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 POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BULGARIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES HOLDS PRESS CONFERENCE

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Sep 77 p 5 AU

[Text] The embassy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Bucharest held a press conference Monday devoted to the 33d anniversary of the victory of the Bulgarian socialist revolution.

The conference was attended by representatives of the central press, of the Romanian news agency AGERPRES, of radio and television, and other publications, and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as by foreign press correspondents accredited to our country.

Speaking about the historical significance of this anniversary, the charge d'affaires ad interim of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Bucharest, Georgi Stoyanov, stressed the basic changes that have taken place in the years of socialist construction in Bulgaria, which has now become a modern socialist state with a strong and diverse economy, and which continues to record a sustained growth rate, a fact that contributes directly to the continuous improvement of the people's living standard. The particular successes recorded by the Bulgarian working people in all fields of activity to welcome the national day appropriately reflect the implementation of the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress.

Referring to the continuously upward trend of friendly relations between Bulgaria and Romania, and to the actions taken by both countries to continue strengthening and diversifying them, the speaker stressed that the regular meetings and talks between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu mark very significant moments in the general development of Bulgarian-Romanian fraternal relations, and give an impetus to cooperation at various levels between our countries, cooperation which year by year is given new scope and an ever greater meaning to the benefit of both peoples and the cause of socialism, of establishing a climate of peace, understanding, and cooperation in the Balkans and throughout the world.

CSO: 2700

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CEAUSESCU TOAST AT STARA ZABORA LUNCHEON 6 SEPTEMBER

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Sep 77 p 3 AU

[Text of toast proposed by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at luncheon given in his honor by the first secretary of the Stara Zabora Okrug BCP Committee Vulcho Naydenov on 6 September 1977]

[Text] Dear Comrade Zhivkov, dear Comrade Naydenov, dear comrades, once again I would like to express our thanks that we have been able to visit Stara Zagora during our visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. I want to thank the people and the county and city party committees for the very warm welcome given us. We actually view this as an expression of the feelings of friendship toward our people, feelings which are also those of the Romanian people toward the Bulgarian people.

Certainly, friendship and cooperation between our peoples have deep roots in history, especially in the years of socialist construction, and they have experienced a forceful development.

Today we had the opportunity to visit two enterprises and thus become acquainted with the efforts of the workers class, the technicians and engineers, and of the Bulgarian people on the road of industrialization, and the country's socioeconomic development. On this occasion too, I want to extend warm congratulations to these two collectives of working people for the results they have recorded in implementing the 11th BCP Congress decisions, and to wish them ever greater successes in their future activity.

The visit we are paying to your country is part and parcel of the concerns of our countries' parties and governments with continuously developing Romanian-Bulgarian cooperation in various fields of activity. It gave me pleasure to note that the enterprises I have visited cooperate with similar enterprises in Romania. Considering the understandings that will be concluded during this visit, I hope that this collaboration and cooperation will expand even more in the future.

Undoubtedly, the development of economic cooperation between our countries, and the expansion of cooperation in all the other fields of activity, are fully in keeping with the interests of socialist construction in our countries and with the general cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

---

I would like to raise this glass to the development of cooperation and friendship between our peoples:

To new successes of the Bulgarian people and the Stara Zagora working people in their activity of building the socialist society!

To the health of our friend, Comrade Todor Zhivkov!

To the health of the first secretary of the Stara Zagora county party committee, Comrade Naydenov!

To new success in the activity of the Stara Zagora party organization!

To the health of the Bulgarian friends!

To the health of all of you! (Applause)

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CEAUSESCU'S VISIT TO FURTHER BOOST BULGARIAN TIES

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0915 GMT 1 Sep 77<sup>1</sup> AU

["New Prospects for Steadily Developing Romanian-Bulgarian Relations of Friendship and Multilateral Collaboration--AGERPRES heading]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 1 Sep 1977--Romanian foreign affairs weekly LUMEA opens its issue of September 1 with the editorial on the forthcoming official visit of friendship [which] Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu, are to pay to the neighbouring and friendly country at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The frequent Romanian-Bulgarian top-level meetings and talks that have become traditional--the review writes--proved to be decisive for the steadily upward course of the relations of good neighbourliness, fraternal friendship, and militant collaboration between the two parties, countries, and peoples. Each time, the meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov fully confirmed their decisive role in identifying new ways of deepening and diversifying the Romanian-Bulgarian multilateral relations, in capitalizing what was covenanted to the mutual benefit, conferring new dimensions to the friendly collaboration between the two neighbouring socialist countries. A telling expression of the common willingness to raise the Romanian-Bulgarian fruitful multilateral cooperation onto a higher state was the inauguration last year of the building operations of the Giurgiu-Ruse joint enterprise for manufacturing heavy machinery and equipment. The most authorized representatives of the two peoples laid the foundation stone of a particularly important economic objective which thus became a symbol of the steady development of the Romanian-Bulgarian friendship. And this is only one example which proves by the force of deeds the high stage reached in developing a fruitful collaboration, in promoting mutually advantageous relations.

It is satisfactory for the entire Romanian people to notice on the eve of the fresh summit, Romanian-Bulgarian dialogue--LUMEA reads--that remarkable successes have been recorded in the bilateral cooperation. In the economic field,

for instance, stress should be laid on the fact that the bilateral commercial exchanges doubled at the end of the past 5-year plan as against the achievements in 1970, and that, in the future, as regards mutual deliveries of goods an over one miliard rouble volume is envisaged till 1980, i.e., double as compared to the 1971-1975 period. Objectives of great importance for the national economies of Romania and Bulgaria are to be completed as an outcome of the collaboration between the two countries (the heavy machine building enterprise of Giurgiu-Ruse, the hydrotechnical complex of Turnu Magurele-Nikopol A.O.) just as a wide range of cooperation ventures and actions for specialization in production will be materialized in a series of other domains.

The Romanian-Bulgarian collaboration in the technico-scientific field also witnesses favourable evolution, as well as the collaboration in culture, which covers broad activities in education, literature, the arts, cinematography, mass media, and others.

The Romanian public opinion looking forward to the forthcoming summit Romanian-Bulgarian dialogue is convinced that this will give strong impetus to deepening and diversifying many-sided collaboration and cooperation between Romania and Bulgaria, the relations between the two countries and peoples in general.

Certainly, the agenda of the talks between the party and state leaders of the two countries occasioned by the official visit of friendship to be paid by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu to Bulgaria will also include--beside the examination of relations of friendship, collaboration, and solidarity between the two neighbouring countries--significant subjects of current international politics, as also a number of problems of the international communist and working-class movement.

Already now--the weekly points out--it can be assessed that the forthcoming summit Romanian-Bulgarian dialogue will register, in the rich chronicle of the relations between the two neighbouring countries, another moment of reference, a telling proof of the resolve to develop the solidarity between the two parties, countries, and peoples, to strengthen the unity of socialist countries as well. This corresponds fully to socialist Romania's international activity, characterized essentially by the preoccupation for developing relations with all socialist countries, with all the states of the world, in keeping with the principles of international law.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIAN REVOLT 'JUSTIFIED', CZECH INVASION 'NOT JUSTIFIED'

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 3, May-Jun 77 pp 93-105

[Article by Valter Roman: "On Roads to Socialism" -- Abridged text of a presentation made at a session of the laboratory "Historic Progress and the World Revolutionary Process" of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy devoted to current discussions on roads to socialism in the contemporary world, on 15 December 1976]

[Text] The matter of the bodies of laws and of the roads to socialism represents, undoubtedly, one of the fundamental problems of contemporary life and of scientific socialism in our days. It is a good thing that for some time there has been a discussion of the roads to socialism at the international level (I am referring, first of all, to the theoretical activity of the communist parties in the developed capitalist countries). In my opinion, this discussion cannot be considered to be completed; it has hardly begun; it cannot be a matter of a last word but, rather, of a first approximation. What we can consider as positive, however, is the very fact that in the communist movement today there is acknowledged more and more -- although not without some reticence, resistance, and inflexibility -- the legitimacy and even the inevitability of the existence of different means of struggle for social transformations of a progressive nature, for socialism; the necessity and possibility of a dialog among Marxists as well as between Marxists and socialist and progressive philosophers of different orientations, with a view to developing and strengthening socialism as a world revolutionary process are being recognized more and more.

In any case, this new situation puts an end, in a way (and this is a good thing) to the ideology of "monolithism" and of "the single model" in the world communist movement, a movement which has suffered so much as a result of dogmatized ideological systems, connected, especially, with the existence of a leading center and because of the fact that, in discussing and attempting to clarify some major problems of the communist and workers movement and of the contemporary world, not rarely, the method of condemnation and not comradely criticism has been utilized, which has not contributed to the elucidation of the problems or to the ever-so-necessary

strengthening of the communist, worker, and progressive forces. The appearance, first of all, of the "case" of the Yugoslav road and, in later years, of the Italian "historic compromise", of the French "socialism with national colors", of "Eurocommunism" etc can no longer be considered today to be heretical since these strategies are based on the dedication to freedom of choice, on the criticism of one's own historic experiences and they shape their most distant futures in the framework of their own particular characteristics and historic aspirations, without losing sight of the general laws but rejecting stimuli of external origin (as was the case in the past).

The enunciation and respect of the right of each party to work out, autonomously, its own political line, the right to choose its own roads in the struggle for social transformation represent one of the basic orientations, one with fundamental worth, of our party. The principles on which relations between communist and workers parties should be based are continually expounded in the documents of the Romanian Communist Party.

On the 45th anniversary of the creation of the Romanian Communist Party on 7 May 1966, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: "Experience proves that the working class and its party can ensure the success of the proletarian revolt only by elaborating its strategy and tactics in accordance with the conditions and peculiarities of the respective country" [Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul desavirsirii constructiei socialiste" [Romania On the Road to Completing Socialist Construction], Vol I, Political Publishing House, 1968, p 405]. In his report to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party at the 10th Party Congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "We begin with the fact that the workers and communist parties carry out their activities in different historical, social and national conditions and that the different level of developing the forces of production and social relations requires that the approach to certain problems of contemporary development and certain tasks of the immediate struggle be different from one country to another. To understand this reality means to consider it absolutely natural that communist and workers parties, guided by the general truths of Marxism-Leninism, independently elaborate their own political line, strategy and tactics. Only by carrying out these principles as a unitary, indissoluble entity can there be ensured a new, enduring unity in the communist and worker's movement, a unity that is incomparably superior to the previous one" [Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate" [Romania On the Road to Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society], Vol 4, Political Publishing House, 1970, p 342].

The seeking and choosing of new roads to socialism have at their foundation the same class positions in the analysis of social phenomena and processes as those achieved so far and they do not mean the denial or abandonment of the general laws of the socialist revolution. This shows merely a greater elasticity in the utilization of different means of struggling for power, including parliamentary means.

The study of the roads to socialism cannot be separated from the most thorough possible knowledge of contemporary capitalism (of its contradictions and transformations) nor from the knowledge (definition) of what socialism is (or should be) in the contemporary world (I would say including the knowledge of its contradictions and weaknesses). One cannot make an abstraction of concrete realities.

The existence of a worsening of the general crisis of capitalism is recognized. But, this fact in itself is not sufficient. There also exists a crisis for the industrial society. This calls for making the necessary distinctions. The elimination of capitalism does not mean the elimination of industrialized society. It is clear, at the same time, that things cannot go forward along the old paths of the first industrial revolution. However, the serious analysis of the origins and structure of this first revolution contributes to a better understanding of the nature of the scientific and technical revolution, which can be considered, in a certain sense, as an extension of the first revolution and as a type of super-industrial revolution (as some people express it). The existence of multinational companies calls for a type of thinking that is, let us say, also multinational and a control that is multinational. All of this belongs to the so-called world-wide problem and the solutions cannot be, likewise, other than world-wide.

The importance of this problem (regarding the paths available under the conditions of a worsening of the general crisis of capitalism) is even greater since the means of coming out of this crisis cannot be unimportant for the people and for the future of mankind. Let us not forget that the recovery from the 1929-1933 crisis took place in some countries on the road to fascism. A recovery from the current crisis that moves to the right cannot be completely overturned. Olof Palme, for example, points out the dangers of such a situation: "There is a crisis of the capitalist system. There is also a danger that this could unleash an evolution of a fascist nature."

I think, within this framework, there is a need to also know and study the positions of the socialist and social-democratic parties regarding social progress and the roads to socialism and regarding democracy and socialism. It is interesting to note the exchange of opinions and letters that has taken place in recent years between Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky and Olof Palme, which appeared in "Briefe und Gespräche" in 1975, and in which they discussed their positions regarding the great problems of contemporary times.

Similarly, I think that these investigations should not be limited to just the developed capitalist countries in the West, but should also involve the countries of the Third World. There is talk of moving from a developed capitalism to socialism and of moving, in general, to socialism.

In general, it would be of great help to study and to know how mankind moved from one "historical era" to another. How Rome was born (ancient democracy); how Great Britain was born (the era of industrial revolution and capitalist industrialization); how the socialist countries were born (the era of socialist revolution and the scientific and technical revolution). All these events represented historical changes. A series of new ways of living came into being (customs, practices, laws and so forth) which, in the end, took on universal dimensions. This calls for a systematic analysis of the historical eras. That social system which is at a higher level of development dominates the respective historical era, imposing upon the world its own laws and customs.

#### I. The Application of Certain Methodologies from the Field of Contemporary Natural Science in the Field of Social Science and Their Application to the Study of the Revolutionary Process of Moving to Socialism

At the current time there exist basically two (different) revolutionary strategies: the path of violence, armed struggle and civil war - the turbulent path, and the path of democracy - the peaceful path.

With regards to the peaceful path, one may ask the following questions:

1. Was it possible to apply a strategy based on the peaceful path in the past?
2. Has the strategy based on the use of violence and armed struggle lost its validity completely (both in the developed and the undeveloped countries)?
3. Is the strategy of the peaceful path (pluralism, rotation of power) the only possibility in developed capitalist countries?

I feel that any absolute answer, as well as any counterpoint, would be wrong. The peaceful path does not mean, ab ovo, a renunciation of all elements of violence. The application of a certain strategy, such as the peaceful one, does not depend solely upon the socialist and democratic forces. The actions of the adversary and the reactionary political forces influence, without a doubt, the progress of events. There is the possibility of certain elements (moments) of violence even within the framework of the democratic road. Santiago Carrillo, the secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party, said at Berlin in June 1976: "We want this process to be achieved in a peaceful manner.... At the same time, we do not reject the possibility of using force to defend the democratic freedoms in the event the reactionary minority, condemned by popular vote, threatens these freedoms with a coup d'etat."

The problem of violence and revolutionary violence has concerned all the great revolutionary thinkers, including, first of all, Marx and Engels. As is known, they had given a great importance to revolutionary violence as an agent of historical progress. With all the radical changes that have taken place in the world, I feel that even today one cannot discount the appearance of certain situations, in one country or another, which would oblige the revolutionary forces to resort to violence. However, it would be a grave mistake for us to consider that the revolutionary

processes will be carried out today exactly as in the past and that the disappearance or reduction of the role of violence in revolutionary transformations, that is, the carrying out of socialist revolutions without an insurrection or civil war, would be impossible.

It is worth mentioning that back in the 1880's Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea was concerned with this problem. In the review "Drepturile omului" [The Rights of Man], he dedicated a special study to the problem, "Socialismul stiintific si mijloacele violente" [Scientific Socialism and the Violent Means]. He wrote: "Socialism...does not demand terrorism or violent means as a condition sine qua non. Everything depends upon the circumstances in which people live, people who take as their task the making of a reality from the idea that animates them" [Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, "Opere complete" [Complete Works], Vol I, Political Publishing House, 1976, pp 380-391].

It must be kept in mind that the scientific and technical revolution radically changed modern production and the social structure of the developed capitalist countries and moved the broad masses of intellectuals and the middle classes much closer to the working class - which also suffered deep transformations - which makes possible and historically necessary a broad alliance of all the popular forces with socialist tendencies. The old formula of the worker and peasant alliance no longer expresses, in these countries, the essence of the motivating force of socialist revolution. The influencing of a part of the cultural forces by the working class (a result of structural changes and the scientific and technical revolution) and the tempestuous development of the forces of production which leads to the decrease of the differences between manual labor and intellectual labor, make exploitation and alienation hit both manual and intellectual workers.

We have entered, actually, a new era of the world revolutionary process and the struggle for the triumph of socialism in the world, an era when real possibilities are opening up for revolutionary transformations in the developed capitalist countries, including the possibility of certain revolutionary breakthroughs in these countries which, under totally different historical conditions, are to be achieved with other means and on paths other than the ones used until now. The fact should not go unnoticed that the growing economic and social-political forces, and so forth, of the socialist countries have reduced the space in which the imperialists can maneuver, thus making easier the struggle of the revolutionary forces and the communist parties and contributing to the possibility of achieving peaceful ways to socialism in the developed capitalist countries. Socialism has become an objective necessity for the overwhelming majority of mankind.

It should be remembered that Lenin himself pointed out more than once the diversity of forms of moving to socialism in different countries, denying the concepts that the forms of socialist revolution will be repeated in all countries.

The great diversity of forms in which socialist revolutions will be achieved and, at the same time, the simultaneity (the concomitance) of this revolutionary process in Western Europe would seem clear. Perhaps we will not be wrong to think of the simultaneous production of socialist revolutions in the capitalist countries in Western Europe with the level of probability of this variant becoming even greater in the conditions of the internationalization of certain processes and phenomena and of the existence of transnational companies and certain groups of community organs in capitalist Europe. Naturally, this does not mean that the diversity of the forms in which these revolutionary processes would be carried out would disappear. I believe it will be just the opposite. One does not exclude the other. Simultaneity is not identical to nor synonymous with uniformity. Naturally, the greater diversity of paths does not mean that their historical and social essence would not remain the same.

There exist different forms in which the democratic path towards socialism is being elaborated and proposed by different communist parties: the communist parties of Italy, France, Spain and so forth. At the same time, it appears clear that it is impossible to specify today the concrete forms of socialist revolution in these countries since, as even Marx noted, revolutions are not made to order.

Speaking of the democratic, peaceful path, we cannot lose sight of the position of the religious believers and even of the churches in different countries since they open some possibilities for an alliance of real historical importance and significance. This would be a broad alliance within the working class, with the progressive and democratic forces, and, even, with the Christian forces and the masses of believers.

I think we cannot exclude either one or the other of the revolutionary paths when we speak of moving to socialism, when, actually, one can speak of the two paths complementing each other. They do not exclude each other, they do not oppose each other, but, instead, they become complementary on a world-wide scale. It is necessary that no one take an opposing position. No one has to contest the right of another to elaborate his own strategy and his own point of view in any problem nor to contest the value of the achievements obtained.

It is worth emphasizing that the principle of complementary relationship, which was born and confirmed in the field of microphysics and quantum mechanics, represents a general methodological principle which can be applied in a number of conditions to the most varied spheres of human knowledge, allowing the broadening of the objective description of certain phenomena and processes. For that reason, I think that we would not be wrong if we state that the application of the principle of complementary relationships can be used in the objective description of historical processes also.

With regards to the strategy of the majority, tied to the future evolution of society, in the evaluation of the value of this strategy in an anticipatory manner, in my opinion, it is the case of drawing attention to the

idea (the fact) that in the undertaking and evaluation of the anticipatory process, so as not to err, we cannot make an abstract of another principle which has its origins, like the principle of complementary relationships, in the field of natural science, the principle or relationship of non-determination (of uncertainty, imprecision). Contemporary research has confirmed the conclusion regarding the character and the existence of a certain level of uncertainty in any process of an anticipatory nature. "In the field of prognosis, there exists and works...a type of 'relationship of uncertainty'" [V. Roman, "Pentru o teorie stiintifica (marxista) a RST" [For a Scientific (Marxist) Theory of the Scientific and Technical Revolution]. A report presented on 1 November 1968. Published in "Contemporanul" of 3 and 10 January 1969. Reproduced in the volume "Revolutia stiintifica si tehnica. Eseuri" [The Scientific and Technical Revolution. Essays], Political Publishing House, 1970, p 409].

Marx drew attention to the cardinal importance of discovering trends of historical development. Marxism could be defined also, as a lesson on historical trends. Marx said, "the law works only as a trend whose effect is not clearly manifested except in certain circumstances and during the course of certain long term periods" [Marx-Engels, "Opere" [Works], Vol 25, Political Publishing House, 1969, p 242]. And, it is clear with regard to the future and the principles of anticipatory relationships that what can be established with a greater degree of precision are the general trends of historical development, but not concomitantly the spatial temporal coordinates of certain concrete historical events, such as the case of a socialist revolution in the developed capitalist countries. I am speaking of the statistical nature of the laws of social movement and of recognizing the probabilistic nature of objective social determinism since the determinism of human activities is manifested at the level of statistical groups (of social groups) and not at the level of the individual taken individually. That is why I consider justified and just the application of the methodology of the relationships of nondetermination in the field of social science, keeping in mind, naturally, the specific conditions of social-historical evolution.

In the success of this strategy, a decisive importance - in my opinion - will be found in the fact (the circumstance) of whether the new social class, the working class (whose definition cannot purely and simply be confused with the definition given to the proletariat not too long ago) will become, prior to the taking of power, the real leading force of all the people from a moral and political point of view (for example, similar to the way the French bourgeoisie had become the leading force of society in France prior to the great French Revolution of 1789). Naturally, the new historical conditions, compared to those of the end of the 18th century, must be kept in mind; which means, among other things, the need for a broad alliance of the working class and the parties of the working class with other social forces and progressive and democratic parties which opt for socialism.

It is a matter, therefore, of the abandonment of classical determinism of a mechanistic nature which leads to fatalism, which means the elimination of the concept of possible from the description of reality and the categorical move to quantitative causality, which introduces probability as an inevitable and necessary primary element and which replaces, in principle, the predeterminant character of historical processes and events that take place in the world. In this way, as Heisenberg says: "The determinants mean the possible determinations which, in a fundamental way, however, cannot be achieved simultaneously" [Reproduced according to Carl Friedrich von Weizsacker. In the magazine *UNIVERSITAS*, No 7, 1976]. Thus, Weizsacker says, commenting on Heisenberg, "The concept of possible is also introduced in the description of the present. For that reason, it cannot be eliminated in the description of the future either." We must abandon the pretense of certain exact mathematical descriptions of future events and processes, accepting the approach from an angle of probability and possibility.

If the probability of certain later events can be deduced, not just rarely, from previous events, the same thing cannot be said about an inverse situation since rarely or very rarely can the probability of certain prior events be deduced from later ones.

It should be said, parenthetically, that there does exist, unfortunately, a situation in which even the calculation of probability loses its validity, when it actually "exceeds" and abandons this field (the calculation of probability) and enters what we can call the incalculable. This refers to the possibility of an eventual thermonuclear missile world war. There and then we truly enter the field of the incalculable.

In this context of using certain methodological principles from the field of natural sciences, I feel that the communist parties of Western Europe should also use the method of elaborating certain scenarios regarding future events and processes.

With regards to the problem of reversibility or irreversibility of social processes, it must be said that to accept the thesis of irreversibility means to bring us closer to the teleological, finalist concepts opposed to determinism and opposed to causal-deterministic explanations. Let us not forget that through transformation, by some Marxists, of philosophy into teleology, Marxism became and is becoming a dogma. Naturally, there exists, as in nature, the possibility of irreversibility, but this is normally tied to the degradation of the respective system. The current discussions in the field of natural science, however, set forth the possibility of creating certain systems that are irreversible and, at the same time, balanced. It is the task of the social sciences to study this problem in social systems and to find appropriate solutions. Socialist and communist society must represent a superior level of social organization with an anti-entropic character where the technical-scientific activity has as its true objective the elaboration of certain methods and means which lead to the anti-entropic transformation of nature and society.

Naturally, in the end, the concrete evolution of things depends upon man and the degree of mastering the natural and social phenomena and processes. Both reversibility and irreversibility are possible variants. It is known that the step from the sublime to the ridiculous is reversible.

It is a case of using reason in place of myths, doubt in place of certainty ("de omnibus dubitandum"), differentiation in place of absoluteness and organic unity instead of opposition.

## II. The Analysis of Certain Correlations Which Influence the Progress of Historical Events

There is the great problem of the correlation between reformism and revolution. It is worthwhile to recall this, beginning with the celebrated controversy (from the beginning of this century) between Bernstein, Kautsky and Bebel. The famous formula of that time is known which tried to present reformism as democratism, on the one hand, and revolutionism as non-democratism, as lacking democracy, on the other hand. It is true that Kautsky defended, then, the so-called democratic path of revolutionary development which, however, cannot be identified or confused with what today is called the democratic path towards socialism. Within the ranks of social-democracy today, there is discussion with regards to the definition of the concept of reforms and reformism. According to some persons, reform should mean the elimination of the existing (capitalist) social system and, according to others, it should mean merely the improvement of the system.

Yet, others - a third group - evidently seeking a compromise between the two other positions, say that the act of reform itself tends to broaden the sphere of freedoms and contributes to the transformation of the system [See: "Briefe und Gesprache," 1975].

The most serious differences refer, however, to the mode and paths followed towards a democratic-socialism or a social democracy. At the first level, is the problem of violence and revolutionary violence. It is fitting not to hide the fact that there exist some persons even in the ranks of the socialists who affirm that; "We are ready to accept that there can exist situations in which violence must be considered an ultimate solution" (Olof Palme). Naturally, this does not reflect the real position of all of social-democracy as such. But, I think, it is well to note this position, too, if you want, in order to better combat certain rightist positions within the ranks of social-democracy. The rigid, dogmatic opinions of the past or of the present must be abandoned. This calls for re-evaluations, which have begun to be made. Naturally, it demands that a certain equilibrium be maintained so as not to fall into the other extreme.

It is also especially important to work in this area with the greatest wisdom, principledness and flexibility, keeping in mind the imperative of understanding and of the alliance of the forces of the left and, above all, of the communists and socialists at the national and world-wide levels.

"In this direction, the collaboration and unity between communists and socialists have an essential importance. In view of achieving this call, it is necessary to begin with that which unites and from the positive experiences until now and to work from both sides to overcome any difficulties in order to arrive at a true historical reconciliation between the communist and socialist parties and the strengthening of their collaboration" [Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe drumul construirii societatii socialiste multilateral dezvoltate," Vol 11, Political Publishing House, 1975, pp 47-48].

There still exist several serious, controversial problems within the ranks of social-democracy: - the problem of correlating between a market economy and democracy, the problem of separating legislative power from executive power, that is, the separation of these powers in order to balance one through the other, the problem of the democratic control of power, or as some say, the cancer of freedoms, the problem of the coexistence of many forms of ownership, and so forth. We must say that, as experience has shown to date, the simple elimination of private ownership of the means of production does not automatically mean an increase of human liberties.

Moving to another problem, it would be proper to establish a certain correlation between objectives and modes, between the end and the means. Thus, we put the accent on the paths of achieving the objectives, the purposes and on the mode of completing the proposed goal.

We cannot accept in any way the slogan and the thesis: the end justifies the means. The end - the entire historical experience shows this - will never justify the means. Only the means can justify the end. "The end is found in the means just as the tree is found in the seed," said Gandhi correctly. There are means which, instead of justifying, compromise the end, even when it claims to serve it. The means must have priority in the process of knowledge since they represent, in the final analysis, the guarantee for reaching the end or fixed ends in a world that is far from perfect and, although the revolutionary forces aspire to this end, it must be permanently modified in accordance with historical and daily experiences in order to be able to put an end to the subordination of the means used to an end that is not rarely chosen arbitrarily. The great human values, including truth, reside not in the ends, but in the means. Any dogma, when it becomes an end in itself, turns into a judge in the most varied and grave forms of manifestation. The means must be adequate to the ends pursued. As for socialism, its end means, first of all, democracy, it means fully realized democracy. Socialism is nothing more than democracy applied with total consistency in all fields of sociopolitical life, since democracy is to the same degree both the means and the end. Democracy appears, in the conditions of the economically developed capitalist countries and with the old democratic traditions, a means of moving to socialism and, at the same time, as the form of its own completion. Or, as Marx said: the future society will be the result of an entire series of historical processes which will completely modify both the people and the conditions.

It is clear that, under the new historical conditions, the correlation between the internal factors (endogenous factors) and external factors (exogenous factors) which influence the revolutionary process in one country or another has suffered a noticeable change, with the external factors assuming a growing importance. The existence of super-powers and the fact that between them there is not only rivalry, but also cooperation, introduces an additional unknown element in the difficult equation of political strategies. The communist parties must pay increased attention to the external factors in elaborating their revolutionary strategy with regard to the influence of these factors upon the evolution of the revolutionary process of moving to socialism.

Tied to these problems, of the possibility of implementing peaceful means, in the western countries there is the so-called problem of "credibility," of confidence in the communist parties, on the part of certain broad masses and in the word of these parties. Some say that the communists currently speak of democracy, of pluralism, of rotation of power and so forth, but when they come to power they will resort to the old methods of monolithism. This problem is presented today different than in the past. The objective and subjective factors are different. There is an increasing number of those who feel that the new orientation of the communists, for example, the Italians, would not be a tactic of the moment - as even Andreotti declared on 20 November 1976. The same Andreotti affirmed several days later, in New York, that he is not in the position to say whether the Italian communists will continue to take the new political positions; "Only time will show what will be their final attitude," he added.

Credibility is not so easily won. This is an historical process with a devious nature and, it appears, longer than some think. This is due, and not in the final analysis, to the existence of an entire period that was dogmatic in thought and in practice for the world communist movement.

### III -- Analysis of Some Historic Events from the Not Too Distant Past Which Might Produce Certain Clarifications in Regard to the Subject Submitted for Discussion

There are some comrades who say that it is not appropriate to speak, in this context, of Spain during the period from 1936 to 1939. These comrades do not know that in Spain at that time there was not only a civil war but also a revolution from which we have to learn lessons (even today). There was created there, for the first time in history, a democratic, pluralistic political system; a republic, a state in which the seeds of some theses and practices of today can be discovered, precursory elements, in a way, of the peoples democracies. In republican Spain, deep social transformations were achieved; it was the first experiment of collaboration among different workers, progressive, democratic, and Catholic parties in a democratic struggle which opened the perspective to socialism. We must not deny, ignore, or underestimate this historic experiment, although, it is necessary to add that, naturally, more than a few mistakes were made there, mistakes which distorted the historic process and which constituted,

undoubtedly, one of the causes of the defeat. One cannot put all the blame on the external factors which were, nevertheless, in my opinion, determining factors in the defeat of the Republic in Spain.

In regard to the tragic events in Hungary -- in October 1956 -- there are two different interpretations, both of a categorical nature. Some say that it was an attempt to restore democracy, to reestablish or to establish a pluralistic-democratic system. Others continue to assert, even today, that it was a clear and typical counter-revolution.

Discussions about these events in Hungary broke out again on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the events. To see only one part (one side) of the problem and not its whole would mean not to see it correctly and it would mean not to be able to give a realistic, scientific evaluation, even today.

In my opinion, the tragic events in Hungary arose as a justified revolt, as a result of the dissatisfaction accumulated because of the erroneous policy, criminal in places, of the Rakosi clique (exaggerations in industrialization, great sacrifices in regard to the standard of living, hard repressions, criminal violations of socialist legality, the loss of national independence, grave distortions of the principles of equality and mutual respect which should have characterized relations among socialist countries), but it was transformed, gradually (but with great rapidity), into a counter-revolution.

In regard to the matter of relations among socialist countries and the violation of the principles of equality among socialist countries, the "Declaration of the Government of the USSR about the Development and Strengthening of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Other Socialist Countries", published on 30 October 1956, should be mentioned. In this document, which contained an acknowledgement of the errors committed and had a positive effect on the development of events, is said, among other things: "In the course of the establishment of a new regime and the profound revolutionary transformations of society, more than a few difficulties have come to light, some problems were not resolved, and, pure and simply, mistakes were made. These violations and these errors have reduced the importance of the principles of equality of rights in relations among socialist countries. The 20th Congress of the CPSU firmly condemned these violations and errors and decided ... to take into consideration the history and particular characteristics of each country ... to suppress any possibility of damage to the principles of national sovereignty, mutual interests and equality of rights in economic relations". Interests and principles should not be incompatible; they should be harmonized.

If we refer to the events in Czechoslovakia, -- August 1968 -- then we must repeat that there was not a counterrevolution there, a virtual danger of a counterrevolution did not exist and therefore, the measures taken from outside are not justified.

One of the problems which presents itself very acutely today in connection with the events in Chile in September 1973 is the problem of revolutionary legitimacy under conditions of a pluralistic democracy, a pluralistic society. It is not possible to remain the prisoner of the legitimacy of bourgeois democracy. This can lead to paralysis, to your own disarmament in the face of the illegal efforts of a reactionary opposition, which resorts to subversion, to crimes against democracy. Let us not forget that the bourgeoisie permits the existence of the multi-party system only on the condition that it does not endanger the class power of capital. The problem of the pluralistic democracy still requires serious studies and confrontations with socio-political practice. Democratic pluralism presupposes and demands the enactment of serious social transformations as well as the taking of measures for the determined defense of the achievements obtained, including those in the military sphere, which, unfortunately, was not done by the "Popular Unity" during the time of the Chilean "summer".

The example of Chile (and not only of Chile) shows that if the thesis of Stalin regarding the continued sharpening of the class struggle under conditions of the building of a socialist society was erroneous, then the thesis in regard to the disappearance, the gradual and automatic extinguishing of the class struggle is also erroneous and it is a mistake to consider this thesis as the only thing really possible. It is obvious that the absolutization of either the first or the second thesis is erroneous and dangerous.

I consider that the problem of the one-party system or multi-party system, the concept of pluralism must not be viewed rigidly, because it cannot constitute a principal problem. The essence of socialism does not consist of this. Of course, socialism can be constructed under conditions of a multi-party system, with the condition of the unity of political forces, supporters of the socialist ideal. It should be added that the concept of pluralism cannot be limited merely to the existence of many parties. It is something broader and more comprehensive. Pluralism and homogeneity are not concepts which are mutually exclusive and pluralism is not a characteristic solely of societies based on antagonistic classes. The confrontation of ideas, the struggle between different concepts and views, in regard to the same problems, are objectively necessary in all domains of science and in socialist society, since there has not existed, does not exist, and cannot exist any society in which all people think absolutely alike.

The problem of roads to socialism -- just as socialism itself -- cannot be divorced from the problems of freedom, democracy, and participation of the masses in the making of decisions. Socialism cannot be compatible with lack of democratic freedoms; also, the idea of the one-voice aspect of roads to socialism and forms of socialism cannot be considered to be just.

The need to develop revolutionary theory emerges from all that has been said so far. It is all the more necessary that this development take

place under conditions of contradictory treatments of the mechanisms and the bodies of laws which characterize it and which are proper to the processes of increasing awareness in the contemporary period.

I believe that the danger of an absolutization of the moment of discontinuity and the survival of some metaphysical, dogmatic concepts in respect to the emphasis of continuity are real. Perhaps the latter represents -- in my case in certain fields -- a greater danger today. To deny the justness of the new and to consider every phenomenon and new process only as an illustration and "brilliant" confirmation of general laws already discovered would be a much too simplistic procedure and would lead us to erroneous roads and conclusions. The history of the sciences (and the social sciences are also sciences) demonstrates the urgent necessity of the formulation of new theoretical generalizations, new theories, the discovery of new laws of nature and of society which will reflect a deeper knowledge of historic phenomena and processes and new historic realities. Not only the appearance of new facts but also (just as in the natural sciences) the internal logic of the development of the theory drives us to do this.

The elaboration of contemporary Marxism and of a contemporary Marxist theory, the continual rethinking of problems appears as an historic necessity. "The problem of the lagging behind of the social sciences presents itself with special acuteness ... , I believe that lagging behind of the social sciences is related not so much to the correlation between the natural sciences and the social sciences as to the correlation between social practice and theory..." [V. Roman -- Presentation at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. See the Volume "The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party of 3-5 November 1971", Political Publishing House, 1971, p 163-164.] It is necessary "to elaborate contemporary Marxism, proving to the entire world that Marxism has been and is an instrument for the analysis and criticism not only of capitalism but also of socialism ... , since contemporary Marxism is the critical conscience of our times." [Ibidem, p 165.] Marxism must not be merely returned to; it must be enriched and continually perfected, like every science, because nothing exists in a state of perfection. RST [the technical-scientific revolution] means the achievement of a qualitative leap in the social sciences also. There is a need for the implementation of a "quantum revolution" in the social sciences.

Of course, it cannot be a matter of simple additions to what already exists nor of a continuing one-voice interpretation of Marxism which, unfortunately, dominated an entire age; the development of Marxist thought also presupposes the elaboration of new theories, in accordance with the new realities. Just as quantum mechanics is not a simple extension of classical mechanics, contemporary Marxism cannot be a simple extension of the theory of Marx. As we know, Lenin said, very forcefully, that "the theory of Marx does not represent in the least something which is closed and intangible; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has laid only the cornerstone for this science which the socialists must further develop in all directions if they do not want to lag behind life." [V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works", Volume 4, Political Publishing House, 1964, p 177-178.]

Certainly, while elaborating new theories and enriching Marxism -- a component part of human culture -- so as not to "lag behind life", one cannot rule out the fact that we might make mistakes. Communists are not protected from mistakes. But by not doing anything, we expose ourselves to make even greater mistakes than by "taking the risk" of delving into the new realities which are undergoing an especially contradictory development process and which lead to changes which are not predictable with mathematical exactness.

CSO: 2700

ALBANIA

SHORTCOMINGS IN MEDICAL STUDIES CITED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 22 Jul 77 p 3

[Article by Prof Fejzi Hoxha: "To Raise the Level of Studies in the Field of Medicine"]

[Text] Our medical service, under the care of the party has achieved great successes in all directions. For many years we have published articles about the first scientific research done in our country in the field of medicine. A number of studies have been made relying on our own clinical resources. By means of massive research (tracking) studies of epidemic statistics have taken place which have resulted in the discovery of preventive and curative methods.

Compared to the successes we have had in clinical medicine, hygiene, preventive medicine and medical services in the remotest areas, the scientific work has fallen behind and the standard of work could and should have been more satisfactory. Without serious scientific research scientific progress is impossible. The support and interest of the party in this has not been lacking. For many years the party has been preparing efficient medical cadres for work in the field of science and research. The material base generally has been good. Therefore, nothing justifies this backwardness in the science-research field, except a certain narrow understanding of the importance of scientific work and the lack of better organization of work. It is evident that a better understanding of the importance of scientific work and allround measures for better organization of work are the principal ways to change this situation and to speed up development of science-research in the field of medicine.

In Comrade Enver's report to the Seventh Congress it is clearly emphasized that "the development of science focuses on the importance of increasing studies in certain fields, such as biology, genetics, methematics, physics, chemistry, physiology, etc., without which many problems dealing with the development of practical science and technical progress cannot be solved, nor can we have, without them, sound preparation and training available for our specialists in their various fields, and the new generation in our

schools." Increased studies in these fields will open horizons for all our sciences and especially for the science of medicine. In the area of medical studies, biology and its subdivisions, molecular genetics, immunobiology, physiological biology, are the basic sciences that should be raised and developed on a much higher level than at present in order to successfully solve the problems of the different specialties in medicine. The progress that world medicine has made in the last two decades and the rhythm of its development are due primarily to the discoveries made in the field of biology. It is not possible to diagnose an illness without knowing the biochemical changes which occur within the cells of the diseased organism. The metabolic, hormonal and enzymatic changes that occur in the cells of the different diseases are the data that determine with accuracy the scientific diagnosis. They help in prescribing therapy and their dynamic movements enable the clinicians to formulate a prognosis. Biology plays an important role in every theoretical and practical medical discovery. The biochemistry of hormones, their movement in the organism, and the order of their secretions have been studied, and their dosage has become possible by means of radioimmunological techniques. These discoveries have opened new perspectives for today's medicine. We have begun to use these methods here, but progress is still very slow. This work should be better organized, because we have the apparatus, with the assurance of certain reactive agents and some necessary literature and with the addition of a few cadres specialized in this field, there is no reason why these tests could not be greatly expanded. There are many different specialties in medicine, but biology is the one that ties them together.

Important scientific developments have taken place in the field of genetics. A series of important discoveries have been made which have brought to light that many inherited diseases are caused by metabolic irregularities in some chemical and biochemical substances, which can be corrected or prevented. Therefore, it is not difficult to understand the importance of the biologist and the geneticist in today's medicine and in that of the future. Immunological changes, or the absence of some immunological factors, which were not known formerly, have been studied today and are known to be the cause of many diseases of the blood, of all allergies and diseases of the joints, etc. It is very necessary that the level of theoretic and scientific knowledge of all our doctors be raised in all the major sciences, and especially in the biological sciences, which are the basis of all medicine and which are lacking in our medical facilities at present. The time has come, I think, to build even in our country a center for biological research, which could include branches in biochemistry, genetics, immunology and physiology, so as to take the necessary steps for serious research in order to respond to the level of scientific research done in other parts of the world. The center would better coordinate and better organize the creative energies of our medical students, who up to the present have been involved with themes completely detached from individual initiative. In order that scientific studies in the field of medicine go forward more efficiently than they have done so far, and at a time when problems cannot be treated with the proper scientific depth and breadth without the participation of a greater number of doctors and health workers, it is necessary to fight the present tendency

of research being monopolized by specialists, or exclusively controlled by a few people. Without the coordination of studies between doctors and different specialists qualified in fields that have to do with medicine, problems cannot be solved.

Within the requirements of scientific development today, when an intensive twofold process of specialization and cooperation occurs it is impossible for one specialist or a small group of specialists, in a particular field, to study in depth a vital medical problem. The study of an important medical problem is better resolved when it is attacked in a frontal manner and treated in all its aspects by many different specialists. This does not mean that some unusual disease cannot be studied by a special group of doctors and students of the faculty or the medical institutes, since even they, if they integrate and become participants in greater and more complex studies not only will help in completing these studies, but also in perfecting the cadre, and in an exchange of experiences between doctors.

Another organizational obstacle which has had a negative impact in the development of the science-research program in the field of medicine has been the fruitless talks of who will do what, who will direct, and who will control the implementation of these works and check their scientific accuracy. It is true that science-research activities will take place principally in the institutions that are dependent on the ministry of health for their budgets, and as many as possible of these employees will be involved, but in dealing with the important health problems of our country, which demand deep and allround studies, every cadre with this profile should be mobilized, even those of the faculty of medicine, without excluding the heads of departments at the universities, who are experienced cadres who can follow the programs and efficiently direct them. Scientific works directly raise the level of our health services by helping us take the necessary measures to strengthen the health of our people. It is not important whether the studies are made by the workers of the health institutions, or by those of the faculty of medicine, the main thing is that they both serve the same purpose. The important thing is coordination and cooperation in scientific work so as to avoid duplication and conflict of themes, etc. The medical commission assigned to the Academy of Sciences has to make a better contribution than it has done in the past to the organization and classification of scientific work. Only by considering problems jointly and not in a personal, sectarian, accusatory light can science-research achieve works of real value in the field of medicine. Although the Academy of Sciences did not have until now institutions with a medical profile in its dependence, it behooves the Academy of Science to be involved and to show greater interest in pushing forward not only some branches of science, but all the sciences in our country, and especially those sciences that are underdeveloped.

In medicine pedagogy, healing and science are closely related and there should be coordination and harmony between them. The important bases of the pedagogical, curative-preventive and scientific process are the clinics, which should be accessible to all the doctors in our land. Therefore, the

most capable and the most conscientious doctors should be assigned to these clinics. They should be dedicated people interested in the practice of medicine as well as in scientific studies. They will thus produce medical works of high quality, and with their example they will act as educators by inspiring the young doctors and students with love of scientific work. Consequently in the near future, for every branch of medicine, we will have a number of competent doctors and not just one specialist. Medical and scientific research does not take place only in Tirana and the scientific institutions, but also in other districts and in the local health institutions. It is appropriate in this observation to criticize some foreign concepts, that maintain in districts there is less possibility of scientific work. This concept has been contradicted by the practice of many dedicated doctors in different districts. The present method of training doctors cannot be considered satisfactory. It would be better, perhaps, if for every specialty doctors were assigned well grounded in theory and with good clinical experience, who would only be involved with the training and specializing of the cadre on the highest level. These doctors could create an institution of highly specialized cadres of doctors through which would pass, according to a chart and at regular intervals, all the doctors of the republic for learning and refresher courses. This would be beneficial in our case where our doctors are young and of relatively little experience.

With better organization and greater mobilization we are capable, with our own forces and under the leadership of the party, to reap great successes and to fulfill the duties laid down for us by the Seventh Congress, for the present and for the bright future that awaits our medical services.

6160  
CSO: 2100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RECENT SUICIDE OF CZECHOSLOVAK DIPLOMAT DESCRIBED

Brussels LE SOIR in French 10 Sept 77 p 3

[Article by Frank De Bondt: "Soviet Marine and Eastern Diplomat Leave the Ship"]

[Excerpt] On the night of 24-25 August police were called to 152 Avenue Buyl in Ixelles, which is the location of the Czechoslovak embassy. A diplomat, Jan Krajcovic, cultural attache of the embassy, had fallen from the fifth floor of the building which serves not only as the office building of the embassy but also as living quarters for part of the embassy personnel.

The drama took place at 0200 hours. Mr Krajcovic was killed after he apparently fell, feet first, into the yard behind the building. He was transported to the morgue and, on 27 August, his body was taken from Zaventem to Bratislava. Because the event took place on Czechoslovak "territory" the inquest was brief and no details were divulged.

There was no request for an autopsy. The Czechoslovak interpretation was that it was suicide. According to this version the victim could not stand the thought of having to go back to Prague. It appears that the night in question was Mr Krajcovic's last night in Brussels because the next day he was to be replaced by another diplomat.

The wife of the victim declared that she had noticed nothing unusual during the hours immediately preceding the suicide of her husband. She did not spend the night with him in the bedroom but slept in the sitting room.

But why was it that Mr Krajcovic had served as member of a military mission in his previous post? And why was it that following his death a Czechoslovak delegation planning to stay in Belgium for more than a month arrived in Brussels a few days ago?

Apparently there are people to whom activities of a cultural attache are not a matter of indifference.

CSO: 3100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MORE WORK AMONG YOUTH WITH BOURGEOIS, CONSUMERIST OUTLOOK URGED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 77 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "Youth and the Present"]

[Excerpt] Socialist awareness is not easy to attain. Man is neither born with it nor acquires it overnight, even though surrounded by socialist reality. Not even the best, most fully insured material conditions of society affect the social awareness of man automatically and mechanically. Socialist awareness, its volume and extent, is a result of the purposeful, systematic influence of the entire educational complex: the family, school, work environment, political and social organizations, hobby associations and so forth. And it is precisely in this comprehensive function that the Socialist Youth Union has an irreplaceable role.

Theoretical knowledge, education in the spirit of communist ideas, of the most progressive democratic and humanistic traditions, together with the incessant struggle against all incorrect, non-Marxist views and various anachronisms, make it possible for young people to understand the substance of the revolutionary changes in the economic, socio-class and political relations and their consequences for the further social development of a young person. One of the main objectives of the unified youth organization, therefore, is to provide young people with the knowledge of the theory of scientific socialism and to equip them with the ability to understand the complex questions which arise daily. And this, at the same time, means we have to win over more and more young people to committed, active and creative work for the benefit of our socialist society. This is also one of the important prerequisites for an effective struggle against the infiltration into the ranks of our youth of non-Marxist, anticommunist views and of nonscientific and, in various ways, twisted notions.

After all, it is no secret that in our country there still live advocates of the so-called "golden middle road," people who are concentrating in the petty bourgeois manner on their own person, thinking more about their own comfort, car and weekend chalet than about the problems with which our society grapples and about what the society needs. And among them are young people who--although automatically and fully making use of the advantages of socialism--have done little for our society so far. Among quite a few of

them still prevails the consumerist orientation: they put their personal interests above all social interests, they are not interested in political life, their standard of political knowledge is low and they therefore assess social phenomena from nonclass and naive positions.

In this sense there are still considerable reserves for starting and intensifying political-educational activity. If we take into consideration that this segment of youth remains for the time being apart from the commitment of the other members of their generation, one has to make an even greater effort to bring this segment under the systematic ideological influence of the Communist Party, state bodies and social organizations--and, of these, particularly under the influence of the Socialist Youth Union.

It is precisely to these young people that we must far more effectively extend a helping hand. Such a responsible mission adds and will add to a still greater extent emphasis on rich, varied and attractive activity by the Socialist Youth Union, for above all this activity is one of the most effective educational instruments at the youth organization's disposal.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER VEJVODA PREVIEWS UNGA SESSION

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Sep 77 p 6 AU

[Article by Milos Vojvoda, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs: "On the 32d UN General Assembly Session; Consistently on the Road of Detente; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /Every year on the third Tuesday in September the main conference hall of the UN premises in New York's Turtle Bay comes to life when the delegations of the 148 UN member countries convene for their General Assembly session; this year it will be their 32d session. The UN organization has noble aims. The way the provisions of the UN Charter, which is a document that is valid and living to this very day, are implemented and the way their governments adhere to it depends on the UN members./

Every UN session reflects the situation in the world, which on the other hand it endeavors to influence. Sometimes it succeeds and sometimes not. It depends on how firm and united the forces of peace and progress are and on how one is able to frustrate the plans of those circles for which the deepening of the understanding among the peoples and international cooperation are a thorn in the side.

This year's General Assembly will be held in a period in which it has been possible to maintain the development of international relations toward international detente. This success is due to the unwavering peace policy of the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union and in spite of all the imperialist circles' endeavors to get the existing development to retrace its steps. The neutron bomb, new kinds of missiles and the further development of mass destruction weapons is the road to which imperialism is striving to bring the peoples. /On the other hand, peaceful cooperation and the safeguarding of mankind's good prospects in life mark the road of socialism, the road of the countries ruled by the workers class./

The unity of the interests of anti-imperialist forces represented by the socialist and nonaligned countries, which is actively manifested in most major political questions, continues to operate as the objective dynamic factor in the basic correlation of forces and trends of development in the United Nations.

## The Growing Influence of Socialist Countries

A happy duty awaits the delegates immediately after the opening of the General Assembly: to receive among themselves the delegates of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam as their new colleagues, whose acceptance had already been recommended by the Security Council and will undoubtedly be confirmed by the General Assembly. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the new UN member, will be received by the UN members with particular cordiality.

/The Socialist Republic of Vietnam's membership in this organization--obstructed for several years by the United States--will be the culmination of the long years of the courageous Vietnamese people's struggle for freedom and independence./

The 32d UN General Assembly will convene in the period when the whole world will be commemorating the 60th anniversary of October, when this anniversary is also bound to be recalled on UN soil, in the awareness of all that this great historic event also means for the fulfillment of this organization's aims. For it was October in particular that stimulated the peaceful efforts to achieve cooperation among all countries regardless of social system, to solve conflicts by negotiations and not by weapons, and to implement the most basic human rights.

/The socialist countries' influence on the 32d UN General Assembly will surely be manifested in the solution of all main questions of stabilizing and further strengthening the process of detente,/ which, in particular, will include the following on the agenda of the 32d UN General Assembly: The conclusion of a worldwide treaty on the renunciation of the use of force in international relations; the convening of a world disarmament conference; the preparation of a special General Assembly session on disarmament problems; the fulfillment of the declaration on strengthening international security; the fulfillment of the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial territories and peoples; the UN role in the final elimination of the vestiges of colonialism in the world; the enforcement of the principles of international economic cooperation by all member states; the enforcement of the ideas contained in the USSR's memorandum submitted to the 31st UN General Assembly on the reorganization of international economic relations on a democratic basis; and the mass and gross violations of human rights and civic freedoms in southern Africa, Chile and the occupied Arab territories.

## Our Standpoint

/Together with the other countries of the socialist community the CSSR will strive to make possible the maintenance of the trend of the last UN General Assemblies, which were held in a businesslike working atmosphere./ This of course does not mean that we will avoid questions the discussion of which will be most dramatic, such as the development of the situation in southern Africa, the mass and gross violations of human rights in Chile, the Republic of South Africa, the Arab territories occupied by Israel and so forth. When the 10th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on Human Rights is

recalled, we will stress that the socialist countries are insuring human rights by deeds, while the imperialists merely speak loudly about them, thus striving to distract attention from their main problems.

As in the past years, the socialist countries are prepared to develop the initiative in all main questions on the General Assembly's agenda, above all those that could influence matters so that the process of international detente does not turn back, but becomes a lasting phenomenon, complemented by progress in disarmament questions.

In economic problems the developing countries can be expected to repeat their pressure for speedier progress, for the implementation of the so-called new economic order. The developing countries have been disappointed in the results of the Paris negotiations with developed capitalist countries, negotiations which the capitalist countries approached with great promises which nevertheless still continue to be barren. One year ago the socialist countries pointed out that all and any negotiations on economic problems must be fully representative--otherwise there is no hope of their succeeding. The resumed 31st UN General Assembly, which will convene in the middle of September to devote attention to these questions in particular, will have scant time for reaching any more significant conclusions.

/This year, too, we will have to reckon with the growing activity of the developing and nonaligned countries./ Although these countries will undoubtedly regard the solution of their economic and social problems as a priority, they are also becoming increasingly active in political questions. This development is just, since economic and social problems cannot be solved without political problems being solved. The United Nations cannot be a mere instrument for organizing technical aid. The countries of the socialist community are prepared to proceed hand in hand particularly with those nonaligned countries that manifest sincere resolve in the anti-imperialist fight, in unmasking the imperialist aggression, and resolve for establishing a just economic order and in endeavors for the completion of decolonialization. It will be necessary constantly to unmask the demagogy of those Western countries that are striving to play the role of friends of the African countries, while in reality they aim their endeavors at protecting the colonialists and racists.

The questions of Namibia and Zimbabwe will have to be solved on a priority basis. In the interests of speeding up decolonialization, it will be necessary to assist in the disputes in Africa, too, to be solved by negotiations and not by fratricidal fighting.

#### To Continue To Strengthen Peace

As every year, this year there will also be elections to certain UN bodies. /After the end of our several years of activities in the UN Economic and Social Council, the CSSR will contest for the position of nonpermanent Security Council member for the years 1979-80. Another and most significant function will thus be added to the several functions held by the CSSR

in UN bodies, since the Security Council is the body "responsible for maintaining international peace and security." / According to the UN Charter, in the system of the organization, after the General Assembly the most important tasks fall to the lot of this body.

Our republic, which was a UN founding member, has won a firm position in this international organization by its long years of energetic activities for the benefit of peace and cooperation among the peoples. We will continue to work on its territory to strengthen world peace, freedoms and social and economic justice, to limit feverish armament, for disarmament and international detente, /as we are bound to do by the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ congress./

CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

VENEZUELAN VISITOR--Dr Camache Matu, deputy chairman of the Congress of the Venezuelan Republic and secretary of the ruling Democratic Action Party, arrived in Czechoslovakia on Friday. He was received at the airport by Jaroslav Srb, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Sep 77 p 2 AU]

SOVIET LECTURERS--An all-state seminar for lecturers of the CSSR Socialist Academy on the 60th anniversary of October began in Kosice on Friday. Soviet lecturers are also participating. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Sep 77 p 2 AU]

CUSTOMS EXHIBITION--Illegally exported Czechoslovak cultural monuments, bankbills, secretly transported opium, hashish and other narcotics--these are some of the exhibits put on display at the exhibition devoted to 25 years of activity of the CSSR Customs Administration which opened on Monday in the hall of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society in Prague. Nor are samples of anti-Czechoslovak and antisocialist literature and amoral pamphlets and magazines missing at the exhibition. This clearly confirms that even after the Helsinki Conference ideological diversion against our system has not slackened. The exhibition will move on from Prague to Bratislava and Brno. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Sep 77 p 2 AU]

CEMA-FINNISH COOPERATION--The session of the working group for machine-building at the Commission for cooperation between the CEMA States and the Finnish Republic began in Plzen on Monday. The subject of the talks is the further development of cooperation in the sphere of lifting transport machinery, equipment for the extraction of wood and other equipment, as well as in the manufacturing of equipment for the power industry, in which the Skoda departmental enterprise is actively participating. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 77 p 2 AU]

PROTEST RALLY--On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Chilean people's struggle against the fascist coup d'etat in their country, the Prague Trade Union Council and the Prague Seventh District Trade Union Council, together with the CSSR Committee for the Defense of Chilean People's Rights, held a protest rally on 8 September. The rally, which

was addressed by Jan Marko, first deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly and chairman of the Czechoslovak Committee for the Defense of Chilean People's Rights, was attended by Alejandro Yanez, member of the Chilean Communist Party Central Committee; Jose Oyarce, member of the Chilean Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Chilean Communist Party in the CSSR; and Raul Caro, representative of the Chilean Socialist Party in the CSSR. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Sep 77 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400

DEVELOPMENTS, PROBLEMS IN UNIVERSITIES, COLLEGES DESCRIBED

University Traditions

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 136, 20 Jul 77 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Universities Recall Their Traditions"]

[Text] To a much greater extent than before, the universities in the GDR should recall their old traditions which, in part, go back over centuries. This was demanded at a conference at Jana University on the "Transmission and Acquisition of Cultural Heritage and Tradition at the Socialist Advanced School. The university rector, Prof Franz Bolck, decried the fact that for today's GDR scientist the integration of his own work into historical development plays "a role that is much too small." The ideas and activity of important scholars must be investigated more thoroughly, and their work must be revealed and made profitable to the present and to today's scientific tasks. The main problem in this connection is that of bringing to life for others the exemplary effect as it might be projected by a scholar's biography. The rector at Jena made an urgent plea that the "contradictory nature of these personalities" must also be accepted. One may not select one's heritage according to that which is desirable, and facts "must not be retouched."

As can be seen from the statements made at the conference by GDR deputy minister for higher education, Gerhard Engel, this kind of uninhibited revival of pre-Marxist traditions is evidently causing some measure of ideological anxiety in East Berlin. Engel recommended only an examination of "the extent to which a recollection of honorable and specifically academic traditions stimulating the intellectual and cultural climate of an institution of higher learning might be possible." He gave more weight in this connection to "the development and strengthening of socialist traditions and norms." In contrast, bourgeois traditions should in his opinion be preserved on a rather more selective basis. He cited as necessary, for example, that "in preparing the heritage, patriotic traditions of university history should be preserved and used in communist education, especially military training."

### Criticism of Lecturers

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 140, 26 Jul 77 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "Rebuke of Ideology Lecturers at GDR Colleges"]

[Text] In a speech before party officials, East Berlin's Minister for University and Technical School Matters Hans-Joachim Boehme criticized the instructors in charge of the required basic Marxist-Leninist study courses. He found fault especially with "certain tendencies toward insufficient differentiation in the work." They are caused by the "wrong attitude" of certain lecturers who cannot get used to the idea that they are dealing with mature and experienced human beings. The level of their work does not correspond to the thirst for knowledge and the problems of the students. The minister believes in general that the ability in subject matter and pedagogic methodology of many instructors of courses in Marxism leaves much to be desired.

Boehme also believes that there are problems in the field of training future lecturers. Work with these young candidates must be "thoroughly improved." One of the unsolved problems, for example, is that most of the students and future teachers of Marxism-Leninism have insufficient political experience.

Boehme announced that the admission requirements for these fields of specialization will be changed and that in the future secondary school graduates will have to complete 3 years of full-time practical political activity, primarily in the FDJ, before they can begin their studies.

### Indolence of Students

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 142/143, 28/29 Jul 77 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "Complaints Concerning Students' Laziness"]

[Text] SPEKTRUM, the publication of the East Berlin Academy of Sciences, has complained about the laziness and underdeveloped scientific inquisitiveness of students in the GDR. An inner urge for scientific activity exists only among a fraction of the students, and even there only in part. This is caused by, among other things, the fact that "the strenuous trails to the summits of science" have today been made level, "have been blazed in the most careful way or have been replaced by elevators." Students are served "too many pre-digested material" so that most of them have no sense of competition whatsoever. What is self-evident for an athlete, namely that he must measure his capacities in competition, is being openly avoided by many scientists. In a manner of self-criticism, the periodical states that this attitude is also widespread among GDR professors and that the students might possibly have learned it from their teachers.

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CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

PARTY, GOVERNMENT LEADERS' MESSAGE ON DPRK NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Sep 77 p 2 AU

[Hungarian leaders' message on DPRK national holiday]

[Text] To Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party and president of the DPRK, and Comrade Pak Song-chol, chairman of the DPRK Administration Council, Pyongyang.

Dear comrades:

On the occasion of the 29th anniversary of the establishment of the DPRK, we ardently greet you and, in your person, the Korean Workers Party Central Committee, the DPRK Administration Council and the fraternal Korean people on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Hungarian people as a whole.

Under the leadership of the Korean Workers Party, the Korean people are advancing with firm strides on the path of building a socialist society and have achieved significant results in enhancing their country's international prestige.

We can assure you that our party and government and the Hungarian people will continue to support the Korean people's just struggle for peaceful unification of their country on democratic foundations and the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea without delay.

We are convinced that the traditional friendship and cooperation between our countries and peoples will continue to strengthen on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism for the good of our common cause, socialism and peace.

Budapest, 9 September 1977.

[Signed] Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; and Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

National Assembly Chairman Antal Apro has greeted his Korean counterpart in a message. The PPF National Council, the Peace Council, the Trade Union Council, KISZ and the National Council of Hungarian Women have also sent greetings messages to their partner organizations.

CSO: 2500

POLITICAL EVENTS, UNCERTAINTIES IN WEST VIEWED

Warsaw LITERATURA in Polish No 32, 11 Aug 77 p 2

[Article by Jozef Winiewicz: "Heat without Sun"]

[Text] It is the same with a political situation as with rain and an umbrella. If you take an umbrella with you, it is almost certain that the sun will choose to shine. If you leave the umbrella at home, this nearly always will cause rain. Analogically, each overly self-confident prediction of an improvement of relations in the world will be shattered by new facts attesting to something completely contrary. In turn, too pessimistic an appraisal of a situation will be undermined quickly by an international sunny spell. Thus, it is difficult for a journalist to predict the present. In this way he shares the lot of meteorologists, who are occupied this year with forecasts of very capricious summer weather.

The international situation does not promise much sun this summer. The departure of statesmen as well as of politicians for vacation and, together with their departure, a certain abatement of political activity do not shelve their troubles forever. In the fall, these same worries will return, nearly at every geographic latitude and in every country. At this moment I am thinking primarily about Great Britain, which for several years has been unable to regain its lost internal balance. The British Parliament concluded its session this time by taking a vote of confidence, which the Labor Government won thanks to the support of the liberals. On the other hand, the debate preceding this act brought triumph for Mrs Thatcher.

Some Western newspapers appraised her speech attacking the Callaghan government as a confirmation of her leadership among the conservatives. I could not look into Westminster even through a keyhole, so I have to believe the newspapers that former Prime Minister Heath was the most disturbed. They say he has not given up hope of becoming the next prime minister; in view of this fact, he cannot be pleased by the prospect that, in the case of new elections--and they are hanging by a thread--a woman will be the head of the British government.

The present prime minister and his ministers have departed for vacation; nevertheless, they are convinced that in the fall they will succeed in consolidating the Labor Party, which is rent by contradictions, as well as in persuading the trade unions--which are also at odds internally--to be restrained in their demands for a raise in wages, although there is no chance of a third extension of the "social contract," which for the past several years has assured the government of a certain calm as it carried out attempts to combat inflation.

But how long can the expense of the working class, of those people who are by no means the wealthiest, be controlled? And the dilemma arises whether Mrs Thatcher or Mr Heath would be inclined to press for sweeping reforms which would harm the present-day distribution of national wealth. I doubt it. Again, the most indigent social groups would pay. Great Britain does not need a change of government but more radical measures. Let us not gallop into the future, however. Besides, it is not our future.

In recent weeks the chancellor of the FRG, the prime minister of Italy, and the prime minister of Israel have appeared in Washington with suitcases full of worries, troubles, and problems. The communiques issued following their talks in the White House all sounded noncontroversial. The guests seemed satisfied; President Carter also demonstrated contentment. But the appraisal turned out differently in the analyses of well-informed Washington journalists. It was sufficient only to break the contents of the official pronouncements down into their primary factors in order to arrive at somewhat different conclusions and, at least, to report serious doubts as to whether everything had gone so smoothly.

I could not look into the British Parliament even through a crack. No private telephone "hot line" connects me with Washington. I only read magazines. According to them, the visits did not--at least as yet--bring explanations concerning whether the chancellor of the FRG convinced President Carter of the necessity and the proper way of continuing the policy of detente, for example, in accordance with Willy Brandt's maxim that "if the struggle for peace is not won, we can all spare ourselves our grand words on the subject of human rights."

Further, we do not know whether the prime minister of Italy managed in the White House to give a realistic presentation of the domestic situation in his country and of the role of the Italian Communist Party, without which it became impossible to govern Italy. And if he did, what was the American reaction? Indeed, official government meetings, especially at the highest level, are not restricted to a mutual pronouncement of courtesies and an exchange of cordial smiles. Besides, with regard to the characteristics of the head of the U.S. government and state, it is constantly repeated that his steel gray eyes remain cold even when he smiles. For a politician really should not give in to his emotions.

Upon his return home from Washington, the prime minister of Israel immediately devoted his energies entirely to the battle with the internal opposition. I will not attempt to construct my own suppositions on Israeli subjects. I will limit myself to quoting the remarks made in the London Sunday newspaper THE OBSERVER, in which I found the following observations: "The lack of American criticism of the proposal of the new prime minister of Israel concerning the repeated convocation of the Geneva Conference does not at all mean that he has succeeded in persuading the Carter administration. There simply is no chance that the Americans or the Arabs (the moderates or those in a fighting mood) would let Israel ignore the UN resolutions calling for the return--in principle--of all the territories captured in 1967. The apparent determination of Mr Begin to keep the areas west of Jordan as well as Jerusalem is becoming a prescription for catastrophe."

This prescription was not worthy of such a long trip and mutual flattery. The problem of the Near East remains further inflamed. The one point which is clearer is only Cyrus Vance's statement that Washington is maintaining contact with Moscow concerning this matter. It should not be otherwise. Both powers are the cochairmen of the conference which is to bring peace in the Near East. Only when?--asks the impatient person. Not soon--I will answer with conviction.

The armed Egyptian-Libyan conflict became the sad event of this summer. Whom can it serve? Only the enemies of the Arab nations, only those with a desire for further trouble in the Near East. Moreover, Egypt's internal situation is disturbing. Egypt counted on deriving concrete benefits from its greater rapprochement with the West or, to put it more accurately, with the United States. At the end of July the Cairo correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES contrasted the disadvantageous balance of this rapprochement.

The first statement by the American journalist goes as follows: "The United States has not given Egypt either peace or prosperity, despite the expectations raised by the Egyptians and the Americans when President Nixon visited Cairo in 1974." The second remark in the article from which I am quoting talks about Egypt's being wide open for capitalist investments, and it concludes: "The 'open door' policy has brought benefits only to a limited group of businessmen and middlemen, while the prevailing mass of 40 million Egyptians has become even poorer in terms of its real income than it was previously." The journalist concludes the analysis with the judgment that, "for Egypt, the settling of the Near East conflict has fundamental significance. Egyptians can hope for the solution of their economic and social problems solely when moves are made which will promote peace."

Of course, this stage will not be attained either on the basis of Begin's proposal or by shattering Arab unity or under circumstances in which the strengths which the Arab nations enjoy in fact and amicably are ignored. For in politics it will not be enough to wish, it is still necessary to have; it is not enough to promise, what is needed is to make good on one's promise.

The reader should find these marginal remarks utterly inadequate. After all, political meteorology would have us enumerate, evaluate, and discuss many other festering situations in the world which are poisoning the international climate at this moment. It is only that there are--unfortunately --too many of them: Somalia, Ethiopia, Pakistan, Lebanon, and where else? A lot should be left for deliberations following vacation. Nonetheless, already today it should be stated that, in the existing circumstances, the September session of the UN General Assembly will be an exceptionally momentous meeting, a meeting of divided parties and a conference of those who want to improve relations. It may be turbulent, but it ought to bear results.

For the time being, let the sun shine--and not only where we are vacationing; not only in the literal sense, but in the way it is described in the beautiful Soviet song about peace.

8729  
CSO: 2600

## JOURNAL COMMENTS ON BELGRADE PREPARATORY MEETING

Warsaw KULTURA in Polish No 36, 4 Aug 77 p 2

[Article by Adam Daniel Rotfeld: "The Sequel Is Coming"]

[Text] Following Helsinki and Geneva, it has become Belgrade's turn. About 150 diplomats from 33 countries of Europe, the United States and Canada met in the modern "Sawa" conference center, constructed by the Yugoslav hosts in record time. The majority of them are old acquaintances from Geneva, where for almost 2 years they conducted negotiations crowned with the agreement of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, ratified on 1 August 1975 by signatories on the highest level. Also in attendance were veteran participants of the multilateral preparatory talks preceding the Helsinki Conference. However it was not, as some people have thought, a meeting of the old boys. The tasks and problems of Helsinki and Geneva were different. The situation in Europe and in the world is also different.

Two years ago in Helsinki no one deceived himself by thinking that the results of the KBWE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; CSCE] would mean radical improvement of relations in Europe from month to month, or from year to year. The Final Act of the CSCE was and is treated as a long-term program of activity. It is expected to take a number of years, or even decades. It embraces practically all fields of international cooperation. It is anticipated that one of the forms of continuing the multilateral process of detente and cooperation begun by the CSCE resolutions will be the future organization of meetings of national representatives, the first of which will be held in Belgrade in 1977. In conformity with the mandate defined in the Final Act of Helsinki, preparatory work has preceded the actual debate (which will begin in autumn and last until the end of the year). It lasted from 15 June to 5 August. Decisions were made concerning the agenda, date, length and other conditions of the real meeting of representatives of 35 countries appointed by the ministers of foreign affairs. The negotiations, tiresome and drawn out, were closed.

The question naturally arises of why agreement on the short text (a total of about 8 pages) of a procedural and technical nature met with so many difficulties and aroused such significant interest in the press and public opinion. More worthy of reflection is the fact that the negotiations were conducted in a natural atmosphere without strain and confrontation. Despite the opinion of many important western newspapers, during the preparatory meeting not only were there no discussions, but there was not even mention of the existence of political problems which will be discussed in Belgrade in the autumn. Nevertheless, the feeling could be gotten from listening to the discussions that there is no matter so simple that it cannot be complicated. After all, regular words and seemingly simple phrases hide the complex, and often contradictory, interests of countries and of groups existing in Europe.

### Controversies

The name of the meeting and the title of the document, the organizational framework and the schedule of work, and substantial and linguistic matters aroused controversy. A main subject of dispute was a determination of the object of the negotiations at the meeting itself and the time it is to last. To a significant degree all of these differences are a function of the current state of relations between East and West in general, and of the cooling in Soviet-American relations in particular. The negotiations were not conducted under a "glass globe," although the conference building is reminiscent of a large globe. It is worth recalling that just as in Helsinki and in Geneva during the all-European conference, a consensus will be compulsory in the meeting at Belgrade. In practice this means a requirement of unanimous support for resolutions adopted. In addition, difficulties in the negotiations are not only the result of the fact that countries with different socio-political systems are participating, but also of the fact that this is intensified by delegates of minor states (such as Liechtenstein, Monaco, Malta, San Marino and the Vatican) participating with rights equal to those of the representatives of the world powers. Representatives of neutral and non-aligned countries are participating alongside representatives of various military groupings (the Warsaw Pact--NATO) and economic groupings (CEMA--EEC).

A basic procedural rule is that sovereign and independent nations participate in the meeting under conditions of full equality and without consideration of military allies. Attempts at characteristic "legalization" of bloc divisions and of collective representation at the Belgrade meeting of the nine countries making up the West European Community did not succeed. This does not mean that the real situation existing in Europe was ignored.

### Three Different Approaches

The most important matters were outlined according to three different approaches which correspond to the main concepts and political priorities of further development of the situation in Europe in different countries and

groups of nations. The socialist countries aimed at the Belgrade Meeting maintaining the principles of the CSCE and consolidating the process of detente, and felt that their work should be concentrated on matters of the future. During the meeting in Moscow which immediately preceded the Belgrade Meeting, the participants of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Member Nations of the Warsaw Pact stated that it should: "Contribute to strengthening mutual understanding and confidence between states and nations, and its work should be of a constructive nature." The Moscow communique stated that the meeting should analyze the positive experience in achieving the principles and agreements of Helsinki and: "Make a contribution to concrete proposals and recommendations concerning the problems in the further strengthening of security and cooperation."

Proposals of the United States and its West European allies expressed the idea of setting up an agenda and organizing work in accord with which the autumn debates would be concentrated on an evaluation of the past, which would transform the Meeting into an accounting forum, contrary to the decisions of the Final Act, and would lead to unending polemics, reciprocal accusations and so on. It would not contribute to improving mutual relations among countries.

Finally the group of 10 neutral and non-aligned nations, active in seeking compromise solutions, accentuated their particular interest in the organization of similar meetings in the future and in other multilateral contacts and consultations to take place outside of existing blocs and alliances.

Despite the substantive differences, the slow pace of the work made it possible for the delegates to carefully avoid mentioning things by name. This is because, in conformity with the Final Act of Helsinki, the tasks of the preparatory meeting resolved themselves into working out the agenda and the organization and technical conditions of the real Meeting.

In other words they discussed the procedure, terms, working schedule, methods of subjecting the working groups to the Plenum and so forth, and gave thought to the political form and the effect of the Belgrade Meeting on the development of the situation in Europe.

The fact that a desire for understanding was predominant from the beginning of the preparatory work, despite the differences which existed, is shown by the fact that as early as the 2nd day of the negotiations a principle was adopted, on the motion of the USSR, in conformity with which the participants "should guide themselves throughout the work according to the decisions of the Final Act, and should not permit any deviation from it." This was a good omen, not only for the Preparatory Meeting, but also for the autumn debate. All of the states of Europe and North America confirmed their adherence to the Helsinki resolutions, defining the subject matter of the negotiations in the Belgrade Meeting in the following way: "An intensified exchange of opinions both in respect to the effective

introduction of the decisions of the Final Act and the achievement of the tasks defined by the Conference, as well as, in the context of the problems discussed at it, in reference to improving their mutual relations, strengthening security and the development of cooperation in Europe and the development of detente in the future."

This key point in the agenda (Point 4) was adopted without any changes from the Final Act of the CSCE, as the socialist countries demanded. This forms an opportunity for the free exchange of viewpoints and experience in consideration of the principles and achievements of the CSCE recommendations as a basis for forming a new European system in which the main pillar of the current system of security (balance of forces) would be replaced more and more by a balance of interests in the process of cooperation.

While accepting such a concept of the agenda, the nine EEC countries and the United States aimed at making the organizational framework of the Meeting in Belgrade subject to the concept of "an evaluation and accounting" of states in carrying out the Final Act. The functions of characteristic arbitration would be carried out by commissions concerned with the individual "baskets": The "basket one" being security, the "basket two" being economic cooperation, and the "basket three" being contacts, information, culture and education. The Western delegates also proposed formation of a larger number of auxiliary organs. Without belittling the role of the working groups, the socialist states demanded that the work of the autumn Meeting be concentrated mainly at the plenary sessions, where an exchange of opinions would take place directly among delegation chiefs. This was in conformity with a policy concept of the Meeting, not a technical control one.

In arguing this point with the representative from Great Britain, the chairman of the Polish delegation, Prof Marian Dobrosielski, recalled that the English philosopher W. Occam had formulated his famous principle called "Occam's razor" as early as the Middle Ages: Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter naecessitatem (Assumptions should not be multiplied beyond necessity). When at last it was agreed that the main role in the work of the Meeting would be played by the Plenum, and that the working groups would be of an auxiliary nature, the question arose of whether to define them as bodies or organs.

#### Bodies or Organs?

In consideration of the fact that the discussion was conducted mainly in the English language (officially six languages were available: English, French, Spanish, German, Russian and Italian), the Spanish ambassador, who was conducting the negotiations on this day, turned to the British delegate for a settlement of the dispute: bodies or organs? He replied that he did not feel competent to answer because he was Welsh. After this he changed places with a colleague sitting behind him who claimed to be English and

opted for bodies. The matter was closed in general merriment by the facetious support given by the head of the Polish delegation ("I always prefer bodies to organs"). Unfortunately, despite the sense of humor of many delegates the subject of the debate did not allow very many situations to be amusing. As time passed the participants in the Meeting had more and more recourse to informal negotiations without rigid protocol and strict procedural rules. In the final phase the basis for work was not only official documents, but so-called non-paper and informal meetings. At this point the role of the neutral countries increased, with their representatives initiating direct contacts and talks in groups of major adversaries. Often the proposals and improvements presented by the Polish delegation, one of the most important at the Meeting, facilitated mastery of difficult matters in negotiations. This refers both to the agenda and to the organization of work and the length of the Meeting.

#### Negotiation Results

On 29 July the Spanish ambassador presented the results of negotiations in the corridors as an official document expressing the essence of the compromises made. After trivial corrections and changes were presented, the basic text of the Resolutions was finally ratified a week later, containing the agenda, the organizational framework, the schedule and other conditions of the real Belgrade Meeting. It will begin on 4 October and work is to end on 22 December 1977. If they have not managed to agree on a final document by this date, an additional possibility of resuming work from the middle of January to the middle of February 1978 is anticipated. This resolution prevents the negotiations from being continued forever. It was decided that the inaugural and closing addresses, as well as the appearance of the UN Secretary General and representatives of EEC and UNESCO will be delivered at open sessions. The actual debates will be of a closed nature. Here the opinions of non-European Mediterranean countries, which are interested in matters of security and cooperation in Europe, will also be heard.

Many difficulties were associated in an agreement on matters defined briefly in English as follow-up.

#### Follow-Up

Initially this term was erroneously translated as the consequences of CSCE, but now a phrase has been adopted which better expresses the essence of the matter: further steps after the Conference. This matter refers to the continuation of multilateral contacts, both among experts and among political representatives. In addition the expectations associated with the work of the Preparatory Meeting were not limited to the needs of the autumn debate in Belgrade. The agreements reached are considered as model solutions which will be used in organizing similar meetings in the future.

The beginning of the idea of follow-up is connected with the proposal presented 8 years ago by socialist countries to create a Permanent Organ with respect to security and cooperation in Europe. This project was rejected by the NATO and EEC countries. Today the proponents of the idea of permanence and continuation of multilateral political contacts are primarily the neutral and non-aligned countries. The final point of the resolutions adopted in Belgrade anticipates that the Meeting will close: "at least by adopting a summary document and by setting a date and place for a similar Meeting." This is how the first decision was made, the importance of which goes beyond the procedural and technical framework: after Belgrade a sequel will come.

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CSO: 2600

OCCURRENCE, CAUSES, FUNCTIONS OF TERRORISM DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish No 192, 16 Aug 77 pp 4, 5

[Article by Jerzy Muszynski: "Terrorism--the Phenomenon, Its Causes and Functions"]

[Text] Although the phenomenon of terrorism, a particularly cruel means of achieving proposed goals relating to various spheres of life, is not new--it was already occurring in ancient times, and it intensified in the 19th century--it has become so prevalent at present that individuals' most ingenious means of doing violence to other individuals astonish (which does not mean that they do not shock) very few people.

The dimensions of terrorism--its spatial range, the frequency of the actions employed, the methods and forms of these actions, the means used by the terrorists, the variety of objects, including people, against which acts of violence are directed--all of this represents a dangerous phenomenon, the more so since the combatting of terrorism is not a simple and easy undertaking. The polymorphism of terrorist acts, the various methods used by terrorists, the ever more sophisticated means with the help of which violence is committed, and also the variety of aims which terrorists wish to achieve--these make it difficult to define the phenomenon itself or, even more accurately, to describe it. The particular variety of goals complicates the evaluation of the phenomenon. Attempts to squeeze terrorism into the circle of activities of a political nature fail, for the number of acts bearing the markings of common gangsterism covered, in principle, with a coating of political inspirations or lofty aspirations, is increasing. At the same time we cannot disregard the political functions of terrorism, especially as regards acts undertaken by neoanarchistic groups or representatives of national liberation movements.

Disregarding for the moment the motivation constituting the inspiration for terrorist activity, we should recognize as indisputable the fact that terrorism as a political act is an unquestionable manifestation of extreme voluntarism in interpreting the political phenomena of today's world, in evaluating the possibilities of easily--in the opinion of advocates of

terrorism--achieving goals. But terrorism cannot be reduced to a subjectivist vision of socioeconomic and political reality, for there are certain objective premises inherent in the very system of some highly developed capitalist societies. On the one hand, the great stability of a political system based upon major parties' striving--without regard for the ideological base and concrete programs--to consolidate a capitalist formation does not, in practice, provide any chances for groups that are ambitious, but too small, to be able to play a bigger role in political life within the framework of legal conditions. But on the other hand, the great polarization of political forces in some countries and the lack of stabilization of the mechanism of authority (for example, in the Latin American countries) create a fairly good political climate for the operation of uncontrolled and unhampered activity, including terrorist acts. For both the concentration of political forces and their dissolution constitute an important factor in the extremist demonstration of defined views, aims, and aspirations which have comparatively limited social conditioning.

But the test of even the most objective look at the phenomenon of terrorism is not free from a negative appraisal of terrorism, regardless of the arguments which the terrorists wish to demonstrate. That is why an evaluation of the external premises conditioning the existence of terrorism has to be accomplished in the form of a generally negative treatment of the phenomenon.

In describing the phenomenon of terrorism and in evaluating it generally negatively, there is no way not to perceive the conditioning of some acts of terrorism as retorts to the violence done to specified social groups in the "majesty of the law," and, thus, when the perpetrators of terrorism are competent officials of the state apparatus, chiefly the police or the army.

Unfortunately, there are still many manifestations of "legalized terrorism" in today's world. As examples we can mention all the fascist regimes which exist at present (Chile, the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia) or did until recently (Greece, Portugal, Spain) or, for example, the actions of Israeli patrol forces in occupied Arab territories, the relatively barbarian attacks on the camps of the Palestinian refugees. The fact that terror is used by competent officials of the state apparatus does not in the least change the essence of the phenomenon itself--and, thus, does not alter the violence committed where it should by no means be necessary. And precisely the observation of this kind of "legal terror" allows the intensification of "illegal terrorism" to be perceived as reactions to the actions of patrol forces or in general to an extremist policy towards the underdogs.

Not renouncing a negative evaluation of all manifestations of terrorism, we nevertheless cannot fail to perceive the phenomenon causing the intensification of terrorist acts which are an aggressive--often desperate--reaction to acts of force used systematically by the state. And although we cannot exonerate the Palestinian terrorists, especially since the acts of violence committed by them are particularly drastic, it is nonetheless difficult to keep from feeling that these are reactions of aggressive despair to the behavior of the Israeli authorities towards the Palestinian population.

Thus, situations exist in which the counteracting of terrorism might have a chance of succeeding if the reasons generating these kinds of acts were eliminated and, therefore, if the uses of "legal terrorism" were discontinued. Unfortunately, patrol forces which act on the order of competent officials of the state apparatus react to the extremist behavior of adversaries by increasing the acts of violence towards an often defenseless population, by the same token provoking not only an increase in retaliatory acts, but also ever more resourceful methods and means of terrorist activity.

In evaluating the phenomenon of terrorism, methods of action have to be considered. But even the noblest motives--the struggle for independence and freedom, against imposed domination, for human rights, for man's human dignity and his pursuit of a just life--cannot exonerate the participants in the many terrorist acts about which sources of mass information report nearly every day. And this is so not only because it is mainly people totally without responsibility for the state of affairs attacked by the terrorists who become the victims of acts of violence, but primarily because a continual state of emergency is coming into existence in society, in its various environments which is characterized, among other things, by the fact that it is never known by whom, when, or where an act of violence committed by "angry avengers" can strike, and it is not known how it is possible to escape the effects of this kind of activity.

The motives for the actions of terrorists are very diverse. For example, ideologists of neoanarchism have formulated a peculiar theory of force in accordance with which terrorists acts are not a direct means of achieving a proposed goal but are the "magneto of revolution," the means of rousing public opinion--by indicating to it the negative phenomena of today's world in a manner that is drastic, to be sure, but, in the opinion of the authors of this theory, the most effective, and by calling for the elimination of the whole socioeconomic and political system. Terror is meant to be the "propaganda of action," the "prologus of revolutionary appearances by the masses," a "call to revolutionary acts."

One of the authors of the theory of force, chief ideologist of the African national liberation movement Frantz Fanon, wrote about the function of force: "Force is a purifying power. It liberates man from his inferiority complex, from despair and idleness, from fear, it restores to him his faith in himself" (quoted from "The Wretched of the Earth," London, 1970, p 74). Fanon's conception has gained many followers in the extremist environments of the Palestinian liberation movement. This conception has found acceptance also among neoanarchist groups, especially since a convincing argument was perceived within it on behalf of the thesis that the accomplishment of acts of violence contributes to the development of a "revolutionary personality," to political independence, to solidarity with the framework of a given political group, to a feeling of pride at having caused a threat to all the adherents of the establishment.

In stressing the revolutionary function of force, the theorists of neo-anarchism have linked it with the fact that the achievement of an anti-capitalist revolution by peaceful means is impossible in today's world, since the existing socioeconomic and political system has produced suitable mechanisms protecting it against the possibility of its being overturned by a competing political force. Therefore, they declare, we acknowledge terror as the only effective means of destroying the "protective coating" safeguarding the authority of defined ruling classes. The Weathermen, a group of American neoanarchists, in propagandizing terrorism as an effective method of wiping out the establishment, has stressed: "Our bombs awaken the sleeping American people, they show them the path to liberation. We will propagandize revolutionary ideas and we will arouse the will to struggle not with words but by destroying imperialist institutions and their representatives."

This whole "philosophy of force" does not stand up under any scientific criticism. For it is based upon the false premise of terror as the "magneto of revolution," or upon other supervoluntaristic evaluations of the socioeconomic and political reality existing in the world. Historical experience also argues against it. Even when the use of force has brought the interested political powers defined effects, it has turned out that these were short-term and incomplete successes, since they not only did not remove the sense of threat towards broad masses of society but, just the opposite, intensified it. This was so, for example, in the case of various fascist regimes established with force and maintained with terrorist means.

All of these remarks concerning political terrorism primarily reveal the essence and significance of this phenomenon only in broad outlines. Its polymorphism, the variety of goals and motivations for action, the tragedy of its consequences, and its minimal--and often totally negligible--effectiveness in the struggle with the adversary, do not increase society's sympathy towards adherents of terrorism and perpetrators of terrorist attempts, even when they are waging a struggle for a legitimate issue. Skyjacking, the murder of people (even the killing of the most ardent defenders of the interests of the opposing side), kidnapping, the taking of hostages, bank holdups, the destruction of public utility facilities, and a series of other forms of terrorist acts--all of this creates so grave a threat to the normal human feeling of personal and social safety that a negative attitude towards terrorism is becoming a natural human reaction.

Terrorism having characteristics of common gangsterism and, thus, the use of acts of violence to achieve defined material or personal gains are subject to an even more negative social appraisal. And this kind of terrorism, although its dimensions are considerably smaller than those of terrorism of the political type, constitutes a dangerous social phenomenon and creates a feeling of peril in various social environments. Kidnapping and holdups predominate here, but there is no lack of skyjacking acts or of threats that other serious harm will be done, either.

The number of acts of terrorism, which is growing at an alarming rate, and the ensuing losses in human lives and material goods are mobilizing ever new forces and means for the battle with this cruel method of achieving proposed political or personal aims. But all of this appears to be inadequate and, so far, is not bringing the results that were hoped for. Even the initiatives undertaken by the United Nations, as well as by other international and regional organizations, are failing. Formal legal means (among other things, the extradition of terrorists and the competence of prosecuting officials) predominate in these undertakings, for example, in the understanding voted by the 17 West European states on 27 January 1977 in Strasbourg and aimed at restraining terrorist activity. More concrete actions concerning the battle with terrorism were established at the end of May 1977 in London at the conference of the internal affairs ministers of the EEC member states (the so-called "Group of Nine"). The conference participants accepted concrete principles and forms of collaboration for the combatting of terrorism and the prevention of this phenomenon, including, among other things, collaboration on the exchange of information on the subject of terrorist activity and on the development of control lines and centers (a "hot line" to combat terrorism). An attempt was also made to define terrorism, although there was no unanimity in this field. The definition treating terrorism as a crime, independently of the motives by which the perpetrator is governed, raises serious reservations in many respects, however. France's minister of internal affairs, Bonnet, defined terrorism "as a form of criminal activity arousing particular revulsion and demonstrating particular hypocrisy, a form which hides its actual aims behind an idealistic screen." Unfortunately, this proposal, too, does not help to explain the essence of the phenomenon.

Each undertaking in the struggle with terrorism deserves recognition if it contributes to a reduction of acts of force and does not in itself become "legal terrorism." Independently of the introduction of new forces and means into the struggle with terrorism, it appears that a great role might be played by preventive actions, and especially by the elimination of a series of the reasons which, in the understanding of the terrorists, justify the use of retaliatory acts. The historical truth that unjustified force generates counterforce is well-known. Aside from the already employed means of securing safety, the active attitude of society and especially the universal condemnation of terrorism, as well as the refusal to grant the terrorists any aid, may fulfill a great role in all situations in which terrorist acts are possible. Thus, it can be expected that all of these undertakings will contribute at the least to a limitation of the phenomenon and to reduction of the harmfulness of its social consequences.

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## PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILES OF HIGHER SCHOOL STUDENTS ANALYZED

Krakow ZYCIE LITERACKIE in Polish No 29, 17 Jul 77 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Pomorski: "To First-Year Students"]

[Text] When you read these words, you no longer have any doubt to whom they are addressed. This year's entrance examinations for institutions of higher learning have ended. Those who passed were essentially well prepared, and today they surely are inclined to reflect upon the conditions for academic success. Of course, every year there are the exceptional lucky ones or those with good connections who have passed effortlessly through the admissions screen, but this time there were certainly fewer of them. For this year no one was eager to have the admissions limits exploited. In the past, concern about fulfilling an administrative requirement often caused students who did not always deserve it to be admitted to the less popular courses of study. Thus, those admitted this year constitute a better group. The school authorities are aware of this fact, and the school employees are aware of it, and in program policy greater emphasis will be placed on not having the young person be bored during his stay at school, a goal which, as can be expected, will mean creating opportunities for him to participate in truly interesting studies.

In order to fulfill these expectations and take advantage of the created opportunities, it is worth reflecting today upon the chances of becoming a good student and, next in order, of distinguishing oneself in graduate work. Many valuable pedagogical works have been devoted to methods of studying. First-year students will have a chance to acquaint themselves with these works during their--recently introduced--course seminars. It is not to this problem, therefore, that I wish to devote my remarks.

Instead, I propose to my readers a moment of reflection upon mental characteristics, study habits, and usages of rest. Taking the results of research as the basis, look at your own mental characteristics in order to realize which of them can be used and which should be corrected so as to adjust properly to the role of a student. Before dealing with the determinations given here as my source, I wish to observe the universally binding rules.

Those statistical regularities demonstrate how average people behave in typical situations. One can always believe in one's own exceptionality, however, but then it is especially worthwhile knowing what the majority does in certain situations.

"A Psychological Analysis of the Progression of Higher School Studies,"\* the work of two psychologists from Jagiellonian University, Maria Susulowska and Zbigniew Necki, appeared during the entrance examinations. The authors examine the way in which the progress of studies is influenced by students' individual traits, both those which should be recognized as fixed--that is, personality or intelligence--and those subject to changes and dependent upon the will of students--such as the motivation for studying, the method of working used during studies, and the activities engaged in during free time. The reader will not find information there on the influence of domestic and social factors on the progress of studies. I would suggest that he look for this information in works by sociologists and also by teachers. But the young consumer will find an opportunity to clarify for himself the role of his mental characteristics, the value of which he will learn later through practice by testing himself in the role of a student.

Belonging to a specified personality type has great significance for the very pursuit of studies as well as for their auspicious progression. From among the many typologies of personality, the authors adopt, in accordance with Hippocrates, the division into "fiery, fickle and impetuous sanguine individuals, violent and fierce individuals of choleric temperament, inactive and stagnant phlegmatic individuals, and sedate, bitter and discontented melancholiacs."\*\* Research shows that melancholiacs predominate among Polish students, and they also achieve the best results in school. The second most numerous group, the sanguine individuals, often meets with difficulties in studying. The sanguine individual, full of energy and wide horizons but, then, unwilling to concentrate on one subject, often experiences failure during his studies, since he finds too few incentives in school which might attract him and his attention, which is so inclined to be distracted. He seeks them outside of school and usually finds them in a large city. This type of intellectual quick novelty seeker does not achieve success during his studies. And this is not surprising, for let us reflect upon how much time a new specialty developed in scientific research must wait to be accepted as part of an official ministerial program. Thus, those who seek perfection and not novelties are the ones who prevail.

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\*M. Susulowska, Z. Necki, "Psychologiczna Analiza Przebiegu Studiów Wyszszych" [A Psychological Analysis of the Progression of Higher School Studies], PWN [State Publishing House for Scholarly Works], Warsaw, 1977, p 293.

\*\*I am quoting from W. Szewczuk, "Atlas Psychologiczny" [Psychological Atlas], PWN, Warsaw, 1976, p 366. (This popular recapitulation of the principles of psychology should impress everyone interested in this science. It will be a good graduation present for those applying--or accepted--to study psychology, teaching, or sociology.)

In comparing students with other inhabitants of Poland, we will notice a decided preponderance of neurotics among the former group. A tendency for states of depression and anxiety, a low resistance to frustrations and ready submission to nervous breakdowns are found more frequently among students than among the average Poles. The aspiration of neurotics to study undoubtedly influences these findings, but perhaps certain factors accompanying neurosis also are favorable to studying. Thus, on the basis of incomplete research it can be presumed that neurotics are usually more intelligent and learn simple problems more easily. When they encounter more difficult problems, however, they are easily frustrated. Neurotics not only embark upon studies more frequently, they also complete them better. But beware! There are not many of these individuals among teaching employees. Mentally well-balanced individuals find their way into the teaching field. We come across most neurotics in art studies, biology, and Polish studies, and the fewest in medical schools, mathematics, as well as technical departments.

Students surpass other citizens of Poland in intelligence since teaching employees in institutions of higher learning have the advantage over them. Intelligence, precisely measured with the aid of tests, signifies facility in solving verbal as well as practical tasks. Verbal intelligence is more conducive to taking up studies and also conditions their favorable completion more strongly. In examining an average number of intelligence ratings, we find their greatest values in students of physics, electronics, mathematics, the ASP [Academy of Plastic Arts], and law, and their lowest values in students in medical schools, Russian studies, the field of history, and Polish studies. It is worth bearing in mind that we have restricted ourselves here to a thorough examination of only 14 courses of study. The role of functional (not verbal) intelligence is particularly essential in medical studies, the ASP, and music studies. In the remaining fields of study, skillful word usage is the condition for success. The conviction that the social origin of students conditions their intelligence level has not been borne out, and research results contradict it outright. But the opinion about the lower intelligence level of female students, both with regard to verbal and to functional intelligence, has been confirmed.

If personality and intelligence level represent those nonmanipulable factors defining success in studies, behaviors dependent upon adjustment to the role of a student are factors which can be controlled. In the opinion of the authors, it is these latter factors which determine the outcomes of studies. Thus, to use an already familiar example, the sanguine individual will achieve very good results if he can manage to regulate his own type of work in such a way as not to succumb to unnecessary distraction but to concentrate his attention on the most important matters.

Foremost among the discussed factors subject to changes is motivation. To start with, consider the motivation to engage in studies. When the reason for studying has been interest in a given field of knowledge, the aspiration to secure a higher social position(!) through studies, or the effective advice of classmates and friends, the results of studying usually have been

good. Among individuals who have taken up studies at the insistence of family members, who were thinking about the material benefits which an acquired profession provides, and also to maintain the family tradition, the results of studying are usually worse.

The next problem is the durability of interests in the chosen course of study. It is well-known that many individuals have successfully undergone an entrance examination for a course of study about whose program they had only a hazy idea; even more, they were unable to adapt abstract sounding names of subjects to their own interests and abilities. If, when they embarked upon their studies, they were even able to maintain that these studies really interested them, did they persevere in this conviction at the end of 3 years?

Research shows that nearly 65 percent of students would choose the same course of study if they faced this decision a second time, whereas 20 percent of students stop liking their consciously chosen course of study. Among many causes of the decline of motivation, the authors mention examination failures. It appears that the means of checking knowledge has a great influence on motivation. Motivation is particularly important for the favorable completion of studies. It is worth looking at particular specialties in this regard. Strong motivation is a condition for studying in general in the higher music schools, in physics, mathematics, and in theatrical studies, and it is a condition for good study results in the plastic arts, law, and biology.

The second factor dependent upon the student's will is the method of working used in one's studies. The amount of hours devoted daily to studying both in the course of the semester and during the examination session varies quite substantially in particular courses of study. Thus, we have courses in which daily preparations for classes exceed 3, and even 4, hours on the average (the ASP, theatrical school, the Faculty of Medicine of the AM [Academy of Medicine], physics) and those in not even 2 hours is spent (mathematics, geography, biology). We have, in turn, courses of study in which a student's work is distributed evenly over the course of the year, where differences between the time spent to prepare for classes and for the examination session are small (from 1.5 to 2.5 hours is spent daily in art schools), and those in which work is conducted inharmoniously, by fits and starts, intensifying during the examination session and slackening for the duration of the semester (in electronics there is as much as 7.3 hours' difference, and in history and Russian studies as much as 6.9 hours' difference in the course of a day). Systematic preparation for classes fosters good results from studies--this principle has been fully confirmed. If we want to evaluate the particular courses of study according to the degree of systematization of students' work, they are arranged in the following order, starting with those requiring the greatest systematization: the Faculty of Medicine of the AM, the Higher School of Music, physics, mathematics, the ASP, psychology, Russian studies, electronics, theatrical school, geography, biology, stomatology, law, history, agriculture, and the

Machinery Section of the AGH [Academy of Mining and Metallurgy]. Observing a systematic work routine gives especially good results in the study of biology and history and in Russian studies, hence, in disciplines in which students' work is not marked by regularity.

What they do outside of their program of studies is the private affair of young people. The connection between these occupations and the results of study is incidental. Nonetheless, psychological research permits us to establish a list of those activities accompanying good results in school. Now, good students spend more time than their schoolmates do in reading fine literature, on dates (!), as well as in social activity, and less time in watching television, in meeting comrades, and in settling domestic affairs. Good students go to the movies, the philharmonic society, the theater, and exhibits more frequently, and to cafes, a students' club, and sports competitions less frequently than worse students do. Literature, foreign languages, history, stamp collecting, painting, social work, motion pictures, and tourism are the hobbies of better students. Sports, music, photography, poetry, needlework and other handiwork, cars, philosophy (!), and dance are the hobbies of worse students.

The research carried out by the authors concerns students in Krakow. I am presenting the results of this research to first-year students for their consideration with an appeal that they do not treat these results as the source of absolutely binding directives. For genuine mental development is not achieved by constraining one's own tendencies or by imagining motives which one does not possess. The period of studies is an appropriate time to choose one's own path. The authors conclude their book with a remark similar in content.

"In conclusion, we wish to emphasize once more that students who achieve a high examination grade average during their studies need not necessarily be the most valuable workers in the future, whereas weak students need not fail in their work."

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### BLOC CONFRONTATION IN AFRICA SEEN

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 30 Jul 77 p 24

[Article by Miran Sustar]

[Text] Local causes for conflicts in Central Africa are mingled with global interests. When 30 years ago the late premier Chou En-lai traveled around Africa, he stated among other things that "the black virgin land would change into the theater of confrontations between the superpowers in the next ten years..." At that time Portugal's colonial empire was still firm, and in Rhodesia and South Africa the first symptoms were just appearing that would make it possible to sense that in those countries as well the wave of liberation warfare would soon begin with the black majority fighting against the regimes of the white minority.

Today if we look at a map of Africa showing the points of urgent crisis, we involuntarily recall Chou's statement: Egypt and the Sudan opposed to Libya, Morocco and Mauritania, and POLISARIO supporting Algeria and Mali, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan, and at the border Kenya and Somalia; Angola, Zaire and South Africa, Uganda and Tanzania, not to mention the Rhodesian or South African problems, which are colored by classic anticolonialism. All of these crises reveal that politically, post-colonial Africa is undergoing some sort of feverous upheaval, like volcanic magma which is still seeking its final form. It can also readily be stated that two international organizations are operating in the crisis situation, the Organization for African Unity and the Arab League, and both are surprisingly helpless in those events, just as the United Nations is helpless, when actual crises emerge in which the superpowers indirectly or directly have vitally important interests.

#### Peripheral Block Confrontation

It would be an oversimplification to put responsibility for the events on the African continent exclusively on non-African influences and interests. It would be just as incorrect to ignore the fact that those influences and interests are everywhere intermingled with local, African causes for such a situation. Africa has not had either its Yalta or its Helsinki, and there are present deep internal contradictions and confronting, ideal zone of operation for the continuation of "peripheral bloc confrontations through intermediaries," that is, confrontations that relaxation in Europe and the

Helsinki conference have limited to strictly defined frameworks, while a similar effect comes in Asia from the presence of the two powerful Asian forces of China and Japan.

An attempt might be made to analyze in a global context the path followed by Libya and Egypt since 1 September 1971, when the United Arab Republic was proclaimed (including Egypt, Syria and Libya), and extending to recent days when the so-called "small war" has broken out between Egypt and Libya, bringing as its conclusion a fallen premier. In doing so we would be struck by the accidental or deliberate coincidence that armed conflict between the Arab states, who had been allies in the war against Israel, occurred at the time when Vance and Gromyko were making their separate tours of the Middle East. Prior to that, of course, there had been the October war, from which Egypt emerged in a position to take the leadership role in peace initiatives in the Middle East whereas, not long before, Egypt had been at the head of the confrontation with Israel. Syria was in the middle of the Lebanese civil war with its army and its political arbitration, and thereby compensated for Egypt's gains in the October war. When, in the Carter-Asad talks in Geneva, Washington gave equal weight to Egypt in the Middle East crisis, Damascus, as well, offered a constructive approach to efforts for a peaceful solution of the Middle East crisis behind which stood oil dollars from Saudi Arabia, from the Western standpoint "the most reasonable Arab state." Yet it was precisely Saudi Arabia that had reigned in oil prices, not only for its own material interests, but also for global political purposes: Western Europe should not be pressed with oil prices to the point that social upheavals or even revolutions flare up....

#### The Soviet Trojan Horse

That unfolding situation brought the Soviet Union to the point of seeking a political solution in the Middle East. Libya, which for its own special reasons rejects any notion of a political solution with Israel, despite its oil riches and except for its verbal radicalism, has no weight that corresponds to its oil deposits. Objectively it has become the ally of the other side. That aspect should also be considered the reason for the Egyptian charge that "Libya is the Soviet Trojan horse," and the Libyan complaints that "Egypt is the Trojan horse of the United States." While Washington is highly interested in achieving the quickest possible solution in the Middle East that has a Saudi and also an American mark, Moscow is interested in delaying reconciliation until the USSR is recognized for its part to a degree corresponding to its might and influence.

That, of course, is only one component of the conflict between Egypt and Libya, and there are a multitude of local causes of either an Egyptian-Libyan nature or of inter-Arabian importance.

The crisis in the "African Horn," between Ethiopia and Somalia, which has grown into a true and violent war, also has its global component.

For a quarter of a century Ethiopia was the chief African client of American aid. After the fall of Emperor Haile Selassie, domestic radicalization proceeded rapidly, accompanied by estrangement from the United States and rapprochement with the USSR. That led to a very contradictory and apparently illogical situation. Somalia, which was moving in a socialist direction and was inclined toward the USSR, entered into a spirited military clash with socialist-oriented and USSR-inclined Ethiopia over the disputed province of Agaden and over Eritrea. But that is not all. Non-Islamic Ethiopia was supported against Islamic Somalia by the intensely orthodox Islamic Libya, which was, in that area not at all disturbed by the fact that its aid to Ethiopia was mingling with aid that country received from Israel. How can such numerous contradictions be explained?

Clearly, Moscow calculated that Fidel Castro would be able to, at least outwardly, soothe the conflict between Addis Ababa and Mogadish, and to restore an acceptable modus vivendi among the states which were receiving generous Soviet assistance. That calculation was incorrect; at least in Somalia, national goals overcame ideological orientation. Mogadish was receiving aid and support from Saudi Arabia which, with the Somalian territory, would be happy to turn the Red Sea into an Arab sea, meaning that in alliance with other coastal Arab states it would control a strategically important route from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean.

#### A Center of Great Power Interests

It clearly did not suit the Soviet Union to have that important sea route fall under the control of those Arab states that are regarded as conservative, that is to say, they lean toward the western bloc in global terms. Perhaps that is where the chief cause should be sought for the fact that Moscow decided to help Addis Ababa over Mogadish, even though it appeared that it also sought in Somalia to bring a favorable solution to the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia. The third component of the crisis in the "African Horn" is the Sudan, also in confrontation with Ethiopia, but at the same time becoming increasingly anti-Soviet as far as African policies of the USSR are concerned. Thus, through a combination of objective circumstances, Ethiopia finds itself in the center of Soviet, American and Chinese interests. Within the framework the conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia is growing into a conflict of extreme danger for all of Africa. It is largely a matter of attempts at changing existing (albeit colonial) boundaries by force, which means to reject one of the basic principles of the Organization of African Unit and, at the same time, the first condition for stabilizing relations in post-colonial Africa.

The same principle, only in a somewhat different form, was involved in the standoff in the former Spanish Sahara, which was divided between Morocco and Mauretania, after the departure of the Spanish colonial forces. The liberation movement, which was directed by the POLISARIO group for the independence of an Arabian Democratic Socialist Republic of the Sahara, brought "progressive" Algeria and "conservative" Morocco into a situation of conflict. The global forces of that conflict were not so clearly define and the clash has (for the moment) been restricted to four countries which, according to established but rather inaccurate slogans, have their distinguishing features: Morocco and Mauretania enjoy the sympathies of the West, while Algeria and Mali are regarded

as "progressive" and in the eyes of Western forces are "undependable," meaning susceptible to Soviet influence. Using the same criteria, China supports Mauretania in that dispute and quietly sympathizes with Morocco.

A similar instability also rules in the heart of Africa, represented by Zaire with its southern neighbor Angola. The rivalry which usually arises between an established, large and potentially wealthy state, and a newly emerged neighbor that is equally large and potentially wealth, has grown into a bloc confrontation at a moment when Kinshasa sought to use aid from the West and from South Africa to smother the emergence of progressive Angola. The latter barely survived through the intervention of a non-African state, in this case, the direct involvement of Cuba. Some African states join China in seeing Cuba as "the extended arm" of the Soviet Union in this instance.

The positions of the forces of the "great triangle" were very refined in the case of Angola and Zaire. Together with Mobutu, the Chinese supported Robert Holden and Jonas Savimby against Agostino Neto, while Cuban intervention in Angolan affairs was labelled "Soviet-Cuban aggression." The Russians termed the aid offered Zaire by Morocco and France as "an imperialist plot against the People's Republic of Angola," and as a blatant interference in the internal affairs of Zaire by the West. That aid permitted Mobutu to crush easily the penetration of former Katangan gendarmes into the province of Shaba. The Americans remained discreetly to the side in the affairs with the Katangan gendarmes and Moroccan and French assistance to Mobutu, and outwardly took the Cuban landing in Angola very stoicly, with the declaration that "in their opinion this was not a matter of a bloc confrontation, and the Cuban presence in Angola would contribute to stabilization in that country." In short, official Washington was inherently satisfied with the Moroccan and French steps in Zaire, while at the same time being restrained about the Cuban intervention in Angola. This was apparently in keeping with Carter's new views on world events: The American president was convinced that the limits of Soviet influence on the African continent were the same as the limits of Soviet military assistance, while Africa most of all needed effective and continuous economic aid which, according to Carter's thinking, could be provided readily only by the West, and primarily by the United States.

#### Slight Possibility of Direct Confrontations

Officially, of course, no ones talks about an actual bloc confrontation in Africa. Yet, the inability of the African states to decide their own problems alone, without armed conflicts and especially without non-African assistance when those problems often are deeply rooted, constantly opens the door wider to the world's chief bloc antagonists. A fast glance at the map of crisis hot spots in Africa and the divisions into local and global forces confirms that. It is especially dangerous to forget that Africa is a relatively safe terrain for border clashes and indirect confrontations between the superpowers, a place where the threat that such an indirect confrontation might grow into a direct one is relatively the slightest.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### RISE OF CHINESE-ALBANIAN DISAGREEMENT NOTED

Ljubljana DELO in Solvenian 3 Aug 77 p 4

[Article by Miran Sustar]

[Text] After the Seventh Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor in November of last year, it was already possible to feel the chill in the atmosphere between Tirana and Peking which had been gathering dangerously since the sixth party congress in the summer of 1971. At that time, the first unconfirmed reports came from Tirana that the Albanians were not satisfied with the help that their distant ally with 800 million inhabitants, China, was giving them.

What at that time was taken more for symptomatic signs, which were the cause of the most varying hypotheses, now can be labeled as the indicators of the seventh congress. Enver Hoxha, the chief of the Albanian party, has essentially ignored the new Chinese leadership with Hua Kuo Feng at its head, and, in his long report, gave respectful recognition only to the late Mao Tse-tung.

Even more, critical attention was turned also on the doctrine that is the foundation for the entire global policy of China and its strategy, the notion of "three worlds." The first world includes the two superpowers, the USSR and the United States, which are China's enemies. The third world includes all developing countries, regardless of their social or political order. Those countries are exploited by the two superpowers of imperialism and social imperialism, and also by other developed countries, so that the third world countries are China's allies. The second world contains all those countries not found in either the first or the third worlds. It is significant that the second world is constantly subject to pressure from one or the other superpower, while at the same time it exploits the developing countries. Because of the resistance they can present to the superpowers, these countries are potential allies of China.

#### The Doctrine of "Three Worlds"

In order to understand better the breakdown in Chinese-Albanian relations it is useful to know that the doctrine of "three worlds" was explained by Teng Hsiao-ping before the United Nations in April 1975, that is, two years after his rehabilitation.

Also significant for the period between the sixth and seventh party congresses is the intensification of contacts by Tirana with the Marxist-Leninist parties, i.e., with the parties that appeared after the open split between China and the Soviet Union. All of them appeared after the open split between China and the Soviet Union. All of them were pro-Chinese and were the leading edge of the attacks against "Soviet revisionism" in states where communist parties were not the ruling party. The more China's interest in those parties faded, the more it became obvious that Albania was taking over as their patrons.

The first clear split came on 7 July last year when the Tirana paper "Zeri i Populit" published a long article under the very innocuous title "The Theory and Practice of the Revolution." China itself was not mentioned in any way, but in the heat of the Albanian criticism was the Chinese doctrine of "three worlds." The article criticized "those," who do not know that the world is divided between the "revolutionaries and those who are not." It was clearly indicated that those are not revolutionaries who make a distinction between the two superpowers (since both are equally anti-revolutionary), nor are those who seek allies without regard to whether such an ally "has a revolutionary or a reactionary banner."

The gauntlet had been hurled. Tirana had attacked the very content of China's foreign policy thought. For once, the people's newspaper "Jen Min jih pao" reacted with restraint. It let it be known that "that correct doctrine had been established by President Mao," and that it would continue to be the foundation of Chinese foreign policy. From the lines it was clearly implied that whoever was opposed to that doctrine, was opposing Mao Tse-tung himself.

#### Old and New Opportunists

Albania reacted quickly. The Tirana radio station gave great coverage to the condemnation expressed concerning the policy of "three worlds" by the Spanish Marxist-Leninist Party, and among other things attached the "monarcho-fascist clique of Carrillo and Ibarruri," that is, the Communist Party of Spain. Of note is the fact that the broadcast contained the expression "old and new opportunists." Old opportunists meant the Soviet Union, while the "new ones" could only be the new Chinese leadership.

One other element of the radio broadcast aroused attention. The commentator stressed that "Albania is fighting against imperialist and revisionist encirclement and against pressure of all kinds..." That suggests that Peking had warned Tirana against the dangerous uncertainty of isolation, while the Albanian commentary sought to emphasize clearly that the Albanian party had decided upon an "ideologically pure line" and therefore was rejecting any form of pragmatism.

Further indirect confirmation comes from the meeting of Marxist-Leninist parties in Rome, that included participants from Argentina, Brazil, the Federal Republic of Germany, GDR emigrants, and delegates from Spain and Greece. The Albanian party did not participate, obviously out of consideration for the Italian government, but sent warm greetings to the meeting. The conference took place in an expressly anti-Chinese atmosphere.

They attacked the "three worlds" doctrine, the policy of non-alignment (supported by China), and all other Chinese attitudes toward Europe. The Spaniard Raul Marco stated boldly from the podium in Rome that "The opportunists are those who call upon the nations of western Europe to support the European Common Market...."

There can be no doubt that he had the Chinese in mind. Peking increasingly urges the countries of western Europe toward economic, political and military integration, in order to resist pressure from the two superpowers, and in the first place, from the USSR.

#### The New Line

It is hard to say how far this previously anonymous dispute between Tirana and Peking will go. One thing, however, is clear: The Chinese factions of the communist parties of the western world that emerged following the split between China and the Soviet Union are on a new course regarding China, following the arrest of the "Shanghai four" and that course is leading to a new split. The new policy clearly will be determined by taking a position for or against the new Chinese leadership. The Albanian party wishes in all circumstances to assume patronage over those Marxist-Leninists (this is the official title that has been attached to those parties and groups), who are regarded as identical to yesterday's radicals of the Chinese cultural revolution. What that promises remains to be clarified.

There is still the question as to why the Albanian leadership decided to begin this dispute, and why just now.

One possible explanation might be that Tirana split with Moscow (after having been for many years its most orthodox ally, or at least behaving that way), when an open schism developed between the USSR and China. During the cultural revolution in China, Albania was the most passionate defender of its radicalism, and when the Chinese cultural revolution subsided, Tirana began its own "cultural revolution" at home. That episode takes on clearer dimensions now than it did at that time, when many people thought it was a matter of a "delayed echo of events in China." The dispute with China opened at a time when the second rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-ping convincingly alerted the Chinese and foreign public that China had made the radical decision in domestic and foreign policy to adopt directions with the pragmatic goals presented in the program of the "four modernizations," i.e., with the plan of development which was aimed at bringing China into the class of economic giants by the end of the millenium.

At present, of course, only the small, superficial "tip of the iceberg" is visible, so that it is impossible to determine if the Chinese-Albanian dispute is an equation containing unknown factors.

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YUGOSLAVIA

'FREEDOM' DESCRIBED UNDER YUGOSLAV CIRCUMSTANCES

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 30 Jul 77 p 18

[Article by Mile Setinc]

[Text] Is democracy an ideological chameleon which constantly changes color and meaning, or is it reality? Numerous and varying theoretical interpretations and even more practical presentations of declared principles of democracy apparently deny the latter possibility. The pessimistic statement is therefore most appropriate that democracy is only one of the most popular ideology which is not lacking in the program of just about any modern political party, an ideology which has been valued by the bourgeois revolution as a weapon in the struggle against feudalism and which the bourgeois class today utilizes as its most valued ideological weapon in conflict against all social movements that threaten its political and social domination at the national and international level. Many forms of dehumanization in certain socialist political systems are also guilty of this, just as is the persistent preference given it or the oversimplified interpretation of the concept of democracy in Marxist thought.

The meaning of the term, which is apparent from its very etymological source, is clear--the rule of the people. That apparently totally simple explanation fails at every attempt to reach a more precise definition as to what sort of rule of the people, or what conditions must be fulfilled in order truly to "rule." Current political thought agrees only that the concept has a positive connotation, although in the history of political thought the word democracy has often meant the rule of the mob or of lower, irrational, temporarily subordinated passions of the multitudes." In the age of bourgeois revolutions the concept was clear. Democracy meant the presence in the government of "the reasoning public" (with a level of education and selection restricted to the upper layers of the bourgeois class) as the single legal source and vehicle of control in the public aspects of life. Also, the introduction of general voting rights and the appearance of an organized workers movement and labor parties caused the bourgeois class, despite its momentary fear "of the terror of the majority over the minority," quickly to accommodate to the political

emancipation that had been accomplished but which did not essentially reduce its absolute domination in material and intellectual endeavors, and revealed the rich facade of its functional strength, which was especially important when, with the appearance of the United States, the class struggle achieved statehood and, in the epoch of anticolonial revolutions, took on the form of a global conflict.

Violations of formal political prerogatives within the "nucleus" of the capitalist world, Western Europe and North America, are far from unusual occurrences. With the exception of certain capitalist states of southern Europe, the late capitalist system at present is relatively stabilized. State intervention in economics, and the scientific and technological revolution that has established science as a productive force and as an independent source of extreme value, and finally the technical ideology which has pushed technical matters into the foreground, have stabilized the economies of bourgeois society. The transformation of social democratic countries into a durable system and the transformation of the communist parties into expositors of the momentary needs of Soviet governmental policy have on the other hand stabilized the political superstructure. Thus, the bourgeois class has easily succeeded in building its "empire of freedom" in a bourgeois manner. Such a manner of "functional" preservation of the capitalist system, together with the appearance of "Eurocommunism," has been subjected to new tests with numerous new unknown factors.

In any case, the charm of "Hyde Park" democracy is truly without limits, when its only alternative is regarded to be "popular democracy" which passes via uncountable transmission levers into a single, almost transcendental and distant center representing "general interest." The mass slaughter of all who were known as actual or potential opponents of the policies of Stalin, and the dialectical materialist brutalization of Marxist thought and scholarship, thoroughly persecuted the revolutionary romanticism of the Lenin epoch when it seemed that the historical interests of the working class were being brought into life, that its the vanguard (or a surrogate wherever the working class had not yet come into being) had grasped all the levers of political and economic power. Lenin's definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat as "the tyranny of the working class over the exploiting classes, which is not limited by laws," was born among the whirlwinds of the civil war and the struggle for existence of the young socialist state; later it was transformed into a beacon for Stalin's purges and show trials.

For some, it is true, democracy has become, in an almost religious manner, a fetish form which by some magic idealistic transformation has totally gained control of content. Others hide behind its class determinism which, in vulgarized interpretation, serves only as a mask for subjective volunteerism. Even more, it has become the battle cry of modern crusades, the glittering defense cloak of idyllic simbioses between various agents of the foreign bourgeoisie and multinational capital. At that expense many a small, medium or major dictator has enriched himself and his relatives. That has happened with our immediate neighbors, as when the

Slovenian national minorities have served to the benefit of multi-party democracy, in response to its demands for protection of unhampered economic and cultural development. Hence democracy has not become merely an ideological weapon in inter-bloc conflict, nor a "deus ex machina," which in the final instance justifies the defense of the most corrupted and undemocratic regimes. Nor it is a slogan which has been used without prejudice by the Carinthian apostles of "Urangst" and the Almiranthean defenders against "Slavonic expansion."

On that battlefield where various class and state interests clash, Yugoslav realities cannot, of course, remain on the sidelines. Yugoslav theory and practice attempts to avoid making contributions that would increase the relative nature of the democratic concept. The Yugoslav concept of self-management, which has no precedent in history, is a project and even more the practice of that democracy that is no longer conceived of as a reduction of "the free will of the citizens," as the participation of an abstract elective body involved in only one phase of the process of classical political decision-making during the election of agencies of political power. Nor should it be regarded as "the historical interest of the working class," known at the highest party levels. Rather, it is what today is known popularly as "the self-management pluralism of interests." That concept has nothing in common with the bourgeois theories of interest groups (as various formal and informal groups of people) who implement their own interests in such ways that they attempt to utilize a broad range of pressures to influence the policies of public authorities, or attempt to take power for themselves. The heart of the Yugoslav concept of pluralism of interests is that the political decision-making itself is transferred into the area of equal negotiations of all interest groups, i.e., all production and non-production entities of social processes, or else the territorial regions in which they operate. This makes it impossible for some public group or class stratum to coerce the society, which is the highest arbiter and authority. Since that degree of the development of productive forces in no way makes possible any sort of spontaneous and automatic generation of socialist relationships, the concept always retains an exceptionally important place for the functioning of subjective forces, or in other words, sociopolitical organizations, which must, in practice and not simply in word, become the broadest political basis for self-management, the leader of the vital interests of the working class. They must be capable constantly of preventing any form of imposition of "objective truth" by external forces.

Nurtured by its strategic importance in Europe and its ideological "heresy," Yugoslavia has the unfortunate fate of never lacking various self-appointed mentors who are concerned for its destiny. The motives of such mentors at times have been declared to be "concern for political sovereignty," at times "concern for the fate of socialism," largely depending on the interests of the particular "mentor." The most recent attempts are those by experienced quote-droppers, who for decades have been known as some sort of "doorkeepers" of the heritage of classical Marxist writings, as they distort the speeches of some Yugoslav theoreticians to support their own theses on the anarchism and liberal delusions of self-management. Customarily they soon open a "second front."

With bourgeois positivism, which seeks to measure every social manifestation (as well as the degree of freedom in a particular society) with mathematical precision, in the heightened ideological war which has marked the post-Helsinki era, only the eastern bloc could for a time be tied down. In recent months Yugoslavia has become the target. It has been calculated that Yugoslavia has the most political prisoners in the "communist camp." The conclusion was quick and cruel: the place with the least freedom is Yugoslavia. The very reproach that Yugoslavia has too many political prisoners does not alarm a person. Doubtless we in Yugoslavia have up until now done too little in the area of formal political prerogatives. The constant feeling of an external threat has, at times, served as justification for "administrative" solutions of political conflicts, even when they were in no sense organized anti-constitutional activities, but were instead a logical expression of numerous contradictions and problems of socialist construction. The struggle to remove administration from solutions of political conflicts has of course been a time-consuming process, which often progresses only along with the development of self-management relationships and political culture in all levels of society. International relations, as they are, despite the apparent peaceful intent of numerous international conventions and agreements, continue to demand criminal prosecution of that political underground, which with one sort of ideological support or another operates against the territorial integrity and unity of Yugoslavia and its national independence.

Any one, who lives in Yugoslav society and who, despite the numerous well-known difficulties it encounters, works for its social development and considers Yugoslavia to be his "own," must become alarmed at that surprising ease with which such a complicated and contradictory term as democracy, or the degree of freedom in a society, is quantitatively explained and exemplified. It is truly surprising that so far no one has been found who, on the basis of that sort of calculation, would be able to compose a stairway of "freedom" from which, at any time, empirical data could be used to show the progressive development or retrogression of a particular state relative to freedom.

The growing awareness of the advancing technocratization of contemporary civilization, which is becoming one of the worst obstacles to the elimination of basic structural discords in the world economic system and the consequences of the economic crisis, and the awareness that, despite the rapid development of productive forces, social and political enmity is deepening, and sooner or later will force a recognition that the concept of social self-management is one of the best alternatives for world progress. And only in that context, and not at the level of some abstract political freedoms, can one seek the possibility of such freedom wherein, in the words of Marx, another man is not an obstacle but rather the greatest goal to attain.

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PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AS A LEGAL CATEGORY

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 2 Jul 77 p 28

/Article by Miran Sustar/

/Text/ The famous polemics triggered by the Soviet review NOVOE VREMYA about the Spanish communist party and Santiago Carrillo, its secretary-general, the deprecating, one-sided criticism in the name of the supposedly universal absolute truth delivered against the so-called Eurocommunism by Vasil Bilak, secretary-general of the Czechoslovak communist party, and the less clamorous but nevertheless equally important attacks on the so-called "Asian" and "African" socialism, all this polemical offensive, containing all the elements of ideological confrontation with a large part of the international workers' movement on positions which were rejected by a great part of the international workers' movement as they were disavowed in practice, is intertwined, as if by a red ribbon, with a concept used in the most diverse interpretations: the proletarian internationalism.

On the basis of the above one gets the impression that, after the Conference of the European Communist Parties in Berlin, and after onset of the Helsinki era of detente, a new ideological and political confrontation along a black and white dividing line is again being forced upon the international workers' movement instead of a constructive dialogue that was indicated in Berlin. In this context "white" is supposed to represent everything that stems from the generally recognized and applicable truths and interests while "black" personifies all that is in opposition to the above.

This occurrence is nothing new in the international workers' movement. The consequences, too, are well known. They are manifested in many ways but the most frequently used is the concept of proletarian internationalisms.

Proletarians of the World Unite

This concept was forged in the circumstances of the second half of the last century as a political slogan which united the working classes of independent and sovereign states in their struggle against capitalist

exploitation. The slogan, "Proletarians of the world, unite!" as conceived by Marx and Engels, had no supranational connotation.

After the victory of the October Revolution in Russia this slogan assumed new substance. The proletarians of all countries should manifest their solidarity to and support of the young Soviet government threatened by a united front of capitalist and imperialist states. In this period, proletarian internationalism was not conceived in supranational terms either: it was only expected to blunt the edge of the imperialist aggression against the new Soviet state. However, as soon as power in the Soviet Union was assumed by J.V. Stalin, the concept of proletarian internationalism in the Stalinist interpretation, which was adopted by the Comintern as its own, assumed new substance: it was to become the lever through which the international communist movement could be subordinated to "higher interests" identical at all times with the current policy of the Soviet state. The negative consequences of such interpretation of proletarian internationalism are well known. It should be remarked, however, that this was going on at a time when the Soviet Union was still the only socialist country surrounded by hostile states.

After World War II the situation underwent a basic change. Several socialist states came into being: Yugoslavia, China, and even Albania as a consequence of an original and spontaneous revolution which proceeded from the struggle for national liberation, and others, which were a direct result of the Soviet military victory over the fascist Germany. By virtue of it, the communist parties in these countries became the ruling parties in charge not only of the working class against capitalism but also for the destiny and development of their countries and peoples. The interpretation of proletarian internationalism as delineated by Stalin and adopted by the Comintern became more controversial in view of the logic of newly created circumstances. Under these circumstances the USSR ceased to be the only socialist country in the world surrounded by hostile forces. While the Stalinist interpretation of proletarian internationalism subordinated the interests of the individual communist parties (that were not in power) to the interests of the Soviet state policies, in various periods the proletarian internationalism (according to the present interpretation of the Soviet and some other communist parties) has subordinated the interests of individual socialist countries to the interests of an imaginary international workers' movement, which is actually personified by the Soviet Union as a state.

### Three Phases of Conceptualization and Interpretation

In addition to this we witnessed the development in yet another direction. Until the end of the fifties proletarian internationalism, regardless of the substance given to it by various factors, used to belong to a political and moral category. After that time, it was elevated by the Soviet legal scholars to the level of international law, that is to say, a legal standard applicable in the relationship between socialist states. And finally, with

the advent of the new constitution of the USSR, proletarian internationalism as a political and moral category and an international norm for relations between socialist states also became a constitutional element of the Soviet Union.

What were the developmental periods which the concept on proletarian internationalism went through as a legal principle in the Soviet Union?

In the first period of the Soviet state, which lasted until about 1929, the Soviet jurists began to develop their views on the generally applicable international law. They had various opinions on the proposition that the international law lost its universal character with the emergence of the first Soviet states and later with the creation of the USSR. They developed the theory on the so-called international law of the interim period which would apply until the final victory of the socialist revolution in the world which to them, at that time, did not appear too far removed in the future. In the interim period this international law "of various classes"--from the Soviet point of view--regulated the relations between the USSR and the capitalist states on the basis of the so-called "temporary compromises," in cases where these were possible.

After 1929 the views on international law were basically changed. For the Soviet international jurists the idea of international law which is equally binding on all states became a universal and mandatory concept while the first elements of the socialist international law mentioned above were characterized as being leftist. In this period Soviet jurisprudence viewed the sovereignty of states as an absolute, emphasizing that all states in the world without exception are independent in their international relations: a state can be bound by no provision of international law to which it did not accede itself. The Soviet Jurisprudence Institute of the Academy of Sciences reported in 1938 that the USSR acceded to the already existing bourgeois international law, but that its foreign policy is guided by its own principles, namely, repudiation of the policy of the spheres of interest and secret diplomacy, promoting self-determination and equality of peoples, collective security, and opposition to every form of aggression.

This concept of international law also remained in effect after World War II when new socialist states were created. At that time no one in the Soviet Union talked about the "socialist international law" as something separate from the general international law. Moreover, there is no mention of the "socialist international law" in the statutes of the Warsaw Defense Alliance of 1955. In October 1954, in a joint declaration with the government of China, the Soviet government adopted five principles of peaceful coexistence and further elaborated the specifics of this policy in the Belgrade and Moscow joint declarations with the government of Yugoslavia. These principles became the guidelines of Soviet foreign policy and were, in 1961, incorporated in the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which peaceful coexistence is defined as follows: peaceful coexistence is

understood as relinquishment of war as a means for resolution of conflicts and the adoption of the principle that disputes should be resolved by negotiation, mutual respect for the interests of the other party, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, recognition of the right of every nation to solve its own problems, strengthening of the economic and cultural cooperation based on full equality and mutual advantage, and scrupulous respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states.

#### Two Conferences of Communist Parties

However, as early as the end of the fifties symptoms of a different conception were noticed. In the 1957 declaration, after the consultation of the communist parties--which Yugoslavia did not sign--it was stated that the "established principles of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism are the basis for relations between the states of the 'world socialist system' and all the communist parties." The continuation of the declaration, however, reaffirmed the principles of peaceful coexistence from complete equality to noninterference in the internal affairs of others.

The declaration of the conference of 81 communist parties adopted in Moscow in 1960, however, places increased emphasis on the "world system of socialism" and "socialist camp." The declaration points out specifically that the principles of peaceful coexistence apply exclusively to relations between countries with different social systems thereby attempting to restrict the application of the peaceful coexistence principles in international relations. This declaration defines coexistence of states with different social systems as a "form of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism" that is important with respect to the subsequent development of the thesis on the proletarian internationalism as a legal basis for relations between socialist states.

These views were also given their place in the Soviet jurisprudence. In 1963 the Soviet jurist Shurshalov divided Soviet international relations in the following three categories:

Relations between the USSR and other socialist states, relations between the USSR and the capitalist states, and the relations of the USSR and the states formed in the sequel of the disintegration of colonial empires.

#### Categorization of Principles in International Relations

For the relations between the USSR and the capitalist states, the principles of peaceful coexistence which is a "form of the class struggle" apply. The same principles also apply to the relations between the USSR and the states that have emerged out of the former colonies with special emphasis on the principle of self-determination of peoples.

He maintains, however, that relations between the USSR and socialist countries are governed by the "indestructible laws of strict observance of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism." In this context proletarian internationalism appears not only as a moral and political slogan but as a legal principle confirmed by the system of international agreements concluded between socialist states.

However, the author of this legal thesis immediately adds that relations between socialist countries are not governed solely by the new principles and that the general democratic principles of the contemporary international law are not completely rescinded. According to him, the principles of international relations contained in the United Nations Charter are strictly observed while they are being complemented with new substance. Nevertheless, in view of the limitations which he imposes, the question arises as to what extent the "new and higher level" relations in fact respect the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The principle of peaceful coexistence in relations between socialist states cannot be asserted because peaceful coexistence is a form of "class struggle between socialism and capitalism," but neither antagonistic controversies nor class struggle exists in the relations between socialist countries.

In the same way, the fact is established that in the relations between socialist countries the principle of relinquishing war as a means for resolution of conflicts (non-aggression). Between socialist countries there are no controversies, hence, military clashes and wars are ruled out.

From the above we infer the following: in the relations between socialist countries the principles from the UN Charter and the generally applicable international law apply to the extent that they are not contrary to the principles of proletarian internationalism and with the class substance of the "new type of international relations" between socialist states. Other principles of the universal international law such as sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, self-determination, and noninterference in the internal affairs of others, which were supplemented with the "new substance," are turning into a relative value in view of the fact that their interpretation is up to the strongest member of the community for which they should apply. The principle of proletarian internationalism, with the exception of the obligation to provide "fraternal assistance," specifies neither obligations nor duties. Moreover, it is difficult to speak of a legal principle the legal substance of which no one can define exactly. Moreover, principles which can be asserted in some situations but for various reasons not in every case cannot be defined as legal principles. It is nowhere stated for whom proletarian internationalism applies as a legal norm in the relations between socialist states. Does it apply only to the states that accepted it as a basis of mutual relations or must it also be imposed on states that unequivocally rejected it as such basis. With respect to China the Soviet Union specifically stated that it is prepared to conduct

their relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and on several occasions took the initiative to propose a nonaggression treaty, that is, for implementation of a principle which otherwise has no place within the framework of the "higher level socialist international law."

#### The "Mandatory Standard" and Higher Level Relations

The interpretation of sovereignty is particularly sensitive in view of the relative valuation of the principles of the universal international law under the interpretation of the "higher level socialist international law." In November 1968, at Warsaw, the first secretary of the CP USSR justified the intervention of the Warsaw Pact forces in the CSSR which was defined in the sense of proletarian internationalism as "fraternal assistance."

"There also exist general laws of the building of socialism. Departing from these laws could lead to departures from socialism as such. When internal or external forces that are inimical to socialism attempt to change a socialist state's course of development and redirect it to the restoration of capitalism, when the socialist community as a whole is threatened, it is no longer only a problem of the state in question but a common problem and concern of all socialist countries. Understandably, an action such as military aid to a brotherly state for the purpose of removing a threat to the building of socialism is a measure of extreme emergency..."

In September of the same year PRAVDA categorically rejected all criticism on account of the military intervention in CSSR on the grounds that they stemmed from "non-class" concepts of the peoples' sovereignty and right to self-determination. The author of the article, S. Kovalev, unequivocally stated that liberty of the peoples of the socialist states and their communist parties is limited by the fundamental interests of the other socialist states.

From the above it is evident that proletarian internationalism elevated to a legal principle for relations between socialist states is, with its nebulously defined legal substance, an extremely controversial and questionable concept. The Vienna convention of 1969 on the law of agreements had set a "mandatory standard of the general international law," that is, a standard which has been adopted and recognized by the entire world community of nations from which not the slightest deviation is possible unless it is replaced in its entirety by another standard of universal international law of similar character. In other words, states may create special international legal standards only if these are not in contravention of this mandatory standard. In their relations, states may not replace this standard with some other "higher" standard or standards that "go further than these principles," because this would mean their repudiation of the mandatory standard which represents a necessary minimum applicable in all international relations.

In the above we attempted to elucidate for the benefit of laymen the international aspects of the concept of proletarian internationalism. We have done this because proletarian internationalism--according to the Soviet interpretation--is, as a rule, almost always the starting point for every kind of criticism against all who reject such interpretation and its numerous implications. Perhaps there is something else that is significant here. At every criticism or polemics of this nature reproaches are made about the critics being "anti-Soviet," which is supposedly tantamount to being anti-socialist in general, but so far no one has ever heard that for instance, "anti-Albanian," "anti-Italian," criticisms could be as damaging to socialism in general as the "anti-Soviet" version. This apparently peripheral and insignificant circumstance, namely, that only "anti-Soviet" criticism is harmful while all other criticisms merely represent "fraternal assistance" along the lines of proletarian internationalism, contains the source of all disagreements and divergences in the international workers' movement. By themselves these would be neither unusual nor dramatic were it not for the domination of a tendency that they be resolved by force in a manner which the sovereign entities in the international workers' movement are condemning and repudiating with increased frequency.

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## HOPE INCREASES FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN SLOVENIA

Ljubljana DRUZINA in Slovenian 29 May 77 p 3

/Text/ A great deal has been said and written about the development of relations between the religious communities and the self-managing socialist society in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The DRUZINA, too, has been trying to follow closely the phases of this development. On the pages of our paper can be found reports about the first attempts of this vital dialogue in the postwar years, about the increasing mutual consideration, and events ranging from the first law on the religious communities through the Belgrade agreement on the establishment of regular diplomatic relations between the SFRJ and the Holy See, President Tito's visit to Pope Paul VI, the new law on the legal status of religious communities to the present when both sides are pleased to find that the mutual relationships have reached a satisfactory level of development. Of course, this vital growth had, in the process of its development, several more or less unnecessary setbacks and deviations. After all, we are all human and with our faults as well as virtues we still have a long way to go to reach perfection. It was, however, precisely this human element that made possible the overcoming of the obstacles blocking the way to our mutual objective, namely, coexistence with mutual respect and recognition.

The word tolerance has recently begun appearing in public information media with increasing frequency. It can be found on the pages of our newspapers and heard from the lips of respectable sociopolitical and ecclesiastic leaders. We welcome this trend because it shows that we are all striving to achieve such mutual relationships as are guaranteed by the Yugoslav constitution and the documents of the Second Vatican Council.

A few days ago Dr Stefica Bahtijarevic, a well known sociologist, lectured at the "theological forum" in Zagreb. She was discussing the sociological research on belief and non-belief. Among other things she said the following: "Atheism is not a prerequisite nor is religiosity an obstacle for true dedication to the homeland and the efforts to build a more humane and free self-managing socialism. Actual difficulties should be overcome

with greater tolerance." When some listeners expressed reservations with respect to the objectivity of her research she retorted that the Church, too, should conduct more intensive sociological research among its believers. Among other things she said that she did not think that asking pupils in the schools whether they are believers or not was appropriate. Such surveys can be quite devoid of objectivity while they can cause anguish to children.

Public and private conversations frequently tended to concentrate on the question of the religious teacher. The panoply of opinions was extremely rich. Eventually some official interpretations were handed down which alone are in accord with the constitutional principle of complete equality of all citizens regardless of their world view. DRUZINA has already discussed the positions taken in this connection by the Republic Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People /SAWP/ and Mitja Ribicic, its president. Following at various levels was a series of professional consultations which could be reduced to the editorial comment in DNEVNIK of 18 May 1977, namely: "We proceed from the people, from the multitude of religious citizens who are loyally working with all the rest on the completion of the socialist society in accordance with the self-managing provisions, sincerely, honestly, with dedication and faith in their work so that even if all members of the society were religious the cause of self-managing socialism would never be questioned. We have good reasons for this assertion. They can be found, not in the least, in the conduct of the faithful masses which fought shoulder to shoulder with all the other progressive forces in the struggle of the socialist revolution and which are today consolidating the achieved wealth of understanding.

Any objective observer will, naturally, find that there are some questions that still have to be resolved. Nor must we harbor illusions that there will be no more such questions in the future. After all, every social structure must permit pluralism in its own ranks, of course only within the bounds prescribed by the basic charters on man's liberties, whether these be the constitution the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, or the Council's declaration on the freedom of conscience. Different points of view of this kind will most likely appear in the society's information media, which should be a free forum for exchange of opinions. It will then depend on the farsightedness and social responsibility of the individual editorial boards where the line between true pluralism and intolerance will be drawn.

There is another observation which encourages a more optimistic view of the future. It concerns the siting and building permits for churches and places of worship. New places of worship are certainly not the most important problem of the Church in Slovenia--for an awakened Christianity questions of atheism and consumerism are certainly vital--but without adequate places for gathering and worshipping a religious community cannot lead a full life. In some Slovenian opstinas siting and building permit applications have been pending for some time. It appears that they are now drawing to their concluding phase. Thus it is expected that ground will

soon be broken for churches in Nova Gorica, Portoroz, Kisovec (Zagorje on Sava) and elsewhere.

The spirit of the time in which we live tends to divert the preoccupation with finding who was intolerant of whom in the past to a contemplation of the future with a desire that such incidents would not recur. We feel that this is to the benefit of an early achievement of a truly humane society as well as to the benefit of a better and more profound fulfillment of the mission Christ had set for the Church.

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GOAL OF PURGING RELIGIOUS FEELING DISPUTED

Ljubljana DRUZINA in Slovenian 19 Jun 77 p 3

/Article by T. Stres: "Liberation from a Value?"

/Text/ To some it may seem paradoxical and surprising that in our society, where the separation of the Church and State is very clearly emphasized and one is continuously reminded that a person's religious belief is his own affair, there is so much discussion about teachers with religious beliefs and similar questions pertaining to the religious attitudes of our people. One of the reasons for this interest in religious attitudes shown by the Socialist Alliance of the Working People (SAWP) and the League of Communists (LC) is probably the position formulated according to DELO of 8 June 1977, at Zagreb stating that clericalism is "the only possible opposition in our self-managing socialist relationships."

It is not up to me to debate whether clericalism is indeed the only possible opposition to self-management. Under clericalism we understand attempts of individual members of the ecclesiastic hierarchy to influence people through their religious beliefs in areas of social and political life that have nothing to do with religion as such. Clericalism of this kind, however, is not attributable solely to the believers, but can also arise because of the situation in which the believers find themselves. It would be extremely naive to think that craving for authority is inherent to religious convictions as such. However, believers will necessarily and unintentionally tend to exert their own influence on social events if they should feel threatened in professing their beliefs. They will feel bound by their conscience to defend their faith, which to them is as precious a value as are their homeland, mother tongue, culture, and all things that contribute to their spiritual life in the broadest possible sense of the word. A believer is bound by his conscience to defend, protect, and nurture these values.

Therefore, I am in complete agreement with those who emphasize that it is not possible to fight against clericalism if we do not at the same time

fight against the so-called sectarianism, that is, discriminating between the nonbelievers and believers, to the detriment of the latter, resulting in their downgrading and disadvantage. This need not be reiterated because we are all aware of it.

Nevertheless, we often go only half way in combating sectarianism. I am not referring only to instances where a believer because of his religious views does not meet the appropriate moral and political conditions to qualify for increased responsibility. I would prefer to point out something else. It was only recently that we again read in our most prominent daily about the "liberation from religion," and that the LC must fight against "all kinds of alienation, including the religious one," or even that while atheism is not a prerequisite it will be "the end result of the development of socialist self-managing relations." Statements of this kind will confuse many believers who will be convinced that they are working against themselves and that they are helping to abolish and destroy their most sacred ideals if they participate in the mainstream of our society's life. On last Christmas when DELO published Ivica Racan's article expressing similar thoughts, V.G. very properly wrote in the first 1977 issue of ZNAMENJE the following: "Will not the believers to whom religion represents a genuine social value question in reading these lines to what extent their collaboration in the building of socialism is compatible with the dictates of their conscience, if it means the same thing as 'liberation from under the influence of religion and religious awareness' or even 'a destruction of the material and spiritual basis of religiosity?'" In the face of such statements any rhetoric to the effect that these are merely theoretical predictions which the believers can prove wrong by their conduct in actual practice is, in my opinion, of little comfort. If for instance, a believer reads that in this country we not only have no intention of encouraging religious beliefs, but will moreover assume a negative position toward it, he will not be particularly impressed by assurances that we shall at the same time respect human rights and liberties. Our religious citizen would need more than an average measure of optimism that would keep him from remaining on the periphery of the society's life and activities. Thus we begin traveling in a vicious circle. Because of such views on religion the believers avoid a more intensive involvement in social affairs and tend to become passive in this respect. At the same time those who spurn religion as something that is intrinsically incompatible with man's total liberation think that this is a confirmation of their dogmatic assertion that religion is as a rule an opiate of the people which makes them passive and consequently in need of being liberated. The truth, however, is that people are not becoming passive because of religion but rather because of the dogmatic attitude which maintains that a religious person is necessarily and essentially an alienated and enslaved man who must be liberated from his religious belief. This kind of treatment for believers creates in addition to other circumstances a favorite climate for clericalism.

If the above dogmatic definition of religion and its future does not assist the efforts for abolition of clericalism, it does not support the combating of sectarianism either. If we are telling a believer (as does J. Volfand in the Saturday supplement of DELO of 4 June 1977) that atheism is not a prerequisite for becoming involved in the building of socialism and self-management, but that socialism and self-management will lead to atheism, a religious person will have little enthusiasm to join in the effort to bring about this end. The believer will feel like a condemned man who is allowed to starve to death instead of being shot or like a patient with a malignant growth which will not be removed by surgery but only given treatment to shrink and arrest the growth. If religious conviction is equated with alienation and bondage the believers will be considered as persons of lesser worth or at best objects of pity. And this is, for all practical purposes, sectarianism in the moral sense, at least, if not in the socio-political context, with transition between the two very easy to achieve. A believer will achieve true equality only when religion is accorded the same respect as atheism.

When legislation on the legal status of religious communities was considered it was emphasized on several occasions that the letter of the law could not accomplish everything. Nor can the coordinating committees, whose importance was also emphasized on several occasions, have the purpose to encourage and foster mutual understanding, harmony, and respect. We believers will be able to freely and unreservedly take part in such discussions only when we no longer live in fear that some people expect and desire that religion disappears from our midst. Only when no one will be bothered by religious beliefs of others, at present as well as in the future, the non-religious teacher in the school for example will also find it easier to refrain from forcing the "historical development of liberation from religious alienation." Otherwise he will in one way or another by sheer force of his "scientific explanation" begin expostulating to his student who attends religious instruction and the church that he belongs to a doomed race of the last of the Mohegans of some kind. With this he will instill a young person with a feeling of inferiority because of his religious belief. He may even succeed in getting the child to conceal or deny his faith. What will be accomplished by this? In all likelihood he will be responsible for making his pupil an insincere, dissembling, or even cynical citizen. So long as religion represents a value to a person it is in the interest of the society that that person can respect this value, himself, and the society that makes it possible for him to cherish this value and enjoy the respect of society. According to the logic of the writing we have in mind a believer can at best expect that he will be respected in spite of his religious convictions. I object to that "in spite of," which to me is unacceptable. True respect and with it true equality will be enjoyed by religious citizens only where they will be respected neither in spite of their religion nor because of it but quite simply as persons with their religion and everything.

I am writing these lines because I believe that all this is possible in our century because many have already shed the obsolete dogmatism according to which religious belief is always identified with alienation and bondage. If Marxism is truly scientific, critical, open, and free of dogma it should leave open the question of the religion's future. Every form of man's spiritual or intellectual life can be distorted, religion as well as atheism. And if other forms of intellectual life can be refined and made genuine and humanizing, why should this possibility be categorically denied to religion? We are being assured that our self-management is a one time humanizing and liberating process. Why do we have no confidence in it, then? Why do we maintain that any religious belief that still exists in the self-managing is merely a residue of an alienated past? Is it not possible to assert also that religion, which continues to exist in a self-managing society, is undergoing a qualitative change, crystalizing, and becoming an equally possible and genuine form of human thinking and life style. Only when the believer can sense that this society accepts him such as he is will he be morally--not only legally--equal and it will be only then that he can see his future to be with this society.

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## MACEDONIAN PRELATES VISIT ROME

Ljubljana DRUZINA in Slovenian 26 Jun-3 Jul 77 p 2

/Text/ Rome, 14 June 1977--The RELAZIONI RELIGIOSE press agency reports on the visit of representatives of the Macedonian Orthodox Church to Rome in the second half of May 1977. On 21 May Metropolitan Kiril of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and his associate paid a visit to the leaders of the papal secretariat for Christian unity. According to the reports these discussions resulted in arrangements for two Macedonian seminarians to come and study at one of the papal universities. The following day they were guests at the holy services held in the papal institute Rusik. The church choir of the Macedonian Orthodox vicarage in Tetovo sang and the mass was said by Father Koren, S.J., who is a Slovenian. After the services he included in his prayers the Macedonian Metropolitan who was in attendance.

In the following days the Macedonians had discussions with cardinals Seper and Oddi. They visited the Papal Eastern Institute, the Slovak institute for priests who continue their theological studies in Rome, the Benedictine abbey in Subiac, and some other institutions in the Vatican. Together with the representatives of the Macedonian republic, Academy of Science of Skopje, and some other secular institutions who came to pay homage to the memory of St Cyril, the visitors talked with the leaders of the Papal State Secretariat and Council for the Public Affairs of the Church. On 24 May, which in the Macedonian Church calendar is dedicated to the memory of the holy brothers Saints Cyril and Methodius, they all together paid homage to the memory of St Cyril, the founder of Christianity and culture in Macedonia who is buried in the ancient basilica of St Clemens in Rome. The ceremony was attended by Zdenko Svete, the Yugoslav ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Holy See, Borislav Jovic, ambassador extraordinary to the Republic of Italy and the personnel of

both embassies. A wreath from the two embassies was laid on the tomb of St Cyril. In addition to various Catholic priests of Eastern Rite several Irish monks and other friends of Macedonia also were present. The celebration was again accompanied by the singing of a Macedonian choir.

In a homily Metropolitan Kiril honored the personality of St Cyril and spoke about the Macedonian history and history of the Macedonian Church. He emphasized the ecumenical mission of the Christians and prayed to God that the coming episcopal synod in Rome may be successful. He mentioned the patriotic work of the Macedonian Church and the things that president Tito has done for the Macedonian people, their liberty, and restoration of the autonomous Macedonian Church.

Unfortunately the solemn atmosphere was somewhat disrupted by the protracted waiting for the Bulgarian ceremony honoring St Cyril, which was scheduled before the Macedonian, to end. Because of unknown reasons the administration of the basilica assigned the same time for both groups. This year the Bulgarian ceremony was attended also by one of the orthodox bishops with some priests so that the proceedings were protracted even further. The Bulgarians are no doubt greatly indebted to St Cyril, but the two celebrations could certainly take place according to a better schedule and without a provocative character.

To honor the republic and ecclesiastic representatives the Yugoslav ambassador to the Holy See gave a luncheon which in addition to cardinals Seper and Oddi was also attended by several Vatican diplomats and representatives of the Roman clergy. Among the latter was Father Lacko, professor at the Eastern Institute.

The same evening both Macedonian groups of representatives attended the concert of the Skopje Radio-Television chorus in the church of St Saba in Rome. Both delegations also met at the Yugoslav embassy to the Republic of Italy where they jointly celebrated the 85th birthday of president Tito.

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IMPACT OF LEFEBVRE MOVEMENT ON YUGOSLAV CLERGY DISCUSSED

Zagreb VUS in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jul 77 p 19

[Article by Tomislav Butorac: "Lefebvre and the Yugoslav Clergy"]

[Excerpt] It has become a matter of general conviction that Lefebvre has passed the point of no return. It is therefore no longer speculated whether the rebel would return to the "womb of the Mother Church;" rather, it is considered how many followers Lefebvre might have. At present, he has several thousand staunch "activists." The number of those disaffected by the news from the Second Vatican Council has increased substantially. Some estimate that Lefebvre might attract 50 or 6,000 followers.

Does Lefebvre have followers in Yugoslavia? One can answer this question quite well by reviewing the religious papers published in Yugoslavia.

The Slovene Catholic weekly DRUZINA has written that Lefebvre's ideas are moth-eaten, and in the commentary asked the question, "What would happen if a Lefebvre appeared also among us?" The Catholic agency AKSA published on 24 June of this year that the editors of DRUZINA afterwards received letters from readers who "express solidarity with Lefebvre and defend him."

Dean of the Theological Faculty at Zagreb, Tomislav Sagi-Bunic, explains in GLAS CONCILA of 24 June 1977 that few people are correctly informed: "Most people think that Archbishop Lefebvre resigned in protest against the various abuses which appeared within the Church during the post-Council wranglings, and that his action constitutes a brave renouncement of practical and theoretical fallacies which have agitated the post-Council Church and have deeply perplexed many sincere believers. Many have no idea that Archbishop Lefebvre was one of the most outstanding opponents of the Council during the course of it and that he never fully accepted the decisions of the Council. As a result, in Yugoslavia as well, it is privately thought that the Holy Father acted on impulse with respect to Lefebvre and that the Pope will publicly have to ask Archbishop Lefebvre's forgiveness."

Thereupon Tomislav Sagi-Bunic brings to light something that truly was not widely known: "A few months ago, at a meeting in Zagreb, a respected

Slovene theologian expressed the opinion that the condition of our Church is such that the movement of Archbishop Lefebvre would find a huge following in Yugoslavia, if only a "brave bishop" appeared on the scene who would take Lefebvre's path. Reference is made here to a theologian of long experience and great authority, renowned for his seriousness, who is by no means a youthfully impulsive meddler or would make light-hearted declarations." Sagi-Bunic concludes, "I do not know whether his opinion is correct, but it is definitely significant."

Tomislav Sagi-Bunic continues with a detailed description of the clash, says that the actions of Lefebvre and his followers are fatal for the future of the Church, that in the Church the minority should also adapt to the majority, but concludes that "Monseigneur Lefebvre opens up a well of very important and far-reaching questions, which cannot be dismissed off-hand from the daily agenda."

It is no secret that among some Catholic clergy in Yugoslavia the spirit of "traditional clericalism" and the rightist political orientation are still quite alive. When this is known, the description of the dispute with Lefebvre, for example in GLAS KONCILA, is inevitably viewed with different eyes. Lefebvre's speech in Rome was reported across the whole page under the title: "Here Spoke a Pope at the Stake." The text of Tomislav Sagi-Bunic, "Opposition of Archbishop Lefebvre," acquired conspicuous subtitles; "Will the Pope Publicly Ask His Forgiveness?"; "What if a 'Brave Bishop' Appeared Among Us?"; "The Council Was Not Inspired by the Holy Spirit, but Perhaps by the Devil"; and "Mourning After the 'Catholic State' and 'Adultery of the Church'."

Such placement of a matter to which the Church is quite sensitive may be impelled by the desire to attract readers in an appealing and somewhat sensationalist manner. But, perhaps even more immediately, it is akin to hopes or to an open invitation that a 'brave bishop' appear on the scene, who would take the flock of believers along Lefebvre's utterly reactionary and openly anti-Council path.

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