communities of Interest and Differences Between Classes and Strata

As the result of our earlier development basic communities of interest between the classes and strata now exist and represent a solid foundation for the advance of our society on the road to developed socialism. It would, however, be wrong and harmful to consider accomplished various tasks which are still outstanding. The final abolition of classes, the removal of the persisting substantial social differences between town and countryside, physical and mental labor--these require hard and long efforts. While it is imperative, therefore, "always to start from the communities of interest between the classes and strata, the maturity achieved by the socialist conditions, it is equally important neither to underestimate nor gloss over the social differences which are still with us."⁸

The classes and social strata in socialism are large groups of working people who, together, shape the new society, are united mainly by the socialist ownership of the means of production, the common labors for the improved satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people and for whom society is the general and standard criterion of the share in social wealth, but who differ by the stages or forms of socialist ownership of the means of production, their role in the social organization of labor, the extent of the definition of the socialist nature of labor and the type or amount of incomes.⁹

Characterized by these features of the classes the social structure of the socialist society differs fundamentally from the social structure of the obsolete capitalist society, for which irreconcilable hostility and growing differences between exploited and exploiting classes are typical. At the same time it differs substantially from the social structure of the perfected communist society in which all class differences will be eliminated and social equality realized.

To demonstrate the historic dimension of our achievements let me point out that a qualitatively new trend of sociostructural development is gaining the upper hand in the socialist society: The tendency characteristic for the capitalist form of society of the constant exacerbation of class conflicts and social differentiations has been replaced by the new trend of the planned and gradual growth of significant communities of interest between the working classes and strata and the progressive removal of social, especially class differences.

The Social Adjustment of the Classes

At this point we touch upon the problem of the social adjustment of the classes and strata. The SED program describes this as a historically inevitable, significant and long drawn out process.¹⁰

This ongoing rapprochement is the basic trend in the changes occurring in the social structure of the socialist society. In the final analysis it results in the emergence of the classless society. Important prerequisites are furnished by the shaping of the developed socialist society.

The rapprochement of the classes and strata is not merely a matter of the cooperation of classes and strata and the consolidation of their alliances. It is also a matter of the growth of their communities of interest and the decline in differences between them as well as the related social differences between town and countryside, mental and physical labor.

The process of rapprochement proceeds in all areas of social life, in production by the changes in the nature of labor occasioned by the attitude to the ownership of the means of production, the adjustment of lifestyles, the intellectual-cultural standards, ideology, and so on. At the same time we must not confuse this process with the decline and eventual abolition of all differences between people, differences in their lifestyles, and so on: The rapprochement of classes and strata is actually a process of the decline and, in the long run, abolition of the social differences at present still persisting in the socialist society.

The decisive--that is the material--basis of this adjustment is the development of production, the improvement of its efficiency, scientific-technological progress and the rise in productivity. The content, direction and rate of rapprochement of the classes and strata are determined primarily by the working class as the leading power in our society.

At the same time all classes and strata make their own and indispensable contribution to the shaping of the developed socialist society and thereby also to the rapprochement of classes and strata.

This was the guiding principle of our party at its 12th Congress, when it stated that we Liberal Democrats as part of the National Front consider the rapprochement of classes and strata an inevitable process and "especially by

our ideological labors--aim to help perfect the socialist production conditions, develop the productive forces in town and country, further promote socialist democracy and altogether define the socialist lifestyle."¹¹

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, V.I.: "The Great Initiative," Collected Works, Vol 29, p 410.
2. "Central Committee Report at the 12th LPDPD Congress," reporter: Manfred Gerlach; special issue, p 4.
3. Marx, Karl: "Kritik des Gothaer Programms" [Critique of the Gotha Program], Marx/Engels: Werke, Vol 19, p 28.
4. Hager, Kurt: "The Ninth Party Congress and Social Sciences," in "Materialien der Konferenz der Gesellschaftswissenschaftler der DDR am 25. und 26. November 1976 in Berlin" [Materials of the Conference of GDR Sociologists on 25 and 26 November 1976 in Berlin], Berlin 1977, p 11.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, p 37.
7. Central Committee Report, as before, p 5.
8. Hager, Kurt, as before, p 37.
9. See Collective of Authors: "Zur Entwicklung der Arbeiterklasse und Ihrer Struktur in der DDR" [On the Development of the Working Class and Its Structure in the GDR], Berlin 1976, pp 65/66.
10. See "Programm der SED" [SED Program], Berlin 1976, p 39.
11. Central Committee Report, as before, p 6.

Workers Class-Intelligentsia Alliance

East Berlin LPDPD-INFORMATIONEN in German Vol 31 No 7, Jul 77 pp 13-14

[Second installment of series on "LPDPD in the Alliance--Problems of Shaping Developed Socialism" by Dr Ulrich Dirksen, staff member, secretariat of LPDPD central executive]

[Excerpt] The working principles of a large section of the scientific-technological intelligentsia have changed profoundly as a consequence of the growing links between science and production in our society. On the basis of common interest the challenging tasks for the speed-up of scientific-technological progress are feasible only by extensive socialist cooperation

between scientists, engineers and experienced workers. Parallel to this development the work and the demeanor of the members of the scientific-technological intelligentsia is increasingly determined by such features and qualities of the working class as really stem from the nature of industrial work itself: Discipline, a strong sense of community and responsibility. The modern labor process makes this quite inevitable.

Of course this should not be equated with a lack of regard for the special features of scientific work. Scientific work still implies the advance to new territory; and it is often impossible to predict what awaits the researcher there. This fact obligates the scientist, the designer and the technician always to examine the new results with a view to their possible social utilization or effects, and urgently to warn of the danger of abuse. This responsibility largely accounts for the high esteem our society extends to the work of the scientist, to the scientific-technological intelligentsia generally.

The alliance between working class and intelligentsia has been shown to be an objective and indispensable basis of socialism. The LDPD will encourage this alliance in every way possible.

For many members of the scientific-technological intelligentsia in our society socialist cooperation in their enterprises and facilities has become just as much a habit and a need as their work as party functionaries, people's representatives, members of National Front committees or leadership bodies of social organizations. Professional work for the all-round consolidation of the GDR and social activism, great professional knowledge and profound insight into social developmental interrelations all depend upon one another. This close connection triggers new impulses for professional efforts and helps us prove ourselves in the service of the community. That is an experience we do not want to miss.

All in all: The LDPD has great potential and many opportunities to support the far ranging, challenging scientific-technological tasks of our society. It is imperative extensively to use them.

Scholars and Social Differences

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 125, 5 Jul 77 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Scholars: 'Socialism Cannot Eliminate Social Differences'"]

[Text] Scientists at the East Berlin Academy of Sciences warned of illusions about the development of a uniform "socialist lifestyle" and the elimination of social differences in the GDR. In a basic report they state verbatim: "The socialist society is unable to eliminate social differences" and can only aim at their diminution. For the foreseeable future there will be no standardization of the lifestyles of the various population groups in the GDR.

Nor do the East Berlin scientists expect any real leveling between the various strata as far as the standard of living is concerned. Differences in the standard of living, they say, are decided by many factors, and currently these are still widely different and sometimes contradictory. These factors must be expected to persist for some considerable time, and any decline in differentiation is bound to be gradual.

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DEPUTY MINISTER OUTLINES PEOPLE'S POLICE DUTIES

East Berlin UNSER BRANDSCHUTZ in German No 7, Jul 77 pp 1-4

[Article by Lt Gen Rudolf Riss, first deputy minister of the interior: "All Energy Toward the Fulfillment of Our Class Mission"]

[Text] This year's Day of the People's Police is embedded in the creative initiatives of the workers and other working people in our country for the achievement of new and outstanding results in the accomplishment of the Ninth Party Congress decisions. Never before did the working people's participation in the development of production, its management and planning, the improvement of the material and cultural standard of living of society have such breadth and strength of content and extent as now, in honor of the jointly celebrated 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (see Erich Honecker, speech at the Ninth FDGB Congress).

Faced with increasingly challenging tasks and led by the party, the members of the German People's Police and other organs of the Ministry of the Interior also devote all their energies to the further improvement of the social efficacy of their work and thereby the exemplary accomplishment of their class duty which is the all-round consolidation and reliable defense of the workers and farmers power. By so doing they respond especially to the assignment issued by the Minister of the Interior and head of the German People's Police "in 1977, in honor of the Great October Socialist Revolution, to achieve advanced operational results--in every branch and in every office of the service."

Especially as a consequence of the mass initiative honoring the Red October impressive results have been achieved. The efficiency of our measures to prevent and fight crime increased along with the efficiency of traffic and fire safety. Combat strength and readiness advanced, and further progress was noted in the consolidation of internal order, military discipline and revolutionary vigilance.

Orienting to Increasing Quality and Efficiency of the Service

The appraisal of earlier results of the mass initiative for the appropriate preparation of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution clearly showed that the greatest successes were achieved where:

- On the basis of lively and aggressive politico-ideological education mass initiative is energetically tackled and concentrated on the respective main operational problems;
- The party organizations purposefully handle party educational tasks and act in accordance with their mobilizing role;
- Superiors fully discharge their responsibilities, especially in the preparation of assignments and the methods of their accomplishment as well as in the planned appraisal of the results achieved;
- The assignments for the reliable assurance of order and security are firmly incorporated with the social processes and comprehensively implemented;
- The growing social potential, the perfection of socialist democracy, the increasing activism of the working people are meaningfully utilized also for the purpose of order and security.

It has been confirmed in daily life that the members of our organs are increasingly penetrating the nature of the Ninth Party Congress resolutions and thereby the basic concerns and comprehensive nature of their class mission.

In their daily duties they are consistently guided by the fact that stable public order and security serve the defense of socialism and peace, the assurance of territorial integrity and the inviolability of the GDR's state borders. They contribute substantially to the defense of the socialist state and social order, social property, socialist achievements and the creative labor of the people, their dignity and freedom, lives and health, rights and personal property against hostile attacks and other crimes.

Order and security exert a great deal of influence on the further evolution of socialist democracy, the deepening of the confidence felt by the citizens in their state and the consistent consolidation of the socialist legal order.

The appropriate actions of our comrades demonstrate their understanding of the party's challenge to even more intimately couple the activities of the security organs with the social activism for the guarantee of socialist legality, order and security.

The work of the comrades is also increasingly motivated by the knowledge that order and security considerably assist the uninterrupted advance of the economy as well as the working people's struggle for great achievements and the rapid growth of productivity, thereby notably affecting the efficiency and intensification of social production. They know that--as the law on the five-year plan puts it--these are fundamental conditions for the defense of socialist property and important prerequisites for the effective deployment of the available resources.

We have an excellent basis for the further improvement of quality and efficiency in our future work also, consonant with the needs of our party. That improvement is the clear target of the Ninth Party Congress for the strengthening of order and security. It includes the standard achieved as the result of total societal efforts and the unprecedented receptiveness of the working people to cooperation in the accomplishment of these tasks just as much as the politico-ideological solidarity, the unceasing further education and the material-technological equipment appropriate to the requirements of the organs of the Ministry of the Interior as well as the purposeful utilization of the experiences collected by the Soviet Militia.

What are our further efforts to concentrate on?

Of eminent importance is the effective pursuit of the creative mass initiative. This helps largely further to develop the socialist mode of thought and the attitude of all comrades, develop their wealth of ideas and abilities and encourage their readiness critically and realistically to appraise their own work and orient themselves to the best.

It offers every opportunity to make the struggle for the best quality and efficiency of labor the constant basic concern of thought and action.

Experiences demonstrate that success is most pronounced where our officers and sergeants are consistently oriented to the implementation of decisions, legal regulations, orders and other directives, each comrade is clearly instructed in his personal duties, given definite tasks and constructive help, and where consideration for all initiatives, the prompt generalization of positive experiences and methods as well as the constant reporting of results are ensured.

Of crucial importance also is the steadily deeper understanding of the interrelation between the class conflict at international level and the fulfillment of the main task and reliable order and security. This ensures our comrades being increasingly aware of the political significance of their actions, interpreting the defense of the socialist state power as the key question of our responsibility toward the working class, and deriving therefrom clear political attitudes and standpoints as well as the motivation for exemplary conduct in the service.

As we see in daily life, the constant endeavor to obtain the best results necessitates consciousness of the fact that the dynamic and complexity of the social development require us not to consider the current level of awareness as the ultimate achievement. The tasks for our organs are no longer the same as yesterday; in view of the constant progress of our society their importance looms larger now. That is why the understanding of the phenomena and connections as well as the conclusions arising therefrom for the corresponding requirements on our work represent an unending process which proceeds at an increasingly high level. It is therefore necessary to think in ever new dimensions and apply more demanding criteria.

To Develop Reserves for the Defense and Advance of the Economy

The significant role assigned by the Ninth Party Congress to the economy as the economic basis of our total societal development also determines the priority we must give the all-round protection and promotion of the economy and socialist property with regard to its efficiency.

The economic targets can be achieved only if the internal connection of all the 10 intensification factors listed by Comrade Erich Honecker is recognized, and if they are comprehensively applied. Here also order and security are of the utmost significance as factors genuinely raising productivity and efficiency. We must therefore do everything we can to increasingly develop the reserves available by virtue of the socially more effective enforcement of socialist law. It is imperative for officers and sergeants who are mindful of their assignment, to concentrate on

-- The further improvement of crime prevention and detection by more comprehensive knowledge of the processes in the national economy, the further perfection of specialization and closer cooperation with the state and enterprise control organs, and at the same time penetrating more profoundly the causes and conditions in order consistently to work toward their removal;

-- The further increase in the efficiency of state control of fire prevention as well as the readiness of the forces and resources of the fire brigade in enterprises and facilities as well as greater managerial influence, so as even more effectively to direct the work of the plant protection police to the defense and security of the national economy;

-- The more thorough analysis of the knowledge gained from dealing with crimes and other offenses, breakdowns, fires or checks, in order to derive conclusions for raising the efficiency of their own work or obtain more instructive information for the economy managing organs, enterprises, labor unions, and so on;

-- The exertion of more lasting influence on the observance by the respective state manager of the legal regulations relating to order and security and, in doing so, imaginatively to utilize the opportunities offered by the VP [People's Police] law, the StGB [penal code], the StPO [code of criminal procedure], the fire safety law, the decree on the functions, rights and duties of state enterprises, combines and VVB's [associations of state enterprises] and other legal regulations.

At the same time the accomplishment of these tasks is the most efficient way of supporting the efforts of the workers and other working people for exemplary order and security, cleanliness and discipline. These are all the more fruitful the more harmoniously they are linked with the struggle for greater production results in the socialist competition.

To Concentrate on the Introduction of the new StVO [Street Traffic Regulation]

The further improvement of road safety is of cardinal importance. In the meaning of the main task we are particularly concerned with

-- The best possible traffic order, safety and fluidity in order to meet the growing economic needs with respect to traffic and transportation;

-- The even sounder defense of the lives and health of the citizens as well as of socialist and personal property.

These safety demands are all the more important because carriage and transport services continue to grow, the stock of motor vehicles in the economy and in private ownership is steadily increasing while international transit, travel and tourist traffic is getting heavier and because, as a consequence, traffic on the roads of our republic must be expected to continue growing denser.

In the immediate future one key point of our work must be the preparation of the introduction of the new street traffic regulation, which in turn must be coupled with the perfection of all measures for the improvement of traffic safety. Experiences show that the most effective contribution to the implementation of the legal regulations is provided by our qualified work. This implies the necessity for even more purposefully combating the main causes of accidents and accident black spots by comprehensive road traffic controls and traffic educational publicity.

Considerable reserves for the improvement of traffic organization can be developed by more efficient work with traffic conceptions. Here special attention is due commuter travel, freight transport, the housing construction program and agriculture. Also very important is the expansion of social cooperation for the purpose of improving traffic safety, especially by broadening its base in enterprises and regions.

All our measures must make their maximum contribution to the greater definition of the law consciousness of those involved in traffic, encourage their education and training in order to ensure behavior appropriate to the situation, strengthen comprehensive accident prevention and further improve the objective traffic conditions.

Better To Utilize the Advantages and Potential of our Society

The total societal nature of the assurance of order and security as well as the dimension and complexity of the tasks involved therein call objectively for the increasingly efficient use of the potentials and advantages of our socialist order.

The implementation of the Ninth Party Congress directive for the perfection of socialist democracy must therefore be a firm element in the accomplishment

of all our tasks. If we start from the assumption that the purposeful cooperation of the working people--especially the working class--in the assurance of order and security represents a crucial reserve for the further consolidation of the state of order and security, it is quite obvious why the comprehensive utilization of the potential mentioned is a necessary element of scientific management.

Consonant with the tried and tested experiences it will therefore be necessary everywhere to ensure the provision of even more instructive information for the people's representations and their organs, the social organizations and all working people, relating to the respective problems, the more constructive cooperation with the people's representations and their various organs as well as with other state organs and social organizations, and the even more persuasive demeanor of senior officers as well as law propagandist activities generally.

All operational decisions must be so appropriate that they meet the demand jointly with the working people to ensure a higher standard of order and security.

We hold a special responsibility for the work of the voluntary helpers and other working people directly cooperating with us in specific matters. Starting from the fact that the quality and efficiency of the VP helpers deployment largely depends on the standard of police work, our efforts must be directed primarily toward the meaningful utilization of all their potential, intelligently planning their work and making it as beneficial as possible by way of definite assignments, exact reporting and purposeful training. Everyone must be aware that we must make rational use of the leisure these voluntary helpers sacrifice to assist the People's Police. The suggestions of the helpers also (and that is not the least point to be considered) provide a stimulus for improving our own work.

Every officer and sergeant, therefore, has a wide field for creative action in the meaning of the party decisions, the legal regulations, the orders and other instructions, and for cooperation in ensuring that the People's Police and the other organs of the Ministry of the Interior duly help the all-round consolidation of our German Democratic Republic in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution.

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EAST GERMANY

TANK, MOTOR VEHICLE TRAINING AT MILITARY ACADEMY

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 7, Jul 77 pp 292-295

[Article by collective of authors: "The Ernst Thaelman Ground Forces Higher Officers' School -- Armor and Vehicle Equipment Section"]

[Text] The stormy development of armor and vehicle equipment has meant, on the one hand, an increase in the combat power of units and, on the other hand, has also given rise to complex and complicated missions. A high level of military technical training is required to be able to correctly operate armor and vehicle equipment, to fully use its combat capabilities, to expertly service and conscientiously maintain it. The time when physical strength and simple tools served to maintain this equipment is long past. Modern tanks and vehicles require a scientific approach.

From this comes the mission of the Armor and Vehicle Equipment Section. It trains officers of the armor and vehicle services as well as giving all graduates of the higher officers' school a solid, applicable and service- and war-related military technical knowledge and skills. Future officer personalities are to be educated to love, attentiveness and trust to armor and vehicle equipment. They must acquire and learn the various man-machine relationships in their didactic unity and be able to comprehensively use them to master armor and vehicle equipment to guarantee high combat readiness of their unit. To this end graduates of the Armor and Vehicle Equipment Section are given, in addition to basic Marxist-Leninist knowledge, solid mathematical and scientific, military and military technical knowledge and skills.

Thanks to the solicitude of our party and government leadership in unity with the activity and initiative of all members of the section, in recent years a training base created in accordance with modern didactic methodological viewpoints was

established. With it the teaching staff is able to accomplish intensive and realistic armor and vehicle technical training on a high scientific level and, at the same time, use the potential of military technical training for communist education of officer candidates.

The career and political development of Colonel and Certified Engineer O. Hauschild, commander of the section, is closely associated with the development of our socialist republic. It typically shows how young class-conscious workers are comprehensively promoted and supported in our state.

He learned the profession of a toolmaker, qualified as a foreman and was already aggressively leading a youth brigade at an early age. He was sent to study at the Engineering School for Machine Building in Ilmenau because of his active and resolute political and professional work.

Active in the Free German Youth, he was already accepted as a member of the party of the working class in January 1949. As a result of the Second Party Congress, Comrade Hauschild followed the call of our party and began serving in the armed forces.

During his 25 years of service he was, beginning as a tank driver, successfully active in the positions of platoon leader, company commander and deputy for technical equipment at the level of battalion to formation.

He had, particularly in the many years of his service in the headquarters of a formation, rich practical experience in the education and training of servicemen and in the command of the armor and vehicle service and he resolutely uses this experience today in the education and training of officer candidates.

From 1967 to 1971 he attended the Friedrich Engels Military Academy and gained the qualification of a certified engineer. Further he completed a course for higher academic cadres at the Marshal Malinovskiy Military Armor Academy of the Soviet Army. The section commander devotes particular attention to building closer, heartier and more broadly effective relationships with our Soviet brothers in arms.

Colonel Hauschild is distinguished by resolute, aggressive work, his motto being "command men -- master equipment."

Colonel Hauschild is, thanks to his extensive experience in troop service and his logical and resolute command activity, acknowledged and appreciated by all. He is also active in scientific and innovator work. Thus he is the holder of an

economic patent and several awards for innovator work. As an author he frequently publishes his views on military theoretical and practical questions and thereby transmits his experience to a wide circle of readers and participates in clarifying timely military scientific problems.

As commander Colonel Hauschild is a visible personification of an example of a socialist officer personality to all officer candidates.

On the Unity of Theoretical and Practical Training

"Theoretical training plays a large role in learning to master modern equipment and modern methods of combat command. Nor is anyone in military practice granted success without thorough theoretical knowledge."

This statement by Marshal of the Soviet Union A.A. Grechko in "The Armed Forces of the Soviet State" reflects fundamental perceptions of our Soviet brothers in arms about the form of demanding and realistic military technical training.

Increasingly more numerous, better performing and more complicated armor and vehicle equipment requires an effectively shaped training from the first acquaintance to their being completely mastered by servicemen.

In this continually greater demands are placed on the spiritual deduction and assimilation of the knowledge and principles forming the basis of the parameters of equipment and its structure and mode of functioning. Stable and applicable theoretical knowledge is a mandatory prerequisite to master in actual service the total spectrum of servicing, maintaining, recovering and repairing of equipment.

This armor and vehicle technical basic knowledge is of equal importance both to future commanders and the graduates of armor and vehicle service. It appears in subsequent training work with the emphasis depending on the use made of it. The future commander will be faced with problems of decision making as to expedient use of equipment while future armor or vehicle service officers will be largely concerned with problems of armor and vehicle technical support.

In accordance with these goals training measures in the subjects of armor and vehicle equipment, internal combustion engines and electrical and special equipment are projected toward the applicable training profile.

The two necessary sides of the uniform process of military technical training are a profound understanding of the principles underlying the structure and operational behavior of armor and vehicle equipment assemblies and systems and skills in practical handling of equipment.

Mastering the dialectical reciprocal actions of theory and practice puts high demands on the teaching staff. Thus the officer instructor is required to himself master the equipment and to organize and lead education and training with great pedagogical methodological skill.

A training base subordinated to this goal was created which allows an intimate connection between theory and practice and methodological variety in the process of training. From actual viewing (teaching models, assemblies in cross section and complete training stands of tanks and vehicles) to theoretical generalization and absorption and from there deliberately back to practice (operational behavior, fault finding, maintenance) -- such is the content and methodology of the basic concept in this subject. In this process the teaching staff must daily prove and continually qualify itself.

It has been repeatedly established that continual successes are achieved where training and military scientific work are in a balanced relationship.

Worthwhile impulses and initiatives to intensify training are also developed in innovator work. Stable and capable innovator collectives of officer instructors and officer candidates have arisen in which comrades from the vehicle school of the GSSD Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and from our partner in industry, the Otto Buchwitz VEB state enterprise High Voltage Equipment, participate. Exhibits of a demonstration model of transistor ignition systems, a demonstration model of wheel positions, a cutaway model of a DG-4M gas turbine and a small test stand for generators and governors received awards during MMM fair of the masters of tomorrow.

A Model Officer Candidate -- Comrade Karl-Heinz Prussat

Coming from a worker's family, Comrade Prussat attended the general polytechnical secondary school in Schleusingen. He passed the professional course as an auto mechanic with certificate in 1975 with overall good results.

An active FDJ Free German Youth member who entered the youth organization in 1970 and has been an SED member since 1975 -- this characterizes his position for our state and explains his

decision to apply to study at the Ernst Thaelmann Higher Officers' School of the Ground Forces.

Officer Candidate Prussat is one of the best performing and most active in social work comrades in his unit.

His high operational readiness must be emphasized. He has accomplished particularly noteworthy work in innovator activity already in the first training year. In sport he has also repeatedly honorably represented the section in competitions by his strong physical performance capability and high will power.

The hitherto development of Officer Candidate Prussat offers all the prerequisites for his successfully completing his studies and subsequently proving himself in the vehicle service of the NVA [National People's Army].

Training in "Technical Support"

An important area in training young officers is training in "technical support." It concentrates on immediate and direct preparation of officer candidates in practice.

In this case practice is taken to mean the totality of demands that graduates have to master in their first officer positions in armor and vehicle service. Service-related and realistic combat training are here decisive criteria for shaping the training and educational process in the training subjects of armor and vehicle technical support.

On the basis of knowledge from previous training subjects, the knowledge and skill of officer candidates is expanded and re-emphasized, specifically directed at

- organization and command of armor and vehicle technical support under combat and garrison conditions,
- organization and command of operation, repair or maintenance and recovery,
- servicing and maintaining of armor and vehicle equipment.

This includes the capability of accomplishing the military requirements of both services.

For officer instructors and trainers service-related training means so training the future armor or vehicle service officer that he comprehends the variety of man-machine relationships, that he makes expedient decisions on technical support even under complicated conditions and displays ideological and moral firmness.

In the content and organizational-methodological shaping of theoretical and practical training, this requirement is met primarily by placing officer candidates under continually increasing demands in test situations. In this way a high degree of independence and self sufficiency is reached primarily in the third training year.

In troop practice this complicated process is guided by experienced instructor officers who have mostly been trained at Soviet military academies or at our Friedrich Engels Military Academy.

A modern and expediently developed training base such as the SPAF* trainer, devices for maintenance, diagnosis and repair of armor and vehicle equipment as well as many visual models in the teaching classes bear witness to the ingenuity and elan of the members of the section.

Valuable motivation and impulses, which we gained from close cooperation with our Soviet brothers in arms from the GSSD vehicle school, for shaping the educational and training processes enriched the resolute work of all members of the section.

Lt Col and Certified Engineer Horst Kraetschmer, Specialist

The career development of Lt Col Kraetschmer, specialist, is typical for many instructors of the Armor and Vehicle Equipment Section.

Lt Col Kraetschmer, son of a worker and fitter by trade, actively worked in the socialist youth organization and was awarded the "Outstanding Services in the Five Year Plan" medal for his outstanding social and professional activity. His honorable service in the NVA began in 1956 as a private.

Having already been promoted to staff sergeant, he attended the Vehicle Technical Officer School from 1959 to 1963 and subsequently served in responsible vehicle service positions, spending the last years as deputy commander for technical equipment of a unit. In 1973 he completed his studies at the Friedrich Engels Military Academy.

Lt Col Kraetschmer has been an instructor since that time. He enjoys authority and trust in the collective of trainers and officer candidates. His outstanding professional knowledge, his extensive troop experience enrich the content of training, teaching methodological work and especially promotes the independence and initiative of officer candidates in the training process.

* See MILITAERTECHNIK, Berlin 1977, Vol 2, pp 72-74.

Lt Col Kraetschmer is the party group organizer of the party group of his chair. As a socialist instructor personality, he is the guarantee that the tasks in the training process with the officer candidates are accomplished with high social responsibility and realistic and applicable military mastery.

Armor and Vehicle Driving Training

An important component of combat training in the training profiles for armor service officers, armor and motorized rifle commanders as well as for other branches and services at our higher officers' school is armor driving training.

In accordance with the training programs of the individual training profiles, driving training is accomplished on the medium tank, on the scout tank, on the SPW armored personnel carrier 60 PB, on the SPW 40 P2 and on base vehicles. In armor driving training officer candidates are educated in political-moral, physical and mental attributes as well as in developing skills which make them capable of fully using the combat properties of the vehicles. The officer candidates receive the tank driving license after successfully completing training.

Particular attention is devoted to the methodological skill of officer candidates. They must be able to independently organize tank driving training and conduct driving exercises.

In shaping the training and educational process, the assumption is made that the officer candidates can accomplish the duties of his future position only if he possesses firm basic knowledge and completely masters armor equipment.

In a number of coordinated training measures and forms such as lectures, instruction and instructive methodological training, officer candidates gain knowledge and skills in the following questions:

- role, place and significance of tank driving training in the combat training system as well as its organizational-methodological makeup,
- regulating the use of armor equipment,
- safety, work and fire protection regulations,
- driving rules to overcome obstacles and barriers, to entrain and detrain from railroad cars as well as crossing water obstacles,
- tasks and duties of the column leader in organizing and accomplishing marches as well as driving rules for driving in column.

In practical tank driving training basically all driving exercises corresponding to the volume and requirements of DV service

regulation 7 051/0/002 "Driving Exercises with Armor Equipment" and driving day and night.

Training is made realistic and intensive. It contributes considerably to increasing the physical and mental performance of officer candidates.

The prerequisite for achieving the goals in tank driving training are knowledge and skills from previous training subjects such as political leadership and education, armor and vehicle equipment, operation, repair, recovery and signals and camouflage training. The officer candidates also experience the variety of man-machine relationships in practical armor training. Officer candidates soon realize that mastering armor equipment requires great efforts of will power, stamina, courage, decisiveness and often mastery of one's self to achieve good and outstanding results in the training goal.

An important requirement here is to restore the operational readiness of the armor equipment used. Imparting the insight into this necessity is an elementary component of the education of officer candidates. It is precisely regulation maintaining of armor equipment during and after tank driving training that demands a high degree of willingness and a strict military discipline and order.

Accomplishment of combat missions depends to a great degree on the operational readiness of vehicles and the state of training of military drivers. Only complete exploitation of the technical capabilities of vehicles guarantees complete as well as successful actions by units and increases their maneuverability.

Building on this and the knowledge and skills available from previous training subjects, officer candidates in the vehicle driving training subject learn the legal and military regulations for driving vehicles of the National People's Army and they are educated to consciously observe these. Practical driving training makes them capable of safely driving a vehicle in traffic and under various terrain and meteorological conditions.

The training takes place under realistic conditions and on the basis of DV 054/0/002 "Driving Exercises with Vehicles" day and night on the driver training course and in normal street traffic. In addition to practical driving skills, officer candidates acquire skills in technical servicing and their sense of responsibility for continual operational readiness is consolidated.

At the conclusion the officer candidates receive the Class 5 driver's license. In order to reach this goal, he must acquire

good and very good knowledge and skills in the training subjects of vehicle equipment/electrical equipment, operation and maintenance.

Using this training as a base, officer candidates in the vehicle service profile are capable of independently organizing and accomplishing the initial and advanced training of military drivers in units. We devote particular attention to the methodological capability of officer candidates so as to make them capable of completely accomplishing the missions in the vehicle technical area in the first officer position.

The Armor and Vehicle Equipment Section is aware that, as a result of the continued development of armor and vehicle equipment, the requirements for mastering complicated man-machine relationships continually increase. Our section is, under the leadership of the party organization, ready and able to accomplish these missions with high quality by making future officers capable of "leading men and mastering military equipment."

This is our contribution to accomplishing the military class missions in the spirit of the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress and the Tenth Delegates' Conference of Party Organizations in the NVA and Border Troops of the GDR.

8373
CSO: 2300

WEST GERMAN COMMENT DEFENDING GDR CHURCH LEADER

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Jul 77 p 8

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters: "Monitor of Human Rights"]

[Text] Because he emphatically protested against using the name of the Saxon pastor Oskar Bruesewitz for a dubious "information center" in Bad Oeynhausen, he had to suffer accusations of affiliation with GDR state security service from uninformed zealots. Because he pointed out that a shadow would be cast over the efforts of Christians and churches in the GDR actually to practice the freedom of religion guaranteed them in the GDR constitution if the difficult situation of the churches in the GDR is abused by a "Bruesewitz Center" for political discussion in the FRG, he is defamed as an SED underling. But Werner Krusche, since 1968 bishop of the Protestant church of Saxony--with 1.9 million believers and around 900 pastors the second largest of the 8 established churches consolidated in the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR--and regarded in West and East as one of the most important Protestant theologians and church leaders, is above such attacks: they are absurd.

Born in 1917 as the son of a preacher in the Erzgebirge, he received his doctorate after military service and study in Leipzig, Bethel, Goettingen, Basel, and Heidelberg, serving as director of studies at a Saxon seminary and as instructor of systematic theology at the theological seminary in Leipzig between 1968 and his appointment as bishop, the theologian has proven himself to be a brave and upright churchman during his term as bishop. With all necessary loyalty to the state, he decisively represents and defends the interests of the church and its believers against the Marxist-Leninist party and its demands. It was Bishop Krusche who confirmed at the church congress in Halle shortly after Pastor Bruesewitz's self-immolation that the churches in the GDR would repeatedly call to mind that the state's need for security and the personal rights of man come into a balanced relation: "Because in our society the social rights of man are attended to in a special way, we Christians will continually have to call to mind the individual's right to be himself.

Just reelected for another year as chairman of the Council of the Protestant Church of the Union for the area of the GDR, as a member of the presidium

of the "Conference of European Churches" Krusche also has a large part in the courageous attitude of this conference toward the human rights question as defined in Helsinki. He is convinced that churches which identify themselves totally and without reservation with the policy of their state become valueless. It is therefore decisive for their credibility that they retain the right not to allow themselves to be made into the spokesman or instrument of the political interests of their state. The Bishop of Magdeburg acts according to this maxim, not as an agitator in the market-place but as a responsible church leader who speaks with total clarity in discussions with representatives of the state, but in such a way that his fellow discussants remain ready to listen. One must consider whom one actually wants to help, believes Krusche. "Oneself, by presenting oneself as a courageous man, or those who need help? If one wants to help the latter, one must accept being viewed as an opportunist."

8992

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

PHILOSOPHER CRITICIZES OFFICIALS FOR EMIGRATION POLICY

Hamburg DPA in German 1850 GMT 6 Aug 77 LD

[Text] East Berlin--Philosopher Wolfgang Harich, who lives in East Berlin, today spoke out against the departure of GDR authors and artists to the West. In a contribution for sender freies Berlin, Harich criticizes both the intellectuals who apply to leave and the GDR authorities who grant permission to emigrate. Departure means that on both sides there is "evasion of the struggle to convince."

Harich added that this was "encouraging the Federal Government to culturally raid the socialist part of the German speaking area." He had to make the request to both sides--applicants and authorities--"finally to put an end to such frivolousness."

Harich had earlier drawn a parallel between the attitude of those now wishing to depart and that of the philosopher Ernst Bloch who died in Tuebingen on Thursday. Harich said, "Nothing, not a conflict with Ulbricht, not the building of the wall can excuse the fact that in 1961 Bloch resigned himself to remaining away from the GDR." This step had been bad for the GDR state which "will now require an unnecessarily long time to rediscover some day its most important thinker."

Harich, who was connected with Bloch in the 1950's, is the first intellectual from the GDR to speak on the philosopher's death. The GDR press reported on Bloch's death at the age of 92 with only a two-sentence statement.

CSO: 2300

DATA PROVIDED ON WOMEN IN SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL VOCATIONS

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 10 No 7, Jul 77 signed to press 24 Jun 77 pp 680-681

[Article by Gisela Helwig: "Women Conquer Technology and Science -- Changed System of Eligibility in the GDR"]

[Text] The average working woman is not as well-educated as her male colleagues and therefore has fewer opportunities to advance to managerial positions. With certain qualifications, this conclusion has been a valid one internationally for a long time. It is true that we in our country are aware that in the Soviet Union and the GDR, for example, nearly half of all those employed are women. But it is not widely known that these women are also increasingly working at jobs that are still considered male domains in Western countries. The conditions necessary for this have been established systematically. In the GDR, for instance, a purposeful program of vocational guidance has ensured that girls no longer lean toward the so-called women's jobs but are becoming mechanics, data processors, electricians or animal husbandrymen in increasingly greater numbers. The percentage of female secondary school graduates has also increased steadily, and today the figure is more than 50 percent. At vocational schools 65 percent of all students are women; at advanced schools 48 percent are women. Forty-six out of 100 doctors, 45 out of 100 dentists, 61 out of 100 pharmacists and more than 30 out of 100 judges and lawyers are women.³ Sociological inquiries conducted by the Leipzig Institute for Juvenile Research recently revealed that 92 percent of these advanced school graduates received their degrees after 1945.⁴ The high percentage of female apprentices⁵ is also an achievement of the most recent past. The obligation to learn a vocation became part of the GDR constitution in 1968. Accordingly, almost as many female as male workers in the younger age groups can show that they have successfully concluded their vocational training.

According to a 1969 Council of State resolution, approximately 80 percent of all gainfully employed women in the GDR should hold a

vocational training certificate by 1980.⁶ Today we cannot yet foresee whether this goal can be attained. There is no doubt, however, that the differences in educational level that still exist will have been reduced considerably by then. A large number of unskilled or semi-skilled working women will be leaving the work force over the next few years, while trained personnel will be moving up. Moreover, purposeful measures aimed at continuing vocational training are producing a substantial increase in technical knowledge among older age groups as well. Each year between 300,000 and 400,000 working women participate in the most varied forms of adult education and training. From 1971 to 1974, 163,000 of them used this means to acquire a skilled worker's certificate; 40,300 earned a degree from a vocational school; and 4,800 earned an advanced school degree.⁷

In 1971, 39.5 percent of all gainfully employed women in the GDR were skilled workers or master workmen; 6.1 percent had received degrees from a technical school and 2.6 percent from a university. The following comparisons are given for 1974: skilled worker or master workman, 45.6 percent; technical school degree, 7.6 percent; advanced school degree, 3.4 percent.⁸ The percentage of female technical school cadre out of the total number of gainfully employed technical school graduates amounted to 54.2 percent in 1976 (primarily teachers in the lower grades, kindergarten teachers, medical-technical assistants and nurses), while 33 percent of all advanced school cadre were women.⁹

Participation in education and training programs has fluctuated greatly at times. The Eighth SED Party Congress therefore set the goal in June 1971 of systematically accelerating continued training for skilled workers -- particularly for women in technical vocations.¹⁰ Since 1973, the annual economic plans have stipulated the rates of increase for construction and transportation, post and telecommunications and agriculture and the food industry. The state's persistent intervention is to be taken as a criticism of the opinion -- evidently widely held by enterprise managers -- that more education and training programs would endanger the plans. But such views are being rejected for the very reason that manpower is in short supply, for labor productivity grows along with expertise -- at least in the long run. In addition, the willingness to combine vocational and family duties is increasing. The best proof of this is that in 1971, 91 percent of all female technical school and advanced school graduates and 81 percent of all female skilled workers were gainfully employed, but only 68 percent of those women with no formal training were working.¹¹

The campaign to improve eligibility that has been intensified since the early 1970's is also aimed at permitting more women to advance to middle-level and managerial positions in industry. In

1966 they supplied only approximately 5 percent of the economic and commercial directors and little more than 1 percent of the technical directors and plant managers.¹² There are supposed to have been 1300 female directors and 200 female master workers in 1967 -- with 1.1 million female employees in industry at that time.¹³ Out of a total of 59,756 gainfully employed female advanced school graduates in 1968, 51,676 were working outside of the material production field; the corresponding figures for female technical school graduates amounted to 110,911 out of 139,424.¹⁴ Meanwhile a certain correction seems to have been developing. According to more recent data, at present every fourth managerial position in the GDR economy is held by a woman.¹⁵

On the whole it can be said that a new image of the woman is crystallizing in the GDR. The most recent studies by the Institute for Juvenile Research consistently show that schoolgirls and female apprentices are almost unanimous in their intention to continue working after marriage. And four out of five young men want a "vocationally skilled wife."¹⁶ As far as the private sector is concerned, however, we cannot yet speak of the same rights and obligations. Almost 80 percent of housework is done by women alone. Men will have to revise their thinking, for -- as Irmtraud Morgner has one of her fictional characters say -- women are "fed up"¹⁷ with the way duties are now being divided.

FOOTNOTES

1. In 1974 the percentage of newly hired female apprentices was 43.4 percent for mechanics, 81.7 percent for data processors, and 59.5 percent for electricians. Cf. "Die Frau in der DDR -- Fakten und Zahlen" [The Woman in the GDR -- Facts and Figures], Dresden, 1975, p 39.
2. Of all the women working in agriculture and the food industry in 1974, 71 percent were trained in a vocation, 68.2 percent were skilled workers or master workmen, and 2.9 percent had technical school or advanced school degrees. Cf. loc. cit. (footnote 1), p 57 ff.
3. All figures loc. cit. (footnote 1), p 36 f., p 42, p 49.
4. Cf. ADN, 16 April 1977.
5. Approximately 99 percent of all girls who do not continue their formal education take up an apprenticeship.
6. Cf. document series of the GDR Council of State, No 9, 1969, p 145.

7. Cf. loc. cit. (footnote 1), p 35.
8. Cf. loc. cit. (footnote 1), p 34.
9. Cf. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 March 1977, p 3.
10. Cf. documents of the Eighth SED Party Congress, Berlin (East), 1971, p 121.
11. Cf. "Statistische Praxis," Statistics in Practice, No 11, 1972, p 472.
12. Cf. Herber and Jung, "Kaderarbeit im System sozialistischer Fuehrungstaetigkeit" Cadre Work Under the Socialist Leadership System, Berlin (East), 1968, p 267.
13. Cf. "A-Z, Ein Taschen- und Nachschlagebuch ueber den anderen Teil Deutschlands" A-Z, a Handbook and Reference Book on the Other Part of Germany, Bonn, 1969, p 233.
14. Cf. "Statistisches Jahrbuch der DDR" GDR Statistical Annual, 1973, p 66.
15. Cf. loc. cit. (footnote 1), p 13.
16. Loc cit. (footnote 4).
17. Cf. Gisela Helwig, "Frau 75" Woman 75, Cologne, 1975, p 93.

7458
CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

HAVEMANN UNDER OBSERVATION--East Berlin--The GDR regime critic Professor Robert Havemann has now been under constant watch by Eastern security forces for almost 9 months. On Friday, too, several policemen were stationed in front of Havemann's house in Gruenheide near East Berlin to keep visitors away. The only people who have access to the house are relatives of Havemann and his wife. In reply to an inquiry by DPA, the GDR Foreign Ministry stated that there has been no change in the directive issued to Havemann forbidding him contact with Western journalists. Western journalists are also still requested not to make any contact with Havemann. Havemann, whose state of health is said to have deteriorated during the last few months from time to time, has been living under the observation of security forces since 26 November 1976. [Excerpts] [Hamburg DPA in German 1548 GMT 19 Aug 77 LD]

PROFESSOR'S WIFE FREED--Berlin--Ursula Nitsche, a teacher and wife of Professor Dr Hellmuth Nitsche who is in prison in East Berlin, has now been released from custody on the orders of the GDR general prosecuting attorney. According to the Society for Human Rights, Professor Nitsche is still being detained. The couple's two children, aged 10 and 12, are now with their mother in Potsdam. The couple was arrested on 6 April 1977 after Nitsche had written a letter to United States President Carter accusing the GDR government of violating human rights. The proceedings against Frau Nitsche have not been dropped as yet. No date has been fixed for the couple's trial. [Text] [Hamburg DPA in German 1127 GMT 20 Aug 77 LD]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

AIR FORCE PILOTS COMMENT ON TRAINING, EQUIPMENT IN SERVICE

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 30 Jul 77 pp 6-9

[Article by Arpad Punkosti: "Star-Decked Pilots"]

[Text] My foot, my back, my knee-joints are strapped in, the physical training officer and the doctor are watching how I am doing. While standing, I drive the swing, drive. I am lofting toward the horizontal level when my knees begin to tremble: I do not dare to swing around. They say that on this pilot's swing you can attain 6 g's, six times the acceleration of weight, the gravitational pull of earth. Here is the opportunity for me, for moments at least, to be a heavier being — four quintals — but I cravenly let the opportunity slip by.

This is not how pilots do it, everyday they fly with a weight like this, "drawing with 6-7 g's (in a small radial field with a velocity of 1,000 kilometers) to get behind the enemy and intercept them (shoot them down)." One without experience may easily "centrifugate" the blood from his head, and he is seized by a gray blindness, for 5-10 seconds he sees nothing. Old foxes cannot "gray" themselves out; at the most they are grayed out by pupils of theirs who maneuver clumsily, unexpectedly in a two-seater.

The observers of my swinging are good sports, but I see that I only succeeded in graying myself out before them.

Time Pressure

"Have you flown?" my colleagues ask, friends who know of my excursions with fighter pilots.

"No, but..." and it were best here to avert the withering look and not go on: but I have swung, I tried to swing. Laughter.

"Doctor, how does one become a fighter pilot?"

"Every year 4,000-5,000 young men appear at the MHSZ [Hungarian Sport Federation for National Defense]. Although all regard themselves as healthy, only one out of every ten is suited for flying, and 70 or 80 of them can become supersonic pilots," says Dr Ferenc Palotai, a colonel.

"Do supersonic pilots live only 52 years on the average?"

"I don't know how the UN statistics are made up. It is known that train and automobile accidents are more common than flying accidents; but it happens that a 25-year-old pilot will be killed, and I think such cases result in the statistics. According to my estimates, 1 out of every 100 fighter pilots dies every 2 years while fulfilling his calling."

"Are there 50-year-old pilots?"

"Not among the supersonic pilots. The very first Army pilots are now reaching this age, and among them there are more than a few who fly even at the age of 52 years. Actually their handicap is not primarily physical but the nervous system. In the 30 seconds of landing there are 100-200 instruments providing information, which cannot be processed, it is beyond human performance capability. In taking off and landing, the time pressure is great, but every activity is done under time deficit, which burdens the heart and circulatory system, and increases the possibilities for a heart attack."

"Should one put a human being to an insoluble task?"

"It is not insoluble because they can land. Their observation discernment has been raised to a high level; they know when and what kind of information to disregard; in short, they maintain their own actual and psychical condition, which we doctors systematically supervise."

"Would you let your own son become a pilot?"

"No, but not because of the danger to life! They over-mystify this, too, the whole life of a flier, but they are not special men either. Their burden is an enormous one; the tremendous amount of time they spend on their readiness, preparedness and preparation is soul-killing, and they have to subject their private life fully to their calling."

Bad Weather

Today we are not going to the beach because of the bad weather. It is blasphemous to use this expression together with bathing because it is necessary to fly perhaps even in the worst conditions, with poor visibility — at night when the clouds hang their feet to the earth, and a black curtain covers the cabin. The curtain is not merely a metaphor, for pilots are taught to fly bad weather under a curtain, and in fact the masters of flying practice it, the first-class pilots.

What is under the curtain? At the start, illusions, hallucinations, the pilot feels he is flying sideways, on his back, his senses deceive him, and he can only believe in instruments.

"Night alert, the rain is pouring, we are playing chess, surely there will be nothing today," narrates Lieutenant Colonel Ferenc Szabo. "And then the alarm;

the target, the "enemy" at 12,000 meters. We intercepted them. On that airfield of a cooperating, friendly country where, according to plan, we had to land, the weather was even worse. Hungary was a fiery disc, the cloud top stood at 12,500 meters, lightning was streaking in five places at once. Unforgettable, but at times like this the radar is an electronic mess, it does not perceive much, it is not easy to guide us. The cloud ceiling was at 600, below that we saw the airfield."

"If the engine stops, how far will the airplane fall?"

"At glide path the fall is 60-120 meters per second."

"Twenty-five to forty stories, the elevator is too fast! And the elevator operator?"

"Once I was coming down from 20,000 meters, and perhaps because of icing the engine stopped in a cloud. I corrected it, lest the one panting 6 kilometers behind me take my tail, and the air start succeeded."

"Your flying technique is very good, they say. What is a good pilot?"

"I do not have outstanding capability, many of my colleagues can do what I can. A good pilot prepares for the first take-off like for the eighth thousandth: an airplane does not recognize classification, rank. You have to like flying very much, because whoever likes it is not superficially prepared, and he knows the technique. I prefer those who fly beautifully, harmoniously, avoid the dangerous situations and modes of operation."

"According to a pensioned fighter pilot, the supersonic machines have killed the beauty of flying, the bureaucracy has hacked off the wings of the hawks. What is the truth in this?"

Flying Plus Work

Lieutenant Colonel Zoltan Szentpetery says, "It is beautiful thing rising into the air, a devilish force carries the airplane from the ground, but you have to bring it back, too! It is beautiful when a summer cloud is bubbling, boiling, but inside it is wild and rough, it cuts a man, breaks up his airplane, it's better to go around it. A new housing project is beautiful, but it alters the contour of a city, and you have to learn it again. Carrying out a task, you are wet through, although it is only 18 degrees in the cabin, after that of course it is calm and happy, but there is not much beauty in it."

Sandor Varga, lieutenant colonel, says, "It is not a silly child who said it. At a speed of 800 kilometers per hour you are going 210 meters per second. Please, enjoy the scenery! The old way was flying; this is flying plus work that requires great intentness. This airplane is a million instruments, a mighty engine, a mighty weapon — it can do everything that you have to in 1977. For learning you need more classroom occupation, more preparation, but you cannot

write flying on a slate and wipe it off. You have to evaluate, for example, the film gun, the airborne, data-fixing (black box) information--long ago, we did not have this either--so that we know what we did. There is a lot of bureaucracy, it would be good to cut it back, the supersonic documents have not as yet matured."

Jozsef Pongo, lieutenant colonel, says, "We register a single take-off alone at four places, and then we put them on different graphs.... The party has taken measures to reduce the bureaucracy. What are we still reading about? It hasn't been reduced outside or inside the army, and these things hang together. The truth is that we haven't made any proposals either for what we should do."

Secret or Secretive?

I saw from the take-off runway in due distance the school classes, chirping and excited; photographs of the airfield visit by military attaches from friendly and Western countries; and I am reading the report about one of our flight units in the area between the Danube and Tisza rivers. "Is this work justifiably secret or is it only secrecy?" I asked of Dr Jozsef Szabo, colonel.

"Where, for example, the airfield is located and what type airplanes we use, everyone can see. But some things are a secret, for the sake of our security and because when we took over the techniques, we undertook certain obligations. Today, espionage is so refined that it can arrive at essential information by processing in themselves innocent data, and this explains the reason for caution. But the secrecy surrounding flying derives rather from lack of information. The domestic literature on flying, and chiefly supersonic flying, is weak, and the young cannot get information about the most basic problems. I have wanted for 10 years to write an educational work on gas dynamics, on aerodynamics, but writing, too is a work that robs you of time."

"With my civilian mind, I imagine that with the velocities of today, by the time you notice a flier, he is out of Hungary. Is a country of this size defensible?

"Not by itself. The Army and its air units cooperate with the comparable branches in friendly countries, and we defend the air space in common. This alliance makes it possible for the members to create security without efforts exceeding their strength."

I stood around for 3 days in the control tower, and I observed the dispatchers' activities which reminded me of the traffic managers' work, and in the great deal of hocus-pocus I understood this much: here are the "stations and tracks" (air spaces), storied and spatial.

There was also an alarm: in the midst of the summer tourist season, they forgot to report an airplane, but when it appears on the border, you cannot make telephone calls, lead through records, you have to see who the guest is. They say

that since various airlines pay bonuses to their pilots on fuel savings, they frequently strike out as the crow flies, leave the "tracks" and "at times like these" you have to slap them back into the air passage. This "slap" is only a friendly tip of the wing at the window of the errant plane, and it may well be that the warning is a life-saver because this air space belongs to the sport fliers, the gliders, and the fighter pilots, or down below the artillery is practicing.

Air border guards? Air traffic policemen? Battle pilots, outside of catastrophes speak in a concerned way about three other matters:

— the pay, which despite the great extremes does not on the average exceed the income of a Budapest bus driver,

— the disadvantageous admission situation of their children — "the children of a military officer belong in the miscellaneous category like the children of artisans or ministers of religious denominations" (my fallibility is shown by the fact that I would include ministers among the intelligentsia),

— their future, their pensions, which has not been fully solved even after various trials. Above the age of 45 years, it is very common to be grounded for medical reasons, and the discharged personnel consists "only" of fliers, who did not finish the academy, and therefore they cannot very well be given a military assignment comparable to their rank, nor can they pursue their civilian occupation (skilled workmen) for lack of practice and because of their health condition. On the basis of experiences and conversations, the more possibilities that are available — from limited pension status to further service, or pension + free work undertaking, etc. — the more assured is their future. One should not exclude from these possibilities perhaps a one-time, larger sum of severance pay used in other armies.

Wing to Wing

I happened to hear a more experienced pilot give a merciless dressing down to a younger colleague who had erred. Perhaps I am exaggerating, but love shone through this anger as through the handshakes, which they may repeat as many as five times daily on return from a task. This can also be felt in the smoothing motion of the hand by the technician as he shuts the roof of the cabinet and wishes them a successful return.

In radio communication — correspondence, as they call it — they do not use the informal style of speech just as it is not used in reportorial work. But here they accepted me as one of themselves, they addressed me as a friend!

"Even with the discipline, why is the atmosphere so easy?"

"We go into battle together, wing to wing we fly, and unseen we are accompanied by all those who help us, guide us, and keep our airplanes ready," says Jozsef Pongo.

"How many of your classmates are still flying?"

"This unit is under a lucky star: out of 46, 8 or 9 of us fly, we have 4 dead. In the graduating class of other years the ratio has been worse. (For example, 2 of Szentpetery's 20 colleagues fly, 4 are dead).

"Are you pilot or soldier?"

"Other branches of the military service swear by their own technique, and this does not matter; and still we are battle pilots, this is what we took an oath to do, and this is what makes us different from civilian pilots. We are not different from them, or others, our task is different!"

"How do pilots bury their dead?"

"It would be easier if I could cry, but inside I suffer terribly. We cannot forget our friends, our comrades-in-arms, but while carrying out our task, we cannot think about it. We don't talk to one another about death."

"Is it a shame to eject?"

"Not at all, it is a necessary preventive measure, and when the airplane cannot be saved it is even obligatory."

"From the safety point of view, the Hungarian military pilots are among the best in the world. To what do we owe this prominent statistical standing?"

"To serious and fundamental theoretical and practical preparation, reliable technique and critical evaluation of faults committed."

Lieutenant Colonel Sandor Kovacs says, "No one wants to fling himself down to the ground. Volumes of regulations and instructions describe special cases, and these must not only be learned but applied in stress situations. Not even in 30 percent of the cases can you blame the technique, and therefore we must learn from every case, those of us who continue in the relay race.

With Throttle Open

Kovacs, Pongo, Szabo, Szentpetery, Varga, five flying lieutenant colonels, born between 1930-1933, their original occupation engine fitter, moulder, iron lathe operator, carpenter, the first and most experienced group of the Army whose ranks were well screened in the course of the development of the Army in 1954-56, and then the counterrevolution, not to speak of those who were grounded because of the new airplane types and health reasons. They remained, and they not only stayed, but all of them are decorated with the Red Star. One other pilot in their unit, Major Ferenc Vilmos, has this decoration; with his Soviet pilots' schooling and military academy background he is a representative of the middle generation.

"You received the decoration together with Sandor Varga. Why?"

"At a ceiling of 20,000 meters, we had to carry out an interception, and in forced operation the throttle lever became stuck. I was number 317, here is the log of my 'correspondence' with Sanyi Varga, the flight leader."

"Three hundred seventeen, I am reporting "voda" (this is how they call airplane fuel, kerosene) 1,300 liters, the throttle lever is stuck at maximum forced speed, and it will not come back."

"Press it forward all the way and then pull it back."

"I understand."

"Press down on the blocking button and pull back. Has the throttle lever returned?"

"It is in forced position, it could have stuck mechanically."

"I understand your transmission."

"I decided I would eject, but I made enormous overstressing maneuvers, once with the nose to the ground once to the sky to get it unstuck."

"Here is 128 (another pilot), order 317 to keep moving it, keep trying!"

"Here is number 1 (flight leader); number 3 (radar guide for landing), where is 317?"

"Very faintly visible at 72 kilometers."

"Stay at an altitude of 55 (5,500 meters), do not fall below that!"

"In 10 minutes, everyone was in the tower, and all kinds of advice were audible in the microphone, more and more to eject, but the flight leader was the one responsible person. I was sweating."

"Here is number 3, adjust to the right 20 degrees, distance 45 kilometers."

"Three hundred seventeen, use the speed for altitude, go around, and rise to an altitude of 7,000."

"Then comes the order to eject!"

Emergency Landing

"Three hundred seventeen, can you see the ground?"

"Yes, I see it at 123 degrees above the airfield."

"Get ready for emergency landing."

"I can't stop it. I can't stop the engine!"

"No matter. It will stop when you run out of gas."

"I understand."

"Position yourself so that there will be 5,000-6,000 meters above the axis on the line of descent from the distant."

"Here is 128. Jiggle it up and if it won't come back, stamp it!"

"Everyone wanted to help, and I was going up and down to slow the speed because passing the sound barrier below 12,000 feet can cause a great deal of damage on ground. The airplane was increasingly lighter, and was running faster and faster. At 31 minutes, it banged as if they had shoved a strong-box into an elevator shaft. The engine stopped. I looked around, the airplane was all together."

"Report, can you see the runway well?"

"I report, I have lost the runway."

"It was a matter of a second now for Sanyi to give the eject order, because without seeing the runway I could not make an emergency landing."

"I can see the runway all right! There was a cloud above the airfield that covered it."

"Where are you now?" (The informal mode of address!)

"I am turning on the axis."

"Go further out!...Good, okay, now, turn into the base."

"I understand, I am turning."

"What is the altitude?"

"Altitude is 4,600."

"Descend intensively, emergency lowering of landing gears."

"The nose landing gear is lowered, the others are down too, the runway is in front of me."

"Descend, keep your speed!"

"Okay, okay."

"Just descend, descend between the concrete and the near market. Keep your speed!"

"Now I may be above the distant marker, altitude 3,000 meters."

"Where are you, Feri, where are you exactly?"

"I'm here above the near marker, altitude 1,000 meters, it will be all right, I can land, only give me the net."

"I am giving the net!" (They catch a runaway aircraft like this.)

"It will be all right!" (Great sigh)

"It will be very good, Feri! Up, up! (Raise the nose of the plane.) Very good, Feri! Very good. I never saw such a landing before. You're my man, Feri! Great! I like you! Beautiful, Feri!"

"I'll pull off to the left on the grass so the others can land, too."

"Go ahead, pull it off."

"Did you think of your family in the 36 minutes?"

"I thought of my daughter that I had to go home because I promised her I'll tell her the story of 'Janos Vitez.'"

I asked the flight leader, "Sanyi, would you guide everyone in this way?"

"You can't do this with everyone, only with someone who has a good nervous system, and can stand up to the heavy burden. I too got the chills when I heard it played back on the tape."

"At that time an emergency landing with a swept-wing airplane was conceivable, but it was still tabu for a delta wing. The pilot showed that he can maneuver well even in the worst circumstances. But we succeeded in discovering a small fault in construction which was immediately corrected on every airplane (not only in Hungary), and with this the airplane's reliability was increased."

"I'll be solemn: Major Vamosi, your fuel is low, you have to land but you see an enemy aircraft. What would you do?"

"Of course, I would attack. Imagine it might be carrying an atomic bomb! At times like that you don't think about yourself but about your wife, parents, your country, everything."

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FOREIGN POLICY FORECASTING METHODOLOGY EXAMINED

Budapest KULPOLITIKA in Hungarian No 2, 1977 pp 3-15

[Article by Janos I. Szabo preceded by English summary by editors of KULPOLITIKA, entitled "The Methodology of Foreign Policy Forecasting"]

[Text] Foreign policy forecasting is still in its early stages. Social science methodologies, developed in other fields, are employed in keeping with the nature of foreign relations. Systems analysis, modelling and mathematical or computerized procedures are all part of the logic and theory of such research.

Systems analysis is generally used, permitting attitudes which serve as a pledge of the effectiveness of interdisciplinary research.

The complexities of international relations demand the creation of scientific models. The requirements and processes of such work are listed and described.

The use of mathematical models in foreign policy forecasting is not very likely in the immediate future since, except for certain defined questions, it has not proved possible to express the problems in mathematical formulae. Electronic data processing is an aid to recognition. The role of computers is important in the preliminary stages of futurology since such equipment allows for the storing and recall of information.

Intuitive methods are employed in the unexpected, qualitative activization of knowledge acquired earlier. They have been called subjective, and that is one of the obstacles to their spreading. The article describes the Delphi process, brainstorming, the scenario, the plan game, and analogy of the methods which belong to this family.

Marxist-Leninist ideology offers a sound basis for the elaboration of an adequate methodology of foreign policy forecasting, making work of a general epistemological basis superfluous. Methods used elsewhere in the social sciences are being adapted to international affairs, allowing foreign policy forecasting to increasingly do the job it is expected to do.

Foreign policy forecasting is still in its infancy. This is well proven by the fact that its keywords are still not found in foreign policy encyclopedias [1]. Of course, the situation of this field of international relations is also reflected by its methodology. Science has known for a long time the methods required for studying developments, but these methods are primarily used in natural sciences, and little attention has been given to social sciences in general and foreign policy in particular. However, "the methods developed for the natural sciences and the approximation formulae used in these sciences cannot be adapted mechanistically and without evaluation to the social forms of material movement" [2]. This applies not only to the methods used in the natural sciences. The methods used with success in other areas of social sciences cannot be used without critical evaluation in foreign policy either. In order to illustrate this, we need merely to remember that processes in foreign policy proceed at a faster rate than production or economic processes; thus, the requirements for forecasting international relations are quite different. The reevaluation of methods used elsewhere and the development of theories which take the peculiarities of foreign policy into consideration have only a brief past, and this is probably the reason why the currently used terms are sometimes interpreted in various ways. The ambiguity of the terms or their inconsistent usage makes the generalization of the existing experiences difficult. In spite of these problems, the consideration of the problems and their adaptation to the existing needs, the development of a subject-specific methodology, is currently being pursued, and there can be no doubt that some of the theories may be used successfully in practice.

In the course of the development of the subject-specific methodology, the following question emerges: To what extent is it possible to utilize the relevant Western experiences? Vorontsov, the Soviet scientist, answered this question best: The problem-approximating systems, procedures, forecasts, and forms of using electronic computers from the bourgeois system deserve the attention of Marxist scientists after they have been critically evaluated. However, we must wage an uncompromising and systematic battle against those forecasting methodologies, theoretical arguments, conclusions, task definitions, and result evaluations which originate from this source" [3].

The methods of foreign-policy forecasting are means for achieving the goal decided upon. The use of the means depends on the tasks to be solved — as everywhere else. Among the methods available, not each is suitable for the solution of a specific goal. On the other hand, the use of a single method unavoidably gives a biased, sometimes even false, picture. Thus, we use the complex analysis method in foreign policy forecasting, in the course of which — depending on the task involved — we use various methods simultaneously or sequentially. By using the complex analysis method we can make sure that the problem examined is handled from a variety of angles, both qualitatively and quantitatively, so that we can avoid the most often observed deficiency of futurology, the absolutization of evolutionary processes. Lenin already drew our attention to this risk. He said: "We cannot see the forest from the trees, and many numbers mask the ... types of the phenomenon" [4].

The methods of foreign policy forecasting are used in various processes of futurology, of which the various stages are the following according to A. V. Sergiyev:

- "1. The structural analysis of the political system;
2. Selection of the fundamental factors and data of the given system, and the qualitative establishment of their roles and importance;
3. Exploration of the basic development trends of the process studied;
4. Extrapolation of the development trend;
5. Synthesis of future trends and their interaction in the model of the given political system;
6. Integration of the forecasts of the basic development trends in various areas of the social sphere;
7. Complex development forecast of the various levels of the political system;
8. Continuous correction of the political forecast." [5]

However, the basically correct stages established by Sergiyev require supplementation by three factors. First, before forecasting we must clarify the exact subject, goals, and era of the forecast. Second, the evolutionary character of the fourth item can be eliminated if we also use qualitative methods. Third, correlation can be ensured in the first seven items, meaning that we can always come back to reality, so that the validity of the conclusions becomes more likely.

Insofar as the goals are concerned, futurology of international relations has two forms: the passive and the active forecast. The task of passive forecasting is to elucidate the "natural" development of the given area.

The way in which passive forecasting achieves maximum objectivity is not to establish development goals. In contrast to the passive mode, the active forecasting has the goal of elucidating the conditions required for the accomplishment of the goals decided upon. In this case, the reflexive method predominates. Forecasting uses the backward counting method for this: it determines the starting point and the intermediate stages between the starting point and the goal, and forecasts the conditions of the stages. In this form, active forecasting is selective research. Because of the character of foreign policy, it is, of course, more important and widespread than the passive mode. The necessity for the various working processes follows from the two different types of forecasting task.

Below we desire to describe some methods used in the preparation of foreign policy forecasts. It is not our aim to provide a comprehensive listing; the literature describes approximately 200 methods (true, not necessarily in their adaptation to foreign policy). The goal of this review is not to offer recipes that can be used at once. Our aim is merely to discuss various methodological possibilities, to outline their advantages and problems, and to define possible areas of development.

The methods of futurology of international relations may be classified in two basic categories: theoretical-logical and intuitive methods. In the theoretical-logical category are the methods of systems analysis, modeling and mathematical techniques. The characteristic feature of the category is that it produces conclusions of adequate quality in adequate numbers, so that we obtain a possibility for reasonably well founded futurology. In contrast, the intuitive methods in foreign policy are based on often uncertain factors and they attempt to answer questions concerning the future on this basis.

1. Systems Analysis

Systems analysis [6] is a method used universally in foreign policy forecasting. We use the term systems analysis; the term system theory — which is very often used — is less accurate. This is neither a theory nor a method; what it is can be best defined as an attitude and an approach. The necessity of system analysis follows from the fact that foreign policy is a complex built up from various elements which are in a complicated and specific relationship with each other. In other words: foreign policy has a system-like dialectic structure of great complexity, and requires an adequate approach. Looking at the subject from the philosophical point of view, we may say that we deal with the complex application of the basic tenets of materialist dialectics" [7].

The universal character of systems analysis is also necessitated by a cooperation among various scientific disciplines. The systems approach inherent in systems analysis permits the interdisciplinary cooperation to become effective, and avoids the fragmentation of the problems among various experts or the narrowing of the thinking. "There can be only one ... solution: synthesis instead of specialization, integrated acquisition of knowledge instead of its fragmentation by division of the work, and the independent application of knowledge for the solution of the specific tasks on a broad basis" [8].

We regard the subject of foreign-policy systems analysis as a growing object having a complex structure which is the totality of knowledge in an organized manner. Research is aimed at solving problems. We mean the following by the fundamental elements of the definition:

1. We believe that the object of foreign-policy systems analysis is complex since it deals with causal relationships which cannot be readily followed to the very end, so that we can only examine the essential relationships. Studies aimed at the elucidation of the complexity of the object must establish those relationships from among the many which form the system and which determine the system. For example, in the course of the preparation of the European security conference it would have been obviously impossible to examine all causes and effects. However, it was necessary and possible to elucidate the important causes and effects.
2. By an structured object we mean such a relationship between the whole and the parts of the object where a change in one part causes a change in the entire structure. Depending on the character of the object, a change in a part may cause a change in (a) the system, (b) the other parts, or (3) both in the system and the part. For example, the emergence of a new nuclear power may change the force conditions without causing a change in the other factors. The embargo policy imposed by the United States after 1945, however, affected both the system and the parts of the world trade system.
3. By a structured whole we mean a hierarchic structure and laws governing it. The hierarchic structure of foreign policy indicates the levels of various importances and effects in foreign relations, which move horizontally from the simple toward the more complex.
4. The term developing indicates the open character of the system of foreign policy. From the point of view of systems analysis, the developing object contains the possibility of constant horizontal and vertical changes.

In the course of research, the study of the following two components is important: the function of the object and the original state of the object. The function and the original state represent the dialectic oneness of the object, in which the unity and the battle are present simultaneously. This is important in connection with the study of the object since the exploration of the original state permits an explanation of the development, a comprehension of the changing functions, while ignorance about the original state makes many functions incomprehensible so that they are judged to be random in character. As a result of the dialectic character of the object, the original state may be studied through the functions. The concept of the developing object can be illustrated by a very simple example: by its anti-Cuba attitude, the United States created various manifestations within the Organization of American States toward the island nation. It determines the hostile attitude and makes it understandable; however, at the same time the respect of Cuba grows and this counteracts the functions arising from the original state.

5. The last part of the definition refers to the goals of the process. Research work is aimed at solving problems. By problem we mean an object which is determined by unknown or partially known causalities, which we need to know. The need for a solution exists when the problem is related to the known body of information in such a manner that it is recognizable in the system. The solution of the problem may be divided into three main stages: recognition of the problem, description of the problem, and the quest for a solution [9]. We speak of rational solution of the problem if the task is solved in the simplest manner with the least effort.

In general, there are two working processes in systems analysis: system analysis and system synthesis. Analysis studies the internal relationships of the system, which may be divided into subsystems, components, and elements. The depth of the division of the system is determined by the task on hand. The synthesis examines the relationships and interactions between the system and its environment, and ultimately provides a relatively comprehensive overall picture of the object.

The importance of systems analysis is basically because of its approach. With the aid of systems analysis we may approach adequately the objectively existing system-like object which is examined. The attitudinal creation of the harmony of the macro and micro levels and the combined use of qualitative and quantitative methods results in a dialectic study. By using precisely such an approach — without using the terminology of systems analysis — the classicists created their trailblazing works which affected the future for many decades. The best example of such a creation is the book "The Capital" by Karl Marx.

Current problems of foreign-policy systems analysis arise primarily from the somewhat unexplored character of the relationships in international relations. The scientific exploration of the system character of foreign policy has not yet reached the degree which could be termed optimal from the point of view of research. Systems analysis "plays an important role at the present state of scientific development since as a result of its interdisciplinary character it provides a framework for the practically complete development of many lower-level theories" [10].

2. Modeling

As a result of the complexity of international relations, the problem groups and areas of foreign policy forecasting — unlike some other subjects — do not provide a priori information requiring no further study [11]. The result of the complexity is the need for a scientific model. Model is "a material or intellectual object which replaces the object to be studied in the studying process, ... with which operations may be performed in order to obtain information about the original object" [12]. Direct study of the laws governing complex foreign policy processes involves the risk of simplification or schematism. Indirect study with the aid of models eliminates these risks. In addition, since "information does not exist in a pure form in social sciences" [13], we use the scientific model as a form of useful and controllable evaluation. The same thing applies to the development trends: the laboratory development of the model may elucidate some negative conclusions, so that the undesirable aspects of development may be reduced in real life.

In order to reach the set goals, we must impose several requirements on the scientific model of foreign policy forecasting. We have a scientific model only if

- it reflects all major quality criteria of the objective reality;
- it provides a schematic reflection (full reflection is not a model);
- it provides new information (we have a model only if new knowledge comes from its use),

The scientific models used in foreign policy forecasting are analytical in character. The conclusions reached with methods of mathematics and the conversion of the object into equations were found to be unsuitable for foreign policy studies. The basic principle of the mathematical model — according to which every equation can express the change only of a single variable — results in a formalism which is useless in foreign policy studies where the relationships are highly complex. On the other hand, the

analytical method is much more flexible. Its verbal method of expression affects favorably the characterization of all explored processes and rules of the system; by changing its elements, we have an opportunity for evaluating the weight and character of the changes in the individual processes.

Within the analytical model, the complex dynamic model was found to be the most effective in foreign policy studies. This model studies the structure and functionality of the object and also evaluates its qualitative development and changes. The other type of analytical model, the static model, is suitable only in exceptional cases since this type of model is aimed at the recording of the structural relationships at a specific point in time, and it does not reflect development. Thus, its *raison d'etre* is limited. Insofar as foreign policy is concerned, the simple dynamic model is also not the best. Although it does take into consideration the movement of the problem (functionality) in addition to its structure, it applies only quantitative criteria for matters related to development. It is therefore easy to understand why the complex dynamic model is so important, in spite of the fact that its preparation is more difficult.

Scientific modeling means the complex, multistage examination of the problem. Its main stages are the following:

- (1) unambiguous definition of the strictly circumscribed task and the determination of the forecast period;
- (2) study of the object and establishment of the model;
- (3) checking of the ability of the model for truthful representation;
- (4) model research: determination of the maximum and minimum versions of expected development in model variants;
- (5) trial of the model variants on already functioning models; selection of the best model variants;
- (6) transformation of the model variants to the object, maximum checking of the new information;
- (7) associated studies, checking and verification of the model variants;
- (8) incorporation of the new information into the forecasting system of foreign policy.

Scientific modeling is one of the basic methods of foreign policy forecasting. Its outstanding role is explained by the fact that it eliminates subjective evaluation and provides a more objective study. The scientific modeling has the "advantage over other forms of study that it permits the examination of those areas and aspects of reality which cannot be explored with other methods" [14]. But we must not overestimate the role of scientific modeling: this method is one of the methods used in foreign policy forecasting but it is not suitable for all problems. The deficiency of the method arises as a result of the reflective character of the model. Because of the weakness of human activities, the model reflects reality only to a limited degree. "Model-based forecasting is not based on the laws governing the object being modeled but on other laws, which are analogous to the object" [15]. However, the differences between the two sets of laws may be minimized by optimum modeling.

3. Mathematical Methods and the Computer

Much debate takes place about the use of mathematical methods in the field of social sciences in general and politics in particular. There are many who consider mathematics very important here. According to Sergiyev, "mathematics may play three roles in the social sciences. First: the language of mathematics may be applied to the characterization of the object of the study; second: mathematical methods may be used in the solution of the problems; third: the results of the mathematical solution of the problems may be used for further study of the development laws of the object" [16]. However, Sergiyev — same as many other authors — does not mention the means of practical realization. The reason for this is evident: the application of the mathematical models is in its infancy insofar as political studies are concerned, so that the usefulness is not yet fully demonstrated.

We examine the application of mathematics in foreign policy forecasting from two points of view: from the points of view of mathematical models and electronic data-processing equipment. In separating the two approaches, we attempt to eliminate the contradictory views arising from the combination of the problems, which we often encounter in the literature.

It is very likely that the use of mathematical models in the foreign policy forecasting process is still a long way off. Apart from certain phenomena (which lend themselves to solution by statistical methods), we have so far not succeeded in formalizing and mathematically expressing the processes of foreign relations. Development in the field of foreign policy is determined by the logic of social movements, which is quite different from the logic of mathematics. The global character of foreign policy cannot be confined

within the framework of strict mathematical logic. The important thing is not that the social sciences or foreign policy studies are not exact but that their exactness manifests itself in different ways.

The situation is different with the electronic data-processing equipment. The computer is neither a model nor a method; it is an aid in scientific study. As an aid in foreign policy forecasting, the data-processing machine plays an important role in the preparatory stage of futurology. Primarily, the machine is used for its ability to store much information fully and — which is even more important — its ability to retrieve all the information. This is a very important factor at a time when the amount of information increases at an explosive rate. According to some calculations, a scientist would have to peruse 100 folios of printed matter each day only to keep up with the developments in his specialty [17]. This task can be mastered only with the aid of electronic data-processing equipment. In this manner, the computer becomes a communication device between the object and the scientist. But the machine does more than store and retrieve. It also organizes, systematizes, and catalogs. The importance of these clearly technical processes becomes easier to understand if we realize that the Hungarian People's Republic alone entered into a total of 1,460 agreements between 1965 and 1975 [18]. A comparison of the contents of these agreements, and the retrieval of certain details can be performed within minutes with the aid of the electronic data-processing devices. Manually, this would have taken several weeks.

In addition to their use in the preparatory stages of futurological studies, the computers could also be used to advantage in the forecasting process. Theoretically, the advantages of the computer are obvious: unlike the intellectual activity of the researcher, which is finite and affected by many factors, the computer processes the information available at a fast rate and — on the basis of the programmed methods — considers all fed-in causalities and considerations, irrespectively of the amount of information. The computer does not err as a result of methodological considerations. But the theoretical advantages cannot be translated into reality: first, there are only very few relationships in the field of foreign policy which can be converted into equations in a manner required by formal logic and unambiguously. One result of the lack of formal-logical unambiguity is that the computer will accept the more frequent version as authentic even if it is evident to the human being that it is wrong. Second, the computer is not able to "detect" any errors in the entered method, in the programming, and the gaps which may exist in the information because of unresolved problems in foreign policy matters. Third, the computer is infallible only within

its own system, in formal-logical — but not in dialectical-logical — terms. Fourth, we must realize the differences between the phenomenological processes of man and computer. Whereas the knowledge of a human being becomes perfected and changes as a result of the constant interaction between practice and theory in a dialectic process, the computer possesses only programmed-in knowledge. Thus, if new information becomes available, the system must be re-programmed, which means work for a few weeks or months.

For the above reasons, the use of computers in forecasting did not arise — except in some part fields and problems. Among the exceptions which confirm the rule are statistical data which can be processed with a computer in so large volumes which were unheard of before without computers. A possibility for the more widespread use of computers and mathematics will exist once the theoretical and practical problems of their application in foreign policy are solved. Steps toward this goal have already been taken; for example, the Department of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union has set up a committee for the evaluation of the applications of electronic computers and mathematical methods in historical sciences. The Institute of the History of the Soviet Union has established a laboratory for the examination of these matters [19]. If the studies in the field of historical sciences are successful, the results will be adapted to matters of foreign policy also.

4. Intuitive Methods

Intuitive forecasting is an important auxiliary method in foreign-policy futurology. By intuition we mean such a spontaneous recognition which results in an unexpected solution of a scientific problem, without any logical reasoning, directly. In practice, intuitive forecasting creates such methodological conditions for the establishment of ideas for the future by experts, which are aimed at facilitating new findings under consideration of various organizational, psychological, and sociological laws. The acquisition of new knowledge is made possible by certain specific features of the method:

- The basis of the recognition is not formulated;
- The recognition has no logical structure;
- The recognition is not proven.

The intuitive method is of scientific value only if the new knowledge gained with its aid is subsequently confirmed by theory, logic, or practical experience. The recognition of the fact — which, because of the character of the method and the unexpected nature of the truth, is not proven — results from earlier experiences and knowledge, and their activation in a qualitative manner. Obviously, its importance is great in the field of foreign policy: the spotty data existing in foreign relations sometimes make it impossible to explore qualitative changes in any other way. This peculiar feature of foreign policy raises the intuitive forecast to the level of a method. The argument whether to regard intuitive methods as methods or instruments is of no relevance [20].

Unfortunately, the conscious use of the intuitive methods is not as widespread as it should be. This is interesting since the conscious or subconscious use of intuition is demonstrable in every team which studies matters concerning foreign policy. The reason for this is presumably the fact that the terms "expert" and "interrogation" are not clearly defined and that the term "subjective" is often applied to the intuitive method in a pejorative sense.

It is interesting to look into these causes in more detail. The term "expert" in foreign policy is somewhat changed and broadened in foreign policy. Experts are defined as individuals who carry out major theoretical or practical activity in the field of international relations: cooperating specialists, reporters, foreign-policy researchers, diplomats, politicians, and so forth. Not only is the definition of an expert different here, but also the nature of the query. Obviously, no public opinion polls can be carried out in foreign countries to prepare a forecast; thus, this important method of futurology cannot be considered. But there are methods which overcome this problem.

The intuitive method is often labeled subjective. The intuitive methods employed for foreign policy forecasting are not "hushes" arrived at without any logical thinking, or irrational evaluations, or the products of "mystic inspirations." The criterion of the method's scientific character is precisely the theoretical or logical confirmation which is necessary sooner or later, as we mentioned above. The accusation of subjectivism and lack of foundation is therefore not only invalid but also harmful.

In addition to these advantages, the intuitive method has also some disadvantages. Because of the character of foreign policy, intuition allows much latitude to individual imaginations, which are often very deficient.

Confirmation of the results of the method is very difficult and the techniques require much effort. On the other hand, the risk that the experts tend to simply transfer structures accepted in the past — which is inherent in the character of the method — is a very real one [21]. The fact that the intuitive method requires a cumbersome evaluating apparatus creates another concern.

Yet, in spite of their deficiencies, the intuitive methods are valuable aids. Provided that their use is not exclusive, they provide valuable assistance toward obtaining new knowledge.

a) The Delphi method is the best known version of the intuitive method. The principle of this method is that experts are given questionnaires concerning the future of the problem, and they complete them anonymously. The experts guiding the project evaluate the completed questionnaires and prepare new ones on their basis. The questionnaires also enable the experts to become familiar with the various opinions expressed by their peers. The questionnaires are usually written three or four times. The importance of the method in the field of foreign policy arises from the following factors:

- The relationships between the past, the present, and the future can be evaluated better on the basis of the opinions of the experts.
- In the interdisciplinary group, every participant is an expert in the subject only from a specific point of view. None has overall expertise. The Delphi method may lead to the formulation of interdisciplinary approaches which are useful in foreign policy forecasting.

The Delphi method has various versions; however, all are based on the multi-step evaluation of the collective judgment of experts.

b) The brainstorming [22] is another intuitive method. This method is basically a conference of experts dealing with a specific subject. The following are its requirements:

- To generate the maximum number of ideas within the shortest time.
- To enable free rein of the imagination to the maximum extent.
- To exclude any criticism during the up to one hour conference.
- To avoid the evaluation of the ideas during the conference.

- The ideas generated during the conference should be explored further if possible.

The conference is the first stage of the brainstorming method. Following the conference, evaluation takes place and this is followed by the further development of the useful ideas. The aims of brainstorming are the same as the aims of the Delphi method. Among others, brainstorming desires to mobilize the subconscious factors of creative thinking. The weakness of the brainstorming method is that it generates a high percentage of useless ideas. However, one must take the useless ideas into account if one is to obtain a small percentage of useful ideas.

c) The status of the scenario as a method is often debated. In this matter we agree with Imre Koran, and we classify it as a method because of its "dramatizing intuitive approach." The main feature of the scenario is the creation of a model starting from the given situation leading toward the future, and the intuitive simulation of the imagined conditions. With the aid of the simulation the expected events can be presented step by step, and in a logical sequence. The critical points and solutions must be determined by the creator of the scenario. Thus, the method is aimed at sketching out the development process, not the determination of the goal. To make the scenario clearer to understand, it is often written in a synoptic manner.

The importance of the scenario method is that it expands the potentialities of the expert. The expert is capable of considering five to six variables and 10 to 12 data at once, and with the aid of the synopsis may evaluate many more causalities and variants.

d) In contrast to the scenario, the game plan is not the work of a single expert; it is realized in the form of conferences. The game plan does attempt to explore how the given problem will change under the influence of various (different) interests; the experts represent various interest groups. The game plan is justified if we lack sufficient information about the object under study. There are different versions of the game plan; the leaders of the game may specify the end result — but cannot alter the starting point — and they may also specify the intermediate stages and each step. There are also unbound versions.

e) Many authors classify the analogy as a model [24]. In our opinion, however, this is an intuitive method. In the case of models we have information based on decisive and major parameters of the object. In the case of

historical analogies, it is precisely the lack of knowledge about decisive episodes which leads us to comparison. Thus, the method is basically intuitive in character. Another factor proving the intuitive character of the method is that presently we lack methodologies for clearly distinguishing the major features of the object from the major steps of the conditions forming the basis of the analogy. Thus, it is difficult to reach conclusions with the aid of theoretical and logical means.

The basis of historical analogy is that an object will develop identically under comparable conditions. This is doubtlessly true in sociological events. However, in the relatively narrow field of foreign policy the analogies are only used in relatively short and less important events. This method is used if we know relatively little about the laws governing the event or if it is difficult to foresee its development.

The major problem of foreign-policy analogy is that there are fast qualitative and quantitative structural changes. The development of the object studied often differs from that of an earlier similar object as a result of changed conditions.

The methodology for scientific study of the foreign-political future is very important today, when international relations move at a very high speed. The methods are means of acquiring knowledge, and it is important to use them in a deliberate manner; however, they are not the only conditions for realistic forecasting. In addition to the methods, we need adequate starting material, teams of experts, and expertise if we are to achieve our goals.

Although foreign policy forecasting is still in its infancy, foreign policy forecasting based on Marxism-Leninism methodologically builds upon the approach enunciated by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The outlook eliminates the need for repeatedly elaborating the general phenomenological matters and for studying the global social laws and relationships. It also serves as a methodological guideline in specific studies. The value of the Marxist attitude in forecasting can be appreciated really only if we remember the capitalist practice. Western authors dealing with foreign policy forecasting regard scientific argumentation as a function of political interests and strategy [25]. Since there are numerous group and stratum interests in the bourgeois state, there is no firm attitude toward the world, and the methodology is also adapted to the interests of diverse groups. Thus, instead of scientific attitude and objectivity, there develops an "antagonism

between the high-level research methods and subjective methodology" [26] which often leads to the psychologization of the subject matter.

In addition to scientific methodology based on an approach to the world, foreign policy forecasting also has major guiding examples. The works of Maxrist classics dealing with international relations provide methodological guidelines which may be processed and adapted with advantage so as to obtain successful foreign policy forecasts.

The leadership of the communist parties needs foreign policy forecasts. The resolution adopted at the 11th Congress of the MSZMP points out that "it is necessary to explore in advance the new development trends and to use the experiences to point toward the future" [27]. The report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declared at the 24th Party Congress the following: "A more resolute turn in the direction must be made in the social sciences toward the development of current problems for both the present and the future" [28].

In spite of the starting points and the existing needs, science has so far devoted too little attention to the establishment and development of the methodologies of foreign policy forecasting. However, as a result of the increased needs, changes are underway, and a detailed examination of the methods is now on the agenda. Methodological advancement will meet the needs if, in studying the methodologies of futurology it considers the necessity of combining the methods and realizes that each method has its own advantages and disadvantages. "For each method of forecasting, we must keep in mind its advantages and limitations" [29]. As the methodology of foreign policy forecasting improves, one of the basis prerequisites of successful futurology becomes more useful and the forecasts made will be more accurate.

FOOTNOTES

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15. Nikitina, A. G.: "Predvidenie kak chelovecheskaya Sposobnost'" [Foresight as a Human Characteristic], Mysl', Moscow, 1975, p 82.
16. See: Sergiyev, A. V.; loc. cit., p 83.
17. Szabo, A. Gyorgy; "Integrated Science and Human Fulfilment" VALOSAG, 1976, No 8.

18. Szabo, L. Istvan; "Our Foreign Relations" NEPSZABADSAG, 26 Sep 1976.
19. See: "Matyematicheskiye metody v istoricheskikh issledovaniyakh"
[Mathematical Methods in Historical Research], Moscow, 1972.
20. See: Nikitina, loc. cit., p 104.
21. "Ideologie und Naturwissenschaften" [Ideology and Natural Sciences],
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1969, pp 130 and 142.
22. The Russian term for brainstorming is "metod otnesenoy atsenki."
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and Economic Forecasting], Budapest, Kozgazdasagi es Jogi Konyvkiado,
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2542

CSO: 2500

POLAND

POLISH OPPOSITION HAS BECOME A 'FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL FACTOR'

Brussels LE SOIR in French 3 Aug 77 p 3 LD

[POL MATHIL article: "After the Amnesty in Poland"]

[Text] The amnesty decreed in Poland on the National Festival of 22 July constitutes an action relevant both to policy and to justice. This amnesty allows the authorities, without losing face, to end the detention of nine sympathizers of the KOR--the Workers' Defense Committee--formed after the riots and strikes of June 1976, and to release the last five workers imprisoned since the strikes of the past year. Yet paradoxically the Polish press has been the last to announce this attempt by Mr Gierek to close the page on the affair.

Releasing the KOR members undoubtedly constitutes a victory for what could be considered the moderate wing of the Polish Communist Party. For several years, and particularly since 1968, some Warsaw newspapers have been dominated by the advocates of extreme measures concentrated particularly in some sections of the police and the Party apparatus. LE MONDE's special correspondent was surprised "to hear Mr Rolinski, chief editor of ZYCIE WARSZAWY--one of the most virulent newspapers in the campaign against the dissidents--confirm that he had no memory whatever of the First Secretary's phrase relating to the use of political means to resolve current problems...."

The sabotage of Mr Gierek's efforts and the crisis in the Party apparatus are so much more dangerous that, although the release of the dissidents indisputably improves the political atmosphere in Poland itself and this country's image abroad (several weeks after Mr Gierek's visit to Paris), the amnesty cannot control the contentious elements and at heart the problem remains unchanged.

It is first a question of economic problems and particularly of serious difficulties of supplies. To meet the most urgent needs in 1976, the government imported 7 million tons of cereal and 80,000 tons of meat. Nevertheless, the lines outside stores were endless and the situation bordered on the ridiculous. "Once upon a time," the latest anecdote current in Warsaw goes, "the sign said 'butcher' and you found meat inside, today the sign says 'meat' but

inside you find only the butcher." Bitterness is also growing in the face of the extent of the parallel but official foreign currency exchange system thanks to which people can buy what they cannot find in normal stores. According to its inhabitants, Warsaw today is the only place in the world where the dollar exchange rate is continually rising.

Then there are the political problems. There must be no mistake: the amnesty resulted less from the indulgence of the authorities than from an accurate evaluation of the correlation of forces. The movement in favor of the KOR and of its imprisoned members has assumed magnitude unprecedented since the "Polish Spring" of 1956 when the popular wave forced a change of team on the government.

Beginning with a hunger strike in a Warsaw chapel and followed by another--by Gdansk students--the campaign in favor of the KOR has assumed remarkable dimensions. Protest letters have been signed by thousands of intellectuals and thousands of students, including those from Krakow, which was paralyzed last May by a funeral procession of 5,000 young people after the suspicious death of Stanislaw Pyjas, a KOR associate. The Church has thrown its moral weight behind the defense of the oppressed. On the other hand, appeals from eminent personalities have been addressed to the "Eurocommunist" parties. On the anniversary of "Black Friday" of June 1976 two petitions created a sensation in the capital. The first came from the small village of Zbrosza Duza where 349 signatures were collected by the parish priest; the second was signed by 89 miners from the Zlywice coal mine in Silesia, the personal bailiwick of Mr Gierek.

In these circumstances the amnesty might constitute only a first step toward the beginning of a real dialog between the government and the population. In their first statement since the release the KOR members announced their decision to continue their campaign. New participants like Professor Kielanowski, the famous physiologist and member of the [Polish] Academy of Sciences, have just reinforced the team. A new edition (Number 11) of the KOR bulletin has just reached us, citing in particular the names of the most repressive journalists [as published]. Two new publications have appeared on the "Samizdat" market: the first, ZAPIS (scratchpad), prints on more than 200 pages some of the works censored by the authorities; the second claims to be a "practical guide" against the secret police's recruitment attempts.

In brief, the Democratic opposition in Poland has become a fundamental moral and political factor. As Professor Kolakowski, the great philosopher and KOR spokesman in the West, has said: Any policy which claims to be realistic owes it to itself to take into consideration this new phenomenon.

CSO: 3100

POLICY OF CREATIVE MARXISM EXTOLLED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 22 Jul 77 p 3

[Article by George-Radu Chirovici: "Creative Marxism"]

[Text] These days mark the 12th anniversary of the Ninth Romanian Communist Party Congress, an event which is "inscribed in golden letters in Romania's history," a congress whose significance is increasingly enhanced for us as the years pass, as the lofty, noble, and profoundly revolutionary spirit that hovered over its proceedings is translated into actions. They are attributes of the scientific thinking and tireless activities--combined with selfless efforts in the service of the party and the country, the fundamental interests of the Romanian people--of one who personifies the will to progress and to advance toward the zenith of socialist and communist civilization, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

In that memorable document--the Report of the Ninth Romanian Communist Party Congress--in the context of a broad elaboration of ideas whose validity and permanence have been brilliantly confirmed by history, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that "Marxism is a vital science which is being developed and enriched constantly, synthesizing the historic experiment and its findings on social development." Referring to the complexity and variety of the problems raised in every country by the building of socialism, he went on to point out that "the study and resolution of these problems is the obligation of every Marxist-Leninist party, which thus contributes to enriching the common experience of our movement."

These words have, in the 12 years, acquired the golden plating of reality: Contemplating Marxism creatively, applying it creatively, enlarging the treasure of the theoretical and practical experience of the working people's democratic movement, our communist party and its secretary general have brilliantly demonstrated the force and magnitude of the working class's conception of the world and society: dialectical and historical materialism.

This week we have witnessed a theoretical event which goes far beyond the circumstances in which it took place, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's interview with a group of American journalists. He brought up various problems from

crucial realms of current politics of Romania, Europe, and the world; democratic socialism, the overall development of our country, relations between Romania and the United States, problems of collaboration, of relaxing and eliminating political tensions in Europe and the world, relations among communist parties and problems of differing ways of transition from capitalism to socialism.

The scientific, very vigorous, and profound analysis applied to the processes taking place in today's world demonstrates over and over again the profoundly creative spirit in which our party's secretary general addresses himself to and, in the light of dialectical and historical materialism, clarifies the important aspects of the country's and the world's political realities. His answers--characterized by depth of conception, subtlety of analysis and aptness of formulation--shed vivid light on the vast and complex range of problems broached, constituting a theoretical and political contribution all the more significant for its principled and practical clarification.

Nicolae Ceausescu's conversation with the group of American journalists, published this week, becomes recorded in a long list of manifestations of creative Marxism in action, of which a prime and lofty example was the ninth congress.

9078
CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

INCREASED INTEREST IN DEFENSE STUDIES NOTED

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 77 p 6 AU

[V. Petrovic report on interview with Col Dr Milan Vucinic, director of the National Defense Course of Studies at the Science and Mathematics Faculty of Belgrade University; date and place not given]

[Summary] Due to a very large number of candidate students applying for admission to the National Defense Course of Studies at the Science and Mathematics Faculty in Belgrade, it appears that the faculty will be able to accept only about one-fourth of them in the coming academic year. "In the first class 226 students were admitted to this course and 364 were admitted in the second, but this year we will be able to admit only about 200," Col Dr Milan Vucinic reports.

"The need for these cadres is enormous," he states and notes that the graduates of this course will be able to work as "defense and protection instructors in secondary schools and lecturers in the subject entitled 'The Foundations of Defense of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia' in faculties and higher and high schools and will also be able to be employed as workers of administrative organs of sociopolitical communities, as workers engaged in national defense tasks within organizations of associated labor, as experts of various national defense bodies within sociopolitical organizations, as press, radio and television correspondents for national defense affairs, as [defense] training instructors in workers' universities, and so forth." Their studies will be recognized as a full regular term of military service and they will be accorded the status of reserve military officers with appropriate rank. Graduates of the course will be given priority if they wish to enter active service in the Yugoslav People's Army.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

BELGRADE RADIO ON COLOMBO NONALINED CONFERENCE

Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Aug 77 AU

[Commentary by Cedomir Vuckovic]

[Text] The first anniversary of the historical meeting of nonaligned countries, the Fifth Summit Conference in Colombo, will be celebrated tomorrow. The meeting confirmed that the movement of nonalignment is an independent and completely autonomous factor in international relations without which no vital problems of the contemporary world can be solved. Cedomir Vuckovic comments on this:

The present stage of nonalignment is characterized by a high development of the movement and the movement has now reached such a level that it acts as an equal and completely autonomous factor on the international scene. Sixteen years ago nonalignment acted primarily with its moral strength in the direction of peace, progress, coexistence and economic and political equality in international relations. But today the movement of nonalignment channels the trends of world developments with its force of conviction, with principles and with concrete actions within the world organization and elsewhere as well as by means of certain instruments and measures. Considering certain global results, nonalignment is the driving force and the initiator of the struggle to solve the fateful problems of the world.

At the time of the worst postwar tension in the fifties when a conflict between the blocs confronting one another seemed inevitable, the nonaligned countries sent from their First Summit Conference in Belgrade the known appeal for peace to the big powers, the appeal which bore fruit. Colonialism has lost the battle in face of the advance of nonalignment. The movement of nonalignment is the inspirer of the struggle for a new international economic system based on justice and equality within which there will be no exploitation. And finally the Fifth Summit Meeting in Colombo adopted President Tito's initiative which was unanimously approved also within the world organization, the initiative to hold a special UN General Assembly session on disarmament. It was clearly demonstrated in this manner that the peace-loving majority in the world wants peace.

After the Colombo conference, too, the nonaligned countries continued their actions despite increased tension in the international situation. The ministers attending the meeting of the Coordination Bureau in New Delhi elaborated the decisions of the Colombo conference. The ideas and actions of nonaligned countries were also in evidence at the Belgrade CSCE preparatory meeting hosted by nonaligned Yugoslavia. And our president, who is just now making his important visit to the Soviet Union and Asia, continues to work for international agreement. Analyzing the present situation in international relations, in the evening before yesterday in Moscow, he warned that new crisis hotbeds are being created and that the international situation is being exacerbated in many areas. External interference in the internal affairs and pressures on the independence, sovereignty and nonaligned policy of many countries and also of entire continents--as the case now in Africa--have become more frequent, President Tito said.

Even though it was held a year ago, the Colombo conference called attention to all these dangers and the new forms of pressure and interference in the affairs of other countries. Socialist Yugoslavia, Tito said the evening before yesterday, is comprehensively engaged in implementing the decisions of the Fifth Conference of Nonaligned Countries and in strengthening the action ability of the movement of nonaligned countries. Tito's statement that the world is indivisible just as peace is indivisible and that, regardless of the pressures to which it is constantly subjected, the nonalignment continues to trace the roads of cooperation between peoples, is as valid today as it was valid earlier. As Tito has said, nonalignment is the consciousness of mankind. It can be valued more or valued less by anyone but no one disputes it any longer. This was demonstrated, among other things, also by the Fifth Summit Conference of Nonaligned Countries in Colombo the first anniversary of which we now observe.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

'POLITIKA' CRITICIZES NEW BULGARIAN BOOK

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Aug 77 p 4 AU

[Commentary by S.R.: "The 'Real Culprits' Discovered"]

[Text] The book by Ilcho Dimitrov, member of the Institute for History of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and lecturer at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sofia, entitled "The Bulgarian Democratic Public, Fascism and War," 332 pages, has appeared in the display windows of Bulgarian bookshops. It was published by the Otechestven Front and is revealing in many ways, and its basic conclusions are very unusual so that it can freely be said that it also is impudently irritating to many people.

Its main message is: Because before the last war the Balkan neighbors and Western allies did not in time and generously meet the territorial and other pretensions of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, and in this connection it is clearly made known that these pretensions were "justified," Bulgaria was pushed into Hitler's lap. Accordingly, the responsibility for Sofia joining the Axis powers, for the Fascistization of the country and all the rest that preceded or followed this--thus also the occupier's barbaric acts in the occupied foreign regions--does not lie with the Bulgarian reactionaries and Bulgarian chauvinists and hegemonists.

Most interesting in this respect is the last third of the book which speaks about the stands of the "non-Fascist opposition" in the country. The general characteristic of the presentation offered is an avoidance of clear historic assessments of the positions of the ruling monarchial-Fascist circles, on the one hand, and the democratic opposition, including the BCP, on the other hand.

According to the selection of the material presented it results that all political parties and groups, from the extreme rightwing to the BCP, held nearly identical or very similar views where Bulgaria's basic foreign political goals were involved. These goals were, first, to subvert the Neuilly Peace Treaty and, second, to realize "Bulgaria's justified national pretensions." It all turns out that the only difference was as to which methods and in alliance with which group these goals should be realized.

Where the "justified" Bulgarian pretensions are concerned, the author holds the same view which permeates a large number of Bulgarian historical works, and this virtually means an identification with the views of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. In this connection, the so-called "minimum" demand is adopted, or rather the return of Southern Dobrudja, the gaining of an outlet to the Aegean Sea and the recognition of minority rights for "the minorities in the neighboring countries" in the territories "which have been torn away from Bulgaria." This is done in a way in which a generalized formulation is used in order not to mention Macedonia specifically and directly, but from the whole context it is quite clear that Macedonia is implied here.

It is also interesting that Ilcho Dimitrov's book constantly stresses that nearly all parties were in favor of a close cooperation with the Balkan countries once Bulgaria's "justified" demands had been met. The author blames the other Balkan countries for the fact that this "cooperation" did not materialize, because they resolutely declined to agree to a revision on the territorial status quo confirmed by a number of international documents. France and England are simultaneously accused of this because they did not want to "offend" their allies in the Little Entente [prewar pact linking Yugoslavia, Romania and Czechoslovakia] and the Balkan Pact and because they refused to support these Balkan pretensions.

After "threatening" and placing historic events in such a way, Ilcho Dimitrov imposes as a logical conclusion that Bulgaria had to deduce that its position would be made easier by Hitler's efforts to subvert the Versailles Peace Treaties and to destroy the system of international relations and the borders emanating from these treaties. Therefore, the guilt for Bulgaria's joining the Tripartite Pact and its siding with the Nazi side lays not with the Bulgarian reactionaries, chauvinists and hegemonists, but rather with the Western powers and the Balkan countries.

Ilcho Dimitrov does not hesitate to say directly in this quasi-scientific work: "The efforts of the opposition to provoke an Anglo-French initiative for the benefit of the most natural national pretensions had remained without any results. The Balkan countries also did not show any desire to meet at least those demands the solution of which was topical. This policy by England and France and their Balkan allies toward Bulgaria objectively served the pro-German circles of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie which was preaching that only with the assistance of Hitler's Germany can the Bulgarian people resolve their national problems."

The tones and theses which appeared in the book "The Bulgarian Democratic Republic, Fascism and War" are not an accidental result of mistakes by an author and, regrettably, they are also not a new thing in Bulgarian modern historiography and publishing. For some time, and in various directions, historic facts have been altered and falsified in Sofia and, when the verdict of time had long since and quite definitely been made, attempts are subsequently being made to create a new "history," according to the current desires and strange needs, in which the sins of the past are portrayed as virtues and blindness and foolishness as progressiveness and wisdom. Ilcho Dimitrov has made now another, certainly not insignificant, step along this road.