

JPRS 69754

8 September 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1443

**DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A**  
Approved for Public Release  
Distribution Unlimited

20000329 165

**U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE**

**Reproduced From  
Best Available Copy**

**EAST**

**EUROPE**

## NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

## PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22151. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

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

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

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET</b>		1. Report No. JPRS 69754	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.	
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1443				5. Report Date 8 September 1977	
7. Author(s)				6.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201				8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above				10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
				11. Contract/Grant No.	
15. Supplementary Notes				13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
				14.	
16. Abstracts  The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.					
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors					
<input type="checkbox"/> International Affairs <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania <input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria <input type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania <input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia		Propaganda Political Science Sociology Military Organizations			
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms					
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15					
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151				19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	
				21. No. of Pages 59	
				20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	
				22. Price	

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
 POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1443

CONTENTS

PAGE

ALBANIA

Comments of Foreign Delegates To Trade Union Congress  
 (PUNA, various dates)..... 1

EAST GERMANY

SED Drive Against Western Ideological Influence Reviewed  
 (Marlies Menge; DIE ZEIT, 5 Aug 77)..... 18

HUNGARY

Less Formalism, Wider Participation Urged in Local Party  
 Organizations  
 (Terez Zahorzik; NEPSZABADSAG, 16 Aug 77)..... 22

Meeting on Teaching Language, Culture to Hungarians  
 Abroad Concludes  
 (MAGYAR NEMZET, 14 Aug 77)..... 27

Mother Tongue Conference Concludes  
 Gathering Ourselves, by Peter Ruffy  
 U.S. Delegate to Conference Interviewed,  
 Denes Sinor Interview

ORF Discussion on Neutron Bomb  
 (DIE PRESSE, 4 Aug 77)..... 35

KPOE Spokesman Comments on Neutron Bomb Debate  
 (Otto Janecek; VOLKSSTIMME, 4 Aug 77)..... 37

Participant Scores Austrian TV Debate on Neutron Bomb  
 (Janos Hajdu; NEPSZABADSAG, 7 Aug 77)..... 39

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

POLAND

Defense Minister Jaruzelski Addresses New Officers  
(ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 29 Aug 77)..... 43

ROMANIA

Appointments to Joint Commissions Announced  
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 22 Jun 77)..... 47

Decree Regulates Recovery of State Loans  
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 22 Jun 77)..... 49

Support for Regional Cooperation Arrangements  
(Ion Madosa; LUMEA, 14 Jul 77)..... 51

ALBANIA

COMMENTS OF FOREIGN DELEGATES TO TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Tirana PUNA in Albanian 1, 5, 8, 12 Jul 77

[1 Jul 77, p 4]

[Text] At the invitation of the Central Council of the Labor Union of Albania [BPSH], trade union friends came to our country from many countries of the world to take part in the transactions of the Eighth BPSH Congress. During their stay in our country, they visited many districts, work and production centers, plants and factories and building sites. Before departing, they gave us their impressions of their visits throughout the country, which we are now publishing.

The Albanian People are Marching Confidently Toward Victory

Coming to your country to take part in the transactions of the Eighth BPSH Congress has been for me a most important event. Everything that I have seen among you has left a deep and indelible impression upon me. The main one is that the dictatorship of the proletariat in action is being strengthened and consolidated from day to day in socialist Albania. I have noted how determined the working class and the cooperativist peasants in Albania are to accomplish with honor the great tasks set for all your people by the Seventh Congress of the Workers' Party of Albania [PPSH]. I have seen this determination not only in the fiery discussions by many delegates at the Eighth BPSH Congress, but everywhere that we have made visits throughout your country. The trade unions of Albania, applying the party's teachings, are playing an ever greater role in your country's life. Your working class has a revolutionary spirit, an inflexible determination to march forward with giant strides and inexhaustible energy, and is surmounting every difficulty and recording one success after another. But the greatest, deepest and most moving impression has been from the unbounded love of your people for their beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. I have seen this in every factory and combine, in farm enterprises and farm cooperatives and in meetings with many persons. Everywhere they have expressed this deep and sincere love for their leader.

I feel fortunate and proud, as a participant in the Eighth BPSH Congress, to have gained close acquaintance with a people that is forging ahead over every obstacle and difficulty and is ready and determined not only to build, but also to defend the victories achieved, their liberty and their independence. I have seen everywhere a very beautiful symbol: the mattock and the gun grasped by a powerful hand. This symbolizes socialist Albania. The mattock and the gun in the hands of the Albanian workers are true symbols of the Albanian people. They represent its fighting spirit.

Today, socialist Albania has become an example for all peoples of the world and shows to the international proletariat how one can and must fight, headed by a party of the working class guided by Marxism-Leninism. Today, unemployment, inflation and insecurity as to the present and future prevail in the capitalist and revisionist countries.

From all that I have seen in your country, I express the full conviction that the Albanian people may look forward to a still better and more secure future, since it is headed by the Workers' Party of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha, who is guided by the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

NORMAN KENDI

President of the Delegation of Revolutionary Trade Union Militants from Britain

#### An Example of Solidarity and Proletarian Internationalism

First of all, we thank the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania for inviting us to take part in the Eighth Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania, which has been a great and important victory of the Albanian working class in its struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and march forward on the road to socialism. This is undoubtedly a great experience and a valuable lesson for the Spanish working class as well, for all revolutionary trade unionists and, above all, for the militants of the Workers' Trade Union Opposition (OSO). The Albanian working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist Party and by Comrade Enver Hoxha, is building socialism under the conditions of encirclement by the two superpowers and international reaction.

The Eighth Congress of Trade Unions of Albania has been for us an example of great political and ideological maturity on the part of the Albanian working class, led by the Workers' Party of Albania. We have taken part in a congress of revolutionary militants and heard about the wonderful achievements of the Albanian working class in all fields. We have also taken part in a demonstration of proletarian internationalism, a living and concrete demonstration manifested in the very warm reception which the Albanian working class has given to the delegations from Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America which have taken part in this congress. We behold

a valuable example of how the Workers' Party of Albania, guided by Marxism-Leninism, consistently applies and defends the principles of proletarian internationalism and supports to the end, without any reservation, all the struggles of the peoples against American imperialism, Russian social-imperialism, revisionism, opportunism, the bourgeoisie and reaction. Regarding our impressions from the visits we have made to various factories, cooperatives, localities and cities of Albania during these days, we can state that they have been extraordinary. We have seen not only the great successes achieved in the field of economic development, but also the high ideological and political level of the Albanian workers. This is the greatest guarantee that the trade unions of Albania, led by the Workers' Party of Albania, will continue to march forward in executing the tasks set by Comrade Hoxha in his report to the Seventh Party Congress. His report to that congress is a valuable Marxist-Leninist document for the orientations and directives defined therein, which are aimed at strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania. It makes a correct evaluation of the international situation.

We wish to repeat once more our greetings to the trade unions of Albania and the Albanian working class and to transmit the greetings of all the militants of the OSO of Spain, who, inspired by these valuable lessons, will undoubtedly also further intensify their fight against the fascist monarchy, American imperialism and revisionism to isolate the yellow trade unions sold out to the employers.

We send revolutionary greetings to the Workers' Party of Albania and to Comrade Enver Hoxha.

RAIMUNDO SANTILLANA  
President of the Delegation of the  
Workers' Trade Union Opposition of Spain

#### Wonderful Achievements

I wish to take this occasion to reiterate our thanks to the Central Council of the BPSH for the invitation extended to the General Union of Algerian Workers (BPPA) to take part in the transactions of the Eighth Congress of the BPSH.

Our participation in this congress has enabled us to come into direct contact with the Albanian working class, to evaluate the progress made in socialist construction and to see the sum total of achievements in these last 5 years.

During the meetings of the Eighth Congress of the BPSH we have noted the high level of political consciousness of the Albanian workers and the great degree of their effective mobilization to put into effect the objectives set during the Seventh Congress of the Workers' Party of Albania.

The report presented by the BPSH Central Council and the discussions by many delegates attending the congress have been pervaded by a determination to fulfill the new tasks and objectives for the future, to work better and to consolidate still further the victories won in the country's socialist construction.

During the visits we have made throughout Albania, such as in Vlore, Fier, Berat and Durres, we have been given an opportunity to see the wonderful accomplishments achieved in your country, which are greater and grander than we had heard from the many speakers at the congress. Among these accomplishments we may include the terraced hills and mountains in the Vlore district, covered with greenery, full of beauty, planted all over with orange trees, whereas these lands were once covered with scrub vegetation. We have been left with a deep impression by the central rest home of the pioneers in Durres, where we were also able to note the great job being done by the Workers' Party of Albania in the political and ideological education of the younger generation in Albania. This is the best guarantee of success and achievements and the realization of all the objectives set for itself by the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

ALI LASFER SAID

President of the Delegation of the  
General Union of Algerian Workers

In the Albanian People and Working Class We Have Seen Unwavering Faith in  
Their Most Happy Future

I cannot begin these lines about my impressions during my stay in Albania without thanking once again the Trade Unions of Albania, the working class and all the workers of your country for the invitation extended to us to take part in the Eighth Congress of the BPSH, this very important event in the life of the working class and the workers of Albania, where you have adopted very important decisions to put into effect the historic decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Workers' Party of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

We have been very touched by the testimony of friendship and solidarity which you have, through our organization, with the workers and the working class of Malagasy and with all of our people.

We have taken part in the Eighth Congress of the BPSH and have been given an opportunity to get acquainted with socialist Albania by the various visits we have made to plants, factories, combines, farm enterprises, cooperatives and workers' families.

The warm reception reserved for us when we came to your country and during our whole stay testify to the sincere spirit of friendship which the Albanian people cherish for the peoples of the world and for their brothers in arms and in combat.

Both during the congress and during the many meetings with your country's workers we have recognized in the Albanian people that high spirit of enthusiasm, an unshakeable faith in a happier future for them. But what we noted with particular satisfaction was that the Albanian people are closely tied to the Workers' Party of Albania, and have a deep love for their beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. This love and unshakeable faith which the people have for the Workers' Party of Albania and for Comrade Enver Hoxha have deep roots. By their experience and life itself, your people are convinced that it is precisely the party of the working class and its leaders that have brought them true freedom. And today they are leading the people farsightedly toward the construction of socialism and the consolidation of the victories won. Your people see clearly that it is the party and its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, that have protected their interests and are working for their happiness so that the past may never return.

In socialist Albania we have been able to see with satisfaction the result of all the heroic efforts of the Albanian people, this people which is all initiative, with a critical and fighting spirit. We have seen many plants and factories, the metallurgical combine casting cast iron and steel, chemical fertilizer plants, thermal plants and hydroelectric plants; we have seen farm enterprises and cooperatives where the yields of farm crops are not only realized but surpassed.

We have seen with our own eyes the materialization of the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasants working to make the mountains as fertile as the plains.

We have seen a people living happily and in abundance. The children enjoy full health, women take part widely not only in production, but also in political life and in the defense of the country. The experience of the Albanian people shows us that the full emancipation of women has not been isolated in the least from the emancipation of all society.

During our stay in your country we have noted that culture, the theater, music, painting and sculpture have been placed at the service of the people. How beautifully your people sing and dance, from the youngest to the oldest! Your songs and dances are very rich not only in form, but also in their content.

I express my admiration for the many beautiful and moving hours provided us by the pioneers with their greeting to the Eighth Congress of the BPSH.

In Albania, the younger generation has been educated in a feeling of love and respect for the martyrs who have given their lives for liberation and the defense of a happier future.

In conclusion, I desire to wish the Albanian people and working class further success, and that, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of

Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, they may put into effect the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the BPSH in accordance with the orientations of the Seventh Congress of the Worker's Party of Albania.

Delegation of the Trade Union Center  
Simpimito of Madagascar

[5 Jul 77, p 4]

[Text] Relying on Their Own Forces, the Albanian People Will Reap New Successes in the Socialist Construction of the Country.

For our delegation, for the revolutionary workers and revolutionary trade unions of Germany, it has been a great honor to be able to take part in the Eighth Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania. We return to our fatherland full of enthusiasm from this visit to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. We will inform our comrades of the successful course of the Eighth Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania, the socialist reality in Albania, things that we have experienced on our trip.

The Eighth Congress of Trade Unions has done a great job of putting into effect the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Workers' Party of Albania. The Marxist-Leninist line of the Workers' Party of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, as clearly shown by the Eighth BPSH Congress, is truly the line of the broad masses, the Albanian working class and all the Albanian people. The many discussions by the delegates have shown what great initiatives have been undertaken by the Albanian workers in the struggle to carry out the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress and what goals they have set themselves for the coming years. In the visits we have made to families, enterprises and cooperatives we have seen how the Albanian workers have put into practice the party's appeal, "Let us work, struggle and live as under encirclement" to break down the imperialist-revisionist blockade. The fact that the Albanian working class and all the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Albania, stand resolutely on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and rely on their own forces is a guarantee that they will win new and great victories in strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, defending national independence and in the socialist construction of the country in all respects.

Alongside the steel unity between the Workers' Party and the Albanian working class and all the Albanian people, we have been greatly impressed by the close fighting alliance between the working class and the peasants, which fact has also been shown very clearly in the Eighth Congress. In the many discussions by the delegates it was told how the young people from the city had gone to the countryside to work and live there. The workers in the enterprises have told us about the drives that they had undertaken to aid the peasants to resolve their most important tasks. This close alliance between the working class and the peasants, and the continual deepening and strengthening of that alliance, are a secure foundation for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We have been immeasurably inspired by the greetings of the pioneers at the congress. The love for the party and for Comrade Enver Hoxha, for the working class and the socialist fatherland which they expressed in speeches, poems and songs showed us that here in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, under the leadership and care of the proletarian state, a new generation of men with revolutionary consciousness is arising, which stands resolutely on the road to socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the struggle to defend the socialist fatherland.

The Eighth Congress of the BPSH has been a demonstration of proletarian internationalism. The Albanian working class in this congress has once more stressed that it will always stand by the Marxist-Leninist parties, the international proletariat and the revolutionary peoples, as defined by the Marxist-Leninist line of the Workers' Party of Albania. A concrete example of such a truly internationalist stand of the Albanian working class and the whole Albanian people has been the extraordinary reception accorded us everywhere we have gone. The messages of greeting from the foreign delegations to the congress have shown what great respect is enjoyed by the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the Workers' Party headed by Comrade Enver, the Trade Unions of Albania and all the Albanian people today among all the workers throughout the world.

The course of the Eighth Congress, our visits to enterprises, state farms and cooperatives and our conversations with the people of socialist Albania have once more shown us very clearly that here in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania the working class is truly in power, and that Albania today is a beacon of socialism shining ever more brightly for the oppressed and exploited throughout the world, who are fighting for their liberation.

HORST DIETER KOCH

President of the Delegation of Revolutionary Trade Union Militants from Germany

Albania is a True Beacon of Socialism in Europe

For the Portuguese working class, Albania is an irrefutable confirmation of the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist, and its victories are for us a real and practical test against the lies and falsifications of the modern revisionists and the bourgeoisie in general. We in Portugal say that Albania is the beacon of socialism in Europe. And we have stressed this fact in the greetings of the delegation of the revolutionary trade unions of Portugal. But I wish to state that now, after a 12-day sojourn in socialist Albania, I must emphasize more strongly that your country is just that. Summarizing my main impressions, I will try to say something about what I have seen in Albania, about the things that have left deep and indelible impressions in me.

What has drawn my attention above all during the transactions of the Eighth Congress of the BPSH, from the discussions of the many delegates, from the enthusiastic and optimistic spirit and atmosphere, has been the great love of the working class, all the workers of your country and all the people for the Workers' Party of Albania and for the great Marxist-Leninist leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. I have been struck by the conscious understanding of the party's political line by all your workers, and by the practical application of the party's teachings, the enforcement of the fighting slogan of self-reliance and the launching of creative initiatives.

I have been impressed by the discussions of the many worker delegations, the spirit of criticism and self-criticism and their determination to perform the assigned tasks with still greater responsibility.

I have been left with an indelible impression of the perfect organization of the transactions of the Eighth Congress of the BPSH, the seriousness and respect with which the audience listened to the speeches, the optimistic environment, the revolutionary spirit which prevailed and the determination to promote still more the cause of the socialist construction of the country.

These are some of the impressions that have been ineffaceable for me, and when I return to my country, I will make every effort to transmit to the Portuguese workers these many valuable lessons, this revolutionary spirit which I have received from your country.

The proletariat of the whole world has much to learn from the Albanian workers and people, who show clearly what a people, though small, is able to do when led by a truly Marxist-Leninist party and a distinguished leader like Comrade Enver Hoxha.

I have also traveled through Albania. I have met many persons, and everywhere they have left a deep impression. I have felt intimately how the whole Albanian nation has an unbounded love for its beloved leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, and I have seen with my own eyes with what determination the people, the working class, is carrying out the directives of the party for the construction of socialism in Albania.

I have also met many young people, women and workers of various strata. But the most important impression is of the great job being done by you in educating the younger generation. This has been reinforced by the greeting of the pioneers at the BPSH congress, by their ardent words to the effect that they are ready to defend their fatherland and even give their lives for the liberty and independence of their country. This pledge of the pioneers I will take home to Portugal as a symbol of the truth about Albania, of what a people can do when it applies Marxism-Leninism faithfully.

I express the unshakeable conviction that the working class of your country and the whole Albanian nation, led by the Marxist-Leninist party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, will win still greater victories in the construction of socialism and will march forward to communism.

I hope for a continual strengthening of friendship between the working class of our two countries, our joint struggle for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism throughout the world.

GIDA MARIA  
President of the Delegation of Revolutionary Trade Union Militants from Portugal

#### The Albanian Working Class is Marching Forward With Firm Strides

We warmly congratulate the working class and all Albanian workers on their great victory, the victory of the Eighth Congress of Trade Unions of Albania.

The congress has shown once more that the Albanian working class, led by the Workers' Party of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, is marching ever forward with firm strides. It has been a living demonstration of the revolutionary spirit of the Albanian working class, which has been mobilized to carry the revolution and socialist construction forward to the end, relying upon its own forces, under the conditions of encirclement by imperialism and social-imperialism. The unshakeable determination of the Albanian working class to execute the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Workers' Party of Albania and to fulfill the Sixth Five-Year Plan successfully was voiced at the congress. During the transactions of the congress, the delegates widely discussed all the problems of socialist construction. They discussed the fulfillment of the production plan, the ideological struggle, the technical-vocational education of the workers, the defense of the country, the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasants, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and so forth. This attests to the fact that the Albanian working class is performing with honor its tasks as the sole directing class of society.

The victory of the Eighth Congress of the BPSH does not concern the Albanian working class alone. It is the victory of the proletariat of the entire world, and is a very great encouragement for the international proletariat, as well as for the oppressed peoples and nations.

Many foreign delegations from the four corners of the world have participated in the transactions of the congress. They represent the proletariat of their countries. This shows that the proletariat of the different countries is strongly bound together by proletarian internationalism in the common struggle against the two superpowers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, against local reaction and for revolution and socialism.

The Japanese working class is fighting persistently against the revisionists headed by Miyamoto, the social-democrats and all opportunists to develop the class and revolutionary worker movement. On behalf of the delegation of the revolutionary trade union militants of Japan, we promise the Albanian working class and people that we will transmit to the Japanese working class and people the news of the victory of the Eighth Congress of the BPSH and will fight with all our might to develop the class and revolutionary worker movement in Japan.

YOSHIHIRO FAKAUMI  
Secretary of the Delegation of Revolutionary Trade Union Militants from Japan

[8 Jul 77, p 4]

[Text] All the Marvelous Successes of the Albanian People are Dedicated to the Workers' Party of Albania

In speaking of my impressions of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, I wish first of all to say something about the transactions of the Eighth Congress of the BPSH. Having listened to the discussions by the worker delegates who had come from the four corners of Albania, I was deeply impressed by the clarity, frankness and proletarian simplicity in the discussion by every delegate. What characterized every discussion was the practical sense, optimism and worker's resolution. Behind every speech lay hidden an experience rich in content, live and true. In the optimism and determination of the worker speeches I discerned the legitimate pride of the main and modest protagonist successfully building socialism in his country and setting still grander tasks. At the same time, I have noted the effort of the male or female worker to see correctly the particular reality in a factory, plant or farm cooperative, to cope with all production needs, and to overcome all difficulties of the imperialist-revisionist blockade. On the other hand, I have noted that everyone sees his country, socialist Albania, as a participant in a broader front, the united front of the international proletariat.

Without doubt, the Eighth Congress of the BPSH, held some months after the Seventh Congress of the Workers' Party of Albania, represents an important step forward on the way to the construction of socialism and in the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in your country.

In the city of Korce I had the good fortune to become closely acquainted with workers of the tool factory and to spend a pleasant and joyful luncheon among the members of a Korce family. What impressed me in these meetings? I will tell you openly and proudly: the deep roots that the Workers' Party of Albania has in the broad working masses and the love of the masses for the party. This explains all the great and wonderful successes achieved by the Albanian people under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Albania.

During my stay in Albania I was given the fortunate opportunity to visit one of the giants of heavy industry, the metallurgical combine in Elbasan. There I saw builders from all parts of Albania, young men and women, workers and cooperativists who have set themselves one goal: to build the project within the fixed time limit. They are thoroughly aware of the importance of completing that project for socialist Albania, for the economic independence of their country.

Near the beautiful city of Pogradec, together with other trade union delegates invited to the Eighth Congress of the BPSH, we had an opportunity to get acquainted with the young builders of the Prrenjas-Gur i Kuq railroad. What we noted in those young men and women was the enthusiasm and optimism about building that mountain railroad as quickly as possible. The construction of that railroad is without doubt also a school for the education of this young generation. The PPSH, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, attaches special importance to the education of youth. You are doing a great job of annealing the revolutionary conscience, of educating the new man in traits of communist morality. Lenin has said that he who has the youth has the future. And among you the youth are a great force, to whom, under the leadership of the BPSH, belongs a more beautiful future.

Today, socialist Albania is faced with very great and important problems in successfully coping in the future as well with the fierce blockade of the two superpowers--American imperialism and Soviet Social-imperialism, in resolutely defending the dictatorship of the proletariat in advancing the socialist construction of the country.

I am thoroughly convinced that the Albanian people, the working class of your country, under the leadership of the PPSH headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, will march still farther forward with giant strides toward the full construction of the socialist society.

FLORE ANTONIO

President of the Delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Militants from Italy

The Albanian Working Class Will Successfully Carry out the Grand Program Assigned to it by the Party

Before I speak of my impressions during my stay in socialist Albania, I wish to thank the Central Council of the BPSH for the invitation which it sent to the Federation of the Trade Unions of Palestine for a delegation of ours to take part in the transactions of the Eighth Congress of the BPSH.

The first thing that struck my eye the moment I set foot on the soil of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was the great hospitality and cordiality with which our Albanian comrades surrounded us.

The Eighth Congress of the BPSH has been an outstanding event in the life of your country. I have listened with great attention to the report rendered to it by Comrade Rita Marko, President of the Central Committee of the BPSH. I have also been deeply impressed by the brilliant discussions of the worker delegates, who displayed maturity and a high degree of consciousness. I am deeply convinced that the working class of socialist Albania will march forward and perform with complete success all the tasks and grand program of the Sixth Five-Year Plan adopted by the Seventh Congress of the PPSH and the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the BPSH.

During my stay in your country I have acquainted myself with the Albanian reality, with the vigorous development that this country has undergone. I gained this impression right from the beginning, while visiting the "Albania Today" exposition, where I saw the great leap forward that you have made. But, naturally, my deepest, most vivid and moving impressions have been from seeing the Traktori Plant in Tirana and the metallurgical combine in Elbasan, which is a truly wonderful and grandiose project.

In Korce we also made some visits. An indelible impression was left on me by a small house in which the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, has lived. There an aged woman, perhaps in her 85th year, told us with deep love and gratitude about the revolutionary activity of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Every visit, whether to the exposition of Albanian popular art or to the Graves of the Martyrs, there on a beautiful verdure-covered plateau in the hills of Korce, made an impression on us. At the Graves I also saw bouquets of flowers, showing the unbounded respect and love of the people for the martyrs, for those who shed their blood that the country might be freed from slavery.

Our greatest satisfaction was to be able to really know the Albanians, those builders of socialism, who, relying on their own forces, are marching ever forward, holding the mattock in one hand and the gun in the other. I have seen this great people working with persistence and a high degree of consciousness to carry out to the best of their ability the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress and the many valuable teachings and orders of Comrade Enver Hoxha. What struck me was the steel unity existing between the Workers' Party of Albania and the people.

The Albanian people are very hospitable and generous. I can never forget those fine hours, full of many impressions, spent with a Korce worker's family. I can truthfully say that I felt like a worthy member of that simple family, and we conversed as if we had known each other for a long time. This hospitality, of course, also has its basis in the education of the Albanian people, who are marching forward in everything in accordance with the party's teachings and those of its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. This love, this hospitality is grounded on respect and solidarity with all the peoples of the world.

The Albanian people, headed by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, have brought about a whole revolution in industrial development, in the

modernization of science and in the progress of art and culture. But I have formed a deep conviction that your people, just as it yesterday won in the fight against its Nazi-fascist enemies, is today marching firmly forward to harvest victories on all fronts of the country's socialist construction. The basis of all the victories is the party's leadership, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In conclusion, I desire to wish that the Albanian people, the working class of your country, under the party's leadership, with the great leader Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, may harvest new and still greater successes in the in the socialist construction of the country.

FAHMI AL-HINDI

President of the Delegation of the  
Federation of Trade Unions of Palestine

Headed by the Party, the Albanian People are Marching Toward a Better Future

The Eighth Congress of the BPSH has been a very important event in the life of the working class of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. It has also been a great lesson for the working class of the different countries of the world to be united and fight together with the Albanian working class for the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

One of the deepest impressions for me is the militant, optimistic and revolutionary spirit of the Albanian working class.

During our stay in your country we have had the opportunity to visit many cities of Albania. I have had occasion to acquaint myself with the city of Shkoder and with the glorious epic of the heroes Perlat Rexhepi, Branko Kadia and Jordan Misja. Having seen the exhibits of the museum house in which these heroes of the party died so heroically, I have also learned that the Albanian working class and the cooperativist peasants everywhere are following the example of the heroes who gave their lives, and are fighting resolutely to make Albania more beautiful and prosperous, just as the fallen martyrs dreamed of doing.

In the city of Shkoder I was deeply impressed by the results in the work of the Perlat Rexhepi farm enterprise, the result of the persistent work of all the workers and specialists of that enterprise. And other visits to the copper wire plant and the Mao Tse-tung hydro-station in Vau i Dejes have strengthened my conviction that not only here, but everywhere, the successes in work and the socialist construction of the country are a direct result of the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the PPSH headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

During my visit to the district of Kruje, to its historic fortress, to the museum inside the walls of that thousand-year-old castle, I have seen the traces of heroism, of the legendary wars of the Albanian people headed by

the hero Gjergj Kastrioti (Skenderbeg). In that district I was also delighted by the results obtained by the workers of the superphosphate plant in Lac. The skilled technicians and engineers have directed production successfully. What impressed us was the active participation of women in production work. This indicates the great and persistent struggle waged by you for Albanian women, for their emancipation.

In the Central House of the Pioneers, in which hundreds of pioneers were relaxing, we saw the care shown for the health and happiness of this rising generation.

The traces of the glorious history of the Albanian people in the ancient castle of the city of Berat have also been viewed by us. But there we also became acquainted with the great patriotic struggle waged by the Albanian people against the alien invaders. We saw many trophy weapons captured by the partisans from their enemies. We were deeply impressed by a simple house in Berat where the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, had lived for a time.

We also visited the Mao Tse-tung textile combine, where over 90 percent of the workers are women, who turn out products of high quality not only for the country, but also for export. And what impressed us was that the working mothers were working calmly in the factory because the educators in the day nursery attached to the combine were caring for their small children.

From everything that we saw we were fully convinced that the Albanian people are marching securely toward a better future under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, which applies the Marxist-Leninist ideology. Therein lies the basis of success.

In conclusion, I desire to thank the trade unions of Albania for organizing this unforgettable trip through Albania, and I will transmit all I have seen to the cadres and fighters of Zimbabwe.

Long live the great leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

KEZI MZE PENDAI  
President of the Delegation of the  
African National Union of Zimbabwe

[12 Jul 77, p 4]

[Text] The Beautiful Reality of Socialist Albania

During our stay in Albania we have been given an opportunity to make many visits. Having seen the Albanian reality, the construction and transformation that have taken place in your country, we have become fully convinced as to what a small people, led by the Workers' Party of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, has accomplished.

Having visited plants, factories and combines, we have seen how the Albanian people have been mobilized for work and how determined the working class is to strengthen its national economy and constantly increase prosperity.

As to our impressions from the Eighth Congress of Trade Unions of Albania, they are deep and unforgettable. Among the more than 2,000 delegates from different trades we have seen that a considerable percentage of them have been women and young girls and working youth. All those who have taken the floor to discuss, have pledged themselves to promote still more the victories won under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Albania, and to further strengthen national and economic independence. They have promised to do everything to perform successfully and in advance of the deadlines the great tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan approved by the Seventh Congress of the Workers' Party of Albania.

ABDULAYE DIALO LELUMA

President of the Delegation of the  
Organization of African Trade Union Unity

The Albanian People are Striving Resolutely for the Socialist Construction of the Country

I wish to speak of the experience that I have gained from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. During my stay in your country I have been given an opportunity to visit many enterprises, plants, factories and combines. What I have seen during these visits has been a great inspiration for me. For I have seen with what determination and great ardor the Albanian people are striving for the socialist construction of the country. For me, as a Tanzanian, this visit to your country has been of immeasurable benefit, for I have gained all-around experience, which I consider a very important and valuable thing. This is why my coming to Albania has not been a tourist visit at all, but a great practical schooling.

The Eighth Congress of the BPSH has carried on its transactions at a quite important time, only a few months after the Seventh Congress of the Workers' Party of Albania, whose important decisions are being executed with ardor and optimism by all the workers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, including the working class of your country, the principal force in the socialist development of the country, which is marching forward in alliance with the cooperativist peasants. I would like to emphasize that our people in Tanzania are familiar with the course of development followed by Albania, and we are thoroughly convinced that our Albanian brothers are not only resolute fighters for the liberty and independence of their country, but are also a support for all other peoples of the world that are fighting to win their liberty and independence. We are immeasurably inspired by the attitude of the Albanians toward every key international problem. As a trade unionist from Tanzania, I desire to express our resolute and ardent solidarity with the trade unions of Albania.

MOZES TITA

President of the Delegation of the  
National Workers' Union of Tanganyika [sic]

## Albania Remains a Shining Example for All

My impressions have been numerous and multifaceted. I wish to begin my impressions with the transactions of the Eighth Congress of the BPSH. Its organization was perfect. Everything began and ended beautifully. Its lively, joyous and optimistic atmosphere was unforgettable for me. I have seen at this congress people from different vocations, girls and women, innovators and vanguard persons, smiling, determined, capable individuals. The profound content of the reporting done there and the clear, precise, concrete, operative discussions made an impression on me. Again and again, the audience, as one body, resounded with exclamations full of pathos: "Enver Hoxha," "Party--Enver, we are always ready." It was an assembly of work in which new objectives were defined for the best possible execution of the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress. A pleasant surprise was the beautiful and moving demonstration given to the delegates by the pioneers, smiling and happy. I was also impressed by the wonderful mode of organization and the interpretation of the various parts. I could not help being moved and applauding with all my heart. It is to be stressed that the Eighth Congress of the BPSH has been a brilliant manifestation of party-people unity and of love for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Every discussion by the delegates pointed up the mastery, the thorough knowledge of the problem which they were dealing with and the clear prospects for marching forward and achieving still greater successes. They spoke of their work, they discussed positive experience, but they also criticized the shortcomings hampering their work here and there.

I have seen many cities, work and production centers in socialist Albania. The successes are considerable. The Albanian reality convinces me of the opposite of what the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda says about this beautiful country with a wonderful panorama. What I have discovered in Albania is that there are some things "lacking" here. And do you know that they are? I will tell you: Albania lacks capitalism and exploitation of man by man; it lacks racism, imperialism and social-imperialism. I say without hesitation that what I have seen in your country I will never forget in my whole life. In my opinion Albania is for all a brilliant example of how a people can rely on its own forces, of how that people is marching securely forward. Among you, everything has been resolved correctly. What has impressed me as an inhabitant of the African continent is the extension of the electric network to all areas, even to the most remote villages. For the first time in my life I have seen how a people has built socialism in practice and on an advanced scale.

I also wish to say something about the ideopolitical and class education of the working masses which you are carrying on. This education is given everywhere, not only on the school benches, but also in the plants and factories, at home and elsewhere. The Workers' Party of Albania, and the trade unions of Albania as its levers, devote special care to this education, but on the other hand, they have created very good conditions for the workers to study and learn.

Finally, I wish to express my opinions about Albanian hospitality. The warm and generous, sincere and open reception has touched us immeasurably. This hospitality is indisputable and unparalleled.

I am fully convinced that with the degree of development which Albania has undergone, your country will achieve new and extraordinary successes in the coming years.

NYUTON NGAMBI MUENIFUMBO  
President of the Delegation of the Trade  
Union Congress of Zambia

10002  
CSO: 2100

EAST GERMANY

SED DRIVE AGAINST WESTERN IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCE REVIEWED

Hamburg DIE ZEIT Vol 32 No 33, 5 Aug 77 p 4

[Article by Marlies Menge: "Warning Against 'Aunt Frieda'--the New SED Campaign Against 'Ideological Rubbish' From the West]

[Text] East Berlin, August--A girl who properly conforms to the party ideal is one who drops her fiance because he might invite his "stupid aunt from Cologne" and has taken up with someone who says of the regular television viewer in the West that his head by now must have "turned to jelly." This ideal of a girl may be found in the GDR youth magazine NEUES LEBEN. But in actual life apparently not all girls as yet think and act like her, for if they did the GDR papers would not have been thundering recently with such a massive effort against "Aunt Frieda from Munich," against the uncle who has come to attend the youth initiation ceremony or against the "stupid aunt from Cologne."

Much to the chagrin of the state leadership, the policy of detente and human relief measures have brought millions of West German relatives and friends into GDR living rooms for all-German coffee and conversation. The state leadership is probably afraid that, what with all those gifts of pantyhose and chewing gum, all those family reminiscences, its people might forget that "every other Aunt Frieda in the FRG votes for the CDU--and there is no need to expand on what that party has in mind with the GDR!" The Magdeburg VOLKSSTIMME therefore explains to its readers in detail what they should think of an aunt who comes from a country in which "there is incitement for war" and where plans are ready for "doing away with the GDR."

In case this should be too abstract for some people, the paper also talks about the daily bread: Aunt Frieda, it says, "along with our sandwiches and other food, is eating up a piece of our sociopolitical program. For everyone here knows that food is heavily subsidized by the state. We have worked for these subsidies for our own benefit." It should also be taken amiss if the aunt from Munich in the worker-and-peasant state puts

things in her car which GDR citizens need daily--like potatoes--in order to take them to the West.

Not a word about the fact that there is quite a lot which she... words missing ...a good aunt, and only such an aunt need be feared by the GDR. An aunt who only takes things away with her and, on top of that, rails against the GDR is just what the GDR needs. I know an old communist who can hold forth for hours about the different ideas she had in the beginning; but as soon as her pro-CDU relatives from Hamburg come for a visit, she can suddenly explain to them everything that she herself is irritated about in detailed ideological terms.

The Politburo even thought that the danger from the West was worth taking a decision about--called "Further Tasks of Party Political Mass Activity." The main aim, the decision says, is for GDR citizens finally to be made immune to all influences of Western ideology. In May, the decision was evaluated for 2 days at a conference of the SED Central Committee with 900 party officials, with agitators, propagandists, social scientists and journalists. There were reprimands for GDR journalists who still had not managed to develop among their consumers the right socialist consciousness, which includes "hate of the imperialist class enemy" (according to the FDJ paper JUNGE GENERATION).

The chief editor of the GDR news show "Aktuelle Kamera" Pictures of the Hour, Erich Selbmann, then duly promised in NEUE DEUTSCHE PRESSE that things would improve, that "Aktuelle Kamera" intended to attract more and more viewers by presenting more up-to-the hour and better information. "This is necessary," he said, "because during the building of a developed socialist society the citizens' need for information increases, but also because we are conducting our struggle while exposed to the world, and many millions of people from capitalist countries visit our republic every year, and FRG television and radio are attempting to exercise ideological influence in our republic."

The SED journal EINHEIT perceives a danger particularly for young citizens. It says: "Under GDR conditions, in which we are exposed to the world, children and young people are confronted in many kinds of ways with enemy attempts at exercising influence and with the Western way of life. They sometimes find it difficult to see through the increasing bitterness of the class struggle and the cunningness of the enemy's ideological diversion."

The youth magazine NEUES LEBEN published a discussion on whether a proper GDR boy could wear an American Stars and Stripes shirt which Western visitors--who else?--had given him. One young reader lectured that "one must not go along with everything that is 'it' or happens to be 'in' but has to be a little above the situation." Another one's judgment was more

confident: "For me, a person's political attitude is independent of his appearance, his clothing, a shirt of his." And a third one even dared criticize the GDR textile industry: "Why don't we also produce shirts that are colorful and perhaps also picture beat groups from the GDR?"

But it is not only a question of "Westernized people" and of Western money with which GDR citizens can buy Western consumer goods in Intershops; according to the SED Politburo, visitors from the Federal Republic are also bringing in a "whole heap of ideological rubbish, which cannot be sterilized technologically but which must be fought by "offensive political-ideological work." A fictional letter from a young GDR citizen to his uncle in Cologne published in the magazine JUNGE WELT shows how this is to be done:

"It is already 3 weeks since you visited us. The Scotch and the Swiss chocolate, your presents, have been consumed.... During your visit you praised the fact that we were eating better and were also better dressed. Perhaps you remember how fresh I became when you said that." Then things get serious: "You spoke about freedom and democracy, which did not exist here.... Do you think that we here in the GDR are waiting to have ourselves liberated from the power we exercise? When the working class owns the means of production and is planning and increasing the riches of society, as is the case in the GDR, the power relationships have been decided. They reveal the citizen's coresponsibility.... For this, the working class created a new state regulating the exercise of power and also seeing to order and security."

This is addressed to those in the GDR who are not concerned about coffee and Western money but who are interested in Eurocommunism, who turn against the form of "real socialism" practiced in the GDR and against the new class of functionaries. The nephew from JUNGE WELT is to make it clear to the uncle from Cologne that such people simply do not exist in the GDR: "You are therefore mistaken if you assume that we are dissatisfied with our state because allegedly quite a different socialism should be built (decoded, this means: Always with quite different people at the top--you see, and that we call, pure and simple, your damned anticommunism)."

It is an old recipe: a person who thinks differently is denied his qualifications. At party events and in newspapers, Western visitors are called "a little dumb" and "arrogant" as well as "supercilious, anticommunist, pigheaded and envious of socialist achievements, such as low prices."

Is there a threat of Germans becoming "arch enemies" of Germans if anti-GDR feelings should spread in the Federal Republic? Judging by the new campaign in the press, the leadership in East Berlin is placing but little

hope in that. Clearly they would prefer the opposite, according to the principle "The gentlest man cannot remain in peace/If this is not the evil neighbor's pleasure" [quotation from Friedrich von Schiller's play "Wilhelm Tell"].

8790

CSO: 2300

LESS FORMALISM, WIDER PARTICIPATION URGED IN LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Aug 77 p 3

[Article by Terez Zahorzik, first secretary of the Budapest District II Party Committee: "Corporate Leadership in the Primary Organizations"]

[Text] The eleventh congress of our party turned special attention to the activity of the primary organizations and again emphasized the importance of this activity. The report of the Central Committee formulated this as follows: "The level and effectiveness of party work is determined to a large degree by how work goes in the front line of execution, in the primary organizations."

The Work of Membership Meetings

Following the guides of the congress, our district party committee is helping the work of the primary organizations for to a significant degree the local realization of the policy of our party depends on them. We are encouraging and helping the primary organizations to carry out their role at the place of work collectively as a body, to realize fully in their activity the Lenin norms of party life including the principle of collective leadership and to strengthen the corporate character of the work of the membership meeting and leadership.

What results have they achieved, what are our experiences in this area? In the first place, without going into any detail, a substantial development can be experienced in the work of the party leaderships; but progress is somewhat slower in strengthening the corporate leading role of the membership meetings. I feel that the latter should be improved too; this is one of the most important reserves for the development of party work today.

Ever larger and more complex political, economic and social tasks appear in every place of work and in the area of every party primary organization in the course of building the developed socialist society. These increasing tasks demand collective work in the membership meetings, the joint working out of decisions, the common organization of execution, giving reports before the community and, if need be, calling people to account.

In the primary organizations of our district the decisions and positions taken by the membership meetings in questions ripe for decision ever more frequently contribute very substantially to the definition of local economic tasks. The membership meetings have a large role in the producing enterprises in working out economic measures aimed at a fuller use of work time and equipment, at better stockpile and material management and at rational thrift. Technical development, work and operations organization, transformation of the product structure and other questions often come before this forum. The membership meetings reach in lively debate those political decisions which contain a realization of the party's economic policy and the local ways and means thereof; and they assign on a personal basis the tasks connected with these decisions. In several of the producing enterprises of our district outstanding results are being achieved thanks in no small part to the corporate leadership, positions and initiatives of such creative membership meetings.

#### Together in Execution

It would be difficult to overestimate that effect of collective decisions which appears later in the quality and consistency of execution. The participation in the membership meetings debates and in making decisions of communists who lead in everyday production work, live among the masses and know reality from practical experience decreases the possibility of error; and so there is less danger of subjectivism, as if all this were only the concern of the economic leadership.

The corporate positions taken by the membership meeting are taken to the work bench and to the broader masses of workers by the party members themselves, those who have created them and know them best. But this is not a process going in one direction only; in the process the members of the primary organization become acquainted with the thoughts and capabilities of their fellow workers and with possible obstacles to execution; they indicate all this if necessary; thus political information becomes richer and there is feedback for local leadership activity.

Corporate work is the common achievement of the membership of the primary organization. The membership meeting expresses the common will of the members of the primary organization, their readiness for local realization of the party's policy; but in the process the activity of the leadership of the primary organization itself has an effect on the party membership and forms the views and action readiness of the party membership.

We have found in our district striking differences in the realization of the corporate character of work in party primary organizations working in some identical areas and under similar conditions. The corporate character is formal in those places where they do not ensure the conditions for more effective and more active participation of the membership, do not provide

the information needed for decision in the subject under discussion, where the trust needed for activation is lacking, where opinions are not taken into consideration and where worthy answers are not given to observations made.

#### Without Formalism

In some places we found that in some questions the economic or social leaders working in some local or especially guiding organs infringed on the authority of the primary organization leadership bodies; they recognized but did not take into consideration their competency. We have succeeded in suppressing this phenomenon relatively quickly. It is more difficult and requires a longer time to take action against a formal treatment of the corporate character. In some cases subjects are brought before the membership meeting only for "approval" when it is no longer worthwhile to debate them or there is no way to do so. At other times and in other places so many questions get on the agenda, "by chance," that they go over many or all of them without debate due to the crowded schedule. But the demands of the party membership are increasingly suppressing these formal and bureaucratic aspects and discussions in terms of generalities, which are kept alive here and there simply for convenience.

We consider it important that communists in every party organization be able at all times to express their opinions in political questions; but they should also have a way to talk about their personal problems. A good atmosphere for debate can be held back by pompousness and excessive circumspection or by that fear which still lives in a few places and limits comments to those which are complete and well thought out without bringing up simple questions or doubts.

Our party committee feels that we should encourage the primary organizations to develop a free atmosphere for debate, unlimited political activity and exchange of opinions. The membership meetings do not and cannot satisfy this demand by themselves. They cannot do it because of the subject matter to which they are limited and they cannot do it because in many places the basic mood of the membership meeting is given by the better prepared comrades with more schooling to such an extent or in such a way that those less prepared refrain from bringing up even their important observations. So there is also need for other forums. We feel, for example, that living party groups are an ever more important arena for educating the party membership and for strengthening their contacts with one another.

Let us now look at the work of the leaderships. It is our experience that they are capable of local application of policy and organize its execution well. In general the primary organization leaderships working in our district are worthy of recognition.

But in practice the equality of the leadership members is far from being realized everywhere. They must work independently in their own narrower areas, they must carry out their special tasks, but in many places the conditions for this are lacking. In many party organizations only the secretary is active and the party members and workers turn only to him.

### Leaderships Which Work Well

Our secretaries and leadership members do much that is worthy of respect. There is increasing acceptance of the view and practice that the good secretary or good leadership member is not the one who works beyond his strength, rushing here and there, but rather he who is capable of organizing the work of the leadership and primary organization and activating the community. Naturally the members of the leadership are responsible for individual areas. But as an elected organ the leadership is also jointly responsible for fulfillment of all tasks of local party life, for working out joint decisions and for executing them.

Recently many young people were elected to the leaderships in our district and they know how to work well with the older, more experienced comrades.

The party leaderships offer significant help to the state and economic leaders in carrying out local political and economic tasks. They create favorable political conditions for production; by means of party supervision they participate in the evaluation of work. And in most places the economic leaders built on the action capability of the party leadership, their sober judgments and their ability to mobilize the masses.

The amalgamations and regroupings connected with work and operations organization have necessarily, but not always favorably, affected the worker collectives of several enterprises. Unavoidably this has been accompanied by many human problems. The leaderships of the primary organizations have offered aid, humanely and circumspectly, to their solution.

An experienced party worker recently made the following observation at one of our secretaries' conferences: The guiding and organizing work of the leadership has a great effect on the activity of the party membership. But the reverse is true also; the corporate work of the membership meetings influences to a large degree the activity of the leadership. And there is another interrelationship: Corporate, collective leadership is accompanied by single person responsibility. The body collectively designates the person responsible for execution and collectively asks for reports on and evaluates the work done. Collective leadership increases the feeling of personal responsibility of party members for the execution of decisions, for carrying out their party tasks.

The party primary organizations are political, militant organizations which organize in their own areas the realization of the party's policy; they are

really the recognized leaders of the workers in their areas. It is a condition for their moral and political prestige and for the further effectiveness of their work that they well define and carry out in a collective way the local tasks deriving from the policy of our party. Only in this way can the leading role of our party be realized in the front line of execution.

8984

CSO: 2500

MEETING ON TEACHING LANGUAGE, CULTURE TO HUNGARIANS ABROAD CONCLUDES

Mother Tongue Conference Concludes

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 14 Aug 77 p 11

[Text] The third mother tongue conference completed its work on Saturday.

Janos Gosztonyi, state secretary for education, at the concluding plenary session, summed up the achievements and experiences of the conference and indicated the guides which will serve a further development of the mother tongue movement.

Achievements

"The reports, speeches and comments at the 6-day conference provided a good balance of the 7-year history of the mother tongue movement. The third mother tongue conference was not only a worthy continuation of what had gone before but could also register a qualitative development of the movement. As was said at the conference, the effect of the conferences and of the entire mother tongue movement is indisputable; the period since the second conference especially, and the 7 years of the history of the movement as well, has had an effect on the diaspora and has roused men of good will. More and more have taken the road of an approach to and of lasting contacts with Hungary because they know that over the long run the preservation of our mother tongue and of Hungarian culture is not possible without the help of the mother country.

"Our horizons have broadened at this conference, our circle of themes has expanded. Folk art has assumed an outstanding role along with language. Principles for judging western Hungarian literature have been clarified further. Views in this area have come closer to one another too. We have learned many new things and we have learned of many new initiatives and achievements.

"For the first time representatives of the Hungarians in neighboring socialist countries have participated in the conference. We greet their presence among us with great pleasure. We consider their presence and participation in our work important for the future also. For our part we

will do everything that this should be so, all the more so since in addition to mutual acquaintance we can learn much from one another and can help one another in cultivating our common mother tongue and culture and without them the cultivation and development of the Hungarian mother tongue and culture is not complete, in the true sense of the word."

In conclusion the state secretary said that the third mother tongue conference had well served a further development of the mother tongue movement, the realization of common goals, and had aroused a large response in our homeland and we can trust, with conviction, that thanks to the selfless workers in the cultivation of the Hungarian language and culture it will find a response among Hungarians living in all parts of the world.

#### New Patrons

The new patrons of the mother tongue conference were elected at the last session of the one week conference, consisting half and half of domestic and foreign scientists, academicians, professors, writers, church dignitaries and other professionals, and leaders of foreign Hungarian associations. Lajos Lorincze became chairman of the body, which consists of about 50 people.

In conclusion, Zoltan Szabo, first secretary of the World Federation of Hungarians, thanked the conference participants for their successful work and they took leave of one another by singing the Himnusz.

#### Final Statement

According to the final statement issued on the third mother tongue conference the participants noted with pleasure that the great majority of the recommendations of the second mother tongue conference had been carried out. Three textbooks prepared with the cooperation of domestic and foreign experts are completed and there is a first draft of a fourth textbook. Methodological aids for teaching in school, out of school and at home have been prepared. The Balaton children's camps and the Sarospatak summer college, which receive foreigners, are working effectively and with ever increasing interest. Regular summer training at Debrecen for foreign Hungarian language teachers has begun and local further training for teachers has been organized in the United States.

Further training for folk dance and folk music teachers is progressing effectively and materials are being provided for folk dance and other art groups. The information journal under the patronage of the mother tongue conference is appearing under a new title, NYELVUNK ES KULTURANK, in a form more pleasing than earlier and with richer and higher quality content. Compilation of a series on "Ethnography for Everyone" and of a historical reader has begun. Preservation of the Hungarian language and the spreading of Hungarian culture have expanded and become ever more effective in foreign church institutions, associations and friendly circles of the Hungarian

language. Literary contacts have improved as have the possibilities for publication in journals in Hungary of Hungarian poets, writers and historians living in western and overseas countries.

In the final statement the participants in the conference expressed their appreciation for the effective work done in recent years by the patrons of the mother tongue conference, the patrons' work committee and the editorial committee of NYELVUNK ES KULTURANK and to all those persons in Hungary and abroad, the institutions in Hungary and the foreign associations, friendly circles and church organizations who aided with their active cooperation these achievements and it asked for their further support in carrying out the goals of the mother tongue movement.

The statement emphasized that the participants in the conference consider it important that further training and exchanges of experiences in Hungary and in regional relationships for foreign Hungarian language teachers, folk dance teachers, music teachers and club leaders become even more organized and well planned in the future. They also consider it necessary to strengthen further literary, artistic and scientific contacts. In the judgment of the participants in the conference it is important that cultivation of the Hungarian language and Hungarian culture be further strengthened in the family in the future. The family is a source which nourishes the realization of the goals of the mother tongue movement.

The final statement also noted that the participants in the conference should make efforts to see that in the future the mother tongue movement should deal more with teaching the Hungarian language to those who speak another language, in theoretical and practical respects alike. They recommended that the patrons of the mother tongue conference should strive to see that scientists of Hungarian origin working in foreign scientific institutions and institutions of higher learning should join even more actively in the work of the mother tongue movement.

In the final statement the participants in the conference also expressed the hope that the mother tongue movement should be a bridge linking Hungarians living at home and abroad. In the spirit of previous mother tongue conferences the common goal continues to call on every believer in the preservation of the Hungarian language and in the cultivation and spreading of Hungarian culture to contribute to the realization of the goals of the mother tongue movement with their advice and with their selfless everyday activity.

## Gathering Ourselves

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 14 Aug 77 p 11

[Article by Peter Ruffy]

[Excerpts] Three quotations depressed me and gave me hope in the hall of the Margit Kaffka Gimnazium in Buda where for several days I listened to the European and overseas Hungarian voices of the third mother tongue conference.

The first consisted of the last three lines of Vorosmarty's poem titled "The Homeless": "I carry the death of a people, scourged in my breast by the millions lost." The second was a single line from the poem by Tompa titled "To A Stork": "Our nation falls apart like a sheaf cut loose." The third was a sentence from a speech of my Translyvanian friend, the great Edgar Balogh, which I jotted down this spring when we visited the Hungarian inhabited areas of Slovakia: "The Slovak Hungarians are gathering themselves."

I would like now to expand on the third quotation and add to it that the entire people of the loose sheaf is gathering itself. This is an extremely difficult task requiring a most differentiated and patient endurance and a profound faith in the good cause but the efforts of the socialist homeland have reaped their first successes since the 1970 meeting in Debrecen. Many children of the western diaspora are now studying from domestic textbooks and at the third mother tongue conference there were representatives of the Hungarian nationalities in neighboring socialist countries and we are now examining and analyzing at a scientific level the crucial question, the problems and advantages of contemporary bilingualism for millions who have Hungarian as their mother tongue.

The mother tongue movement, saving the loose sheaf, was actually started by two village teachers from Szabolcs with the protective aid of Jozsef Karpati, then first secretary of the World Federation of Hungarians.

One was our wonderful Mihaly Vaci, a Kossuth Prize winner, the other was his one time student and former fellow teacher in Szabolcs, the university professor Karoly Nagy who lives in America. Karoly Nagy organized a weekend Hungarian school in New Brunswick, in the United States, prepared a survey of Hungarian schools in America and sent the results of his study to his former village teacher colleague. Mihaly Vaci published his epoch making article "The Loose Sheaf" in NEPSZABADSAG and the World Federation of Hungarians organized and convened the first mother tongue conference in Debrecen.

At the third mother tongue conference a Hungarian delegate from Belgium noted that the mother tongue movement and the help of the old homeland had aroused the entire diaspora and our gathering of ourselves is now of such magnitude that we are publishing textbooks for those outside, publishing a special journal and creating an organizational form for the gathering, the patrons of the mother tongue conferences, which consists of foreign and domestic scientists, linguists and university teachers and representatives of the churches.

I should note here some figures, facts and thoughts which did not fit into my daily reports on the sessions of the mother tongue conference.

Jozsef Bogнар, president of the World Federation of Hungarians, said on the first day that "according to circumspect estimates the number of those who speak Hungarian exceeds 15 million. Naturally the number of Hungarians is smaller than this; those of other nationalities also speak our language and, presumably, they also are interested in Hungarian culture." Our greatest concern in regard to the diaspora is saving and preserving the Hungarian language but at the same time we can be witnesses to another most interesting process; foreign speakers noted that there is an interest around the world, a growing interest, in learning the Hungarian language.

Arpad Berecz, a Hungarian Reformed Church pastor from Chicago, spoke about the "old" Hungarians in America. Many Hungarians have lived in the United States for more than 100 years and he knows not only second or third but even fifth generation Hungarians. He made a painful observation but also gave rise to a certain hope; according to his calculations 500,000 to 600,000 Hungarian children have been born in America in 100 years but only 10 percent of these have been able to retain their Hungarian mother tongue. But later, in these generations lost to the Hungarians there has awakened, strongly and in a unique way, an interest in their origin and in their lost or never learned mother tongue.

According to studies by Karoly Nagy, the Hungarian university professor in America, the Hungarian language is taught at the elementary and secondary level in 23 schools in the United States. At the same time there are 18 Polish elementary schools in Chicago alone. It is painful to write it but the other peoples preserve their nationality and mother tongue better than we. According to Canadian statistics on preservation of the mother tongue 84 percent of the Chinese, 75 percent of the Finns, 76 percent of the Ukrainians and 75 percent of the Indians preserve their mother tongue while only 55 percent of the Hungarians do so.

Karoly Nagy passionately studies, researches, analyzes and collects Hungarian textbooks and Hungarian literary readers which appear anywhere in the world. If we think about gathering and keeping together then the collection of Karoly Nagy is very thought provoking. We must reckon with great gaps. The general school textbooks in Hungary publish the works of Hungarian writers from Hungary. The textbooks of neighboring countries publish works by Hungarian writers there and from Hungary but not of a single Hungarian writer who writes and creates in Hungarian outside of these two countries. The Hungarian textbooks published in western countries reflect the past and with a few exceptions the works of living Hungarian writers from Hungary do not appear in these books.

And yet Hungarian literature, the greatest creation of this people, is one, indivisible and universal.

1. We cannot acquiesce in having a single Hungarian speaking person lose his mother tongue, wherever he lives. We must and we are doing everything possible so that this should not happen. This is one side of the question.

2. We must examine those enormous possibilities, peaceful and culturally mediatory possibilities which bring peoples together, which derive from the fact that in the second half of the 20th century hundreds of thousands of Hungarians, I might even say millions of Hungarians, know and speak at the level of a mother tongue other languages -- Czech, Slovak, Serbo-Croatian, Romanian, Russian, German, English, French, Spanish, Portuguese. This is the second side of the question.

3. Since no other country of Europe has so great a diaspora as we and since no other European nation has such large national minorities in other countries as we it follows from our international principles and from our Hungarian socialist nature that we should strive to solve our tragedy and our tensions in such a way as to serve peace, socialism and the brotherhood of man and not create contradictions among peoples. This is the third side of the question.

It is an extraordinary task. It is a new mission for the nation. It will provide an example to the world at large, a world pregnant with the problem of nationality.

#### U.S. Delegate to Conference Interviewed

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 14 Aug 77 p 11

[Interview with Denes Sinor U.S. delegate by Ildiko Heimann]

[Text] The largest center for Hungarian studies in the western world is in the Ural-Altaic faculty of Indiana University in the United States. The leading professor there, for the past 16 years, is Denes Sinor, an honorary doctor of Szeged University and one of the founding members of the mother tongue conference. For 15 years he was a teacher at Cambridge University and his book titled, "A History of Hungary," which appeared in English at that time is today the textbook for many thousands of American students. This book, which was received with pleasure in Hungary too, is now in the hands of university students in its fifth edition.

"Are you working on a new textbook with a Hungarian theme?"

"A 400-page book titled 'Modern Hungary' will appear this December with 30 articles from the NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY and I wrote the foreword. I am very grateful to the editors of the QUARTERLY for this selection for with the aid of this book thousands of American students will come closer to contemporary Hungarian reality."

"How does the Hungarian language fit into the value system at Indiana University?"

"As a language with full rights, like English, French and the other languages; a diploma earned in the Hungarian language is worth the same as these. If Hungarian parents teach their children Hungarian at home so that they come to the university speaking their mother tongue they can get one semester's credit and so can save one semester from their university studies."

"Is Hungarian history taught in other universities in the United States too?"

"It is, but usually as part of East European history. As far as I know we are the only ones teaching Hungarian history exclusively. Next semester I will be lecturing on 'Hungary in the 20th Century.' I will take Hungarian history backward in this century from the present."

Nine years ago Denes Sinor recommended in the columns of MAGNAR HIREK that a mother tongue movement should be created for the scattered Hungarians, noting that it was a shame to leave unexploited that moral and intellectual capital which the foreign Hungarians represented for Hungary.

"How do you view the present conference?"

"The earlier ones were a careful getting acquainted; this conference is real cooperation for the common goal."

"What is this common goal?"

"It is retaining the so-called scattered Hungarians living abroad for various reasons. Naturally only those who, whether they know Hungarian or not, represent the interests of Hungary. And there is only one Hungary, I emphasized this at the Debrecen conference too, and that is socialist Hungary."

"What problems do you see for cooperation, problems deriving from living in different social systems?"

"I see a problem in the lack of tolerance. It is characteristic of contemporary Hungary that the opinion of the individual is respected and there is no attempt at political indoctrination of Hungarians living abroad. All that is necessary now -- and there has been progress along this line too -- is for the Hungarians abroad to act in a similar way in regard to Hungary."

"In your opening speech you made a few critical observations in connection with the Hungary between the two world wars."

"Without doubt the development of Hungary into a socialist state is the crucial event of our history. But a country cannot be reborn completely anew. Many phenomena of everyday life are continuations of the past. Contemporary Hungary very correctly cultivates progressive traditions but there are also traditions which are not unambiguously progressive but which should not be rejected. It would be incorrect to portray in a bad light before Hungarians abroad, without reason, those accomplishments which can be evaluated positively but which may not be regarded as unambiguously progressive with contemporary eyes. There are progressive and reactionary traditions and ideas but the majority of human ideas and traditions are neutral."

"What is the chief thing to be done to retain the Hungarians abroad?"

"We must continue to avoid that which separates us and to emphasize that which binds all Hungarians together, contact with the mother country, with its past and its present. Development of Hungarian secondary schools in America would be very important; a new American law makes this possible. A federal law ensures bilingual education for every American child who does not have English as his mother tongue. The further support of the churches would be needed for this too."

"The Hungarian Constitution guarantees the free practice of religion. What is your opinion about this?"

"Present Hungarian government policy handles the feelings of many millions of people in a humane and realistic fashion. There are philosophical contradictions between religion and socialist thinking but it is also a recognized fact in Hungary that the two philosophies will live together for a long time yet. So the attempt which appears here and there abroad to exacerbate this problem among the scattered Hungarians is unjustified."

8984  
CSO: 2500

## HUNGARY

### ORF DISCUSSION ON NEUTRON BOMB

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 4 Aug 77 p 2

[Text] Vienna--Considering how emotional the Western media discussions have been about the neutron bomb, particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany, the ORF [Austrian Radio and Television] program "Club 2" late Tuesday night [2 August] presented an objective discussion on the subject. Under the brilliant direction of the Bonn ORF correspondent, Klaus Emmerich, one concrete argument followed another--presented by five experts, from the academic world, the press and the military and a representative of the Hungarian press.

With the understandable exception of the Hungarian participant, the rhetorical question posed by Emmerich, "Must we live with the neutron bomb?" was un-animously answered with "yes."

The basis of the discussion was summarized briefly by Gen Wilhelm Kuntner. He said that in the 2 years since Helsinki there had been a link of new weapon developments in both camps--from the "cruise missile" via the neutron bomb on the U.S. side to the "Backfire" long-range bomber on the Soviet side. The security conference simply had failed so far to yield any result, and the principle of security through detente had not fulfilled expectations. Now one weapon was taken out of this link of weapons--a process which DIE PRESSE editor Georg Possanner circumscribed as "neutron neurosis." It was important, according to Bonn journalist Wolfram von Raven, to clearly define this weapon, which, though an atomic weapon, had been designed for the battlefield in order to prevent the mass annihilation of civilians caused by the traditional tactical atomic weapons.

The NEPSZABADSAG foreign news chief, Janos Hajdu, pointed out that the Soviet Union was "obsessed with the need for negotiation" because for it the development of new weapons was twice as expensive as it was for the United States. Considering that such great contributions have been made to detente since Helsinki, why were SALT, MBFR and all that being destroyed by the U.S. President with unacceptable proposals and a new miracle weapon?

The reply was spontaneous: the key was the huge conventional capacity of aggression of the Soviet Union, which was much more conducive to war. In order to offset this, the--tactical--neutron bomb had been created, and this had reestablished the balance of strength.

What was not stated (out of politeness) was that whoever advocates an aggressive ideology is the potential aggressor. According to Lenin, detente, if required, is a means that may be used to attain world revolution. And as far as war is concerned, the Clausewitz thesis that war is a political instrument is considered valid in Moscow to this day.

8790

CSO: 3103

HUNGARY

KPOE SPOKESMAN COMMENTS ON NEUTRON BOMB DEBATE

Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 4 Aug 77 p 2

[Article by Otto Janecek: "To Live With the Neutron Bomb? No Hesitation on the Part of ORF [Austrian Radio and Television]!" ]

[Text] The debate about the neutron bomb in "Club 2" [ORF program] begins with an excellent film on the subject made by North German Radio and Television. It shows how a neutron bomb is launched. Its effect is illustrated in pictures: the bomb explodes in the air and, in comparison with the traditional atom bomb, destroys "only a comparatively small area, leaving the buildings outside the area intact to a large extent. Its radiation, however, extinguishes any kind of human life over a wide radius."

U.S. General Haig is shown. He claims that the new bomb "has been enthusiastically (!) welcomed by the NATO allies in Europe." Then a former deputy director of the CIA is interviewed. He is less enthusiastic. First, he does not think the military effect of the bomb is all that fantastic. Second, he points out that the bomb is "humane" only toward buildings. Third (and this agrees with statements by numerous West German experts, even military men like Count Baudissin), anything which made atomic war more probable was extremely dangerous. For the small atomic bang would inevitably lead to the big one. And it requires two to determine the boundary between a "tactical" and "strategic" atomic war.

But then things change suddenly. It is time for the debate. The most prominent participants: Mr Emmerich, the ORF correspondent in Bonn; a Mr Wolfram von Raven, former general of the FRG Armed Forces; Mr Possanner of DIE PRESSE; Austrian Armed Forces General Kuntner and Janos Hajdu, foreign political editor of NEPSZABADSAG. The Western gentlemen (including the Austrian "neutrals") are agreed that one simply must live with the neutron bomb. Emmerich: "We will not make the world better than it is...." (Hajdu interrupts: "We will so...") The neutron bomb simply was the result of a "dynamic technological development" which could not be met with "static means" any longer. (The implication: any efforts for disarmament or even limitation of the armaments race are only stupid attempts by "statically" thinking politicians.) The gentlemen then indulge in

sandbox games, admitting to each other that they belong to different "schools of thought" on what kind of course a third world war would take. Everyone is in his element--in talking shop. Strategic atom bomb with intercontinental missiles. Single warheads. Kill and overkill. Tactical atomic weapon. Fire and backfire. Neutron bomb. As I have said--very humane. People are no longer maimed and burned; only their central nervous system is destroyed by radiation. That looks much better in pictures. They can live on--a few hours, a few weeks, a few months--before they die. Again, a lively dispute between "schools of thought": Will that do or will that not do as far as an armored attack is concerned? Then there is yet another "school of thought"--detente. But this one does not mean much in this circle.

To live with the neutron bomb? The gentlemen present are almost all prepared to do so. They probably already have their country homes with neutron bomb-proof shelters. And toward private property, after all, the bomb is really very humane. General Kuntner: "If anything, the neutron bomb is the lesser evil." Thank you, General.

Quite a remarkable debate on the television of a neutral country which would inevitably be involved in an atomic war in central Europe. But in contrast with the anti-neutron bomb "propaganda" of the North German Radio and Television (which is duly disparaged), here the problem is approached with complete "objectivity" and "lack of bias." And that in the full conviction that one "can't do anything anyway" about the armaments race. The armaments race is opposed hereabouts only by two or three government politicians in Sunday addresses. The federal president. The federal chancellor. And Deputy Czernetz. This, in order that the government offices of the socialist countries may have something to file away by way of official Austrian opinion. In the largest Austrian media, it is a horse of quite a different color.

The Hungarian journalist Hajdu tries to approach the question politically. What did Carter really want if just now, when there were SALT talks, the Vienna MBFR talks and the negotiations in Belgrade, he was coming with his cruise missiles? And then with the neutron bomb? And then.... Hajdu: "I am also bothered when I hear shop talk about mass murder." He has come to the wrong address here. A nuclear physicist, demonstrating before the camera that scientific knowledge can easily go hand in hand with virtual political feeble-mindedness, bickers: "Well, invariably those who say "rather red than dead" are now also against the neutron bomb." Mr Vonach wants the red to be dead. Neutron bomb-dead.

And when the Hungarian colleague points out that the socialist countries are somewhat underrepresented at this debate, and that it might have been quite a good idea to invite a Soviet colleague who specializes in military affairs, he is slapped down by Mr Emmerich: "Mr Hajdu, we could have conducted this discussion just as easily without a colleague from the Eastern bloc....We can talk as we please on any subject in a free country; for that, we do not need the socialist countries at all."

Of course, that is what they always do anyway. The ORF as it lives and breathes. Objective through and through. Walking over corpses here.

## PARTICIPANT SCORES AUSTRIAN TV DEBATE ON NEUTRON BOMB

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Aug 77 pp 4-5

[Article by Janos Hajdu: "Lieber Tot, Als Rot," or the Story of a Vienna Television Debate]

[Text] The rhyming lines mean in Hungarian that it is better to be dead than red. Earlier, this invention of the political right was often recited in the reverse in German-speaking areas, and was designed to express that the type of "capitulating politicians" such as, let's say, Willy Brandt, Helmut Schmidt or Bruno Kreisky, who are believers in peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries, in reality throw themselves into the arms of the communists rather than accept heroic death. This then is the basic stupidity.

The one who this time took a stand on death's side, before the eyes of the entire Austrian public, is not a politician but a nuclear physicist. He is a fitting political disciple of, for example, Edward Teller, though--judging from a layman's point of view--a lot separates him from Teller in the matter of scientific qualifications. And the reason and opportunity for demonstrating this death-defying determination was provided by the fact that at the beginning of the week, on the program "Club 2" of the Austrian television, the conversation in the late night debate, for over 2 hours, was about the neutron bomb. The writer of these lines was among the participants invited to the debate, and, as such, also takes the liberty for expressing his subsequent opinion.

The debate's title still allowed one to guess that a broad spectrum of opinions would be heard, since my respected colleague and old-time acquaintance from Bonn, Klaus Emmerich, who was moderator, asked: "To live with the neutron bomb?" Frankly, I was very much surprised when, right at the debate's beginning, it became obvious that I was the only one in the company who does not like the idea. General Kuntner, director of the Austrian Military Academy, professed to be a complete believer in the new bomb, though he emphasized that at this time he is not declaring an official opinion. (Is it perhaps so officially also!?) Colleague Possanner,

editor of the Vienna DIE PRESSE, was seconding rather than watchfully criticizing the general, which was less surprising only because DIE PRESSE generally attacks and only rarely supports the policy of detente in the world.

The NATO correspondent in Brussels of one of the large papers in New York, while he let it be known that he expects a positive decision from his President in the neutron bomb matter--that is, the ordering of the production of the new weapon--was visibly rather happy about how much his European colleagues liked the idea.

The most trustworthy debating partner--I say this sincerely--was Mr Wolfram von Raven, one of the FRG's best known military specialists in journalism, earlier himself a professional top officer, who did not beat around the bush, did not speak about peace on the one hand and the necessity of the bomb on the other, but threw it into the eyes of the viewers and the debate partners: he considers all those things damaging which have happened in the last decade, trademarked with Kissinger's or Brandt's name, errors from the Western viewpoint. He finally sees "new" and "good" tendencies in American policy which are worthy of support. Mr von Raven also did the favor for the Austrian viewers of explaining with the Prussian pedantry of famed German predecessors that the neutron bomb is really a blessing, because it is much cleaner than the heretofore used dirty atom bomb. (For those who might not know, the neutron bomb kills essentially by means of radiation; its pressure and thermal effects are relatively low, and therefore it is famous for the fact that dropping it on Vienna, let's say, would leave the Burg and Stephanskirche undamaged; there just would not be any locals or tourists to enjoy their beauty.)

I am afraid the impression may already have been created in the mind of the Hungarian reader that the Austrian national television organized some kind of unheard-of militaristic parade. The thing is not that simple. Finally, in my modest person they have invited someone who is "rather red than dead." The fact is, I was able to elaborate on my views, and, once in a while, I was able to convince my partners that they should not flaunt the fact that they were well-informed about the bomb's details, but rather examine whether it could negatively influence Europe's elementary interests if, in the age of SALT, the Vienna disarmament conference and the results achieved in Helsinki, the American political leadership all of a sudden begins to bring diametrically opposing tendencies into effect.

The Austrian gentlemen were mostly saying that on the one hand they are in favor of peace, but on the other hand this bomb is a "necessary thing." Mr von Raven did not say that he would be in favor of the type of peace which appeared to be obtainable in recent years through compromises. He said that he is in favor of equipping each member of NATO with neutron bombs, because he sees the assurance of security in this.

Thus, by using my definition of words, I could say that only Mr von Raven is a fanatic militarist and immovable anticommunist, even in civilian

life an old-type high German officer. But honestly, I still would not be afraid for the Austrians and for Europe because of him, since he is indisputably in the minority, even in his own country. In this case, I considered the reasoning and behavior of the Austrian opponents to be dangerous. I will try to explain in Budapest also why.

Because it just won't do, and is laden with tremendous dangers, to make people believe that all these miracle weapons really do not affect the strategic order and power relationships of the two great powers, and thus the neutron bomb and the cruise missile are only small peripheral undertakings; there can still be SALT agreements because of this, if "the Russians seriously want it." (Whereas they also know that every one of their efforts for unilateral shift in the power relationship can only bring about a counter-reaction; that is, the arms race accelerates; this is how it has been thus far, and this is what it would cause in the future also, because the socialist countries cannot risk the security of their peoples for even one minute.)

And it just won't go over, even though a very respected general of a militarily neutral capitalist country does it in public, that the Soviet Union is classified as a potential aggressor. This is quite unacceptable particularly in Austria, for the independent national life, the present form of which indicates that the Austrians can be thankful that Soviet policy, always ready for discussions and rational compromises, already over 2 decades ago decided in favor of the Austrian national agreement in order to provide a concrete example of the possibilities of climbing out [sic] of the cold war. It was not because of Moscow that the organizing which began with the Austrian national agreement was not continued at the time, and, after 20 years, we are still only in the early stages of detente.

At one point in the program, when I happened to say that in this debate a Soviet military expert would also have been necessary, my friend Klaus Emmerich informed me in an elevated tone of voice that Austria is a free country, and they are not required to invite anyone from the Soviet bloc.

At any rate, I thanked him for inviting me, though I also wondered whether perhaps only an alibi was needed for something. But at this time I wish to repeat the thanks without the slightest intention of irony. Because I profess that it would be good if--let me mention it one more time--they would debate not with the intention of strengthening prejudices, but for the real need of forming public opinion. And the possibility of intelligent debate is our joint European achievement since Helsinki. This must also be worried about because of the neutron bomb!

By the way, everyone does himself a favor by learning the other's point of view well. Thus even in "free Austria" it is not worth organizing debates about such topics without us, because in the final analysis, it takes two to make a deal. They are uselessly saying there that the neutron bomb is good, if we say that it is bad. They are wasting time

thinking that they can force their cruise missiles upon us, if we say that these must also be discussed if we talk about stopping the arms race, disarmament or arms limitation.

It is a barometer of intentions--what type of intentions is unnecessary to even mention--that in Western Europe they are advertising the neutron bomb in many places. It is too bad that the Vienna television invited such a majority for this debate to begin with, which did the same thing. The national television of a neutral country--even if it is not always the government's mouthpiece--perhaps could keep itself somewhat to the line of the government's foreign policy obligations and efforts!

8584

CSO: 2500

POLAND

DEFENSE MINISTER JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES NEW OFFICERS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Aug 77 p 2 AU

[Speech by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Politburo member and minister of national defense, at the 28 August graduation ceremony at the higher signal officers school in Zegrze near Warsaw]

[Text] Comrades and citizens, newly promoted officers, soldiers: The promotion of officers is always an important event. The defense of people's Poland and the Polish Armed Forces are being enriched today because a new and dynamic group of officers is to reinforce our ranks and to enlarge our military family. This is why a solemn mood reigns at this higher signal officers school named after Col Boleslaw Kowalski, known during the war as "Ryszard." In other officers schools all the graduates about to be promoted to the rank of officers--all our young comrades in arms--are also experiencing this occasion with great emotion.

The fine act of promotion confirms the individual and common aim of life of the new officers, who relate it to Poland's security, identify it with the prospects of the cause of socialism and link it to the defense of the internationalist community. The new officers will now assume new soldierly duties of a new, higher quality.

This is because the profession of officer is a special profession, which consists of above-average requirements regarding attitude, character, knowledge, thinking, culture and comprehensive efficiency: you must be equal to these requirements, discharge your duties with honor and utilize the prospects laid out before you.

Comrade graduates, your jump-off positions are favorable. The effort of 4-year studies, the rhythm of military life, the regulated order and discipline of the school, sociopolitical and scientific activities, leadership and competition, cultural work and athletic activities--All this has enriched you immensely, has enabled you to acquire the status of commander-engineer, has helped crystallize your Marxist-Leninist convictions, has ennobled your intellects and has stimulated the development of qualities and habits peculiar to the officers of the Polish, socialist, modern army, in a word you have acquired sweeping military, technical and humanist-socialist horizons.

This initial capital should produce dividends in the practice of your work as commanders. You must pass the test of this practice, become steeled through it, amass experience and continue your ambitious development and creative improvement.

The work of commanders in peacetime consists primarily of training and educating--the two lines that are the basis of the ability to cope with the most severe test, which is the test of combat. This is the yardstick of your responsibility for the soldiers under your command, that is, for the young people who are the hope of our people and the present and the future of our motherland. Fire the patriotic spirit of these young people: teach them to think in terms of the state, the social interests and the socialist position; strengthen their confidence in the people's government and the PZPR; consolidate their ties with the working people, the workers class and the other young people; appreciate the achievements of our people and respect the selflessness of the generations whose struggles and toil have produced the Poland of today.

The state of discipline is the most important factor in evaluating the worth of every soldier and of the armed forces as a whole. You are most certainly aware of this, because communications and signals cannot exist at all without consistent, exacting and reliable discipline.

Young colleagues, as you see, discipline, a sense of duty, organization and good order must be of high standards in our armed forces at all times. This is primarily determined by every officer, who must be consistently exacting and principled, and by the entire regular cadre--by its exemplary discipline and loyalty in discharging its duties. You must assimilate these virtues as part and parcel of the mentality and manners of our profession as the necessary feature of military service.

You are joining regular service while new regulations of the Polish People's Armed Forces are being introduced. These new regulations constitute in fact an achievement of the entire cadre and a result of our common studies, consultations and experience, which means that we have devised effective, modern regulations. But you should bear in mind the soldierly truth that the best regulations are those that are observed. This is why you should at once commit yourselves to an energetic and painstaking study, implementation and observance of these regulations.

An army of a new type--the Polish People's Armed Forces--is characterized by the ideological and class unity of all soldiers--regular soldiers, national draftees, commanders, subordinates and old and young soldiers. In the final reckoning a soldier is a brother and a comrade in arms to another soldier. This is why we must strengthen at all times the socialist relations among men, the humanist norms of living side by side and an atmosphere of kindness, frankness and trust at every service, party and personal level.

This is what the ethics of our profession require, according to these ethics, we must take care of the good name of the armed forces, the dignity of the uniform and the officer's social authority. Our community expects of our soldiers, especially of our cadre, impeccable conduct--a sense of responsibility, integrity and culture. This is one of the fundamental conditions for genuine ties with the people.

Comrades and young colleagues, we are serving our people in order to defend them, but we are also always ready to face any social emergency. During the recent floods our soldiers have again done their duty in the frontline. In their fight against the elements our men--tough, effective and dedicated men --have merited social praise and have gained new proofs of esteem and sympathy for our armed forces.

"The Polish people are proud of their armed forces (...) which are capable of implementing every task entrusted to them by their socialist motherland..." This is what comrade Edward Gierek said. We regard this lofty evaluation as a pledge to make further efforts for the sake of Poland's defense.

We know that these efforts are absolutely necessary. The trends unfavorable to peace are becoming increasingly militant. Large-scale maneuvers have been held on the NATO training ground in unceasing succession. New dangerous and technologically sophisticated weapons systems are being announced. Ever new military doctrines and speculations continue to appear, and propaganda psychoses are being intensified.

The world of socialism wants to breathe peace, and we believe in the victory of this great worldwide cause. But we must be vigilant and combat-ready if we are to be equal to every situation. We have often experienced difficult moments and even whole years. We know that peace is not given as a gift. We remember what toil, effort and sacrifice have been necessary to insure that Poland has never sensed "a gathering storm" in the 4 decades since the war.

We must do everything so that this continues to be so forever. Our armed forces will discharge their duties in this spirit. We never were, are not and will never be alone in these efforts. The community of ideological motivations and the convergence of state interests vis-a-vis our socialist friends, our worthy place within the Warsaw Pact and, primarily, our friendship with the chief force of our alliance--with the country of the victorious October Socialist Revolution and with its mighty, fraternal army--represent a great historic achievement of people's Poland.

Efforts to deepen the internationalist unity of our parties and peoples, to strengthen the potential of the socialist states and to jointly promote defense constitute the most enduring guarantee of the effectiveness of peaceful activities, continued detente and reliable security. It is our wish that your soldierly generation make the greatest possible contribution to this cause in keeping with the fine traditions and present worth of the Polish People's Armed Forces.

Citizens and officers, command activities are the mainspring of combat operations, and communications are of cardinal importance in the system of command. Communications overcome the barriers of distance and govern and gear all the factors and elements of the combat and peacetime structure of the armed forces and are the necessary condition for the effective performance of the entire military body. This is why communications are the "nerves of the army," as the old saying goes. This saying expresses the scale of the tasks and responsibilities of signal units, whose working conditions are increasingly complicated. Radio waves are yet another area of modern war operations.

Your specialist weapons--signal equipment--are becoming increasingly better and complex. This creates new problems with increasing speed and expands handling and maintenance tasks, which can be implemented by enlightened and self-dependent people with precise minds and with high standards of technical and operational-tactical training. Such are your tasks, your development prospects and opportunities.

Comrades and citizens, on this promotion day I greet all the signal units of our armed forces and I pay tribute to their selfless service, initiative and effectiveness in overcoming difficulties.

I offer particular thanks to the command and the cadre of the higher signal officers school for effectively training this year's graduates, for efficiently educating the regular cadre and reserve officers and for taking care of the standards of this school.

I offer my thanks to parents for educating their sons as honest and conscientious citizens of people's Poland.

I offer my thanks to the party and state authorities of Warsaw and Warsaw region. To the departments of communications and to industrial plants and institutions for their sympathetic attitude toward our military problems.

I offer my thanks to the military institutions and schools with which this school cooperates to mutual advantage.

Young graduates, I congratulate you and wish you achievements in your service and in the course of your comprehensive development. I wish you much personal happiness.

May your youth, knowledge, enthusiasm and energy produce the best results for our motherland.

CSO: 2600

APPOINTMENTS TO JOINT COMMISSIONS ANNOUNCED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 52, 22 Jun 77 p 4

[Resolution of the Council of Ministers concerning the appointment of the representatives of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and their deputies, for the application of the Romanian-Soviet Hydrotechnical Agreement, on the joint Romanian-Soviet Commission for the Stinca-Costesti Hydrotechnical Station on the Prut River and on the joint Romanian-Hungarian Hydrotechnical Commission]

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolves:

Article 1--Comrade Nicolae Manescu, deputy chairman of the National Council of Water Resources, is appointed representative of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania for the application of the provisions of the Romanian-Soviet Hydrotechnical Agreement, concluded in 1952.

Appointed deputies to the representative of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania for the application of the Romanian-Soviet Hydrotechnical Agreement are comrades:

--Ion Teodorescu--chief state inspector in the National Council of Water Resources, and

--Gheorghe Ciocirlan--director of the Directorate of Prut Water Resources, under the National Council of Water Resources.

Article 2--Comrade Nicolae Manescu, deputy chairman of the National Council of Water Resources, is appointed chairman of the Romanian side on the joint Romanian-Soviet Commission for the Stinca-Costesti Hydrotechnical Station on the Prut River, replacing Comrade Nicolae Mantz.

Article 3--Comrade Ion Badea, deputy chairman of the National Council of Water Resources, is appointed representative for the Romanian side on the joint Romanian-Hungarian Hydrotechnical Commission.

Comrade Lucian Popovici, member of the National Council of Water Resources, is appointed alternate representative for the Romanian side on the joint Romanian-Hungarian Hydrotechnical Commission.

Article 4--Council of Ministers Resolution no 1385/1967 concerning the appointment of the representative of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and his deputies for the application of the Romanian-Soviet Hydrotechnical Agreement, concluded in 1952; article 2 of Council of Ministers Resolution no 604/1970 concerning approval of the Agreement between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian People's Republic for the settlement of hydrotechnical problems relating to the waters that form the frontier or are crossed by the frontier; and Council of Ministers Resolution no 1025/1970 concerning the appointment of Comrade Nicolae Mantz as representative of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania for the application of the provisions of the Romanian-Soviet Hydrotechnical Agreement, concluded in 1952, are superceded.

Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania  
Prime Minister, Manea Manescu  
Bucharest, 17 June 1977  
No 132

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

DECREE REGULATES RECOVERY OF STATE LOANS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 52, 22 Jun 77 p 3

[Decree of the Council of State with regard to the recovery or regularization of loans granted for the purpose of constructing or buying private residences]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--The recovery or regularization of loans granted by the state through the Savings and Loan Bank or the Investment Bank for the purpose of constructing or buying private residence, which have been taken over by the state on the basis of article 56 of Law no 4/1973 or the provisions of Council of State Decree no 223/1974, is to be carried out under the terms of the present decree.

Article 2--In the cases in which the state takes over the payment for private residences constructed or bought from the state housing supply with state support through the granting of loans, and these loans are not entirely repaid on the take-over date in the amount owed by the owner, established according to the legal provisions, the latter's debt to the Savings and Loan Bank will be covered on a priority basis, and any possible difference will be paid to the former owner.

Article 3--In a case in which the amount established as reimbursement does not cover the entire debt, as well as in the event that the state takes over a residence without paying, the amount remaining to be paid to the Savings and Loan Bank from loans for the construction of private residences will be covered by the budget of the executive committee of the county people's council or of the People's Council of Bucharest Municipality, which has taken over the residence.

If the amount remaining to be paid comes from loans granted for buying residences from the state housing supply, this will be deducted from the accounts of the Savings and Loan Bank, on the basis of a decision by the executive committee of the country people's council or of the People's Council of Bucharest Municipality.

Article 4--For the residences taken over as shared property, the recovery and respective regularization of loans will be carried out in proportion to each share.

Nicolae Ceausescu  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania  
Bucharest, 22 June 1977  
No 182

CSO: 2700

## SUPPORT FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION ARRANGEMENTS

Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian 14 Jul 77 pp 18-19

[Article by Ion Madosa]

[Text] Acknowledging the indivisible character of European security and "their common interest in promoting their and overall cooperation in Europe" the countries of CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe], in their outstanding document, the Final Act, confirmed the principle of objective interdependences which occur, on the scale of the entire continent, in the political, economic, and other areas. Generally speaking, this axiomatic truth is expressed by the statement -- which was repeatedly verified by events which took place in Europe -- that any harm to peace, security and detente in a particular European area jeopardizes the security of all the states of the continent. Inversely, one may equally firmly state that any measure to enhance trust and cooperation and to promote economic, technical-scientific or cultural cooperation on a bilateral, multilateral or all-European scale, directly helps to strengthen security in Europe.

In this context, subregional or zonal cooperation, established among independent and sovereign states, asserts itself as an integral part of the efforts to improve economic and political relations on the continent, as a concrete and very effective method for reinforcing peace and security in this area of the world. Its premises are equally objective and propitious, stemming from the need of states which are close in terms of geographical location and historical traditions to join their efforts for the purpose of solving problems or completing projects of common interest.

All this is especially true for the South-East European or Balkan area which also comprises Romania. In the old days this area was known as one of the seats of tension in Europe because of practices of discord promoted by the then dominant powers. During the last century and especially during the post-war years, significant steps were taken to create a climate of peace, understanding and cooperation and to develop multilateral cooperation among the states involved.

This cooperation is not directed against any country or group of countries. It conforms with the historical traditions and the common interests of peoples in the Balkan area and with their aspiration to achieve economic and social progress. In the context of the new climate in the area and the mutual efforts and endeavors, active peaceful coexistence and dynamic cooperation, to the benefit of all the parties involved, exist and develop in the Balkan area. Many bilateral agreements and the activity of bodies with ample traditions (which include the International Association for South-Eastern Studies and the Balkan Medical Union) have made it possible to expand commercial exchanges in the area, cooperation in prospecting and utilizing raw materials and other resources, the development of transportation, the extension of cultural exchanges, and, in general, of contacts among peoples on the peninsula. The continuous development of bilateral relations in the political, economic, and other areas undoubtedly creates favorable conditions for the expansion of multilateral cooperation in the area and for the joint completion of projects on a larger scale.

Romania's persistency in continuously working for the realization of an actual and effective system of security in Europe, a system which would result in the elimination of the current artificial division into opposite blocs and groupings, is also significantly reflected in the numerous proposals for the broad promotion of inter-Balkan cooperation and for the transformation of the peninsula into an area of peace, understanding, and neighborliness. At the Helsinki All-European Conference President Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out: "Romania consistently speaks up for the development of areas of understanding and neighborliness in Europe and, in this context, for the transformation of the Balkan area into an area of cooperation and peace, an integral part of European security."

Asserted as early as the sixth decade of our century, Romania's postwar initiatives on the Balkan area contain the 1957 and 1959 proposals for jointly taking measures to help to establish broad cooperation among the Balkan states and to turn the area into an area of peace and neighborliness, into an area free of nuclear weapons.

Speakers at the National RCP Conference held in July 1972 and at the Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee held from 28 February-2 March 1973 pointed out the relevance of a meeting of representatives of Balkan countries which would result in an agreement in the form of a declaration or accord on the basis of economic, political, and cultural-scientific cooperation. They also advocated the arrangement of a meeting of representatives of Balkan countries which would discuss the problem of turning the area into an area free of atomic weapons and military bases. These ideas and proposals were also reasserted in other documents of our party and state, in speeches of the head of the Romanian state and in documents signed with other

countries. They were consistently advocated within the framework of the United Nations and other international bodies and have aroused growing agreement among the countries in the area, in Europe, and the world.

Hence, the first inter-Balkan government meeting in the postwar years, held in Athens last year, was an expression of the spirit of cooperation established in the Balkan area, the outcome of the constant efforts made and initiatives taken in the course of years. Moreover, the importance of this conference, which focused on cooperation in the economic and technical areas, exceeded the strictly regional framework. As a matter of fact, it was the first multilateral meeting in Europe held in the spirit of and in accordance with the provisions of the Final Act, which speaks out for the ample and unhampered development, on a stable and mutually advantageous basis, of the exchanges of material and spiritual assets among all peoples and all areas of the continent. The conclusions and proposals at the meeting, with regard to expanding cooperation in major fields such as the economy, energy, transportation, telecommunications, the chemical industry, and so forth, provide constant sources of inspiration for the promotion of multilateral cooperation in the Balkan area. Therefore, Romania considers that it would be very important to ensure the organized continuity of the process of multilateral cooperation on the peninsula by convening another economic meeting of the Balkan states and by arranging periodical meetings in order to promote multilateral inter-Balkan cooperation. Of course, favorable factors in this process would involve the political settlement of the Greek-Turkish dispute on the Aegean Sea and the Cypriot issue, the major differences which continue to occur in the Balkan area. These requirements also apply to other areas of Europe, since it is known that the settlement of disputes and the establishment of neighborly relations help to promote cooperation among the states involved.

In conformance with the provisions of the document signed at Helsinki, zonal or subregional cooperation is meant to play an outstanding role in the area of promoting stable and broadly cooperative relations among European and Mediterranean countries, considering the historical, political, and cultural traditions of the peoples in this area and the close relation, in the context of world security, between security in Europe and security in the Mediterranean area. The Final Act and a number of reports of the UN Economic Commission for Europe point out the following areas which provide favorable conditions for broad, long-term cooperation: utilization of energy resources, wise management of raw materials and electric power, development of transportation and telecommunications, environmental protection, and so forth. As emphasized in the Final Act, some specialized UN bodies and primarily the UN ECE and UNESCO are called upon to play a major role in completing projects of common interest. That is why an agreement took shape according to which the secretaries of the two organizations should

be invited to attend the proceedings of the new All-European meeting in Belgrade.

The special significance of what was designated as the "Mediterranean dimension" stems, on the one hand, from the common concerns of the two areas regarding peace and security, and, on the other hand, from the promotion of the idea of cooperation by the states of this area, as a premise of ensuring their economic and social progress. By their initiatives to facilitate the building up of security and cooperation on our continent, the Mediterranean states which did not attend CSCE expressed their confidence that Europe's progress toward detente and cooperation will directly help to achieve security in the Mediterranean area and resolve the complex disputed issues in this area.

Romania, which is a state in the immediate proximity of the Mediterranean area, has greatly contributed to incorporating into the Final Act the provisions on the promotion of cooperation among the European states and the states adjacent to the Mediterranean area. In the same spirit, the Romanian delegation at the Belgrade preparatory meeting pointed out that the Mediterranean dimension of security and cooperation in Europe must naturally figure in the proceedings, both in terms of the essence of the topics which will be discussed and the contribution of the Mediterranean states which did not sign the final document.

The joint projects in other traditional areas of the continent are other facets of the contribution to ensure peace and security in Europe, through promoting cooperation and the exchanges of material and cultural assets on a regional scale. For instance, a more and more intensive cooperation is developing among the North-European countries in the area of the economy, the fight against the pollution of the North Sea, and the prevention of accidents in the oil shore platforms of the area. This year, several countries of the area reached agreement in principle on establishing a Permanent Secretariat to ensure cooperation in combating oil pollution in the North Sea. The problems of cooperation in the areas of the economy and energy are being regularly discussed in the Nordic Council, a consultative body created in 1953, which includes Finland, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. Recent outstanding measures include the creation of the Scandinavian Investment Bank by the countries involved.

Another traditional area of Europe in which cooperation has expanded in recent years involves the Baltic Sea area which includes states with different social and political systems. In this context, the International Diplomatic Conference held in Gdansk, in 1973, was a significant episode. The conference adopted the Convention on Fishing and the Preservation of Living Resources in the Baltic Sea, a document designed to block the process of

biological deterioration of the sea and help to preserve the fishes. An important project for expanding cooperation in the ecological area involved the Convention on the protection of the Baltic Sea against pollution, signed in March 1974. The convention will take effect upon its approval by all the states concerned. At high-level bilateral meetings, the countries of that region pointed out the need for joint undertakings, not only in the areas of the economy, shipping, and communications, but also in all the areas in which regional programs of activity can be worked out.

Similarly economic and ecological matters but also specific concerns generated by the distinctive physiognomy of the various zones of the continent resulted in the initiation of cooperation programs in the Adriatic area and in the other parts of Europe.

Of course, the development of this type of cooperation, on a sub-regional or zonal level, does not and cannot have a closed or limitative character. It develops against the broader background of European cooperation, which is still below existing potentials, in spite of the progress made in recent years. Therefore, as an important condition of the development of the exchange of material and spiritual values on our continent, it is necessary to place all European cooperation, hence also zonal cooperation, on new, genuinely democratic and stable foundations which would promote the economic and social progress of each individual country and of the entire continent. Romania maintains that in this spirit firm action must be taken to eliminate the artificial barriers and obstacles which still exist in the way of expanding exports to some Western countries, to remove any types of strings in connection with stepping up exchanges, to promote the open character of the cooperation which some interstate economic organizations or groups are developing, in other words, to develop a genuinely European free trade and free cooperation, among sovereign and equal countries. Membership in various organizations, economic groupings, and blocs, or differences in the social system must not be an obstacle to each country's right to expand direct cooperative relations with other states, with the bodies of some economic groupings and must not in any way prevent the implementation and full assertion in life, in all the areas of the continent, of all the principles incorporated into the Final Act.

The requirements of the realization of security and cooperation in Europe also necessitate the taking into consideration -- including the context of subregional cooperation -- of the specific interests of the developing countries and of the need for doing away with the economic discrepancies which continue to occur on the continent. Furthermore, the decisive impact of interstate political relations on cooperation in Europe is clear, as it is known that stable, long-term cooperation can be established only on genuinely normal relations in all areas of the continent. Moreover, the promotion of cooperation is also a practical step for enhancing trust and neighborliness and for establishing new, democratic relationships among European states.

It is very clear that intensive and stable cooperation in Europe, and, consequently, on the zonal level as well, cannot develop in the context of the arms race and of the existence of huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons on the territories of states in Europe and in other areas of the world. Hence, it is imperative to take immediate and effective measures for disarmament and for adding military detente to political detente. In this context, also taking into consideration the difficulties involved in solving the problems on a global level, appearing as very significant is the concern of Romania and of other European states with the creation of areas of peace and cooperation on our continent, with the nuclear powers taking up the obligation not to use nuclear weapons against the states in the areas involved.

As reflected in the above-mentioned proposals, Romania especially speaks up for turning the Balkan and Adriatic area into an area of peace, an area free of nuclear weapons and military bases. The joint adoption of such an initiative would enable peoples in this area to develop and promote mutually advantageous cooperation in the most diverse fields and to devote all their efforts to economic and social progress. It would also help to continuously strengthen European security.

The concerns with ensuring a durable foundation to bilateral and multilateral European cooperation, with stopping the armaments race, and with achieving overall disarmament, and in the first place nuclear disarmament, are also evident in other areas of the continent. For instance, justified interest was aroused by Poland's proposal for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, the proposal of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic for turning the Baltic area into an area free of nuclear weapons, the Kekonnen plan for the creation of a nuclear-free area in Northern Europe, and the proposal of non-aligned countries, reasserted at the Colombo summit conference and subsequently, for turning the Mediterranean into an area of peace and security. The Finnish government has updated its proposal for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe at the first stage of CSCE, pointing out that "it is high time for this idea to be examined in light of a new foundation, together with other proposals especially regarding similarly nuclear-free zones and, in general, the geographical limitation of armaments in Europe." Moreover, we must emphasize that the Northern countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden), although some are NATO members, are not nuclear powers and do not have nuclear weapons on their territories. The establishment of a nuclear-free zone which would involve the area concerned would actually mean the confirmation of the current situation and of the declared policy of the governments of the area which have proclaimed their intention not to have nuclear weapons in the future.

Romania's efforts to promote regional cooperation in the Balkan area and to create a zone of peace and cooperation on the peninsula and the support given to all the initiatives for the promotion of security and cooperation on the continent logically are components of the overall policy of our state, a policy consistently directed toward developing friendship and cooperation with all peoples and toward ensuring peace and cooperation in Europe and in the world, on the basis of democratic principles of international relationships. These efforts are based on the peaceful aspirations of our people, who are eager to ensure their economic and social progress while concurrently participating in the international exchange of material and spiritual assets and in the building up of a better and more righteous world.

11710  
CSO: 2700

END