

JPRS 70142

11 November 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1472

**Reproduced From
Best Available Copy**

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for Public Release
Distribution Unlimited

U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

20000329 103

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.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET	1. Report No.	JPRS 70142	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.																		
	4. Title and Subtitle			5. Report Date																		
TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1472			11 November 1977																			
7. Author(s)			6.																			
9. Performing Organization Name and Address			8. Performing Organization Repr. No.																			
Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.																			
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address			11. Contract/Grant No.																			
As above			13. Type of Report & Period Covered																			
15. Supplementary Notes			14.																			
16. Abstracts																						
<p>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.</p>																						
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors																						
<table border="0"> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs</td> <td>Propaganda</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania</td> <td>Political Science</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria</td> <td>Sociology</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia</td> <td>Military Organizations</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Hungary</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Romania</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany		<input type="checkbox"/> Hungary		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland		<input type="checkbox"/> Romania		<input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda																					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science																					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology																					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations																					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany																						
<input type="checkbox"/> Hungary																						
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland																						
<input type="checkbox"/> Romania																						
<input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia																						
17b. Identifiers Open-Ended Terms																						
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15																						
18. Availability Statement			19. Security Class (This Report)	21. No. of Pages																		
Unlimited Availability			UNCLASSIFIED	71																		
Sold by NTIS			20. Security Class (This Page)	22. Price																		
Springfield, Virginia 22151			UNCLASSIFIED																			

11 November 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1472

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Harassment of Catholics Described at Bishop's Conference
(Friedrich Meichsner; DIE WELT, 5 Oct 77)..... 1

Briefs

DKP Delegation Departs 3
Soviet Generals Address Conference 3
Bulgarian Ambassador in Prague 3
Deputy Premier Receives Generals 3

ALBANIA

British Marxist-Leninists' Condemnation of 'Third World' Theory
(BASHKIMI, 22 Oct 77)..... 4

BULGARIA

Unsatisfactory Training of Army Commanders Criticized
(Dincho Velez; ARMEYSKI PREGLED, No 9, 1977)..... 7

Distribution of Female Labor Force in Economy Examined
(Anna Kamenova; PROBLEMI NA TRUDA, No 6, 1977)..... 13

Exercise for Chemical Warfare Described
(Nikolay Kharitonov; ARMEYSKI PREGLED, No 9, 1977)... 26

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mlynar Speech in West Germany Criticized
(Miroslav Kubin; RUDE PRAVO, 22 Sep 77)..... 31

'TRIBUNA' Ridicules Mlynar's Activities in the West
(Josef Skutecsky; TRIBUNA, 5 Oct 77)..... 33

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Mlynar Interviewed at Paris Press Conference (NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 7 Oct 77).....	35
Daily Scores United States on Hijacking (Stanislav Oborsky; RUDE PRAVO, 25 Oct 77).....	37
Executed CPCZ Official Eulogized on Anniversary (Viliam Plevza; PRAVDA, 20 Sep 77).....	39

EAST GERMANY

GDR Testing New Border Weapons (Claus-Einar Langen; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 6 Aug 77)	43
--	----

POLAND

Werblan Discusses Problems of Theory of Developed Socialism (Andrzej Werblan; STUDIA SOCJOLOGICZNE, No 2, 1977)	46
--	----

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HARASSMENT OF CATHOLICS DESCRIBED AT BISHOP'S CONFERENCE

Bonn DIE WELT in German 5 Oct 77 p 7

[Article by Friedrich Meichsner: "A Bishop from the CSSR Complains about Prague's Chicanery"]

[Text] Rome--The problems of the Catholic Church within the communist realm were discussed in an exchange of experiences about the status of catechesis in the world. The annual meeting of members of the Bishops World Synod in the Vatican opened with this topic.

The bitterest complaint about the difficult situation of the Church came from Monsignor Gabris, the Apostolic Administrator of the Slovak diocese of Turcany. He pointed out that religious education in Czechoslovakia can take place only in state schools and moreover only one hour a week. Religious instruction of children in churches is forbidden. The state's authorities left the proposal by the Conference of Czechoslovak Bishops, that it be permitted again, unanswered.

Only children whose names are specifically submitted to the school in writing are permitted to take part in religious instruction which is given in schools under the supervision of state authorities. The pressure exerted by the schools on the parents results in a steady decrease of the number of children receiving religious instruction.

Preparation of children for their first communion ought to be incorporated into religious instruction because churches are not allowed to do it.

Cardinal Wojtyla, the Archbishop of Cracow, stressed in the name of Polish bishops the importance of catechesis not only as the problem of one country, but as a universal problem of the church in today's world where "anticatechesis" in various forms influences the minds of the people and primarily of the young. More than ever these conditions call for greater effort to be exerted on behalf of catechesis so that people, and especially those individuals who received baptism, can become real Christians.

In spite of the difficulties and the great lack of teaching materials, another prince of the Church, Bishop Stroba, spoke about a flowering of catechesis in his country. He attributed it to the fact that participation in catechesis

represents for young people a defense against those who deny that Christianity is an integral part of Polish culture; he pointed out further that many people in Poland view the Church as an institution which upholds human dignity and defends the fundamental human rights.

8664

CSO: 3103

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

DKP DELEGATION DEPARTS--The delegation of the German Communist Party [DKP], which was on visit to our republic at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee, left Prague today. The delegation was briefed about experiences gained in the implementation of the program set out by the 15th Party Congress, and about the activity of the controlling bodies of the party. The delegation of the German Communist Party was also briefed about the work of local party bodies in the West Bohemian Region and paid a visit to the CKD Prague Enterprise and toured the capital. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 21 Oct 77 LD]

SOVIET GENERALS ADDRESS CONFERENCE--A theoretical conference on the theme "the international significance of the CPSU's experience in insuring the defense of socialism" was held at the Bratislava K. Gottwald Military Political Academy on 20 October. The main report was delivered by the commander of the academy, Maj Gen J. Reindl. The conference was addressed also by Soviet army scientific workers Maj Gen V. F. Samolyenko and Col A. N. Kormiltsev. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Oct 77 p 2 AU]

BULGARIAN AMBASSADOR IN PRAGUE--Vaclav, Hula, federal deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, received in Prague today Bulgarian ambassador in Czechoslovakia Khristo Shanov. In the course of their conversation they discussed topical questions concerning bilateral economic relations and possibilities for further expansion and intensification. [Text] [Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 21 Oct 77 LD]

DEPUTY PREMIER RECEIVES GENERALS--CSSR Deputy Premier Rudolf Rohlicek received Lt Gen Jozef Turosik and Lt Gen Vladimir Yermakov, the plenipotentiaries of the CSSR and the USSR Governments for affairs concerning the stay of Soviet troops in the CSSR, in Prague on Wednesday. The meeting, which had a working character, was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 77 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400

ALBANIA

BRITISH MARXIST-LENINISTS' CONDEMNATION OF 'THIRD WORLD' THEORY

Tirana BASHKIMI in Alabanian 22 Oct 77 p 4

[ATA Article: "We Will Not March Together with The Bourgeoisie and the Imperialist--Statment of the (Marxist-Leninist) Communist Party of Britain"]

[Text] The (Marxist-Leninist) Communist Party of Britain recently published a statement entitled: "Britain in the World in 1977," which says that the party was founded on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the the Communist Manifesto is its first text and its goal is the crushing of the bourgeoisie and the taking of political power by the proletariat.

An appeal has been made to us in Britain, the statement says, to abandon our revolutionary duty and to join an alliance with our exploiting class, the bourgeoisie, to strengthen NATO and its economic weapon--the European Common Market--, including the European bourgeoisie, the neo-Nazis and the agents of the U.S. in Europe, in order to crush the aspirations of the working class for freedom, national independence, and revolution.

After speaking about the preparation of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and their followers for a new war, the statement emphasizes: the Communists oppose war, it is a crime against humanity. We have the obligation to bring about the revolution in order that war will be prevented. We must not take part in a crusade for capitalism. If the imperialist war is imposed upon us, we will turn it into civil war.

Speaking about the dangers threatening the people from imperialism and social-imperialism, the statement states that if you discuss whether the USSR or the U.S. is weaker then this inevitably results in an alliance with one or the other. For the working class, this is a betrayal, a denial of its revolutionary role and a revival of the Second International. It is treason if the working class does not turn the imperialist war into civil war.

In the statement it is stressed that the working class is told that it must join together with imperialism in its own country and with U.S. imperialism in order to defeat the imperialism of the USSR. This, the statement stresses, is a call to war and not to defense and, as a result, the world will be saved by the Third World.

Exposing the aggressive NATO pact as an instrument of U.S. imperialism and of its followers to crush the revolution, the statement reveals that British workers are now being asked to become mercenaries in a multi-national army under the command of the neo-Nazis, the U.S. imperialists, the Vichy traitors, and the Belgian generals who handed all of Belgium over to the Nazis. "European Unity" as a defense against attack, the statement says, is an invitation which is extended to the European working class and its "parties" to join with their bourgeoisie in economic and military blocs. The statement says that the European Common Market came into being as a result of the pressure of U.S. imperialism and its main function is to restore European capitalism and to stop the forward march of the proletariat. The Common Market is an effective policeman of the exploiting class in Britain, therefore, the "British working class," the statement stresses, must not only try to get out of the Common Market but must also come to the assistance of its brothers in Europe and try to destroy it.

In connection with the so-called Third World, the statement says that the origin of the term, Third World, is capitalist phraseology which was used for the first time in connection with the absurdity of "nonalignment" and that the theory of the so-called Third World is idealism and not Marxism.

For us, the statement says, there is only the world of the exploited and of the exploiter. This is the division and unity will take place only with the victory of the exploited over the exploiter. We in Britain have the national and international obligation to smash capitalism here and British imperialism abroad and, especially, to end the aggressive imperialist occupation of Ireland.

The statement says that the main enemy for the British working class is British capitalism and its destruction is the greatest contribution which the British working class can give to the international working class.

Condemning the imperialist war and the attempts to turn workers into soldiers of this war, the statement says: We communists must do everything we can to unite the working class against such a war and such a class murder. The only war which we are preparing is the war against capitalism, the perpetrator of all the wars of this epoch. Also, the statement says that the party must not shirk its duty to give crushing blow to the exploiting class of the country. We, it stresses, must make the revolution here where we live; we must know and defeat the internal enemy, our capitalists or otherwise we become simply politicians of the coffee houses and salons.

The statement goes on to say that the British working class will not march along with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists and that it will never become allied with the capitalists. "We will not march along with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists to divide the spoils in a "third war," the statement emphasizes.

"We must unite for revolution and peace, to cast out the warmongers, the rapacious imperialists in the U.S., the USSR, Britain, France, and everywhere else," the statement continues.

In conclusion the statement says that efforts are being made to remove the Marxist-Leninist parties from the revolutionary road, to make them relinquish the class struggle in their own country, in order to better defeat the foreign enemy. The statement concludes by saying that we will not and must not allow this to happen. The statement calls for the unity of the working class, for revolution, and for the establishment of socialism in Britain.

CSO: 2100

UNSATISFACTORY TRAINING OF ARMY COMMANDERS CRITICIZED

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 9, 1977 pp 3-8

[Article by Lt. Gen. Dincho Velev: "Modern Combat and Command Personnel Training"]

[Text] The training of commanders and staffs is of major importance to the successful solution of the complex problems of troop control in modern combat. "The modern leader," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress, "must organically combine party mindedness with profound competence, and discipline with initiative and a creative approach to the work. At the same time, whatever the sector, the leader must take into consideration socio-political and educational aspects. He must be attentive toward the people and their needs and requests, and be a model at work and in life."* These congress stipulations regarding cadres fully apply to the command personnel of the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army].

Modern combat is dynamic, decisive, and complex. No rehearsals are possible in war as a test for the elimination of errors, followed by the real battle. At war errors are paid for in blood. Shortcomings in the training of the command personnel are reflected in the implementation of the tasks by the unit. For this reason the question of their higher training is raised uncompromisingly.

The ideological training of commanders, the profound study and mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory and of the ideological legacy of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and of the historical experience of the CPSU and the BCP, and the clear understanding of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and 11th BCP Congress and of the tasks of the BNA in terms of the present international situation assume particular importance. The ability to defend the principles of communist ideology and socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, to assess on a scientific basis the new phenomena in social life and draw conclusions related to practical work are important.

*. "XXV Kongres na KPSS" [25th CPSU Congress], Sofia, 1976, p 98.

Communist convictions are the base of the moral-political and psychological training of commanders. They upgrade activeness and responsibility in training and upbringing and in strengthening the discipline and upgrading the combat readiness to the contemporary level. For this reason greater attention should be paid in the course of the training process to the moral upbringing of commanders so that they may formulate their own position and conscious attitude toward their public and military duty. The effectiveness of the theoretical training will depend on the comprehensive approach adopted in resolving the problems related to educating the educators. The more active and systematic is the ideological influence on the activities of commanders and on their way of life and the clearer the interconnection becomes among political, moral, military, legal, and esthetic education, the higher will be the results achieved in combat and political training.

Weaknesses in the training of commanders and in their command-organizational work, personal discipline, activeness, and feeling of responsibility are symptoms of gaps in their Marxist-Leninist training and ideological-educational work. An officer can not be excellent in Marxist-Leninist training or an ideologically trained commander yet display low discipline and fail actively to participate in the training process, allow conventions in the training process, or tolerate satisfactory results.

The best commanders are characterized by their communist convictions and high moral qualities and virtues. Lieutenant Petrov is strict and exacting toward himself and his subordinates. He is never satisfied with achievements. He knows his subordinates and their problems and joys. He is concerned for them. They respect and love him with the type of soldier's love which is long remembered and leaves life-time traces in the behavior of the people.

The commanding personnel join the units after graduating from military schools or academies with rich theoretical knowledge and a certain methodical experience. However, modern combat calls for the steady upgrading of commanders' training, regardless of their theoretical knowledge and practical experience.

Planning the training of the command personnel we must take into consideration the level of training of the different categories and the nature of the assignments for the school year. The class topics must be chosen in such a way that the commanders must firmly master their functional duties in controlling the units in modern combat, make skillful and effective use of the combat equipment and armaments, and organize and carry out the military education process qualitatively.

Some officers believe that attending command training classes removes them from the personnel training process. The commander has the duty to train his subordinates. However, the topics he teaches enable the troops to carry out their functional duties but not his own. A commander who does not add to his knowledge would be unable to meet the requirements of modern combat.

Lieutenant Grigorov had not attended command training classes. At the tactical exercise, however, his superior described him as a "very good commander." As the battle was being organized it became apparent that he was unable to understand some of the new means of action and has lost his ability to work under field conditions. Despite a great deal of talk the trainees did not understand how to wage the battle. In the course of the combat Lieutenant Grigorov displayed his inability to use some of the facilities. He did not assign specific and precise tasks. He compensated his lack of knowledge with a great deal of ineffective talk.

Several days later the same officer was teaching a class on fire practice. The exercise was successful but he showed his inability to resolve fire control problems, presenting them simplistically and failing to use control instruments. The crews manned the tanks, issued orders, and obeyed orders. However, the quality and effectiveness of the exercise were low and the objectives could not be attained. Lieutenant Grigorov showed unsatisfactory results at the control fire practice while the troops carried out the exercise with a number of conventional stipulations and shortcomings.

"He had not prepared for the exercise!" said his superior.

"True," I answered. "But you too failed to prepare him."

The various types of commanding personnel training do not decide but supplement the all-round training of the officers. In some places some superiors emphasize forms of training which raise theoretical knowledge. With them even field exercises are conducted as though they were in a classroom. At the site they explain the task and provide an assessment of the circumstances according to the map leaving one to ask himself: "Why do they go out when all this could be accomplished in the classroom?" This training method has led to the point that initially everything related to troop exercises was very good: reports, conclusions, and suggestions. Yet, a number of shortcomings occurred in the units' operations. In some areas no passages were made through mine fields and, wherever such passages were made, they did not follow the directions of the units' actions. No specifications were given as to who would destroy the enemy's fire power, when, and how, and so on. All this indicated shortcomings in the officers' field training. Furthermore, at that same exercise the subunits of the various branches acted independently. They were unaware of whose actions they were supporting. Nor did tanks of unit commanders seek their help.

The circumstances in another unit are entirely different. Here particular attention is being paid to the independent training of the officers. Lectures, seminars, conferences, and discussions are being successfully guided by the commander who has mastered profoundly problems of Marxist-Leninist, tactical, and other training and has developed a uniform understanding of how to resolve problems. Two subunit commanders in the unit, lieutenants Ivanov and Dimitrov, used on the training grounds a variety of methods to capture the enemy's stronghold. Both displayed a creative attitude and their actions were successful. At fire practice training both officers achieved excellent results.

At the end of the school day, for one and a half hours the two officers practiced with their troops some of the problems to be covered the following day. The first question was "deployment and attack." Lieutenant Dimitrov covered the matter four times so that the troops could master the means for fire support and for the platoon crossing a mine field: first in a single line, followed by the right platoon and the left, and so on. At the firing range Lieutenant Georgiev was completing preparations when one of his subordinate officers said: "All this is fine but the mechanic-driver will remain idle as we practice!" Further efforts were made to improve command and methodical training.

To train means to educate as well. In the course of the preparatory fire of Lieutenant Atanasov's subunit, the commander watched the range clock and clocked the time. The norm was met but the lieutenant's range clock showed that the time period had not been observed. His superior's conclusion reassured him and he recorded the superior's time. Other violations and over simplifications were made as well. It would be useless to pinpoint the blame. Yet, such training and education would cost dearly in times of war. In this case not only did the superior officer give the bad example and fail to display strictness, but he failed to develop communist virtues in the troops as well.

Within the guidance and control system some superiors fail to pay the necessary attention to the training of subunit commanders. At meetings they allow their subordinates to prepare and hold part of the classes yet, at the end, they join them in criticizing, pointing out shortcomings, and issuing instructions. "We have a great deal of work and many assignments," they frequently exclaim.

In our view battalion and company commanders who, in addition to teaching the officers, at least once a week work individually through different methods to upgrade their own Marxist-Leninist, command, and methodical training act properly. Frequently the preparedness of the subunit is determined by that of the commander. The commander must master the means of action of the subunit and of the next higher unit. He must possess the knowledge and practical skills of guiding and controlling the various types of combat, use assigned and support means, combat equipment, and armaments. He must be familiar with the enemy's organization, means of action, armaments, and combat materiel, and so on.

With every passing day the "time" problem is becoming an ever more decisive factor in commanders' training. This is natural, for under present conditions the time factor is becoming steadily more important. Commanders who frequently study their own time and use it rationally act properly. Lieutenant Nikolov waited for two hours after lunch for a conference to begin. He spent nearly two hours at the conference where no mention was made of his work and turned up unprepared for the following day's classes. In the morning, at the beginning of the first class, it turned out that there were no travel cards and the combat training vehicles could not leave the motor

pool. The moment the matter was straightened out he was summoned to the fixtures department, after which he decided to draw up a plan for the next classes, and thus the day went. He attended the method class taught by the commanding officer as an observer.

Nearly every day Lieutenant Tsenov instructs and teaches classes to his subordinate command personnel. He allocates assignments among them in advance. He not only believes in but trusts his subordinates.

Master Sergeant Ivanov organized and properly taught a class on drill training. During the break he directed the attention of the assistant platoon commanders to the errors made. Personnel neatness is almost never a problem in the company. One may be able to go through the ear of a needle but it is almost impossible to pass by the master sergeant without being neat. In fire practice the master sergeant not only reviewed and prepared the training facilities and training combat equipment but personally showed high results. Whenever officers are in training the company master sergeant trains the tank commanders. The master sergeant of Lieutenant Nikolov's company has long years of service. However, to him a tank remains something unknown. At morning reviews he "fails to see" shortcomings in the neatness of his subordinates. He is neither exacting nor does he engage in self education. Whereas every day Lieutenant Tsenov determines the place and roll of his subordinates and commanders for the following day's classes, adamantly preparing them to resolve problems on a high quality basis and analyzes their activities and earmarks the necessary measures to improve their training at the end of the week, Lieutenant Nikolov does not mention the training of subordinate commanders or their participation in the training process either in class or in reviews. Furthermore, the lateness or unexcused absence from class of commanders have become normal phenomena.

The company was going to the firing range. The lieutenant ran ahead to procure a motor vehicle, bullets, shells, and other objects. The company arrived on time but the practice could not begin even two hours later. One of the platoon commanders arrived 30 minutes before the beginning of the practice. The company master sergeant did not even go to the firing range, being occupied by "urgent personal problems."

Consequently, the question of finding time for commanders' training depends on themselves. Conducting training under conditions resembling modern combat and achieving the training objectives represent not only a source of time-saving but a means for the commanders' education.

The quality of officers' training classes depends on the training of their superiors. Every commander, preparing for a class, must discover something new in combat tactics and means, in the use of combat materiel and of new combat facilities, as well as novelties in the training method and means. In the training of officers the instructor must clearly formulate the targets of each class, increase the knowledge and upgrade the commanders' preparedness in controlling their subunits, broaden their methodical preparedness, and improve their practical skills. It is wrong to believe

that practical skills are developed only in fire practice and control. The development and improvement of skills for commanding (controlling) subunits under complex conditions and under circumstances resembling modern combat, is an important yet very difficult activity.

Upgrading the all-round training of commanders will insure the higher quality and effectiveness of the training of subunits, their ideological and Marxist-Leninist training, the strengthening of discipline and upgrading combat readiness and combat capability.

The officers' training does not take place as a special separate stage. It is a strictly formulated system implemented uninterruptedly. Should a subunit be engaged in the implementation of some special assignments they may not be able to participate in the regular training process. However, neither personnel drill training nor commanders' training must be stopped.

In order for the officers' training to be purposeful, effective, and qualitative every senior commander must determine on a differentiated basis the training level reached at a given stage (what is needed--tactical, technical, or methodical training or improvement of practical skills) and determine the type of exercises and when to be held. Establishing the best possible methods for officers' training will upgrade their command-methodical training, increase the number of socialist competition winners, and train highly skilled and valorous commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army, loyal to their people.

5003

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE LABOR FORCE IN ECONOMY EXAMINED

Sofia PROBLEMI NA TRUDA in Bulgarian No 6, 1977 pp 36-46

[Article by Anna Kamenova: "The Socio-economic Problems of Female Labor Resources"]

[Text] Being the potential and active manpower of the socialist society, the labor resources go through three reproduction stages: production (forming), distribution, and consumption (utilization). As a structural part of the labor resources, the female labor resources obey these common laws. However, physiological sex differences and historical conditions have predetermined certain characteristics as well.

As we know, population is the basis for the forming of labor resources. Its age structure determines the size and age composition of manpower resources while sex determines their sexual structure.

For almost 100 years since our liberation from Turkish slavery the sex structure of the population in our country has been on the level of an approximately equal breakdown between the two sexes, with minor fluctuations.

According to Professor Zdravko Sugarev¹ "differences between the sexes are within the limits of possible errors and could not be interpreted as a pattern." He believes that the likely more significant higher number of men in the past was due to more frequent omission of women in census taking, while the total equalization of the percentages of the sexes in recent years is a result of the improved quality of statistical observations.

What is more important to us is the fact that the data indicate an even breakdown of the population by sex. Women account for 50 percent of the entire population.

Table 1 shows changes in population size and sex structure.

Table 1

Population Structure by Sex Based on Census Data

(1) Година	2) Население — брой		5) Съотношение		(6) Жени на 1000 мъже
	3) мъже	4) жени	3) мъже	4) жени	
1887	1605389	1548986	50,9	49,1	965
1892	1690626	1620087	50,1	49,9	958
1900	1909557	1834716	51,0	49,0	961
1905	2057092	1978483	51,0	49,0	962
1910	2206655	2130828	50,9	49,1	966
1920	2420784	2426187	49,9	50,1	1002
1926	2743025	2735716	50,1	49,9	997
1934	3053893	3024046	50,2	49,8	996
1946	3516774	3512575	50,0	50,0	999
1956	3799356	3814353	49,9	50,1	1004
1965	4113699	4113699	50,0	50,0	1000
1975	4356826	4372894	49,9	50,1	1004

Key:

1. Year
2. Population-size
3. Men
4. Women
5. Ratio
6. Women per 1,000 Men

In almost all human societies the number of women is either equal to or slightly higher than that of the men. That is why the social liberation of the woman, and the availability of conditions for her development and assertion as an equal member of society and as a creator in all fields of human activities is one of the greatest accomplishments of the socialist revolution in our country.

This article will study and provide an assessment of some processes and problems related to the reproduction (in the broad meaning of the term) of female labor resources.

Female labor resources are an important share of the structure of the national labor resources nearly equal to that of the men. Their lower share in the overall size of labor resources is due to the upper age limit of the women for purposes of retirement compared with the men. For the period under consideration women accounted for about 48 percent of the labor resources. As a structural component of labor resources, which are the main productive force of society, along with the men women are the producers of material and spiritual goods.

The differences between the male and female labor force are predetermined by the differences in the physical capabilities of the male and female bodies. Furthermore, as K. Marx pointed out, even though natural forces

play a substantial role in the initial stages of development of human society, gradually, with the development of production forces, social forces assume an ever greater importance.

The differences which have developed in the spiritual qualities of men and women are largely the result of the different social conditions governing their life and work. Objectively, the main difference in the possibilities of female and male labor resources is physical and physiological. Consequently, any able-bodied woman can do a specific socially necessary work in accordance with her physiological characteristics. Heavy (physical and harmful) work is not for women, for it adversely affects her organism and maternity functions. K. Marx classified as work not to be done by women not only heavy work but work incompatible with morality.²

In the course of the functioning of female labor the maternity function acts as a limitation also in terms of the amount of female labor to be performed, i.e., in terms of time. Interruptions in the work for purposes of giving birth to children are needed, whatever the production method. However, the possibilities for society taking such interruptions into consideration depend on the level of production forces and nature of production relations.

The development of science and the modern way of life brought about a demographic revolution. A new human society with new social relations is being created. The longer life span, great decline in infant mortality, and control and limitation of the birth rate are three new elements included in social life and in its basic cell--the family. Whereas this demographic revolution has an overall effect on mankind, it has particular consequences for its female half. In fact, the reduction of infant mortality makes possible to establish internal family control over the number of births and could be considered as equal to an increase in the birth rate. On the other hand, birth control and a lowering of the number of children in the family considerably shorten the period of activities related to "motherhood." After World War Two the trend in all countries has been that the woman gives birth to her last child before the age of 30. The data show that the same trend exists in our country. In the past 15 years alone (1961-1975) the percentage of children born to mothers under 30 rose from 81.8 to 88.4 percent.

Under such circumstances and with the mandatory universal education and pre-school training of children, which accounts for the bulk of their time, at the age of 35 a woman no longer has to take care of small children and is at the disposal of society. Bearing in mind that the women's average life span is longer than that of the men, at the age of 35, i.e., in the post-motherhood period, the remaining life span of a woman is either equal to or longer than the first period. If motherhood begins at the age of 18 and ends at 35, it means that its maximal period is 17 years, with 20-25 years remaining for a period of labor activeness. Under the conditions of rapidly developing scientific and technical progress and manpower shortages, such a drastic demarkation between the two periods would be undesirable.

Society can not develop without the active and full participation of women in the labor process, while the education and professional training acquired by the girls become rapidly obsolete. Obviously, the best results should be sought in a combination of the two functions.

The specific characteristics of the female labor force (from the physiological and social viewpoints) also require a specific approach to establishing the proper systems for its reproduction.

The mass entry of women into public production creates a number of new problems. In order for their work effectiveness to increase they must steadily upgrade their training and skills. However, this calls for the active assistance of society enabling them to perform their other functions--raising children and doing household work.

The policy of the party and the state toward women gives priority to the task of "particularly stimulating and enhancing its role as a mother," followed by offering extensive "possibilities for the full manifestation of her talents, taking into consideration her specific characteristics and the burden of motherhood."³

Our country's economic and social conditions have resulted in the extensive participation of women in a large number of sectors, activities, and production processes, reaching a high level of employment of the female population in the public economy. The level of employment of female labor resources has been rising steadily, reaching 78 percent in 1974. Also rising is the percentage of women in the overall number of employed people in the national economy as a whole and in the individual sectors. For example, in 1961 women accounted for 39.6 percent of the entire labor force, reaching 47 percent in 1975. Within the same period the percentage of women in the overall number of individuals employed in material production sectors changed from 38.4 to 43.9 percent and in non-material production sectors, respectively, from 48 to 62.8 percent.⁴

The number of women workers and employees rose particularly rapidly. Thus, whereas in 1960 a total of 631,686 women were employed in the various economic sectors and activities (excluding TKZS), their number reached 1,091,610 in 1966, and 1,744,307 in 1975. In other words, over the entire period under consideration it rose by 1,112,621. On 1 August 1975 46.5 percent of the workers and employees and 43 percent of workers alone were women.

A breakdown of sectors based on the percentage of women in the overall number of workers and employees indicates that 5 out of 15 sectors employ a large number of women while in 5 others the percentage of men and women is approximately equal. In the third group of sectors women account for less than 45 percent of the work force, their lowest percentage being in construction and transportation. Labor conditions in these sectors remain difficult and inconsistent with the specific characteristics of the female body. Nevertheless, they have been categorized by a high increase in the

percentage of women in recent years. Between 1960 and 1975 the share of women in the overall number of workers and employees in these sectors rose as follows: construction, from 7.2 percent to 17.1 percent; transportation, from 8.1 to 17 percent; of workers alone, respectively, from 2.8 percent to 8.5 percent, and from 5.0 percent to 13.1 percent.

The participation of women in our leading economic sector--industry--deserves a more specific study. In 1975 it employed 36.2 percent of all women workers and employees and 48.6 percent of women workers. The share of women in this sector has risen in recent years. Thus, whereas in 1960 the share of women in its overall number of workers and employees was 36.3 percent and 38.1 percent of the total number of workers, in 1975 the respective figures were 47.8 and 48.8 percent. This process is manifested not only in the achieved higher percentage of employed women but in the great increase of the female labor force in industrial sectors previously considered traditionally male such as electric and thermal power production, fuel industry, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, machine building, metal processing, construction materials industry, timber extraction and processing, and glassware and porcelain industry.

The share of the female labor force is quite high in the textile, clothing, leather, shoe, and printing industries. The feminization process has been higher for the "workers" category compared with the "employees" category.

The excessive feminization of certain production facilities and activities should not be considered a positive phenomenon. It is true that the specific characteristics of the female labor force forbid or restrict its participation in a number of types of production with labor conditions considered harmful or unsuitable to the woman's body, predetermining her predominant participation in others. The natural division of labor which developed on a purely physiological basis, i.e., "on the basis of sex and age differences"⁵ is the reason for the extensive use of one or the other sex in certain types of work.

Furthermore, despite the nearly comprehensive advancement of scientific and technical progress and the great decline in heavy manual labor, a number of types of work remain unsuitable for women. Some professions are forbidden to women because of the particular threat to their childbearing ability; others, requiring great physical strength and endurance, are equally not exercised by women. However, the division of the work into "male" and "female" is not always sufficiently substantiated and expedient.

The study of the structure of positions by sex (on 1 August 1973) shows that 90 percent of the servicing personnel--servicing personnel in health institutions--are women. Observations and studies have indicated that because of the women's lower qualification they are used in more monotonous and simple positions involving a greater amount of manual work.

Most feminized are professions whose labor has the elements of household work or is similar to the functions performed by women as mothers and educators of their children. Thus, in professions involving highly skilled mental work women almost entirely dominate the skills of kindergarten teachers, teachers in primary and secondary schools, and educators.

Entirely feminized in the workers professions are those usually considered as traditionally feminine such as embroiderers--99.7 percent; silk spinners, 99.4 percent; textile industry weavers, 98.5 percent; knitters, 96 percent; seamstresses, operating mainly mechanically powered machines, 95.2 percent; many other skills in the textile production area such as bobbin winders and liners, 99.7 percent; threaders, 97.4 percent; winders, rewinders, and braiders, 90.9 percent; twistors, 99.3 percent; spinners 96.9 percent; spool makers, 96.7 percent, and others; confectionery and candy makers, and so on, 99.4 percent. It is entirely obvious that many of the elements of activities performed by women in the recent past at home such as spinning, weaving, embroidering, sewing, knitting, and so on are found in these skills. We see a retention of the old division of labor in the family even though transferred to machine production conditions and under social forms of production organization.

We note a rapid femiaizing of professions in medium skilled mental work covering mainly economic administration. Thus, women account for 95.8 percent of bookkeepers, file clerks, billing clerks, and cashiers; 92.2 percent of the statisticians, report clerks, operators, controllers, and others; 91.9 percent of secretaries, bookkeepers, typists, file clerks, and others; and 92.4 percent of telephone operators, telegraph operators, teletypists, and others. Obviously, these are skills in which the creative element in labor is limited. This type of skills but with a more creative nature of the work are fieldshers, midwives, nurses, and other secondary medical personnel in which women account for 89.5 percent of the total number; they account for 89.0 percent of librarians and library workers, and 91.3 percent of the laboratory technicians.

Gradually, such an established division of labor between men and women will be surmounted under the influence of scientific and technical progress and the scientific and technical revolution. For the time being the percentage of heavy and manual labor performed by women remains rather high. For example, on 1 August 1974 50.4 percent of workers in industry, a large percentage of whom are women, were engaged in strictly manual labor; 17 percent operated machines manually and only 2.5 percent used automatic machines or automatized machine units and mechanisms. The situation in highly feminized sectors is not substantially different from the general situation in industry as shown in Table 2.

The study of the feminized professions by level of labor mechanization indicates that the work of the predominant share of the workers is either manual or machine-manual. The work of the following is either entirely manual or machine-manual: bobbin rollers, liners, threaders, winders, reelers, lead threaders, rewinders, braiders in the textile industry, knitters, spinners, sweetsmakers, master of sweetsmakers, candy makers, silk spinners and spool makers.

Table 2

Workers in Some Industrial Sectors on 1 August 1974
by Level of Labor Mechanization

(1) Отрасли	(2) Всичко	(3) От тях работещи					(8) ръчно по ремонта и монтажа на машините и механизмите
		(4) на автоматни, автоматизиран агрегати и механизми	(5) с помощта на машини и механизми	(6) при машини ръчно	(7) ръчно		
(9) Промисленост — общо	100,0	2,5	27,5	17,0	50,4	2,6	
(10) Текстилна промишленост	100,0	7,5	23,2	32,5	36,0	0,8	
(11) Шивашка промишленост	100,0	0,6	49,5	4,3	45,0	0,6	
(12) Кожаро-кожухарска и обувна промишленост	100,0	0,6	19,2	4,5	75,1	0,6	
(13) Полиграфическа промишленост	100,0	0,2	7,7	38,1	53,6	0,4	

Key:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Sector | 8. Manually in repairing and installing machines and mechanisms |
| 2. Total | 9. Industry--total |
| 3. Of these operating | 10. Textile industry |
| 4. Automatic machines or automated machine units and mechanisms | 11. Clothing industry |
| 5. With the help of machines and mechanisms | 12. Leather-fur and Shoe Industry |
| 6. With machines, manually | 13. Printing industry |
| 7. Manually | |

The highest level of mechanization is in the work of textile industry weavers: 37.4 percent use automatic machines or automated machine units and mechanisms and 62.2 percent are assisted by machines and mechanisms. Machines and mechanisms are used by 37.7 percent of embroiderers while 62.5 percent of them do manual work.

Both in Bulgaria and the other socialist countries, great successes have been achieved in the mastering of many professions requiring highly skilled female mechanized labor. Here women participate along with men in a number of technical skills requiring high level professional training in which the work has a creative nature. Nevertheless, under socialist conditions as well there is a trend toward a female predominance in specific positions and jobs.

The division of professions into "male" and "female" is, on the one hand, objective since there remain many heavy physical operations or types of work with harmful and difficult production conditions which exclude female

participation. On the other hand, the subjective factor plays a considerable role. This is a question of the prestige of a profession and the income it offers. Yet, considerations of "profitability" and prestige in a profession are quite variable.

Thus, for centuries on end, women had no access to educational activities whereas now they have become essentially a realm in which women apply their labor. Yet, men have kept an honorable perimeter: women teach in pre-school institutions and in primary, grammar, and secondary schools, but little in higher educational institutions. A number of examples prove the artificiality of dividing professions into "male" and "female." Thus, currently the work of a secretary is considered "female," whereas for many years, both in our country and abroad, it was performed by men only. Today men are claiming that "by its nature secretarial work is purely female." Similar cases are those of barber shop workers, waiters, telegraph operators, telephone operators, and others.

We described briefly some problems of the qualitative aspect of the reproduction of female labor resources related to their professional employment without covering all aspects of the problem which is too vast and complex to fit a study as this one.

The BCP program adopted at the 10th Party Congress stipulates the following: "In the course of building mature socialism, and with the extensive introduction of comprehensive mechanization and automation of production, substantial changes will take place in the nature and content of the work. The realm of participation in heavy physical and unskilled labor in the production process will be narrowed strongly. Physical labor will be combined with mental labor to an ever greater extent. Technical labor facilities will increase. A number of functions performed so far by man will be gradually taken over by machines . . . New skills will continuously develop and old ones will disappear. . . ."6 Consequently, in the stage of building a developed socialist society all prerequisites exist for the intellectualization of labor and, hence, for improving the professional-qualificational structure of the female labor force.

The professional-qualificational structure characterizes two aspects in the reproduction of female labor resources: distribution and utilization. The professional employment of women, developed under the influence of the professional division of labor, not only indicates a professional breakdown but provides an accurate idea of the nature of the utilization of the female labor force. The optimizing of structures (distribution) of labor resources, including female, is a prerequisite for their effective utilization.

The age group structure is the basis for the study and assessment of the distribution and utilization of manpower. Rapid improvements in professional and qualificational structures and in sectorial and professional

redistribution may be achieved more by a labor force in which younger age groups predominate, mainly those under 35-40. Changes in the age structure of the female labor force will be studied on the basis of the periodical observations of the Central Statistical Administration of workers and employees by age group and sex.⁷

Table 3

Changes in the Age Group Structure of Workers and Employees by Sex (in %)

Групи възрасти (1)	• (в %)							
	1959 г.		1961 г.		1969 г.		1973 г.	
	мъже (2)	жени (3)	мъже (2)	жени (3)	мъже (2)	жени (3)	мъже (2)	жени (3)
(4) Общо	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
(5) до 16 години	0,1	0,1	0,2	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,0
16-19 г.	3,2	4,5	3,7	5,0	3,5	4,2	2,6	3,7
20-25 г.	13,7	20,5	12,6	18,7	12,0	16,2	10,6	14,7
26-35 г.	36,8	39,9	35,8	38,9	28,5	32,2	27,5	31,3
36-49 г.	32,8	28,4	33,5	31,0	40,6	39,7	40,5	40,0
50-54 г.	8,2	4,7	8,3	4,4	6,9	4,4	9,6	6,9
55-59 г.	3,8	1,5	4,1	1,4	5,6	2,1	5,6	2,2
(6) 60 и повече години	1,4	0,4	1,8	0,5	2,8	1,1	3,5	1,2

Key:

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Age group | 4. Total |
| 2. Men | 5. Under 16 |
| 3. Women | 6. 60 and older |

We notice an aging process in the age structure of the manpower in both sexes (Table 3). The share of age groups under 35 is declining while that of age groups 36 and older is rising. Thus, between 1959 and 1973 the share of men workers and employees dropped 3.7 percent for people under 25 and 9.3 percent for those from 26 to 35 years of age; the respective figures for women were 6.7 percent and 8.6 percent. Within the same period the percentage of the 36-49 age group rose from 32.8 to 40.5 percent for the men and from 28.4 percent to 40.0 percent for women; the percentage of the 50 and older age groups rose, respectively, from 13.4 to 18.7 percent (men) and from 6.6 to 10.3 percent (women).

Relatively long labor experience should have marked this relatively aged age-group structure of the manpower. Statistical studies, however, indicate the opposite. Thus, considering that 59.2 percent of the women--workers and employees--and 50.3 percent of the men--workers and employees--are over 36, those with practical experience exceeding 15 years account for, respectively, 35.3 percent of the men and 23.3 percent of the women. Table 4 shows the absolute and relative figures for workers and employees by sex and labor experience.

Table 4

Workers and Employees on 1 November 1974 by Sex
and Labor Experience

(1) Трудов стаж	(2) Работници и служещи				Работници (7)			
	абсолютен брой (3)		относите- лен дял (6)		абсолютен брой (3)		относите- лен дял (6)	
	мъже (4)	жени (5)	мъже (4)	жени (5)	мъже (4)	жени (5)	мъже (4)	жени (5)
(8) Общо	1861271	1598849	100,0	100,0	1253321	946251	100,0	100,0
(9) до 8 м.	72656	80920	3,9	5,1	55257	52088	4,5	5,5
(10) 8 м. — 3 г.	193021	223892	10,4	14,0	145665	146898	11,6	15,6
3 — 5 г.	200398	214005	10,8	13,4	147210	134616	11,7	14,3
5 — 10 г.	330827	361750	17,8	22,6	233469	215314	18,6	22,8
10 — 15 г.	329985	302285	17,7	18,9	229238	174421	18,3	18,5
15 — 20 г.	309930	224285	16,6	14,0	207294	123927	16,6	13,1
20 — 25 г.	251618	139620	14,1	8,7	146814	67899	11,7	7,0
(11) над 25 г.	162836	52079	8,7	3,3	87374	30538	7,0	3,2

Key:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Labor experience | 7. Workers |
| 2. Workers and employees | 8. Total |
| 3. Absolute number | 9. Under eight months |
| 4. Men | 10. Eight months to three years |
| 5. Women | 11. Over 25 years |
| 6. Percentage | |

The comparative study of workers and employees, total and separately for the workers--men and women--in terms of labor practice indicates that women predominate in groups with less than 15 years labor practice, after which their number and share begins to decline. In the 20 to 25 years of labor practice the share of the women is considerably lesser (see Table 4). Only 12.0 percent of the women, compared with 22.8 percent of the men, show a labor experience of 20 or more years.

These data prove the lower skill of the female labor force since the extent of the labor experience is an indicator characterizing the level of skills. Naturally, it is not the only criterion. In the course of the labor process workers and employees develop and improve their skills. However, they acquire their general and professional training in general and specialized secondary and higher schools. The grade rate is a widely used measure of workers' skills. In our view, at the present stage the worker's grade is related more to the organization of the wage system and is not a particularly good indicator of skills.⁸

The study of the educational level of workers and employees⁹ indicates that on an average the educational level of the women is higher than of the men (Table 5).

Table 5

Educational Level of Workers and Employees by Sex
(on 1 November 1972)

(1) Степен на образование	Работници (2)				Служители (7)			
	абсолютен брой (3)		относите-лен дял (4)		абсолютен брой (3)		относите-лен дял (4)	
	мъже (5)	жени (6)	мъже (5)	жени (6)	мъже (5)	жени (6)	мъже (5)	жени (6)
(8) Висше и полувисше	347	48	1,2	0,4	1210	500	21,9	10,2
(9) Средно (общо и специално)	4822	2789	16,2	22,3	3377	3863	61,0	78,7
(10) ПТУ	3052	1509	10,3	12,1	156	154	2,8	3,1
(11) Основно	16612	6088	55,9	48,8	681	338	12,3	6,9
(12) Начално и незавършено на- чално	4906	2049	16,4	16,4	111	55	2,0	1,1
(13) Всичко	29739	12476	100,0	100,0	5535	4910	100,0	100,0

Key:

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| 1. Educational level | 8. Higher and semi-higher |
| 2. Workers | 9. Secondary (general and special-
ized) |
| 3. Absolute number | 10. Vocational-technical school |
| 4. Percentage | 11. Grammar |
| 5. Men | 12. Primary and unfinished primary |
| 6. Women | 13. Total |
| 7. Employees | |

The table shows that women workers with secondary or higher education account for 22.7 percent compared with 17.4 percent for the men; women with professional technical training account for 12.1 percent, compared with 10.3 percent for the men. The share of male workers with primary or lower education is 7.1 percent higher than of women workers with the same educational level. The situation with skills based on education of employees is similar. Only 8.0 percent of the women employees have primary or lesser education, compared with 14.3 percent for the men. The percentage of women with secondary education (general and specialized) is 78.7 percent, again exceeding that of the men--61 percent. However, male employees account for a higher percentage of people with higher and semi-higher education compared with women (21.9 versus 10.2 percent).

It is worth noting that it is noteworthy that the percentage of those who are increasing their education and skills is rather low for both sexes: 88.8 percent of the men and 88.2 percent of the women are not engaged in any studies. Among the students women account for a higher percentage compared with the men in terms of upgrading their higher, semi-higher, secondary general, and secondary specialized training; men predominate in studies that upgrade in professional skills: in vocational-technical schools and courses.

The study shows that the process of upgrading one's education in women is influenced less by the family position than the age. Thus, 90.2 percent of the women and 80.0 percent of the men who study are between the ages of 16 and 35; on the basis of family status men and women who are continuing with their education may be classified as follows:

Family Status	Men	Women
Married with children	60.8	53.3
Divorced, or widowed with children	0.7	3.0
Married, childless	9.4	7.5
Divorced and widowed without children	0.2	1.0
Unmarried	<u>28.9</u>	<u>35.2</u>
Total Students	100.0	100.0

The age structure of the women was relatively younger. In the 16-29 age group women accounted for 39 percent and men for 28 percent; in the 30-49 age group the respective figures were 55.9 and 58.4 percent. In both age groups the women's educational level was higher than the men's. According to family status the unmarried were almost equal for both sexes (men 12.0 percent and women 12.4 percent); with children (married, divorced, widowed) women accounted for 79.8 percent and men for 81.6 percent; in that group without children women accounted for 7.8 percent and men for 6.4 percent. In women the family status has a certain restraining influence on the possibility to improve their education. To the question "if you are not studying now are you planning to continue with your education?" Among married people with children more men gave a positive answer compared with women; the opposite applied to married people without children. More unmarried women expressed the desire to continue their education compared with unmarried men. The age group breakdown of those intending to continue with their studies is the following:

Age Group	Men	Women
19 and under	8.1	13.3
20-25	35.1	50.1
26-29	25.4	19.5
30-35	20.6	12.0
36 and older	10.8	5.1

Clearly, the desire to continue one's education is particularly strong in women under 25 after which it drastically declines, whereas in men it continues until 35.

At the present stage the problems of reproduction of female labor resources, and of labor resources in general, assume particular importance. The requirements governing the quality of the manpower have risen considerably. Furthermore, the specific nature of the present stage of economic and

demographic development (bearing in mind the high level of employment and the low natural growth rates) lowers the manpower's rate of quantitative growth. That is why the socioeconomic problems of female labor resources are, in the broad meaning of the term, problems of the nature, limits and effectiveness of the utilization of the main productive force of society-- the human labor force.

FOOTNOTES

1. Academician Iv. Stefanov, Professor Z Sugarev, et al. "Demografiya na Bulgariya" [Bulgaria's Demography]. Sofia, 1974, p 315.
2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Cuch." [Works], Vol 19, p 31.
3. From the BCP Central Committee decision of 6 March 1973.
4. Personnel on 31 December. Data excluding those working in private plots and private artisans. RSV, 1976.
5. K. Marx, "Das Kapital" Vol 1, Sofia, 1975, p 366.
6. "Programa na X Kongres na BKP" [Program of the Tenth BCP Congress], Sofia, 1971, p 56.
7. The last Central Statistical Administration survey was conducted in 1973.
8. In our rating of qualifications and their improvement we shall limit ourselves to the indicators "Labor practice" and "Level of education," since data on grade ratings by sex are unavailable.
9. The level of education is based on the data of the sociological study of the potential dynamics of the manpower in industry, construction and transportation, covering a total of 52,655 people. The study was made on 1 November 1972 by the NTsTSD [expansion unknown] jointly with the Central Statistical Administration.

5003
COS: 2200

BULGARIA

EXERCISE FOR CHEMICAL WARFARE DESCRIBED

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 9, 1977 pp 106-109

[Article by Col Nikolay Kharitonov: "Nighttime Training of Chemical Sub-Units"]

[Text] The appearance of mass destruction weapons and other firepower means of destruction and of night vision instruments, radar and heat seekers and other modern equipment has drastically increased the possibility to engage in active operations at night. Furthermore, the use of nuclear weapons by the enemy at night creates additional difficulties in carrying out special assignments, while darkness has an adverse effect on the human mind, exciting the nervous system, and increasing the impressionability.

Intensive nighttime training is of particular importance to chemical subunits in peace time. In addition to the program tactical-special training classes, the winter and summer proving ground training offers extensive possibilities for improving combat skills.

Limited visibility lowers the effectiveness of radiation and chemical reconnaissance and observation. The pace of the reconnaissance drops while special processing requires more time, forces, and means.

The successful surmounting of all negative factors could be accomplished only with the thorough nighttime training of every chemical scout, degassifier, and medic, and of the subunit as a whole. The night training of the personnel is a complex labor intensive process. To achieve it all daytime means and norms must be learned and met under difficult circumstances. Chemical subunits must engage in night training not only at special tactical exercises and classes but in the course of training in other subjects. Proving ground training plays an important role in the night training of chemical scouts and chemists-degassifiers. Here each class is not only tactically specialized but requires further special training since it should take place both in daylight and in darkness. The effectiveness in the training of chemical subunits in carrying out assignments at night is greater if we observe the principle of systematic progression from the simple to the more complex. For example, we can not undertake

the study of problems or the meeting of norms which have been poorly mastered under daytime conditions. The training would be more useful if the reconnaissance chemists, for example, are allowed to study the area during daylight, and engage in chemical and radiation reconnaissance, and repeat it at night.

If the personnel has been well trained during the day they will be able successfully to carry out tasks at night or under poor visibility conditions.

In the course of an exercise a tank battalion was to attack on the run an enemy located several tens of kilometers away from the area it held. The battalion included a radiation and chemical reconnaissance squad commanded by Junior Sergeant Machev.

At 1830 hours the squad commander was given the assignment to deploy a chemical observation post (KhNP) in the vicinity of the command observation post, and be ready as of 0200 on the following day to move ahead of the battalion's column as chemical reconnaissance patrol (KhRD) with the assignment to detect promptly radioactive and chemical contamination, reconnoiter and mark on the map of the itinerary the contaminated areas.

The squad commander camouflaged a reconnaissance vehicle and appointed an observer. He ordered the driver to fill up the truck, check the night sight instrument, the light camouflage systems, and so on. The chemical scout, free from duty, was ordered to check the condition of previously prepared luminescent panels (20 by 30 centimeters) holding small flashlights.

Meanwhile the squad commander, using the map, drew up the plan for the itinerary, breaking it down into smaller sectors, and indicated the typical guidelines which would facilitate night reconnaissance.

At the specified time the KhRD moved on. The driver confidently drove the vehicle. The chemical scouts carefully watched the readings of the instruments. A yellow bulb lit on the automatic signalling panel. A sound signal was heard at the same time. A toxic substance was detected. The squad commander ordered the armored troop carrier to stop and the personnel to put on gas masks.

The type of toxic substance, which turned out to be sarin, was identified with the help of the VPKhR [field chemical reconnaissance instrument]. The squad marked the contaminated sector with the prepared luminescent tabs. The squad commander plotted on his map the boundaries of the contaminated sector. He immediately reported by radio to the battalion commander the detected contaminated sector. Thanks to the squad's fast radiation and chemical reconnaissance actions the battalion carried out its assignment successfully.

The complete special processing of the equipment and personnel will frequently take place at night. The chemical defense subunits, equipped with special vehicles, will carry out most completely this task at night. That

is why some of its characteristics must be noted. Thus, for example, without lighting, it would be difficult to observe safety measures and achieve total degassification or decontamination of armaments and combat materiel.

Many chemical subunit commanders are able to organize effectively the special treatment of the personnel and combat materiel at night. In this respect success is greatly determined by the level of training and preparedness of the degassifiers. In this case specialized tactical training and exercises constitute an important stage in their training, particularly in assembling crews, squads, and platoons.

In company tactical-special exercises at night officer Ivanov prepares himself extensively, studying the content and clarifying the sequence in covering the training topics. On every occasion he tries to introduce the most instructive elements in the tactical circumstances, varying the methods for the special troop processing. Thus, for example, at a special tactical training with Lieutenant Stoychev's company, officer Ivanov created a tactical circumstance in which the "enemy" uses nuclear and chemical weapons. As a result of this the authorized infantry and tank subdivisions were contaminated, the first with radioactive substances and the second with VX gas.

The special treatment company was given the assignment to follow the stipulated itinerary and deploy the PuSO [Sanitary Processing and Decontamination Centers] in the stipulated area as of 0300 hours, process the contaminated subunits and, after carrying out its assignment, concentrate in the stipulated area. The starting point to be covered at 2230 hours was established.

The exercise began at 1700 hours on 3 March. The company fell in in front of the pool where the instructor checked the personnel's equipment, the readiness of the materiel and the various components for the preparation of decontamination and degassification solutions. The company was then taken to the deployment area where it installed engineering facilities.

Under the guidance of the company commander the equipment was promptly deployed and its protection was organized.

The instructor reported to the company commander the tactical circumstances and issued the assignment of conducting total special processing of the "contaminated" subunits.

As a result of this Lieutenant Stoychev issued preliminary orders to the company to be ready to proceed and prepare processing solutions. He studied his task and assessed the circumstances.

Initially he determined the volume and content of the work required for the special processing of "contaminated" subunits. He then drew up a time schedule, bearing in mind that he had a 30 kilometer walk and the fact that

the special processing will take place at night and that the company will have to cross an area of radioactive contamination. He assigned a chemical reconnaissance patrol to determine its radiation level.

Assessing the circumstances, the company commander studied the area for special processing on the map and decided to carry out the assignment with the forces and facilities of two-thirds of the company. The special vehicles were lined in two columns on either side of the road while the equipment was distributed among four areas per vehicle to process the "contaminated" combat equipment. He acted accurately by assigning one of the vehicles for the secondary processing of the equipment.

Gaining the information from the reconnaissance on the level of radiation along the route, the company commander computed the orientational radiation dose of the personnel, refined the area within which protective facilities were to be located and established the speed of progress following the radioactive cloud.

At 2215 hours the company commander issued the order to move to the special processing area. He reported data on the "enemy" and on his own troops and their location and nature of action. He indicated the itinerary and the procedure for aligning the column to surmount the radioactive contamination area and observe blackout procedures. At the same time he informed the platoon commanders of the task of the company for the special processing of "contaminated" subunits.

The route was covered without lights, controlling the traffic with signal lights. In the course of the march the company covered the necessary actions for covering a contaminated sector and enemy aircraft attack with the incendiary means. When the column approached the special processing area the company commander, together with the platoon commanders, went ahead to the area where the PuSO was to be deployed. He specified the areas where the platoons were to be deployed, the waiting area for the "contaminated" subunits, the manpower and equipment routes through the PuSO and the gathering area after the processing and the area for second processing and the control-stationing post (KRP).

In his order to the platoon commanders Stoychev indicated the subunits and equipment to be processed, the time needed for the processing and the nature of the contamination, as well as the special processing methods.

The company used the regular issued equipment set with light indicators and panels and searchlights installed on the special vehicles to mark the areas and routes in reaching the processing areas and lighting the work sites. Success in night work depends on the organization of the interaction with the commanders of platoons arriving to be processed. That is why the company commander decided to meet them at the KRP and establish the structure of the subunits and the nature and level of contamination of the personnel and the equipment. At the KRP he coordinated the organization of the

control, establishing the number of crews for degassification (decontamination) of the armaments and equipment. He also earmarked the necessary measures for the protection of the special processing area and the blackout measures.

Following the established procedure the company carried out the special processing of the "contaminated" subunits. Since at night gaps in processing the surface of the equipment are possible, the dosimetric chemical personnel checked the completeness of the decontamination far more carefully.

The success achieved by Lieutenant Stoychev's company confirms the established procedure and organization of the training in the course of which the tactical-drill training involving chemical squads (crews), platoons, and companies begins during the day and, as a rule, ends at night. That is why the night training of chemical subunits must be the focal point of attention of commanders and chiefs of chemical services and of party and Komsomol organizations.

5003

CSO: 2200

MLYNAR SPEECH IN WEST GERMANY CRITICIZED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 77 p 7

[Article by Miroslav Kubin: "A Feeble Proxy"]

[Text] Dr Hans-Martin Schleyer, the leader of West German employers and the author of a "new social model" in which the workers would finally live in harmonious partnership with the capitalists as in the highest form of democracy, has been missing in Cologne for more than 2 weeks. Schleyer was kidnapped and is now in the hands of anarchist terrorists, so obviously there is no hope that he will be able to go on developing freely his "social model." While the police are searching for the kidnapped man, as well as for the truly reprehensible adventurers, there began a widespread attempt to establish the political identity of that country's intelligentsia. The kidnapping was allegedly carried out brutally, yet intelligently, which supposedly is the reason to suspect that "intellectuals conceived the crime." After all, the intelligentsia has been lately meddling somewhat overzealously in politics, casting doubts on the official interpretation of democracy, and sympathizing with the radical students, unemployed youth, and even with the political left wing.

The ideas of numerous left-wing intellectuals about democracy, human rights and the decay of the capitalist system allegedly may be regarded as appeals to overthrow that system and thus, political radicalism, which activity is subject, from the point of view of the federal law, to the decree against "extremists and radicals." The bourgeois right wing did not hesitate to describe the "intellectual critics of the system" as terrorist sympathizers" and in that context, it also introduced the question of the restoration of capital punishment.

While a passionate discussion is going on all over the Federal Republic about such acute problems, a rather inconspicuous man came from Vienna to Cologne in order to cast some light on the whole affair in wider general concepts, particularly to illuminate the intelligentsia's role in politics, or as the case may be, to enlighten their minds. He was given an opportunity to offer that enlightenment at a "platform discussion" before a television camera last Saturday. The author Heinrich Boell was the moderator of the debate on "The Intellectuals and Politics," subtitled "Human Rights Under Discussion." Several emigres from the socialist countries also participated.

The traveler from Vienna would never have been admitted had he not been identified as "a man of the Prague Spring"--Zdenek Mlynar, a worker on a "new model of socialism" and thus, the kidnapped Schleyer's soulmate. As such, he was welcomed, and the viewers were waiting for a breeze of his keen intellect. Instead, they were treated to boring expressions of sympathy and sadness for the kidnapped boss of West German supercapitalists, the author of the "new social model."

During the discussion Mlynar, raising a finger in warning, appealed to the intellectuals in the West to overcome their "militant political radicalism." Such intransigent radicalism allegedly prevented any tactical compromise during the Prague Spring and thus, it only accelerated the entry of the armies... Those present, therefore, came to the conclusion that "radicalism" in the FRG must have accelerated the aforementioned Schleyer's kidnapping and that, should it continue, the Soviet Army would stand on the Rhine within 48 hours, as the retired Bundeswehr general Steinhoff documented, at least in theory. Mlynar also informed his audience that "the intellectuals are fighting for greater freedom and justice in society," and for that reason, they necessarily belonged to radical groups seeking to implement their goals uncompromisingly. However, they allegedly could become a tool of general stupefaction of the masses--if they are not standing exactly in opposition to the ruling state apparatus.

The latter-day Moses of the Western world did not score too well on said platform. As SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG said, even H. Boell did not like his thesis because he thought that Mlynar presented intellectuals too much in the role of "useful idiots." After all, Boell is intelligent enough to know full well that it cannot be concealed from the world public that the honest members of intelligentsia in socialist Czechoslovakia are participating in bringing to life all that is new and progressive, and that their place has been, and still is on the side of the revolutionary working class which has been able to build and develop a better, healthier and more equitable social system.

Mlynar's presentation to the public in Cologne evidently meant to appeal to West German intellectuals not to interfere with politics and not to obstruct their country's social system with their "radicalism."

Mlynar did not contribute in any way to the detection of the kidnapped Schleyer. Before the public, however, he acted almost as his proxy. After all, the ultimate objectives which Schleyer's "new social model" follows do not differ considerably from the goals and ideas of the men of Prague Spring. The campaign against "political radicalism" which Mlynar readily joined is supposed to scare the "intellectuals" and make them servants of the reaction which, under the guise of a fight against anarchistic terrorism, has already called for harsh measures against the progressive intelligentsia.

'TRIBUNA' RIDICULES MLYNAR'S ACTIVITIES IN THE WEST

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 40, 5 Oct 77 p 2

[Article by Josef Skutecsky: "How Mlynar and Co. Were Flogging a Dead Horse"]

[Text] Zdenek Mlynar has already made several political "turn-about" in his life. His departure to the West is his latest one.

He is "notorious" as a man who will use any means to satisfy his political ambitions and further his career. In the fifties, for example, he wrote a number of letters to the CPCZ Central Committee containing grave accusations against some political personages. The FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG reports that now in Vienna he intends to write a book about his experiences in Czechoslovakia. We are therefore rightfully curious what he will say in the book about his "letter-writing activity."

Toward the end of the sixties his political orientation changes radically and he becomes a leader of the theoreticians calling for "socialism with a human face." A few years later we meet him again. This time, as a "fighter" for human rights. He is one of the authors of the slanderous pamphlet, the so-called Charter 77.

When the Charter turned out to be a fiasco and when it transpired that in the fifties he denounced one of his "Charter fellow combattants," Frantisek Kriegl, he obviously concluded that he would hardly ever gain popularity in Czechoslovakia again. And so he goes tramping off to countries which should give him new opportunities for a political comeback.

He is being received by the most diverse group of political personalities who apparently care very little who they are dealing with. He is meeting even former political adversaries. Therefore, we are not surprised when this former communist signs jointly with the known anticommunist Pavel Tigrid an appeal inimical to socialist countries. He explained this lack of consistency in a get-together organized some time ago in Vienna by O. Filip: "Past controversies are irrelevant, they are simply past history today."

In the West, Mlynar is issuing various proclamations and grants interviews. But his real "debut" in political life was supposed to take place at a public

discussion, a type of political colloquium, organized and chaired in Cologne on the Rhine by West German author Heinrich Boell, a comforter and protector of dissidents from socialist countries.

This discussion called the "Intellectuals and Politics" took place on September 17 of this year. But in spite of much publicity it was, in one word, a bust. Most commentators from the bourgeois media agreed that it failed to bring any new substantive idea. The FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG even went so far as to write: "No discussion developed at all... The complicated banalities exchanged were too long... The prevailing unanimity was deadening..." Even though the principal actors included important West German writers and some dissident "celebrities" headed by Mlynar, at times the discussion was reminiscent of a flop on stage. The FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG reports further: "The public, plagued by television lights which were expected to lend importance to the event, but did not, and moreover made the hall unpleasantly hot, welcomed every anecdote."

If the organizers expected Zdenek Mlynar to be the star of the colloquium they were necessarily disappointed. This "former closest collaborator of A. Dubcek and Prague Spring ideologist," as the West German papers introduced him, was so small a success that they paid him only the slightest attention.

DIE WELT questioned his statement in which he said that the intellectuals in the West must become mature and overcome their aggressive political radicalism. Mlynar was thereby obviously generalizing his experience from his struggle against socialism in Czechoslovakia. He claims that Czechoslovak intellectuals fought democracy for too long and thereby contributed to the death of freedom. Their stubborn radicalism during the "Prague Spring" made a tactical compromise impossible. They failed to understand that politics is the art of the possible. The intellectuals proved how easily they can be used as a tool for the brainwashing of the masses. Therefore, if representatives of the counterrevolutionary forces in Czechoslovakia are still agonizing about the causes of their defeat, Mlynar is offering them a simple explanation.

No wonder then that H. Boell found little liking for such an assessment of the role of intellectuals in the present-day world. According to the SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, it seemed to him that "Mlynar exaggerated when he pictured the intellectuals' role as one of useful idiots." And so the expected "debut in the political arena," an action, which was meant to lend new glamour to the enemies of our republic and of socialism was discredited. It turned out that neither Mlynar nor his colleagues came up--and objectively could not come up--with any new ideas. They were thrashing straw--as they did so many times before.

In August, at the get-together organized by O. Filip, Mlynar stated that he wanted to settle down in Vienna and dedicate himself to entomology. It is quite possible that after the debacle in Cologne on the Rhine he will really concentrate on beetles. In difference to people - beetles really can tolerate more.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MLYNAR INTERVIEWED AT PARIS PRESS CONFERENCE

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 7 Oct 77 p 2

[Report on interview with Zdenek Mlynar, former member of the CPCZ presidium; "Zdenek Mlynar on the Suppression of Human Rights in the CSSR"]

[Text] Paris, 5 Oct--This Wednesday, the Czechoslovak reform politician Zdenek Mlynar, former member of the CPCZ preidium at the time of the Prague Spring, who has recently been living in the West as an exile, held a press conference in Paris to announce the publication of a "White Book on Czechoslovakia." The book, whose English version has already appeared in London at the end of June, contains a great number of documents smuggled out of Czechoslovakia testifying to the persecution of the signatories of Charter 77. The publication is being backed by an international Committee for the Support of Charter 77, consisting of writers and artists. Swiss members of the Committee include Friedrich Duerrenmatt, Max Frisch, and Denis de Rougemont, among the French members are Pierre Daix, Jean-Marie Domenach, Pierre Emmanuel and Yves Montand. Committee spokesman Daix stressed that the publication date was chosen to coincide with the Belgrade follow-up conference of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation; copies of the "White Book" were sent to all delegations currently present at Belgrade.

Recourse to Helsinki.

Right at the beginning of his arguments Mlynar himself established the connection with the European Security Conference by stating that, among other things, Charter 77 grew out of the Helsinki agreements. Their signatories believed that the Helsinki accord meant more than a formal moral obligation. According to Mlynar, the "White Book" demonstrates the growing support for the demands of the Charter in the CSSR - a state which calls itself socialist but tramples on human rights which it itself has guaranteed by ratification. The fact that the communist leadership faces the opposition not only of a few dissidents but of a large segment of the population differentiates, according to Mlynar, present-day Czechoslovakia from other states of the Eastern bloc.

Mlynar sees the reason for the strict authoritarian methods being applied in Czechoslovakia today in the fear prevailing both in Prague and in Moscow, that even mild liberalizing measures could reawaken the Czechoslovak reform movement. Mlynar confirmed that the tactic used by the authorities usually

consisted of depriving the signatories of the Charter of their jobs and thus of their livelihood. Among the personalities under arrest and facing prosecution he named playwright Vaclav Havel, author Frantisek Pavlicek, newspaperman Jiri Lederer and the theatrical producer Ota Ornest. Mlynar claims that antisemitic motives played a major role in the persecution of the Charter supporters. Mlynar kept stressing the vital importance of continued support of the human rights movement in his country by Western public opinion; the movement would receive a fatal blow if Western public opinion were to forget Charter 77 or if it should react only to sensational events in the CSSR.

Former and Present Day Stalinists

The press conference took an unexpected but attention-provoking turn when the Paris correspondent of the Prague party organ RUDE PRAVO questioned Mlynar about his stand at the time of the show trials in the fifties. The newspaperman cited from a letter written by Mlynar at the time which was now again published in Czechoslovakia in which he called for "the unmasking of the traitors." Mlynar answered that he was at the time a young communist studying in Moscow and wrote the letters at the party's behest. He was ashamed of them today and was not denying that he too bore his share of responsibility for Stalinism in his country. The present party leadership in the CSSR is not publishing the letter in question to prove that Mlynar was important at the time but to discredit him. Mlynar's analogy for this procedure: In the underworld it is a known fact that a deserter from a band of criminals will subsequently be blackmailed by the gangsters.

8664

CSO: 3103

DAILY SCORES UNITED STATES ON HIJACKING

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Oct 77 pp 1, 7 AU

[Article by Stanislav Oborsky: "J. Carter Talks and the Administration Does the Opposite: Murderers of a Stewardess Free in the United States"]

[Summary] An Aeroflot AN-24 plane en route from Batumi to Sukhum was hijacked over Soviet territory on 15 October 1970. The hijackers--the father and son Brazinskas--shot dead young stewardess Nadya Kurchenko and severely wounded the commander of the plane, Capt G. Chakhrakiy, Navigator V. Fadeyev and Flight Mechanic O. Babayan. The co-pilot, S. Shavidze, threatened with grenades, landed the plane with 46 passengers aboard on an airfield in Turkey.

To commemorate the event a press conference was held in Moscow on 24 October. The conference was attended, among others, by crew members Shavidze and Babayan, and by S. Panyukov, member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation.

The recent cases of air piracy and terrorism again proved that, despite all measures, declarations and the 1970 Hague international convention adopted by 80 states, civil aviation is still not safe from bandits and terrorists. "These cases again revealed that the current unacceptable state of affairs has been caused by a number of capitalist states which are protecting and supporting criminal hijackers."

The story of the two Brazinskas is the best evidence of this. The press conference revealed the extent of the support accorded the two murderers. Although the Brazinskas are Soviet citizens and committed their grave crime in Soviet air space, the Turkish authorities rejected the Soviet extradition request. Under public pressure the two criminals stood trial in Turkey, but the court handed down ridiculously mild sentences which the Brazinskas did not even have to serve in full, and could disappear "somewhere to South America." And then they surfaced in New York and now live happily in the United States. In the press conference Panyukov noted that last July the USSR Government issued a statement emphasizing that "the criminals Brazinskas, no matter where they are, must be returned to the Soviet Union" and that the USSR "sees hiding them as a hostile act toward the USSR."

Shavidze and Babayan spoke about their letter addressed to U.S. President Carter which they delivered this March to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. In the letter they asked Carter to use his authority and extradite the two criminals to the USSR to face trial. "The White House replied after a certain period. At the press conference R. Shavidze and O. Babayan did not hide their disenchantment and dissatisfied with the reply."

And one cannot blame them. Soviet and foreign journalists were given copies of the White House official's reply. "That smooth letter contains nothing but shameless hypocrisy. On the one hand the author swears that the United States consistently opposes the use of terrorist methods, including hijacking, no matter what the objective, and admits that the 'act by the Brazinskas represents a grave punishable deed lacking a political character,' but on the other hand it points out that the U.S. authorities--should they recognize that the Brazinskas are subject to deportation--will deport them--to Venezuela!"

And the reply does not contain one single word about the justified request of the USSR Government, the crew and millions of Soviet people, to extradite the two murderers.

The White House's hypocrisy, can be clearly seen also in connection with other recent events, Panyukov said. The senator for Massachusetts, Brooks, recently held a press conference at which he vehemently defended the two Brazinskas'. Kramer, the representative of the immigration office in Boston, has said should Brazinskas Junior apply for U.S. residence permit, his application would be carefully studied. A representative of the same office in New York, Wagner, told a TASS correspondent that it might take months before California authorities would devote themselves to Brazinskas Senior, if ever. And their deportation to Venezuela? It is up to Venezuela? It is up to Venezuela to say whether the United States can force upon it murderers who are not its citizens. But is this not another effort by the American authorities to hide elsewhere those with blood on their hands?

The Moscow press conference had only one aim: to introduce radical measures which will make civil aviation safe. The struggle against air piracy, banditry and terrorism can be effective only if the criminal knows that all states will extradite him to the country to which laws he is subject, and that he will be given a severe sentence.

This is the position of the USSR Government, G. Mirzoyan, deputy chief of the International Department of the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, said at the press conference. One has to adopt multilateral as well as bilateral agreements in this respect.

"One can say that following the recent cases of air piracy there is a possibility of achieving such agreements. But the Western states must support their words by deeds and not by using a double standard in evaluating hijackers. The Soviet Union is ready for the adoption of such agreements."

At the press conference Stewardess Mukhina also acquainted the Journalists with a letter addressed to President Carter by 344 Ukrainian stewardesses.

EXECUTED CPCZ OFFICIAL EULOGIZED ON ANNIVERSARY

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Sep 77 p 2

[Article by Viliam Plevza, corresponding member of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party: "A Soldier of Class Struggle--On the 75th Anniversary of the Late Vladimir Clementis' Birth"]

[Text] Vladimir Clementis expressed the credo of his life 45 years ago as follows: "What could bring more joy to an architect than his work on construction of new and reconstruction of old towns, building clubs, modern factories, etc. And what could bring more joy to every working intellectual than the fact that he is working for the wide masses, for the good of the whole society?! ... We are aware of all great difficulties and sacrifices through which the road to socialism is leading. Yet we also realize that it is the only road we know to our salvation from the current chaos which threatens to swallow the whole civilized world. And therefore, we also realize the urgency of Marx's words: There was enough philosophizing already about the world, now is the time to change it."

The work for the good of the exploited classes and oppressed nationalists became the meaning of Clementis' life early when, as a young student of the Faculty of Law at Charles University, at the age of 20 years he entered the political life--or to put it more modestly--political journalism. And that also was the main reason and impetus for him to organize the Free Association of Socialist Students from Slovakia, to be in close contact with the communist press in Slovakia edited by K. Gottwald, and then--since December 1924--to publish the DAV magazine. Thanks mostly to Clementis' erudition, political acumen and activity, through it--in Ladislav Novomesky's words--"the vanguard of the Slovak communist intelligentsia whose presence was already extremely meaningful entered the public life in Slovakia. It challenged every pious idea of the domestic bourgeois and conservative ideology that communism was just some kind of a "seasonal" ailment of the "uneducated", and of a "mob misled by foreign agitation" which could be saved by "loyalty to the heritage of our forefathers," deep nationalist feelings" and "devotion to our faith." And last but not least, it also began contradicting the hopes, even those of the Czech reaction, that in the Slovak society it would always find its reliable, solid support."

Andrej Siracky recalls that period in Clementis' life as follows: "At that time, the son of a Lutheran teacher in Tisovec, a handsome blond young man, an excellent speaker who knew several world languages, was ideologically the most mature of all of us. Manuscripts designated for DAV passed through his editorial office. He himself was the author of articles on politics, philosophy and literature."

Vladimir Clementis' leading position among the communist intelligentsia in Slovakia was becoming more and more prominent in the second half of the 1920's. He completed his studies, joined the communist party and in its ranks--after his arrival in Bratislava--he began to work actively. More and more entries were added to his police record.

The stormy year of 1929 became an important watershed in Clementis' life. During and immediately after the Fifth Congress of the CPCZ, when the revolutionary substance of the policy of Gottwald's party leadership was misunderstood by many, even the very prominent representatives of culture who were acknowledged communists, among whom were several of Clementis' friends, he stood unequivocally and without reservations on Gottwald's side. Together with other comrades from DAV, J. Fucik and other Czech cultural workers, he signed the proclamation which condemned the erroneous steps of "those Czech literati, comrades and mostly also his teachers and friends who had lost their balance during that time so extremely crucial for the proletariat and joined the wing which stood in the way of the revolutionary progress."

Just like Ivan Sekanina in the Czech lands, Clementis became known to the working people in Slovakia in the early 1930's as the lawyer of the poor. The political trial of the innocent Stefan Major concerning the bloody Whitsunday in Kosuty in the spring of 1931 as well as lesser law suits, particularly those against the people from the upper Hron river area, indelibly entered the history of our revolutionary movement as expressions of court persecution of the working class and other exploited and oppressed people, in which the ruling bourgeoisie failed to achieve its planned political effect precisely because of Clementis.

It has been said many times already that Clementis' activity had many facets. It can be neither assessed nor documented in a brief memorial meditation. Nevertheless, it must be said that, in addition to his work in DAV which he edited mostly with L. Novomesky, he wrote for the central communist press, worked in the progressive student movement and in mass revolutionary organizations which--as the harbingers of the present-day Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League--endeavored to strengthen the relations with the Soviet Union and to change the orientation of the foreign policy in pre-Munich Czechoslovakia. He organized visits by the delegates of Soviet culture in Slovakia as well as trips by Slovak workers, farmers and progressive intelligentsia to the first country of socialism. He wrote scores of important articles and pamphlets. The Congress of the Young Slovak Generation in 1932 and the First Congress of Slovak Writers four years later are linked with his name. He influenced the political and ideological orientation of the communist Society of Socialist University Students in Bratislava led by Gustav

Husak. He was vigorously involved in the struggle to establish the Slovak Institute of Technology and to expand Komensky University by a department of natural sciences.

In his struggle against the fascist menace from across the Czechoslovak borders, as well as inside the republic, Clementis concentrated on the promotion of the idea of unification of all democratic forces. He stressed that the citizens of the republic would come to the defense of the republic more emphatically, the more they were satisfied with its internal system. In that context he urgently called for a solution of, at least, the basic problems of the Slovak national question that could be resolved even under the existing conditions. He was aware that the relations between the Czech and Slovak nations were the basis of Czechoslovak statehood, and that to ignore the vitally important problems of Slovakia and of the Slovaks meant grist for the mill of reactionary political forces which were exploiting the legitimate dissatisfaction with the economic, social, political and cultural situation for their own reactionary, class-limited objectives. It must be said that Clementis promoted vigorously, and with considerable energy, the plan for Slovakia's general progress proclaimed by the CPCZ at its All-Slovak Conference in May 1939; he castigated the ruling factions for their hesitation in the questions of the country's defense, and at the same time, he pointed out the sterility of the Slovak right-wing nationalist conservatism and reaction. As a representative of the communist party in the National Assembly (since his election in 1935) he took part in many meetings, assemblies and public addresses of the communist party as well as in the last mass manifestation for the defense of the republic shortly before Munich. By the party's direction, he also won, in 1938, the support of the progressive groups, particularly intelligentsia, in France and England for the cause of Czechoslovakia's defense.

After the shameful Munich dictate which was followed by the destruction of the republic, Clementis spent 6 years in exile. Those years were filled with persistent work, particularly in the pan-Slavic movement and in the Czechoslovak broadcasts on the London radio. During that period he also pursued theoretical work.

Some time ago Gustav Husak said: "Clementis was indisputably the most important personality among the Slovak sector of Czechoslovak exiles in England." And Ladislav Novomesky added: "In the six years of its work our political emigration made an outstanding contribution to the concept and elaboration of the plan for a renewal and for a new system of the republic; in the work of Slovak exiles, the leading participation of Vladimir Clementis' journalistic activity is indisputable in the formulation of the grounds and conditions for our position in the post-Nazi Europe as well as in the Czechoslovak republic."

The police ended their surveillance of Clementis in Slovakia with the following official entry: "At this time, Clementis is in London. His speeches are broadcast under the pen name of Peter Hron and read by some foreign female." There was no time to record that period of Clementis' activity when his

usually firm voice was heard on the Czechoslovak broadcasts from London. He did not hide his emotions and enthusiasm, however, when he addressed the nation immediately after the declaration of the Slovak National Uprising.

It was entirely logical and natural that Ladislav Novomesky informed Klement Gottwald in December 1944 of the proposal of the Slovak National Council that Clementis be appointed to the office of the state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that Gottwald replied: "Very well. It will be all right if he will represent Slovak communists there."

Clementis returned to the liberated country and immediately set his hands to work to help heal, as fast as possible, the wounds suffered during the war. He performed the demanding tasks related to the office of state secretary and did not shirk from the duties which he was called to carry out after the Victorious February, as minister of foreign affairs, and after the 9th CPCZ Congress in 1949 as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee.

He never ceased to be what he was all his life: a soldier of the class struggle--not even during the time of his wearisome work, nor during the tragedy in 1950 upon his dismissal from all political and state functions, after which our entire society suffered by the loss of Clementis' life toward the end of 1952.

Clementis' tragic end was exploited, especially in the second half of the 1960's, for misconstructions of the whole political life of that personality and even for slander of socialism.

As early as December, 1963, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia univocally rejected the deformations connected with the unauthorized, fabricated and antisocialist conclusions and consequences of the criticism of the early 1950's as well as the attempts to exploit V. Clementis' memory. It restored his civil and communist integrity. The life and work of this great figure of our revolutionary movement received their rightful place in the party, national and state history because--as Comrade Gustav Husak said at the 14th CPCZ Congress--Clementis belongs among those representatives of our communist party who "devoted all their energy and abilities to the cause of socialism and interests of the working people... Their bequest will live forever."

9004
CSO: 2400

GDR TESTING NEW BORDER WEAPONS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Aug 77 pp 1-2

[Article by Claus-Einar Langen, member of editorial staff: "GDR Tests New Killing Devices for Zone Border--East Berlin Adaptation to International Law: Smooth Projectiles, Greater Accuracy and Penetrating Power"]

[Text] Frankfurt, 5 August--At the Eggesin/Jaegerbrueck troop training area in the GDR, not far from the Szczecin Bay and the western border of Poland, an automatic firing mechanism is reportedly being tested, which is to replace the type designated as SM 70 now installed along the line of demarcation. The new weapon, which is likewise automatic and aimed at those wanting to escape, is reported to be loaded with several cartridges. The description is of a cluster of bullets whose every projectile with its propelling charge follows a course presumably similar to the trajectory of a pistol. When the mechanism is tripped, the projectiles are reportedly fired simultaneously. The explosives factory at Schoenebeck-on-the-Elbe and a renowned weapons factory in Suhl, Thuringia, which among other things manufactures the Kalashnikov automatic rifle under Soviet license, have been named as the enterprises charged with the development and production of the automatic firing mechanism. The Eggesin/Jaegerbrueck troop training area is known to be preferred by the National People's Army (NVA) for weapons testing. Of course--to the extent discernible--the previously used automatic firing devices are still being installed. A noncommissioned officer of the GDR border troops who escaped in March 1977, however, announced technical changes in the weapon, although he gave no details.

The basis for a new development is apparently the consideration to make the weapon and ammunition conform to the rules of international law without foregoing the use of an automatic lethal weapon against those wanting to escape. For the GDR this resulted in a certain pressure to follow suit, so that on 5 April 1976, but effective as of 22 December 1958, it recognized the 1899 Hague Peace Conference. Now the GDR may possibly see a way out by changing over to smooth projectiles from the sharp-edged metal cube charge of the currently used SM 70 fragmentation mine. As is known, the Hague Peace

Peace Conference banned bullets that "spread out or flatten out in the human body" or whose casing is "equipped with notches." Finally, as a result of the Hague Land Warfare Convention of 1907, in principle, bullets are prohibited which "cause unnecessary suffering..."

The projectiles outlawed by the Hague Peace Conference and known as dum dum bullets make smooth penetration wounds no more possible than the sharp-edged metal cubes of the SM 70. Doctors are of the opinion that the effect of the metal cubes is even worse than that of the dum dum bullets. Thus, the SM 70 inflicts such bad wounds on internal organs and blood vessels that, for example, suturing vessels is extremely difficult, if not impossible.

Apparently the new type automatic firing mechanism is to remedy this fault which stands in crass contradiction to the universal rules of international law. However, this imposes no disadvantage on GDR border security. While the angular latitude of the device will presumably be smaller than is the case with the SM 70 which is loaded with about 110 metal cubes, the new weapon will be more accurate, the penetrating power of its projectiles will be greater. Clothing heavily padded with cotton, with which until now circumspect refugees have been able to protect themselves from life-endangering injuries, will no longer be of use. Several projectiles, fired simultaneously level with the head or chest of the fugitive would--with some exceptions represent a lethal charge. The same would have to be feared in the case of abdominal wounds. Whoever designed the weapon with an eye on the declaration of the Hague Peace Conference has succeeded in making it even more dangerous.

The condition of the severely wounded could possibly be changed if they were found in time. Surgery would be easier, less time-consuming. Because of cleaner penetration wounds, damaged arteries and veins, for example, are easier to suture than those torn apart by sharp-edged metal fragments. A good example is the case of draftsman Hans-Friedrich Franck of Meissen.

On 16 January 1973 while climbing over the metal fence, Franck triggered an automatic firing device. A few hours later he died in the Dannenberg Kreis hospital from his severe internal injuries. Among other things, metal fragments had severed the leg artery. Dr. Stoll, who assisted the 3-man operating team, said about the blood vessels that they had been "so shredded" that only with difficulty had it been possible to suture the vessels. This had lengthened the time of the operation considerably.

According to information from the Eggesin/Jaegerbrueck troop training area, the current firing mechanism is being retained. Trip wires, stretched along the metal fence, react both to push and pull. That makes it certain that the devices will fire even if a wire is cut.

Along the line of demarcation the sections of the metal fence equipped with three automatic firing devices each, are about 20-25 meters long. The distances between the devices were calculated in such a way that dispersion of the fragments is complete. One automatic firing device each is attached in the upper third, the middle, and the lower third of the concrete posts supporting the metal fence. Meanwhile, automatic firing devices have been installed for a total distance of 266 kilometers along the 1,393-km-long zone border.

12124
CSO: 2300

WERBLAN DISCUSSES PROBLEMS OF THEORY OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

Warsaw STUDIA SOCJOLOGICZNE in Polish No 2(65), 1977 pp 5-27

[Article by Andrzej Werblan, PZPR Secretary: "Some Problems in the Theory of Building a Developed Socialist Society in Poland"]

I

[Text] Research on the regularity of developed socialist society must be presently included among the most important and most complex tasks of the theory of Marxism-Leninism in all countries of the socialist community. Practical needs emphasize the importance of this task. The Soviet Union, the leading socialist state, has been the first and, so far, only country in the world to attain the stage of developed socialism. The majority of European socialist countries have entered the period of developed socialist society. For this reason a knowledge of the universal regularities of this process and of its specific features under the conditions of concrete countries is of primary importance in forecasting political, socioeconomic and cultural tasks and in outlining the directions of development and of guiding its course.

The guiding ideas in the theory of a developed socialist society were formulated in the classical works. Here we should recall the characteristics of the stages in the development of socialism in "Criticism of the Gotha Program." From the methodological point of view the discrimination made there of a stage in which socialism develops on the basis of an economic system, as well as partly on the basis of a system of awareness and of psychology inherited from capitalism, and a stage in which socialism finally develops on its "own basis" is particularly instructive.¹ The same concept of a "developed socialist society" was introduced by Vladimir Lenin to designate socialism which has "become completely consolidated," and which has achieved "complete victory" and "definitive forms."²

The rapid development of the theory of a developed socialist society has occurred in the last decade, thus in the period in which the problems of

building and operating this society have acquired practical importance in the Soviet Union and then in other socialist countries.

One of the specific features of the Marxist-Leninist science of society is based on the fact that this science develops in direct connection with political activity, and that discussions and resolutions of links in the working class party and the work of their leaders make an extremely significant contribution to it. This is not only a result of the fact that Marxism did not have access before the revolution to institutions of academic learning, controlled and dominated by bourgeois directions. A special role of the party and of its guiding links in the development of the theory derives from the very nature of Marxism, from the direct connections between theory and practice characteristic of it, and from the consistent goal of producing policies of a scientific nature. Therefore, even after the socialist revolution, when Marxism-Leninism had extensive access to academic and educational institutions, the role of the party and its leading bodies in theoretical work is not only maintained, but even increased.

It is clear that this does not in any way reduce the importance of the tasks and responsibility of scientific research institutions. They participate in the process of developing social theory, and through their studies and works form the basic material for the analyses and statements adopted by the party. Many scholars participate directly in the theoretical activity of party links. It may be said that under the conditions of socialism the more intensively research work by scholars is associated with the theoretical activity of the party and its policy, the more fruitful are its cognitive results in the area of social studies, from the point of view of the development of these sciences and of their effect on social life as a whole.

For this reason, when the problems of the theory of a developed socialist society are examined, the contributions of the communist parties, and particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Central Committee and its congresses, and the deep reflections contained in the works of its leaders, especially of the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, come to the forefront.

In the 1960's and particularly in the 1970's the problems of developed socialism also appear more and more often in documents of communist and working parties in other socialist countries, and particularly in the materials of the 10th and 11th Congresses of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the 10th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, of the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, of the 14th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and of the 8th and 9th Congresses of the Socialist Union Party of Germany. Today the development of the theory of developed socialism is a joint subject in all communist and workers' parties in the socialist community. L. Brezhnev emphasized that at the 11th Congress of the WSPR [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party]:

"All of us, comrades, understand the importance of the proper definition of the prospects for the development of socialist society in every new historical phase. From this point of view formulation of the process of formation of a developed socialist society, which is presently being realized in the majority of socialist countries in consideration of the specific properties of each of them, made by the team effort of fraternal parties on the basis of their joint experience, has been of tremendous importance."³

Soviet science has collected rich theoretical documentation on the problems of a developed socialist society. Here we can mention the works of P. N. Fedoseyev, A. P. Butenka, F. N. Burlatskiy, Ye. V. Dudinskiy, V. G. Afanasiyev, P. A. Ignatovskiy, G. A. Kozlov and many others.

In Poland studies on the problems of developed socialism have been considerably delayed. Even by the middle of the 1960's, numerous symptoms in social life indicated that a definite phase in the socialist development of our country was approaching its end, and that opportunities associated with this phase of the socioeconomic policy were being exhausted. The party and extensive social circles felt more and more intensively the need to face new problems, and a necessity of expanding horizons and outlining new prospectives. This need was mainly articulated as an ideological requirement, but at its source lay a consciousness of a need to activate thought and practice in all fields of economic, political, social and cultural life. At that time these growing social needs were not properly answered by the directive activity of links in political life, nor in research work in the scientific environment. The complex causes for this state of affairs were mainly of a subjective nature. We had to do with unmistakable conservatism in thought and pragmatism in action. In regard to part of the scientific community, we also had signs of fascination with the allegedly universal forecasts of futurology, developing on the basis of bourgeois science, which limited the search for solutions and prospects proper to socialism and opposing capitalism.

In our country the problems of a developed socialist society appeared as an object of theoretical considerations after the December crisis at the beginning of the 1970's. This occurred in an unusually specific way. Practice here precedes theory. On a broad front the party first adopted tasks which belong by their very nature to the stage of building developed socialism, and immediately after this these tasks were formulated in the language of theory and ideology. For the socioeconomic strategy of the Sixth Congress essentially included the basic elements of the strategy of building a developed socialist society.

This is characterized by a directive identity with the strategy of other socialist countries, especially with the strategy of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Historical circumstances, particularly the results of the deep social conflict at the end of the 1960's, caused attention at the Sixth Congress to be concentrated on the

practical aspects of this strategy. But as early as the First National Conference of the PZPR in 1973, Comrade Edward Gierek outlined the prospectives of further development:

"During the next two decades we have every opportunity for working out and incorporating in our life a program of building a developed socialist society in our country. This society will fully utilize the values of the socialist system and have modern manufacturing technology at its disposal, will benefit reasonably from the resources of our home soil and will enrich its beauty. This will be a mature society, working productively, living richly and culturally, continuing and adding to the accomplishments of past generations of the country, and simultaneously integrating its work with the efforts of fraternal socialist nations more and more intensively. This is the future of Poland which is born today from our thought and from our work."⁴

In this way the problems and prospects of building a developed socialism were presented on our own soil for the first time. This forecast of the First National Conference was confirmed in the Sejm message of the First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee in the 30-year old Polish People's Republic, and then in a broadly expanded form in the guidelines at the Seventh Congress in the program report of the Political Bureau and in the resolutions of the Seventh PZPR Congress.

At the same time, in direct association with the work of the Central Committee, studies on the problems of a developed socialist society were undertaken by numerous scientific centers: the Committee for the Year 2000 of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Institute for Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism of the PZPR Central Committee, the Higher School of Social Studies, the Universities of Poznan, Warsaw and Silesia, and many other centers. In a relatively short period of time the results of this work were expressed at many scientific conferences and in publications. Conditions developed for the formulation of the critical research problem devoted to the theoretical problems of building a developed socialist society in Poland. This provided a basis for a renewal of Marxist thought in our country.

II

As we know, socialism represents the first phase of communistic socioeconomic formation. In the development of socialism so far, since the time of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, three phases are distinguished.

First there is a transitional period during which there are the formation of socialist production relations, socialist reconstruction of national economy, changes in the social structure leading to elimination of the exploiting class and elimination of exploitation of man by man, the establishment of a socialist political system, the formation of conditions for the ideological and moral unity of society, a cultural revolution, and the

spread of education and culture among the masses of the people. The problem of "who whom" is solved in favor of socialism.

Achievement of the tasks of the transitional period means the building of socialism "in principle"⁵ or else "in its basic outlines."⁶ Many authors connect the end of the transitional period with the building of the fundamentals of socialism.⁷

A second phase in the development of the new system, and at the same time the first stage in the socialist phase of communist formation in the narrow meaning of this word, begins with the construction of the fundamentals of socialism and ends with the formation of a developed socialist society. In this phase socialist relations and principles achieve indivisible control in all fields of economic, political, social and cultural life. At the same time the material base of socialist society and the productive forces achieve a structure conforming to the immanent properties and demands of socialism, forming a basis for ever broader satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of society.

The stage of a developed socialist society, often also defined as developed or mature socialism, embraces the next stage of building socialism on the road to communism. In this phase manifold improvement in the socialist society takes place, the material and technical basis for communism is developed, and communist social relations are gradually formed.⁸ All of the values of socialism appear in a more and more complete form, the sphere of activity of economic and social rights of socialism expands, and the possibility of effective use of these rights, along with conscious direction of socialist development, increases. The "leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom," anticipated by Engels, approaches.⁹

The general regularities and criteria of individual phases in the development of socialism are of a universal nature. They point out the line of development of all socialist countries and are fully confirmed in their experience. Nevertheless, the general regularities are embodied in a specific way in the concrete conditions of each country. Thus the nature of these specific properties in individual countries represents a variable category. After the construction of the fundamentals of socialism, as economy and culture advance and as socialist changes take place in social awareness, differences in the economic level between individual socialist countries diminish, and the socioeconomic problems which these societies solve become more and more uniform. This intensifies the objective conditions for the process of socialist nations drawing closer to one another, affects the acceleration of this process, and brings about increased importance for the universal regularities of the development of socialism. However, at the same time specific historical circumstances maintain their value for a long period of time and exert an essential effect upon the way of life and upon national culture. Likewise the general advance of civilization, as well as the development of science and technology, can cause the appearance of new specific features in the individual phases of building socialism in definite

countries. For example, in the Soviet Union the association between the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution and the social relations of socialism have been mainly improving in the stage of developed socialism, while to a large extent other European socialist countries already face this task in the course of building a developed socialist society.

III

In the light of the general assumptions of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, how can the development of Poland so far be characterized? In general the transitional period in our country proceeded in accord with the general regularities of socialism. As we know, questions on the phases of revolution in our country are still being discussed today in historical sciences. Some researchers are inclined to distinguish two phases within the framework of this revolution: popular democratic and socialist, while other more numerous researchers, whose position is closer to mine, believe that the popular democratic revolution was of a socialist nature from its very beginning in Poland (similarly to several other countries of popular democracy). Since the beginning of the PKWN [Polish Committee of National Liberation] the key positions in state authority have been in the hands of the party of the working class and its allies. Thus this authority had a clearly defined class content. Likewise the wide range of basic social transformations, within the framework of which nationalization of large and medium industry took place de facto from the very beginning, testifies to the socialist nature of our revolution.

However, independent of one opinion or another on the nature of our revolution, there is no doubt that about 1947 a state of popular democracy was formed in Poland fulfilling the function of dictatorship of the proletariat, and the road was opened for socialist development. Along with the unification of the Polish workers' movement, a program of building the fundamentals of socialism was outlined, and this was a realization of the fundamental principles of the transitional period. It can also be stated, although this matter still requires further research and discussion, that more or less in the first half of the 1960's these tasks had been realized in principle in the field of socialist industrialization, socialist changes in the social structure and in the formation of a socialist state authority. The need and possibility of outlining new developmental perspectives came to maturity and, as I have already stressed, this took place only at the beginning of the 1970's.

Nevertheless there were areas of life in our country in which building the fundamentals of socialism were not completely carried out. This particularly concerns agriculture, in which the process of socialist transformations was slowed down in 1956. For almost 15 years, the state policy was concentrated on liberating the reserves of individual peasant economy and uniting it with the planned nationwide economy. This was effective, but a lack of perspectives for further development constituted a weakness in this policy.

Certain complications also appeared in the ideological sphere and in some areas of intellectual life. In the middle of the 1950's, when the party was overcoming certain signs of dogmatism and sectarianism, revisionist forces were activated and did not encounter proper, effective resistance. Since this revisionist deviation lasted for a rather long time, it could not help causing a certain amount of retardation and disruption in the process of development of a socialistically aware society, and particularly in the formation of a consistently Marxist orientation of science and intellectual creativity.

Although the Sixth PZPR Congress created new perspectives and gave party activity new impetus in each of these fields, specific problems which arose in them had to be considered in elaborating the program for the building of a developed socialism in our country. However, it would be a mistake to blame the existence of the contemporary socialist phase in the development of Poland on difficulties resulting from not carrying some of the tasks in the transitional period to an end. Such an approach to the matter would justify stagnation and would obscure perspectives, making an approach to new problems difficult.

Keeping in mind the universal regularities and experience of our country, particularly the experience in the post-December period, the Seventh Congress made a decisive step in the theoretical evaluation of the development of socialist construction and in outlining its further perspectives. In characterizing the developmental road followed by Poland, the First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Comrade Edward Gierak, stated:

"Today our country has a completely socialist nature, our government belongs to the working people, and the role of the party has become an unquestionable principle. Socialism is supplementing the political life of the Polish nation with its rich content.

"For many years already socialist productive relations have been completely dominant in industry. The position of socialism in the countryside is growing. On a nationwide scale we are achieving the principles of planned socialist economy, and strengthening and improving it.

"Ninety percent of the jobs in our industry were created in the process of socialist industrialization and economic reconstruction, and of 11.7 million employees in the socialized economy, almost 10 million have become qualified and begun professional work in the Polish Republic.

"We are more and more consistently embodying the principle of socialist social justice and are spreading socialist social awareness.

"We have the right to say that in principle we have built the fundamentals of socialism in our country and have maintained its socioeconomic and political structure. Modern Poland is one of those countries in which, to use Marx's words, socialism has already acquired its own permanent basis."¹⁰

The above analysis is the basis for formulating the conclusion that Poland is entering a new phase of development, the phase of building a developed socialist society. Obviously the party is not closing its eyes to the fact of the unequal development of our country, as a result of which we are still in the course of solving problems of the previous period in some fields of social life, although in the majority we are already achieving tasks typical of the new phase. The developmental phases of a socialist society are not separated by rigid boundaries. The solution of some tasks of previous phases in proper forms at all levels of development is completely natural. The higher economic potential and the greater political maturity of the society, and also, extremely important, the structure of international forces beneficial for socialism facilitate solution of these tasks.

A similar position is expressed in the works of many Marxist authors abroad. For example, the J. W. Dudiniski mentioned above, writes:

"Under the conditions of existence of a world socialist system, and of close and still increasing cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, Poland, as its experience has proved, also has an opportunity without completing a number of tasks of the transitional period of accepting and beneficially incorporating into its life important tasks analogous to those which other countries solve in the phase of creating a developed socialist society."¹¹

Thus it is truly time for the tasks of building a developed socialist society in our country to be faced. However, this would require a bold look into the future. This became possible after the Sixth PZPR Congress under conditions of general socioeconomic activation of the development of the country and concomitant animation of Marxist-Leninist thought in the party program.

IV

In the socioeconomic sphere the building of a developed socialist society means assurance of indivisible control over the socialist productive relations in city and country, the creation of a modern highly productive material and technical base, extensive unity between the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution and social relations of socialism, increasing work productivity, popularizing the socialist relationship to work, better and better satisfaction of social needs and more and more complete, and more consistent realization of social justice.¹² These are the directions outlined by the Seventh Congress. They present many problems of a theoretical and practical nature. I would like to examine a few of them in somewhat more detail.

Achievement of the socioeconomic tasks of the process of building a developed socialist society is closely associated with the development of the scientific-technical revolution, and assumes a union between the achievements of this revolution and socialist social relations. It seems as if there is a need for deeper studies on the regularities of the development of the scientific-technical revolution in socialism, and particularly on the specifics of this development in comparison to that of capitalism.

The scientific-technical revolution has a worldwide range. It encompasses capitalist and socialist countries. However, the social conditions exert an effect upon the regularity and course of this revolution. This is because it is a social process producing deep changes in productive forces. Therefore problems in the development of the scientific-technical revolution should be regarded in their multilateral association with productive relations and, even more, with social relations as a whole. Efficient achievement of the requirement of uniting the scientific-technical revolution and socialist social conditions also requires the formation of a model of the scientific-technical revolution and control over its course, by means of scientific and economic policy, so that it promotes the social goals of socialism. We have every reason to expect that in the socialist system it will not only be possible to accelerate the rate of scientific-technical progress and to increase its results, but at the same time to free it from the indirect negative effects which strongly characterized it under the conditions of capitalism, causing devastation of the natural environment and deep social frustrations. The Soviet experience, and also the more and more extensive experience of Poland and other socialist countries favor such a prognosis.

The problem of the socioeconomic effectiveness of social production, both on the scale of individual countries and on that of the socialist community, assumes a leading position under conditions of building a developed socialism.¹³ This means a new approach to this problem. It is a matter of efficiency not being limited to economic frameworks, but having to span broad social aspects, referring both to goals and to conditions and consequences of economic activity. The association of social and economic aspects will become a basic requirement of economic policy. A socioeconomic strategy corresponding to this will not only lead to permanent improvement in the material and cultural conditions in the life of working people, but will simultaneously bring about new and powerful stimuli for increasing social work productivity. This is because such factors as the level of real wages and consumption, working conditions, the cultural level of jobs, working qualifications, feelings of satisfaction and social security, and protection for the values of the natural environment contribute in an essential way to increasing the effectiveness of production activity and outlays.

At a meeting with working people in Krakow before the elections, Comrade Edward Gierek spoke on the subject of the functioning of social and humane services:

"The sphere of their activity, sometimes too narrow and termed unproductive from a rather short-sighted view, is of fundamental importance for society. To an essential degree it affects both the quality of work and the quality of living conditions of the nation. The high rank of social services in the policy of our state is an inseparable property of socialism, is a distinguishing mark of our system and constitutes one of the most important factors of its historical superiority over capitalism."¹⁴

All of the assumptions mentioned here constitute a basic feature of the strategy of the Sixth Congress of our party. Achievement of these assumptions in practice has contributed to the unprecedented dynamism in the socioeconomic development of our country. The leading model of the Seventh Congress, uniting the quality of work with the quality of living conditions of the nation, stems from these same premises. This connection must be understood in two ways, higher quality of work conditions a higher living standard, but at the same time the higher living standard brings about more intensive and permanent requirements for raising the quality of work.

Thus the socioeconomic effectiveness constitutes an immanent feature of socialist management in the current phase of development. This is a category basically different from the technocratic, economic effectiveness achieved on the basis of monopolistic capitalism. In its monopolistic phase capitalism developed a characteristic economic efficiency which combines engineering and scientific-technical efficiency and maximalization of gain as the leading motive for economic activity. "Managerial" effectiveness of this type, if transferred to the area of socialism, not only does not guarantee high productive and economic standards, but inevitably engenders conflict. This is because it is characterized by a unilateral preference for narrow technical-economic goals above social goals, and particularly by treating these goals as autonomic and competitive *per se*, and by a lack of understanding of the socialist way of life, in which the hierarchy of values is different from that of capitalist society and even different from that found in the initial period of development of our system.

The socioeconomic policy of the Sixth and Seventh Congresses is developing along decidedly different lines. This policy is characterized by increased courage and competence in detailing economic goals and by wider use of internal resources and opportunities in the international division of labor. However, turning the socioeconomic policy toward man and his needs, uniting social and economic goals, is undoubtedly of critical significance. This feature of strategy in the current decade has a double meaning: on the one hand it is productive because it improves the social climate, and on the other hand it arouses activity, evokes initiative and stimulates a good attitude toward work.

One of the important assumptions of the resolutions of the Sixth and Seventh Congresses is a conscious recognition of the fact that in a socialist society, with a high position for the satisfaction of material needs, the rank of social and cultural needs, such as educational, should be even higher. Among material goods priority should be given to those necessary for satisfying humanistic needs, the development of family life and participation in culture, and therefore dwellings and furnishings for them, radio and television sets and so forth. A great deal of sociological research (for example that jointly carried out in 1975 by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology and the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism also mention the formation of factual preferences in social awareness in this direction. Nevertheless this process should continue to be intensified by appropriate social teaching.

In emphasizing the importance of executive activity as a factor in the formation of the socialist way of life and the socialist model of consumption, it must be pointed out that progress in this field requires harmonious and consistent activity, both in the sphere of economics and of ideology, both in the basis and in the superstructure. This means a structure which assures a wealth and distinction in material goods and in so far as this is justified by use values, applied to the satisfaction of basically differentiated needs, and will simultaneously limit them by eliminating everything, at least in the area of the domestic market, which can cause excuses for turning things into symbols of prestige and encourage consumption which is excessive and which dehumanizes interpersonal relationships. These are not simple problems and tasks, and they are by no means generally understood, either in the theoretical sphere nor in economic practice. From this point of view the training of engineers and economists is also burdened by a number of continuing shortcomings.

The solution of the above-mentioned problems requires thorough scientific studies, the results of which should be constantly compared with practice. The point of departure should be the assumption that the criteria of the development of socialism in all fields, including the field of the production structure, should derive from immanent needs and requirements of socialism, and not from the experience of the highly developed capitalist countries, which should obviously be known but critically analyzed.

Under our conditions the question of the social reconstruction of agriculture is associated with the postulate of assuring indivisible control of socialist productive relationships in the city and in the country. This is a matter of long-term activity. This problem was first taken up by the Seventh Congress 20 years ago, when it outlined the prospective program in the field of agricultural policy. This program, which takes a really existing situation as its point of departure, unites production tasks, the tasks of complete and efficient use of the soil and the developmental possibilities of all sectors of agriculture with activity in favor of the gradual formation of socialist social relations in the country.

Our country proceeds from the assumption that there is one general Marxist-Leninist concept of the socialist development of agriculture. The specifics of the development of agriculture in Poland refer to the rate and methods of achieving this concept. The agricultural policy outlined at the Seventh Congress anticipates a manifold development of state farms, support of production cooperatives and of all kinds of team forms of peasant organization, and simultaneously the formation of convenient conditions for productive activity on private working peasant farms, associated more and more closely with the planned economy of the state through a widely developed system of economic ties, especially contractual and cooperative agreements.

Building developed socialism constitutes a complex undertaking embracing all fields of economic, political, social and cultural life. Therefore, the use of the dialectic method in close association with the theory of systems is necessary to analyze the problems in the development of this phase of socialism.¹⁵ This is an objective requirement which results from the complexity of the reciprocal interaction of economic, political and cultural factors and of internal and external policies, exerting an effect upon social development.

Political relationships occupy a special place within this entire system of problems. This happens because in the process of building a developed socialist society the role of the planned activity of the state and of organized political forces increases. High manufacturing potential, dynamically increased, opens broader and broader possibilities for the stimulation of socioeconomic development. At the same time science provides better and better tools for evaluating the social values of individual alternatives and for anticipating their social results. The use of these possibilities and assurance of a high degree of soundness in making decisions depend to no small degree on the political system, on political relationships and on the pulse of political life. The process of carrying out the complex socioeconomic goals also makes higher and higher demands in the field of awareness and of political organization, and in the field of competence for team, disciplined and effective activity. On the one hand this reveals a need for raising the level of state work, and on the other for improving all aspects of ideological life and all incentives of ideological effect upon society. In other words, a propitious course of the building of a developed socialist society requires constant improvement of state and law, of administration and management, of the development of social democracy, of stimulation and intensification of social discipline and of raising the level of ideological and educational work.

These particular needs in the current phase of development are reflected more and more broadly in the activity of our party and state. Attention should be called to the fact that, particularly in the last 5 years, the great impetus of the programs adopted for solving key socioeconomic problems has been associated with such undertakings as improving the central administration on the basis of the principle that the party guides and the government governs, thorough reform in local administration, basic reconstruction of the educational system, a far-reaching program of training the younger generation, and stimulating all ideological, cultural and educational work. Immediately after the Seventh Congress, the Central Committee of our party devoted its Third Plenum to problems of strengthening the socialist state and of developing patriotic awareness in society, and especially to the problem of the inseparable feature of patriotism which consists of thinking according to state categories.

Thus science faces important and growing tasks in the field of developing the theory of the formation of the political system of a developed socialist state. Of the many problems in this area I would like to call attention to two: the general theory of transforming a state from a dictatorship of the proletariat into a nationwide socialist state under the control of the working class, and certain aspects of the process of forming a moral and political unity in our nation.

In regard to the first problem, it is worth recalling that both Marx and Engels, as well as Lenin, understood the dictatorship of the proletariat, or for that matter any dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or of any other class, as a type of government defined by class, and not specifically as a dictatorial form of exercising authority. Therefore the concept of "class dictatorship" in Marxism has a meaning different from the everyday meaning. According to the Marxist concept, each of the states existing up to now, even with the most broadly developed political democracy, has been a dictatorship of a definite class, which personified its control and achieved its interests. Only under conditions of advanced socialism is there an opportunity to shift to a nationwide state.

In the many Leninist definitions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, ideas of the hegemony of the working class in building socialism, a hegemony materialized in an alliance with peasants and the middle classes in a broad concept, always comes to the fore. This is the origin of the postulate of basing state authority on a direct connection with working people, and broader and broader participation of the majority of society in governing. Lenin always understood the leading role of the party of the working class as a duty, as an obligation to lead and to outline proper policy, and as skill in the masses leading themselves.

Basic goals of a socialist state are to inspire the mass of people to positions of real comanagement of the country, to improve all privileges of minorities at the cost of the majority, to assure a maximum of socio-economic equality in a broad sense, and primarily to equalize opportunity in all areas of life. These are, therefore, the most democratic tasks which a state government has ever adopted and achieved. Violence with respect to hostile class forces, which express the interests of the bourgeoisie, is only a secondary, although necessary, function of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is dependent on historical conditions.

The forms in which these two functions are realized, that is the method of exercising state authority within the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat, depend on the concrete social and political situation, as historical experience shows. For example, under our Polish conditions, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat developed a number of specific features differing from other states of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the point of view of the forms of exercising authority. Nevertheless, a characteristic system of political coalition developed in the form of cooperation among the PZPR, ZSL and SD and in connection with this of the

special form of the National Unity Front, powerful emphasis on the role of a socialist parliament, institutional forms of social movement on the part of Catholic laity and many others.

The process of transforming a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a nationwide state can, to use the definition of Lenin, be characterized as a transition from governments "for the working masses through the leading stratum of the proletariat" to governments exercised "in the interest of the working masses through the working masses themselves."¹⁶ It is obvious that this type of transition must mean a fundamental intensification and development of socialist democracy. Thus democratization is the dominant tendency in the evolution of socialist statehood. The key point lies in the fact that this democratization is understood in conformity with its socialist content, expressing the immanent needs and properties of our system and its developmental tendencies.

In the context of perspectives for the development of socialist democracy one problem is often raised and discussed, that is, pluralism. This is a rather ambiguous concept. If it is intended to distinguish social opinions in individual questions, for example, those involved with a world outlook, or in relation to concrete political, economic or cultural problems, it is clear that distinctions of this type to a greater or lesser degree constitute a socially permanent phenomenon, although variable in content. Differences in opinions related genetically with class divisions or which are the result of backwardness and of a low level of education are gradually disappearing. However, new occasions for discussion and for differentiating among evaluations and initiatives in individual questions may appear on the basis of a higher and higher level of knowledge and growing social activity. In contradistinction to class differentiation, this type of variety does not permanently divide society and can be regarded as a kind of natural result of cognitive activity in people. Democratic organization of political and social life creates and will create better and better conditions in socialism for developing and articulating various kinds of initiative, comparison of opinions, discussion, criticism and self-criticism.

However the term pluralism is often taken to mean a specific model of political life historically developed along with capitalism, and functioning in practice only in some highly developed capitalist countries, a system based on institutionalized competition between political groups. This system, a logical superstructure for a society deeply divided by class and permeated by economic competition, has played out its historical progressive role. Likewise at present, from the point of view of the interests of the working masses, bourgeois democracy constitutes the most favorable system of political relations of all the forms of political life achieved under the conditions of capitalism. The working class parties have always defended bourgeois democracy, although they have been aware of its imperfections.

After the socialist revolution, in all cases known so far, political life has been organized on other principles, particularly with disregard for the

competition of political groupings and of "the free play of forces." Countries of real socialism have formed their own forms of political life and new forms of democracy.

In regard to socialist Poland, important reasons, supporting the superiority and effectiveness of the really existing forms of political life developed, have been discussed many times. The fact that under our conditions competition between political groups and the "free play of forces" would mean a restoration of deep social divisions and of fruitless quarrels, causing a waste of social energy necessary for the primary realization of class and national goals, has been particularly emphasized.

An important criterion in evaluating the suitability of a political system is its ability to optimize nationwide policy in accord with social needs and opportunities, as well as the ability to make competent appointments of teams carrying out this policy on every level. Apologists of the bourgeois political systems maintain that competitive rivalry between political parties is the best guarantee to meet these tasks. However, the experience of many countries shows that this "institutional competition" leads to the creation of artificial divisions, and to domination of group favoritism, not only over the nationwide interest, but even over the long-term interests of the ruling class. The motive for political life becomes, not so much the goal of optimizing policy, but of obtaining dominance for one of the groups. Political discussion is turned into demagogic manipulation of public opinion, the role of science and experts becomes an auxiliary one, and this leads more and more to degeneration in political life, the latest example of which was the Watergate affair and its consequences in the United States.

By eliminating the socioeconomic bases for the political inequality of man and the battle of competition in economy, a political system of real socialism has opened a wide path for the development of political democracy, based on stable and multilateral cooperation of working people in governing. Within the framework of this system there do not exist any objective bases and needs to institutionalize political differences and platforms. This is rather a place for systematic discussion on general and particular social tasks, discussion aimed at finding the optimal solution and, on this basis, to attain the widest possible range of unanimity in making decisions and carrying them out. Within the framework of this system, the center and motive force of which is the party of the working class, conditions develop for the development of direct and indirect democracy, and to constant enrichment of the substance of political life. It may be said that under the conditions of socialism the mechanism of democratic activity, at least insofar as its potential tendency is concerned, is reminiscent of the mechanism of approach to correct solutions on the basis of science.

Obviously we cannot exclude the possibility that under concrete conditions in individual countries, conditions determined by their traditions and by the structure of their class forces, an approach to socialism may turn out to be possible in the future even with definite utilization of institutionalized

forms of political life of a pluralistic nature, particularly if this is associated with a lasting alliance of various class and political forces. While not excluding such a hypothesis, it must be remembered that this has never yet been confirmed in practice. On the other hand experience clearly confirms that for countries of real socialism, and thus for Poland, too, such forms of political life would be unsuitable and would be a step backward. The institutions of our socialist state have been developed in accord with our needs and conditions, and are still being improved. They have passed their historical examination and will be a good basis for further development.

The progress made in the last 5-year period is of great importance for the real development of socialist activity in our country. Such state institutions of this democracy as the Sejm and the people's councils have been strengthened. The development of democratic relationships in the internal life of political and social organizations, particularly the assurance of consistent realization of Leninist standards in the Polish Working Party, stimulation of trade unions, youth organizations and many other social organizations, are of no less importance, and may even be more essential. New forms of direct democracy have appeared during these years, such as general consultation with society on particularly important decisions and problems and wider consultation of professional opinions and specialized expertise before making decisions. All of this opens new prospects for the development of socialist democracy.

In this context the importance of changes made recently in the Polish Constitution should be stressed. Thanks to these changes on the constitutional level we have obtained principles for the socioeconomic strategy of the Sixth and Seventh Congresses, and thus a strategy corresponding to the conditions and directions of building a developed socialist society. A considerably wider framework was set up for the development of socialist democracy, both thanks to the removal of many limitations made in the constitution in 1952, understandable under the conditions of those times, and especially thanks to the significant expansion of the area of civic rights and freedoms, and also to their socioeconomic guarantees in conformity with the possibilities and perspectives of the present phase of development of the country.

In considering the problems of the state and of democracy, it must be borne in mind that the forms of political organization of a socialist society are relatively young and are constantly developing. From this point of view our system has not yet said its final word. However, the tendency of its development is clear. It is defined by the formation of historically new and higher forms of political life, forming conditions for increasing democratic activity on the part of the working class and of all working people.

VI

The objective basis for the moral and political unity of a nation building socialism is formed by changes in the social structure, particularly by drawing the working classes and strata closer, which gradually leads to the formation of a uniform socialist society from the social point of view. This

goal, a uniform society from the social point of view, can be essentially obtained only in the communistic phase of development. However, even now it is possible to observe definite circumstances of the social classes and strata drawing together. This process will be intensified as a developed socialist society is built.

In his classical definition Lenin characterized classes as "large groups of people, differing among themselves by the place occupied in a historically defined system of social production, by the relationship (predominantly sanctioned and determined by law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor and, ensuing from this, by the way they obtain that part of the social wealth which they manage, and its dimensions."¹⁷ Proceeding from this definition it is possible to formulate the prognosis that in the coming period of time many objective factors will accelerate the process of the large social groups in our country drawing close to one another.

The first of these factors is the gradual elimination of differences with respect to individual social groups and classes to ownership of means of production. A second is the more and more complete realization of principles of social justice, which will occur both through the more and more consistent subordination of wages to work productivity and quality, and as a result, no less important, of the development of social benefits which contribute to equalizing opportunity for youth, women and families with many children. The basis for social stratafication will therefore become to a greater and greater degree the place in the social division of labor. The rank of this factor will remain high for a long historical period, and it will be accompanied to no little degree by differences between city and country, and also between mental and physical work.

Nevertheless these differences will be leveled by the process of equalizing levels of education and conditions for participation in culture. For example, there is a certain amount of importance in the fact that universality of secondary education in our country should be accomplished in principle as early as the phase of building developed socialism, and not after this goal has been attained. Another factor reducing social differences under our conditions is consistently high social mobility associated with a great deal of movement of the populace between individual regions of the country and between city and country. Against this background we have a very strong degree of professional independence of children from the situation of their parents. As a result there are more and more families in which separate generations, and even members of the same generations, belong to different social groups.

Another characteristic feature is composed of the creation of many transitional groups, the social role of which should be the more thoroughly examined because it is not always possible to define and evaluate it in an unambiguous way. This type of transitional group is formed at the contact between intelligence and the working class, including both workers with a relatively high level of education and the intelligentsia directly participating in servicing production equipment. It is precisely here that the differences between physical and

mental work are being obliterated most rapidly. On the one hand this group is characterized by thoughts of working class categories, and on the other by the skill and knowledge proper to the intelligentsia. The situation of the social group at the interface between the peasant and working classes is more complicated.

Transformations in the social structure objectively bring individual strata and classes of our society closer together. These are unavoidable processes which constitute the result of the development of manufacturing forces. However, they are subject to conscious influence, for the purpose of strengthening socialist tendencies beneficial to society and counteracting negative phenomena. This is a matter of bringing the social classes and strata closer together, and also of having the process of social mobility accompanied by the formation and spread of socialist awareness and political culture, morality and civic-mindedness, the socialist way of life, and traditions and attitudes characterizing the working class. This particularly concerns the sphere of relationship to work and to the interests of the state, capacity for team and disciplined activity, activity in social life and strength and persistence in social convictions.

It is no accident that the party and state policy have placed such great emphasis in recent years on the multilateral enhancement of ideological and moral motivation, parallel to the dynamic increase in the wages and incomes of the populace and improvement of the entire system of material motivation. This is a matter not only and not mainly of maintaining equilibrium. Material motivation is a necessary, important factor in forming relationships to work, but it has a limited range. Under the conditions of socialism it does not and cannot act in the same way as the profit motive in capitalism. This is because material values should not be given social preference. Even if such a phenomenon should appear here and there, it represents an alien tumor in the socialist structure and is sooner or later eliminated by this structure. It may be assumed that as a socialist society rapidly achieves a higher standard of prosperity, the effect of material motivation will be relatively diminished, and social interest will dictate stronger ideological and moral motivation.

Therefore building a developed socialist society should be a period of intense enrichment of the ideological life of society, an increase in moral obligations and a tightening of social and interpersonal bonds. Both objective socioeconomic changes, removing the social cause of frustrating stresses, and a general increase in culture and social awareness should also lead in this direction. However, like everything else which concerns the sphere of additional building, these processes will not proceed by themselves. Their proper course will depend to a decisive degree on the conscious educational measures of society, and on a harmonious combination of activity in the educational system, mass media for information and opinion formation, political and social organizations, the state and its institutions, and factories. The entire socialist pedagogy in society should aim at creating and strengthening the ethos of creative work as the most important source of social benefit and

individual satisfaction, the only reason for social prestige. At the time the Soviet State was a half century old, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev said on this subject:

"Comrades, we shall not build a domain of idlers, a country flowing with milk and honey, but we shall build the best organized, most industrious society in the history of humanity. And in this society will live the most industrious, the most conscientious, the best organized and the most aware people."¹⁸

The importance of the socialist vision of a prosperous life will grow against this background, not only in the ideological aspect, but also on the socioeconomic policy level. This division is different from the bourgeois pattern of a "consumer society," where the main purpose is the collection of material goods and an obsessive pursuit of such goods. A lot more hard work is necessary to attain general wealth in our country. But there should already be the formation of an ideal of a wealthy life in which material goods are only the basis for the general development of all human needs, especially in the sphere of work bringing satisfaction and the wealth of spiritual life.

* * *

In the past the historical process has produced a certain one-sidedness in the development of patriotic awareness in our nation. The lengthy lack of our own statehood did not favor the development of an association between patriotism and state. A national and cultural bond created the basis for the patriotic bond. The bourgeois landed state of the 20 years between the wars did not create a sufficiently strong awareness of the state either. Only the creation of the people's state, expressing the interests and aspirations of the entire nation, created a new situation in this regard.

A more and more important factor in the formation of awareness in the current phase of social development is socialist patriotism integrating traditional patriotic values with the principles of socialism and internationalism, a patriotism manifesting itself more and more strongly through involvement in creative work and social activity. Patriotic feelings create a permanent and multilateral premise for ideological motivation, both in the service of the development of the country and in ideological confrontation with forces and tendencies alien to socialism. This is of particular importance at present, when the level of this confrontation is expanding. National pride in the achievements of our country, in the socialist values of our life, in everything in it different from capitalism, in everything which confirms our national and structural identity, can and should be a most important source of ideological aggression and resistance.

In the awareness of a socialist society internationalism is inseparable from patriotism. It is a historically shaped, emotional and rational attitude of solidarity and support for the international forces of progress and revolution.

Its basic content is expressed in a feeling of ideological, class and fraternal links between parties, nations and states of the socialist community. An excellent example of this is the relationship between Poland and the Soviet Union on all levels: ideological unity between the PZPR and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the alliance and cooperation between both nations, and the friendship between fraternal nations.

Under the conditions of a developed socialist society a mutual union between socialist progress within the framework of individual social countries and the development of the entire socialist community grows. A reflection of this regularity is socialist economic integration. The gradual internationalization of the development of manufacturing power forms the basis of integration. Under the conditions of socialism there is nothing to prevent this objective tendency and the concomitant developmental need from being used and stimulated in the interests of each socialist country in particular and of the socialist community as a whole.

People's Poland, as an inseparable link in the socialist community, participates actively in the process of socialist economic integration, strengthening and intensifying economic and scientific-technical cooperation with individual socialist countries, and especially with our great partner, the Soviet Union. Within the framework of this collaboration, more and more importance is attributed to cooperation and specialization in production, which leads to a considerable increase in socioeconomic efficiency through a reasonable division of tasks on an international scale.

The ideological results of socialist integration are also worthy of emphasis. During it there is a tightening of contacts between teams of thousands of factories, between millions of working people, who come into mutual contact in the creative process, become acquainted and are drawn closer to one another, and exchange values and experiences. Wide scientific, cultural and tourist contacts develop. All of this contributes to strengthening socialist internationalism, and enhances the feeling of unity and solidarity in nations building socialism.

The formation of a developed socialism in our country represents part of the developmental process of the entire socialist community, a process which leads to the multilateral development of values in the world socialist system, to a strengthening of its position in the world power structure and its role in forming peaceful prospects for humanity, and to clearing the way for socialist progress on a global scale.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Marx, K. "Krytyka Programu Gotajskiego" [The Gotha Program], Warsaw, 1975, p 25.
2. Lenin, V. I. "Dziela" [Works], Vol 27, p 142; Vol 30, p 336; Vol 42, p 42, Warsaw, 1955, 1957, 1970.

3. PRAVDA, 1975, No 78.
4. Gierek, E. "On the Consistent Realization of the Resolution of the Sixth Congress, On Further Growth of the Economy," Warsaw, 1973, pp 61-62.
5. Cf. "USSR Constitution".
6. Cf. Fedoseyev, P. N., NOWE DROGI, 1975, No 6, p 83.
7. Dudinskiy, I.V., "Some Problems in Forming a Developed Society in Countries of the Socialist Community", NOVAYA I NOVEYSKAYA ISTORIYA, 1975, No 5, p 25.
8. Fedoseyev, op cit, p 21.
9. Marx, K; Engels, F. "Dziela" [Works], Vol 20, Warsaw, 1972, p 216.
10. "VII Zjazd PZPR. Podstawowe materialy i dokumenty" [VII PZPR Congress. Basic Materials and Documents], Warsaw, 1975, pp 111-112.
11. Dudinskiy, op cit, p 21.
12. "VII PZPR Congress...", p 112.
13. Cf, Fedoseyev, op cit, p 84.
14. TRYBUNA LUDU, 19 March 1975.
15. Cf. Afanasjew, W. G. "On a Systematic Approach in Social Science", VOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1973, No 6.
16. Lenin, W. I. "Dziela" [Works], Vol 29, Warsaw, 1965, p 172.
17. Lenin, "Dziela" [Works], Vol 29..., p 415.
18. TRYBUNA LUDU, 22 December 1972.

6806

CSO: 2600

END