

JPRS 69989

18 October 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1462

Reproduced From
Best Available Copy

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for Public Release
Distribution Unlimited

U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

20000329 105

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 69989	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
	4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1462		5. Report Date 18 October 1977
7. Author(s)		6.	8. Performing Organization Rept. No.
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above		11. Contract/Grant No.	
		13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
15. Supplementary Notes		14.	
16. Abstracts The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.			
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs Propaganda <input type="checkbox"/> Albania Political Science <input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria Sociology <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia Military Organizations <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary <input type="checkbox"/> Poland <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania <input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia			
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms			
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15			
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 40
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price

18 October 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1462

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Gustav Husak Honored at Luncheon by GDR, CSSR Officials
(Vladimir Gerloch, Vitezslav Havlicek; RUDE PRAVO,
5 Oct 77) 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Slovak 'PRAVDA' Comments on Opening of Belgrade Conference
(Juraj Bydzovsky; PRAVDA, 4 Oct 77) 2
- Youth Daily Reports on Astronautics Congress
(Karel Pacner; MLADA FRONTA, 5 Oct 77) 4
- CSSR TU Paper Interviews Greek TU Leader
(Ch. Karakitsos Interview; PRACE, 20 Sep 77) 6

EAST GERMANY

- Alleged SED Official Supports Regime Critic Bahro's Theses
(DER SPIEGEL, 19 Sep 77) 8
- Writer Jurek Becker Justifies Remaining in GDR
(Jurek Becker Interview; FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU,
6 Sep 77) 12

HUNGARY

- MAGYARORSZAG' Maintains New MBFR Round Does Not Promise
Decisive Change
(Otto Oltvanyi; MAGYARORSZAG, 2 Oct 77) 16
- 'NEPSZABADSAG' Marks Resumption of Belgrade Conference
(Peter Vajda; NEPSZABADSAG, 4 Oct 77) 19

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Briefs

CSSR Judicial Delegation	21
Ecuador's Dobronsky Visit	21
Science Committee Secretary Appointed	21
Hungarian-Argentine Talks	21
Maj Gen Varga Funeral	21
Korom Attends Ethiopian Anniversary	22

ROMANIA

Council of State Decree on Military Pensions (BULETINUL OFICIAL, 6 Aug 77)	23
---	----

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUSTAV HUSAK HONORED AT LUNCHEON BY GDR, CSSR OFFICIALS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 77 p 2 AU

[Report by Vladimir Gerloch and Vitezslav Havlicek "Significant Progress in Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] In honor of Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, Comrade Alois Pisnik, member of the SED Central Committee and first secretary International Hotel [in Magdeburg]

It was attended by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, the members of the Czechoslovak party state delegation and the GDR party state representatives accompanying the Czechoslovak delegation.

In the name of the Czechoslovak party state delegation Comrade Gustav Husak expressed thanks for the truly cordial welcome extended to the delegation by the people of Magdeburg in the streets and by the working people of the combine. He termed it an expression of the firm and sincere friendship for the trust in the Czechoslovak people, a manifestation of the common support for the new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance they signed together with Erich Honecker. He stressed the significance of the mutually profitable economic cooperation between the two countries, a fine example of which the Czechoslovak delegation came to know directly at the plant of the Magdeburg engineering combine.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLOVAK 'PRAVDA' COMMENTS ON OPENING OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Oct 77 p 6 AU

[Commentary by Juraj Bydzovsky: "Today in Belgrade--The Meeting of Representatives of the States Which Attended the Helsinki Conference Begins"]

[Summary] Two years after the signing of the Final Document of CSCE in Helsinki, representatives of the signatory states have convened in Belgrade in accord with a stipulation of the final document to review the efforts made in improving mutual relations, in strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe and in the process of detente. "Although the development of the international situation in the past period has had and continues to have its complexities, the process of detente which led to the convocation of the Helsinki Conference and to the signing of such a fundamentally significant document as the Final Document has further progressed and asserted itself as the main direction of the development of international relations."

In his speech at the current 32d UNGA session USSR Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko said that states pursuing peace efforts not only by words but by deeds will find a common language in defining steps designed to strengthen peace. He also underlined that the policy of detente must not be allowed to stagnate or even to decline.

It cannot be overlooked that forces linked with the military-industrial complex in the West, with the emphatic assistance of the Peking leadership, have recently made extraordinary efforts to upset the process of detente and revert to a policy from a position of strength.

"These negative efforts became apparent also in the preparations for the Belgrade Conference. The U.S. representatives in particular tried to steer them in such a way as to create the organizational conditions for possibly making it serve their propaganda campaign for the so-called 'protection of human rights.' The bourgeois press has written and is writing quite openly about these plans.

"The views aired allow the quite unequivocal conclusion that an effort is being here made to shift the results of the Helsinki Conference onto another level, to give them a different interpretation, to suppress the most significant parts of the Final Document and to extract from it just the question

of human relations and primarily turn it into an instrument of antisocialist propaganda. This is also the origin of the idea that it might be possible to turn the Belgrade Conference into a sort of 'tribunal' where the capitalist states would assume the role of judges and the socialist countries the role of the defendants. These absurd ideas have been determinedly rejected by leading statesmen of West European countries, particularly France and the FRG."

The facts about the possibilities of fully implementing human rights speak so much in favor of socialism and against capitalism that any attempts at using the above-mentioned idea in practice are doomed in advance. "We think it to be the common duty of all the participating countries to make the greatest possible contribution toward a truly fruitful discussion, toward a truly fruitful debate on the implementation of the Final Document of the Helsinki Conference to date, on preparing conditions for a further, more intense implementation of the Final Document and its full application in the daily life of the European nations."

In his speech to UNGA, Andrey Gromyko stated the Soviet Union's readiness to do everything it could to make the Belgrade meeting constructive and turn it into another landmark on the path embarked upon in Helsinki.

"This is also the common approach of the socialist states to the talks which have begun today. Naturally this requires a similar approach on the part of all the participants. It lies in their common interests to have the conference proceed constructively and bear real fruit."

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

YOUTH DAILY REPORTS ON ASTRONAUTICS CONGRESS

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 5 Oct 77 p 2 AU

[Article by Karel Pacner: "Looking Back at the 28th Congress of the International Astronautics Federation [IAF]; Man Will Control Space"]

[Summary] Over 700 experts from 38 countries and the UN Secretariat attended the recent astronautics congress in Prague to discuss the "Utilization of Cosmic Space Today and Tomorrow." In accord with the congress' orientation to the future, the main paper was read by O.G. Gazenko, Soviet expert on medical-biological problems. He pointed out that interplanetary flights will be possible only when man is able to work on orbital stations for several years without damage to his health.

At many meetings the possibilities of astronautics helping to solve problems on Earth were discussed such as the manufacture of electric energy in space from the sun's rays. American professor G. O'Neill proffered the interesting idea of building towns in space, the inhabitants of which would service the sun power plants. Soviet cosmonaut V. N. Kubasov predicted that in a few years the first space factories would be established to produce, under the unique space conditions, better materials and semifinished goods than on the earth and also qualitatively quite new materials.

As always, great interest was evoked by the discussion about extra-terrestrial civilizations. The Americans reported on their projects for intercepting possible signals from developed cosmic beings. "Soviet academy member Y.S. Sklovskiy, who until recently supported the idea that there exist civilizations in space, now has surprisingly changed his mind. In view of the fact that there exist no physical obstacles to flights to the stars, other 'older' civilizations would have colonized the entire galaxy by now, Sklovskiy asserts. And since we have not found any evidence of their presence on Earth, we are the one and only intelligent beings of our galaxy. Dr N.S. Kardoshov and all the other participants opposed this view. The best counterargument was supplied by American astronomer M. Rees: 'The absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.' In addition we have not yet even begun to look for traces of 'them' on Earth."

Naturally it is impossible to sum up the results of all the meetings--after all, over 300 papers were read at 44 sessions.

"Of equal significance as the official program always are the countless friendly meetings of the experts from the different countries. They not only exchange their views of the problems discussed but also speak about new scientific issues and establish contacts which may lead to yet closer cooperation. And this is the additional great result of the 28th IAF Congress in Prague."

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR TU PAPER INTERVIEWS GREEK TU LEADER

Prague PRACE in Czech 20 Sep 77 p 2 AU

[Interview with Ch. Karakitsos, CSEE secretary general, by M. Krajnikova:
"We Are Interviewing a Greek Trade Union Representative: An Impetus To
Develop Relations"]

[Text] An official seven-member delegation of the General Confederation of Greek Working People [CSEE] paid a visit to Czechoslovakia recently at the invitation of the Trade Union Central Council. On this occasion Ch. Karakitsos, CSEE secretary general, granted a short interview to our correspondent.

[Question] What is the present situation in the Greek trade union movement?

[Answer] It may be noted that the present situation is a transitory one. We are working under difficult conditions. It is necessary to strengthen the ranks of our trade unionists. We are striving to consolidate democracy in our trade unions, to enhance their authority. We are naturally striving to improve the economic situation of our members whose incomes have dropped to a minimum after the fall of the dictatorship.

[Question] How does your current visit to Czechoslovakia fit into the overall effort by the Greek trade unions to deepen contacts with the other European trade union centers, particularly after the CSCE?

[Answer] I am convinced that all Greek working people welcome our present visit to Czechoslovakia because they fully realize that a consistent implementation of the Helsinki Final Act is only possible with the joint efforts of all working people and primarily of the trade unionists of all of Europe.

[Question] What are your impressions of our fatherland?

[Answer] The present visit of our trade unionists to Czechoslovakia has fully confirmed our concepts of your country. The cordiality which we found at every step certainly provides good prerequisites for a mutual exchange of experiences and an expansion of cooperation.

[Question] In what spheres?

[Answer] One has to recall that the stay of Greek trade unionists is the very first one in mutual contacts between Czechoslovak and Greek trade union centers. So far no detailed program for concrete cooperation has been worked out. Further mutual meetings will certainly be an impetus for mutual cooperation to be filled with concrete deeds in the interest of the working people of both countries.

In conclusion I would like, through your paper, to thank the leadership of the trade union central council and all Czechoslovak working people for the kind reception accorded us during the visit and to thank the Czechoslovak people for the assistance which they have rendered and still are rendering to the people of Greece and above all the people of Cyprus.

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

ALLEGED SED OFFICIAL SUPPORTS REGIME CRITIC BAHRO'S THESES

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 39, 19 Sep 77 pp 113, 114 DW

[Comments by anonymous "high-ranking SED functionary on the book of arrested regime critic Rudolf Bahro": Pepper Into Open Wounds"]

[Text] The measures with which the GDR security organs have reacted to Rudolf Bahro are completely incomprehensible from the ideological point of view, for in the introduction to his book "The Alternative" Bahr expressly defends all orthodox positions of Marxism-Leninism as taught in the GDR-- especially the revolution theory which falsifies Marx.

To go by what Friedrich Engels said at Marx' grave, it was Marx who discovered as the greatest scientific feat the fact that the proletarian movement must go by the inevitabilities of history. This means that the proletariat must not under any circumstances seize power prematurely.

Marx expressly warned the proletarian movement against plunging into revolution if the objective material conditions are not yet ripe for it. Following the abortive revolutions of the 19th century he declared that the proletariat would need decades or even centuries to make itself capable of exercising power. Contrary to this thesis, Bahro defends Lenin, who launched a putsch in a country which was not ripe, either economically or politically, for reaching socialism.

The violation of the Marxian theory on revolution committed by Lenin is expressly approved by Bahro. Consequently, the SED charge that Bahro is advocating pseudotheories is an outright joke on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Those who had Bahro arrested also completely overlooked another peculiarity of the book which is quite favorable for the SED: Bahro is only voicing theoretical criticism. In explaining his objectives he avoids any direct political attack against the system. He does not talk about freedom of travel, emigration or revolutionary resistance.

On the contrary: he wants to preserve the economic structures and the people's property and to stabilize the system--albeit with the help of a reformation through the people, expressly demanding in this connection that nothing must happen to members of the political apparatus, including representatives of the security organs.

As a utopian communist Bahro is moving about here entirely within orthodox Marxism-Leninism. He becomes dangerous only to the bureaucracy whose ineptitude he documents.

This, however, is no treason against the state in the GDR but a fact known to all. How telling this blow was is illustrated by the fact that the party does not face the music but locks Bahro up, charges him with intelligence activities and defames him over the internal party grapevine as an "idiotic cretin" without quoting even one of his arguments.

In the first part of his book ("The Phenomenon of the Noncapitalist Road to the Industrial Society") Bahro proves that the SED withholds or distorts fundamental starting positions of Marx in its ideological predications. The "Asian way of production" so called by Marx, which is characterized by the fact that an excessively powerful bureaucracy is sponging at the expense of a socialist state, is the typical reflection of the so-called real socialism, with the exception of Yugoslavia--something that is carefully suppressed by the SED.

But Bahro justifies even the present state of affairs with the so-called inevitability of the historical development by referring to Marx again quite orthodoxly. The latter proceeded from the premise that it probably will be necessary to go through such a phase of the Asian way of production once again prior to real communism. Consequently, Bahro is doing his best to save the communist ideal.

He also sticks to the utopian elements of the Marxian ideas of communism, which, however, have long been outlived as a result of the constantly growing division of labor, the problems of the developing countries and the problems of ecology. Besides, and this is totally incomprehensible from the humanist point of view, he defends the immeasurable sorrow and the sacrifices with Stalinism has imposed on tested communists and on millions of people without any party affiliation.

Bahro justifies all this with historical exigency and forgets that the undemocratic and subjectivist arbitrary rule of the Bolshevik system has brought such a destiny to these people.

In the spirit of Marx the Communist Party would have had to support the development of capitalism in Russia for the benefit of the people in a parliamentary republic. The expansion of bourgeois democracy and the bourgeois way of life against feudal tsarism would not have entailed either counterrevolution or civil war or millions of people starved to death or Stalinism. Without Lenin's putsch tactics the communist idea would not have been discredited worldwide and, with special effect, in Germany.

Since Stalin all humanistic problems of Marx have been frankly reprogrammed in CPSU and SED party documents:

According to Marx, the communists planned to eliminate the state. Today we have the programmatic continuation of a growing part played by the state. The state of a proletarian dictatorship verbally became a state of the people which did not change the character of the matter.

According to Marx, the communists planned to set up a democratic Communist Party without any administrative authority of the leadership, which eventually was to dissolve itself. Today, however, a growing omnipotence has been programmed, not of the Communist Party, but of its Secretariat, topping the party, the state and society.

According to Marx, the communists aimed to set up the unity of the German nation and to make it blossom as a real democracy in which no one would be told what he must think, read or listen to. Today, however, destruction of that unity is being aimed for, as well as isolation from real international life.

As regards the national problem, however, Bahro avoids every attack on SED policy; in other words, he does not attack the party bureaucracy at its most vulnerable spot.

Instead he attacks it more in the second half of his book ("The Anatomy of Really Existing Socialism") and at its second vulnerable spot: the economy. This paragraph and particularly the passages dealing with the party bureaucracy and the state apparatus, is the strongest part of the book--it is like putting pepper in an open wound.

Here speaks the experienced practitioner, economic functionary Bahro, proving with practical facts the enormous contradictions existing between the enormously exaggerated demands of the party bureaucracy and the real possibilities of productive activity. Nobody can contest these facts. They explain why GDR economic losses running into the billions come about to the disadvantage of the people, and why the East Germans, who are neither dumber nor less diligent than the West Germans, constantly are lagging behind the FRG economically.

In capitalist economic competition, the rules see to it that poor managers are fired. In the GDR, however, these dropouts are decorated with the Karl-Marx-Order. In exchange for their mismanagement they get a lifelong Politburo job.

In his "Strategy of a Communist Alternative," formulated in the third part of his book, Bahro strictly clings to the philosophic positions of Marx. He simply tries to apply them to the present state of the class struggle.

In doing this he follows illusions--by objecting to the pluralist position of the Eurocommunists. Real progress in the direction of communism, after

discrediting the communist idea through its present leadership, probably can be achieved only by practicing the European and not the Asiatic political concept.

It must not necessarily lead to confrontation with the "Asiatic despotism of Russia" (Marx). The Russian people have other ideas in regard to community, freedom and human dignity than do the West Europeans. You can very well respect national characteristics while embarking on a European way to communism.

Bahro does not explicitly stress that the KPD broke the promise it gave in 1954 "not to force the Soviet system on Germany" when the group of Moscow exiles, with the help of the Soviets, ousted the legally elected body consisting of Western emigrants who had led the party against Hitler. If one had kept that promise, the KPD of the FRG would not have been destroyed.

Bahro hits the bull's-eye in the political-ideological field where incapable and unworldly people are presumptuous enough to constantly lie to and tutor GDR citizens who have been thoroughly informed by Western television. The aversion to manipulations is being voiced more and more frankly in the GDR.

Bahro finds full support and sympathy wherever he raps corruption, criticizes the squandering of bureaucracy and unmasks the contradiction between propaganda and reality. He expertly analyzes the reasons for the lack of efficiency and the growing feeling of uneasiness in the GDR caused by the suppression of every creative idea and the labeling of every well-founded criticism as an action aimed against the state.

In disregard of the most elementary rules of democracy, the GDR is being ruled like a German principality of the 19th century: the prince and a handful of advisers do not decide on conceptional future guidelines but on the religion of their subordinates. In doing this they are choking every initiative.

Bahro's courage in risking not only his existence as a citizen but his physical existence, too, will secure an honorable place for him in the history of the German workers' movement, despite his idealistically exaggerated communist misinterpretations. You will not be able to say that in the future about some people who want to be most equal among equals.

Bahro's achievement will not be curtailed by the fact that he had his book published in the FRG. If there exists no freedom here to articulate your opinion, it must be articulated wherever that freedom exists.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

WRITER JUREK BECKER JUSTIFIES REMAINING IN GDR

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 6 Sep 77 p 7 DW

[Interview with GDR writer Jurek Becker by Wolfram Schuette: "The Population Must Finally Get the Same Treatment as the Artists"]

[Text] Jurek Becker, born 1937 in Poland; spent his childhood in ghettos and concentration camps. A student of philosophy, he has been writing in East Berlin since 1960. Motion picture scripts, television plays, cabaret texts, novels: "Jacob the Liar" (1969), "Misleading the Authorities" (1973), "The Boxer" (1976). Holder of Charles Veillon Prize (France), Literature Prize of Bremen, GDR National Prize. In November 1976 he signed the petition against Wolf Biermann's expatriation. Jurek Becker was interviewed in Frankfurt/Main by Wolfram Schuette, FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU feuilleton editor.

[Text] FR: Mr Becker, 6 weeks ago you said in concluding an interview with DER SPIEGEL: "If what matters is to keep one's mouth shut, then I prefer to keep my mouth shut on the Bahamas." Well, you are not on the Bahamas, you are here to talk with your FRG publishing house, and you will be going back to the GDR late this week. Must you, perhaps unlike your colleague, not keep your mouth shut?

Jurek Becker: The books I have written so far have been printed in the GDR. The last book I wrote, which I have offered to the Hinstorff Publishing House, has been accepted by that publishing house; and the publishing house has told me that it will be published next year. Parallel to this publication, the book will be published in the Federal Republic by the Suhrkamp Publishing House. For the time being this is not the same as having to keep one's mouth shut.

FR: Some of your colleagues, however, do seem to be in a different situation; let me simply name Sarah Kirsch.

Becker: I disagree with you if you call the situation of Sarah Kirsch and mine different. To prevent misunderstandings from emerging: I deem Sarah's decision respectable and understandable. She has acted in a way which meets with my express approval but which I do not believe should be my way of acting. Maybe we have different constitutions. I am even quite sure of it. Just as Sarah no longer could or would--which is one and the same--tolerate the situation surrounding herself, I feel a desire to change this situation. Sarah obviously has arrived at the conclusion that this would be a pointless venture. I have not yet reached that point.

FR: Why? Would you attribute this to your personality structure again, or do you have any political hopes which are more strongly motivated?

Becker: As far as I am concerned, exerting influence on events around myself is not a wish I fulfill for myself but a question concerning my existence. Arriving at the realization that this exertion of influence is out of the question would mean for me that all my ideas of values topple. How could I want that? Sometimes I myself feel that my plans have more to do with hopes than with an assessment of the situation.

FR: ...possibly with illusions?

Becker: Perhaps. But living with illusions is better than admitted hopelessness. But as I said: We have not yet reached that point. For so far I think proof has not yet been produced that the hope to achieve more democracy in the GDR and less tutelage is an illusion.

FR: Well, by having been expelled from the SED, and by your resignation from the Writers Association, you have deprived yourself of concrete possibilities to exert influence on the situation through discussions in specific groups.

Becker: I cannot accept the contention that I have deprived myself of the possibilities of exerting influence by my resignation from the association. The discussions conducted in the Writers Association--this has become increasingly more evident to me lately--were a sort of self-satisfaction, a sort of humbug which no longer played any role as soon as you left the room. It was just as if you went to a Turkish bath, sweated a bit and got rid of some waste matter.

The familiar tone in the Writers Association induced some writers to harbor the illusion that a climate of liberality would prevail in the country, that much more was in proper order than they had believed before. The possibility of getting a word or two in, however, is not worth as much as depriving the association of the right to speak in my behalf--no matter how arrogant this may sound.

Do you really believe that continued membership would have insured greater publicity for me? As far as the press and the so-called mass media are concerned, someone like me in the GDR currently is an unperson, with or without

the association. I could change something in this respect only through a revision of my positions, through the declaration that I have been wrong, through self-criticism. An exorbitant price.

FR: What is the reason you are sticking to your hopes? If you think of Bahro, there is really no visible proof that the party is willing to learn from the intellectuals for a change, at least to learn how to deal with intellectuals.

Becker: How do you explain the reason for hope? On the one hand these are motives with which I set out 20 years ago, which are always on my mind, and which to crumple and cast away I cannot make up my mind; surely this is a motive which someone not familiar with my mind, meaning an outsider, finds hard to understand. On the other hand, what plays a role is the fact that some of the demands--by far not all--which must be raised to a socialist state have been fulfilled in the GDR.

FR: Have they been fulfilled in any other socialist state?

Becker: As far as the absence of the capitalist class is concerned, they have been in each of them. As far as the consequences of this fact are concerned, in none.

To get back to our starting point: the GDR appears to me like a sketch for a socialist state on the basis of which the proper picture must yet be painted. Another reason: allowing despair to win the upper hand and simply chucking everything is tantamount to a terrible capitulation. I am afraid of a feeling of emptiness which would grasp me as well as many others observing this development. With the following I do not wish to supply any circumstantial evidence as to my irreplaceableness: only I see that many people I know are struck by considerable dismay because they wonder what condition those going away leave behind. So much disorder, and nobody cares.

You mentioned Bahro. I cannot say much about Bahro. I do not know more about him than what I have read in the papers here or what I have seen on television here. I have been here for 2 weeks. It is tragic that I might know more about Bahro that way than does a citizen in the GDR. I have read Bahro's statement in DER SPIEGEL. Since my relations with Western intelligence organizations are relatively poor, I cannot say whether the charge that Bahro was working for some of them was justified or not. I can just tell you that I tend to consider this absurd. It makes me shudder when I hear that someone who has been working as a party functionary in the GDR for 20 years suddenly is considered an agent just one day after his SPIEGEL interview was published.

We must get accustomed to speaking in public when feeling controversial. All parts of this demand are equally significant. Speaking controversially in public means: no blows, no threats, no blackmailing, no ruling out and no expulsion. Just speaking. Such action would be important not only for

those who are disputing with each other but also for all who are following the dispute, the listeners and the viewers. They could be given the feeling that they are living in a country where your opinion is not ordered from above, but where you can shape it yourself.

FR: This is a maximum program?

Becker: Actually, it is a minimum program. I believe that the efforts made by the party for the time being to come to terms with artists and intellectuals will have no success at all as long as the above is not taken into consideration. Granting privileges to some of the concerned might tempt them to give in and abandon their stubbornness. But this would not clarify the matter. It would be just businesslike action, and not all will partake in this deal.

FR: You would consider it as a possible normalization of the relationship between the party and the intellectuals?

Becker: It is not a matter of changing the relationship between the party and the intellectuals. What is involved is a change in the relationship between the party and the people. What is involved is the problem of whether the party must show concern for the demands of the people, or whether the people must show concern for the demands of the party. What is involved is giving people who have another opinion a chance of uttering this opinion. The fact that some prominent people are in a position to defend themselves more effectively than Otto Meyer of Dresden is another problem. This fact has bolstered some people, encouraging them to speak up.

But this is not the problem, which is considered a symptom here; it indicates a more basic disease. I believe that the party must examine whether we still are living under conditions justifying wartime communism. I am convinced that the conditions have disappeared, but the practice still exists. This is our problem.

I just read in STERN about Wolfgang Harich's demand that the GDR should treat its artists the way it treats other people. I think the opposite is necessary: the people eventually should be treated like the artists.

FR: The new left is criticizing the Soviet Union the same way, and this criticism is termed anti-Soviet.

Becker: Let me say only this much: I do not think I am a foreign politician. I do not have the legitimation nor do I feel like commenting on developments in the Soviet Union. I tend to say that the phrase "Learning from the Soviet Union means learning how to win" must not be taken as literally as the GDR is taking it.

CSO: 2300

'MAGYARORSZAG' MAINTAINS NEW MBFR ROUND DOES NOT PROMISE DECISIVE CHANGE

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 40, 2 Oct 77 p 4 AU

[Otto Oltvanyi Article: "The Reduction of Armed Forces: A New Round in Vienna, The Thirteenth This Time; Evidence of Particulars on The Strength of Forces"]

[Excerpts] The Warsaw Pact countries have conducted a prolonged debate in principle with NATO. They emphasized that first of all there must be clarified which armed forces should be reduced, what commitments this reduction would call for on the part of individual countries and what time limit should be set for implementing the reduction. The socialist countries regarded it as obvious that these principles should be laid down first and then the strength of armed forces should be compared. When the Western countries insisted that a failure to exchange figures would hinder progress, the socialist countries--as on several occasions during the negotiations--once again proved their flexibility. They did not want to block the talks and, already last year, revealed data on the strength of their armed forces. It was evident that the socialist figures submitted on 10 June 1976 caught their negotiating partners by surprise. Indicative of this, among other things, was the fact that NATO did not make a move on the chess board immediately, but only after a lengthier period of consideration. As much as half a year elapsed before the Western countries responded and disclosed their own figures with regard to the overall complement of their land troops and air force.

What They Refrained From Saying

All at once, the Western press stopped its attacks against the socialist countries, the attacks that had arisen from the exchange of figures. The matter of the strength of personnel suddenly became unimportant for NATO, since it was not proven right by the submitted figures. As reference we cite the ATLANTIC NEWS BULLETIN, which, in an article on 10 June 1977, compared data on the NATO and Warsaw Pact forces in Central Europe, that is, in the area relevant from the viewpoint of a reduction. According to the

U.S. paper, 190,000 soldiers are serving in NATO air force and 731,000 in the ground forces. The 60,000 French soldiers stationed in West Germany should definitely be added to the total troop strength of 921,000. Although at the Vienna negotiations the Western countries (completely groundlessly and unjustifiably) left the French troop strength out of the full complement of ground forces. (The explanation: for peacetime, France has withdrawn its armed forces from the NATO integrated military command. The Western countries also argued that France is not a participant in the Vienna negotiations and they are not competent to take into account the troops of an absent country stationed abroad. However, they refrained from mentioning that France has stated on several occasions that the French armed forces would fight under the NATO command in the event of war between the two alliance systems.)

There Is No Essential Difference

Moscow PRAVDA, too, has published figures. It revealed that there is no essential difference between the armed forces of the two defense alliances in the Central European area designated for a reduction. The socialist countries maintain 182,000 troops in the air force and have 805,000 troops stationed in the ground forces in the area. Attempts were made to give little publicity to this disclosure in the West for a simple reason: if we add things up, it emerges that there really is no essential difference, an asymmetrical difference often mentioned by the Western countries, between the two defense alliances. More precisely: when one adds the French strength of 60,000 stationed in the FRG to the total strength of 921,000 quoted by the ATLANTIC NEWS BULLETIN, the Western force amounts to 981,000 troops in the designated Central European area. PRAVDA quoted a total of 987,000 troops (182,000 and 805,000) as the strength of the socialist countries' air and ground forces. Thus, the Warsaw Pact side has an additional military strength amounting to only 6,000 troops, and this does not amount to an "asymmetrical" ratio at all.

The West claims otherwise. The ATLANTIC NEWS BULLETIN has learned from certain "sources" that the socialist countries' air force has a complement of 201,000 troops and their ground forces 962,000 troops thus, the Warsaw Pact has 1,163,000 soldiers at its disposal in the relevant area of Central Europe. This report has increased the figures published by PRAVDA by 176,000. It must be noted that, at the Vienna negotiations, the Western delegations have not conceded the "mathematical equivalence" between the two alliance systems, that is, the almost identical strength of the armed forces in the reduction area. They continue to persist in their attitude, which is to try to convince Western public opinion of a disparity between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and the socialist countries' superior numerical strength. The formula remains unchanged: the West is striving to gain unilateral military advantages to the detriment of the socialist countries' security. It is doing so despite the fact that, at diplomatic talks, it cannot prove the validity of its presumed figures. PRAVDA rightly concluded: "the unrealistic and unconstructive position adopted by the Western countries throughout the entire period of the Vienna negotiations pursues essentially a single objective: to slow down the negotiations and

hamper the conclusion of an agreement on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. It can be said now with complete firmness that the attitude of the Western participants in the negotiations has blocked the path to agreement in Vienna."

It is becoming more and more obvious that the reason for the NATO countries' delaying tactics is to enable them to intensify their military preparations and modernize their armaments while harping on an "increasing Soviet danger." According to Western press reports, the Bundeswehr is procuring new missiles. On the basis of a decision of the U.S. Department of Defense, the new F-16 fighters will be equipped with nuclear weapons. It has also been reported by the press that the Americans will post 84 F-111 bombers from the FRG to bases in England. (The latter are tactical bombers possessing a more versatile means of delivering a nuclear weapon on their target than the F-4.) Also, the London NATO session has passed a resolution on armament, and it is obvious that procrastination at the Vienna negotiations is making it possible for the West to develop its military forces.

The new phase of the negotiations, the 13th round, does not promise a fundamental, decisive change. One can deduce from indications that the NATO countries intend to submit a new proposal, but this will not bring a solution closer, either. A mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe can only be accomplished on the basis of the socialist countries' realistic and rational proposals. What is needed to achieve results is for the West to negotiate in a constructive spirit and abandon its efforts to secure unilateral military advantages.

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

'NEPSZABADSAG' MARKS RESUMPTION OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Oct 77 p 1 AU

[Article by Peter Vajda: "The Belgrade Meeting"]

[Text] Today, important, businesslike discussions are beginning on the embankment of the Sava in New-Belgrade: An exchange of views of 35 countries' representatives on the implementation of the stipulations of the Helsinki Final Act and everything related to it.

Since the signing of the Final Act, no small amount has been done to bring the principles worked out there into play in practice. Recognizing the merits of our realistic-minded capitalist partners, we must emphasize: The socialist countries' diplomacy has made particularly great efforts to turn the contents of the Charter of European Cooperation into a natural ingredient of relations between countries with different social systems. The high-level visits or agreements that came about recently in east-west relations cannot be separated from this trend. Hungarian diplomacy was also very active in this respect, proving that we take the final document seriously and are willing to expand relations.

The justified remark is often made that East-West relations could have developed even more rapidly. In this connection, we must primarily, take into consideration the fact that Helsinki is a substantive program not only for 1 or 2 years, for the short term, but for a long period to come. Apart from that, the implementation of the final document was made more difficult by a campaign by certain extremist circles of the capitalist world which--more than once, with reference to Helsinki--cast doubt, in fact, on the letter and spirit of the document. It is to be hoped that the realization will gain ground that, in the last analysis, no country will gain anything by such campaigns, whereas it lies in the interests of every country and all peoples to speed up detente.

A great deal now depends on what the delegations of individual countries bring with them. It is natural that the exchange of views on the experiences of the path covered since the summer of 1975--which was a fundamentally

positive one--is the point of departure. The drawing up of such a balance sheet can obviously not be a static process: Belgrade will fulfill its purpose if, as the result of the talks, specific recommendations foreshadowing progress and promoting and encouraging the bringing of peaceful coexistence into play are made there. And there is enough to discuss: Means of strengthening peace and trust and lessening the arms race and the military confrontation and how to intensify interstate cooperation also on a political plane--and, by no means in the least, in an economic respect; by abolishing discrimination.

It is a fact that where there is dialog there will also be a clash of opinions. The socialist countries have repeatedly stressed that there is no question they refuse to discuss. However, it is most essential that one proceeds from the final document as a whole and that the exchange of views is conducted on the basis of the observance of the principle of nonintervention in domestic affairs, in the spirit of a constructive approach and mutual respect, which excludes recriminations. Our impression is that an official attitude which in essence is not unlike this is being adopted also by more than a few capitalist countries which acted as partners of our countries in laying the foundations for peaceful coexistence. This is one of the reasons for us to be hopeful that the conference beginning in the Yugoslav capital today will fulfill its purpose and that we will be able to look upon it as a forum strengthening the Helsinki spirit and the atmosphere of detente and trust.

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

CSSR JUDICIAL DELEGATION--The Czechoslovak judicial delegation that has paid an official friendly visit to our country has departed from Budapest. It studied topical aspects of our legal life and the administration of justice and held talks in a cordial atmosphere on the further development of our legal and judicial cooperation. Minister of justice of the Czech Socialist Republic Dr Jan Nemeč was received by Janos Borbandi, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, during the visit. The delegation met with supreme court president Dr Odon Szakacs and Dr Karoly Csendes, deputy supreme prosecutor. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Sep 77 p 4 AU]

ECUADOR'S DOBRONSKY VISIT--F.F. Dobronsky, minister of education [as published] of Ecuador, visited Budapest between 6 and 9 September. He explored the possibilities for purchasing Hungarian educational equipment and Hungary's participation in educational investments in Ecuador. He concluded preliminary negotiations on purchasing large quantities of complete educational appliances with Sandor Udvardi, deputy minister of foreign trade, and Metrimpex officials. The minister was received by Dr Janos Gosztonyi, under secretary of state for education. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Sep 77 p 4 AU]

SCIENCE COMMITTEE SECRETARY APPOINTED--With the status of first deputy minister, the Council of Ministers has appointed Dr Pal Tetenyi secretary of the committee on science policy. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Sep 77 p 14 AU]

HUNGARIAN-ARGENTINE TALKS--The Hungarian-Argentinian mixed committee talks began in Budapest on Saturday. The delegations are led respectively by Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Sandor Udvardi and Under Secretary of State Edmundo Snagenis. [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Sep 77 p 14 AU]

MAJ GEN VARGA FUNERAL--Engineer Maj Gen Laszlo Varga, commander of the Mate Zalka Technical Military Academy, has passed away at the age of 49. His funeral will be arranged by the Ministry of National Defense and the MSZMP's People's Army Committee. The funeral will take place at 3 pm on 15 September at the cemetery of Farkasret. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Sep 77 p 14 AU]

KOROM ATTENDS ETHIOPIAN ANNIVERSARY--On behalf of our government, minister of justice Dr Mihaly Korom and Jozsef Varkonyi, our country's ambassador in Addis Ababa, will attend the celebrations staged on the third anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution. Dr Mihaly Korom departed for Ethiopia on 2 September. [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Sep 77 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2500

ROMANIA

COUNCIL OF STATE DECREE ON MILITARY PENSIONS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 83, 6 Aug 77 pp 1-7

Decree No 214 of the Council of State on Military Pensions

Text The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees:

Section I: General Provisions

Article 1. (1) Permanent military personnel of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior are entitled to military pensions in proportion to their activity and contribution to the consolidation of national defense and to the development of the national economy.

(2) The pension is granted upon attainment of the pensioning age specified in the present decree and is determined according to the number of years served as permanent personnel and base pay.

Article 2. Permanent military personnel who have entirely or largely lost their working capacity are also entitled to pensions. The amount of the pension depends upon the causes and degree of incapacity as well as length of service.

Article 3. Military units are required to provide permanent military personnel with a correct record of their length of service, pay and other information necessary to determine the pension according to the decree.

Article 4. The funds to pay military pensions come out of the state budget via Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 5. One person may receive only one full military pension. If he has also worked in other sectors with their own pensioning systems, when he reaches the age specified in the Law on State Social Insurance Pensions and Social Aid his military pension may be determined according to the number of years served.

Article 6. (1) Military pensioners may be employed in socialist units, permanently, temporarily or to perform certain operations, up to the age of 60 if men and 55 if women.

(2) The provisions of the Law on State Social Insurance Pensions and Social Aid apply after the ages specified in Paragraph (1) are reached.

(3) The sum received out of the pay due for this activity, together with the military pension, may not exceed the amount of the final salary the pensioner received as of the date of pensioning, updated according to the pay increases for this function.

Article 7. The pension is not taxable and cannot be waived either entirely or in part. The right to a pension is inalienable.

Section II: Service Pension for Activity Performed

Article 8. (1) Permanent military personnel with a length of service of at least 30 years if men and 25 years if women are entitled to a service pension for activity performed upon reaching 60 years if men and 55 years if women.

(2) Military personnel in service for at least 30 years including 20 years on active duty if men and for 25 years including 15 years on active duty if women are pensioned upon request when they reach the age of 55 years if men and 52 years if women.

(3) Military personnel wishing to continue their activity after the age of 60 if men and of 55 if women may request 3 months before reaching these ages to be kept on until the age of 65 at most if men and 60 at most if women, with the approval of the Ministry of National Defense or the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 9. Permanent military personnel qualified as aircraft pilots and divers, as well as those who operate under special working conditions and who have so served for at least 15 years on active duty, may be pensioned if they are 50 years of age as of their date of discharge from 25 years of permanent service.

Article 10. (1) The length of service considered in determining the service pension for the activity performed is as long as the officers, military experts and noncoms have served permanently or under other circumstances specified in the present decree.

(2) For purposes of pensioning, length of service is documented by the pension card filled out according to the data from the applicant's personal dossier or by other official documents issued by the competent organs.

Article 11. (1) The base pay on which the pension is calculated is the average monthly base pay for the choice of 5 consecutive years of permanent service out of the last 10 years before discharge from permanent service.

(2) The pay for the applicant's rank as of the date of discharge from permanent service, according to the compensation in effect as of that date, will be considered in computing the average base pay specified in Paragraph (1).

(3) In the case of those who have served permanently for less than 5 years in their last 10 years of activity, the pension is computed on the basis of the average monthly base pay during the period actively served.

(4) The base pay per month on which the pension is computed comprises any sums included in this pay in accordance with the legal provisions.

Article 12. The service pension with full seniority for the activity performed is determined in percentages of the base pay, differentiated according to salary brackets as follows:

Base pay (lei)	Pension in % of base pay	Minimum pen- sion (lei)
Up to 1,200	75	---
1,201 - 1,600	70	900
1,601 - 2,000	65	1,120
2,001 - 2,500	62	1,300
2,501 - 3,000	60	1,550
3,001 - 3,500	58	1,800
3,501 - 4,000	56	2,030
Over 4,000	54	2,240

Article 13. (1) Aircraft pilots, divers and other categories of personnel who have worked under special conditions receive the percentages of work groups I or II, as the case may be, specified by the Law on State Social Insurance Pensions and Social Aid, if they have worked actively in these groups for at least 20 years all told in group I, or if for 25 years all told in group II. If they have put in less time, an increase in proportion to the time actually worked in groups I and II is added to the percentages for group III.

(2) The pensions of those specified in Paragraph (1) are computed for each year worked in these groups, as follows:

- a) One year and 6 months for group I;
- b) One year and 3 months for group II.

(3) The jobs and activities entitling military personnel to pensions according to group I or II are determined by decree of the Council of State.

Article 14. Permanent military personnel with a length of service more than 30 years if men or 25 years if women receive a pension increase of 1 percent for each additional year in the first 5 years and a 0.5 percent increase for each additional year beyond 5 years in the base pay used to compute the pension.

Article 15. Permanent military personnel who lack the length of service and age needed to obtain the service pension with full seniority receive a service pension with incomplete seniority if they have as of the date of discharge from permanent service at least 25 years' seniority including 15 years' active duty and if they are in one of the following situations:

- a) They have reached 50 years of age and have been transferred to the reserve because they have reached the limit of age in grade specified by the Law on Organization of National Defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania

or because of reorganization of units and reduction of functions on the tables of organization, or for other reasons and needs of the Ministry of National Defense or the Ministry of the Interior.

b) They have been transferred to the reserve or directly retired because of classification as unfit or insufficiently fit for military duty, or because of ailments preventing their performance of military duties.

Article 16. (1) Permanent military personnel who as of the date of transfer to the reserve do not have full length of service but a seniority of at least 15 years receive pensions at the age of 62 if men and 57 if women, in proportion to the number of years of service.

(2) Permanent military personnel who as of the date of transfer to the reserve have a seniority of 10-15 years receive a pension of 350 lei a month for a seniority of 10 years and 25 lei for each additional year up to 14 years inclusive.

Article 17. (1) Female military personnel with 25 years in service, including at least 15 years of active duty, who have given birth to at least three children and raised them to the age of 10 years may request pensioning before reaching the pensioning age as follows:

- a) By 1 year for three children;
- b) By 2 years for four children;
- c) By 3 years for more children.

(2) The pensioning age is lowered by entire years and cannot be less than 50 years.

Article 18. (1) The length of service considered in determining pensions for activity performed also includes the time that a person:

a) Has performed limited military service or has been concentrated, mobilized or imprisoned, if he was employed upon leaving these situations.

b) Has been employed on the basis of a labor contract. This time is taken into consideration according to the standards set by the Law on State Social Insurance Pensions and Social Aid.

c) Has been detained in camps or prisons for revolutionary, antifascist or democratic activity. Each year of detention is regarded as 1 year and 6 months' seniority.

d) Has been detached from service for revolutionary, antifascist or democratic political activity before 23 August 1944, or as a result of the racial or national persecutions between January 1938 and December 1945.

e) Has performed revolutionary antifascist activity recognized by the competent organs as length of service.

(2) Length of service of permanent military personnel who have worked according to law on reduced schedules is considered in proportion to the time worked.

(3) Time worked by female military personnel according to law on reduced schedules in order to care for children up to 6 years of age is regarded as full time.

(4) In determining length of service in a capacity other than a military one, consideration is also given to the time a person has been in any situation regarded as length of service for pension claims according to the legal standards for state social insurance pensions.

Article 19. Length of service in a capacity other than a military one is authenticated by the work card filled out according to law or by other documents on which state social insurance pensioning is based.

Article 20. In totaling the periods of service, fractions greater than 6 months count as 1 year and those less than 6 months are disregarded.

Section III: Pension for Loss of Working Capacity Due to Service Accidents or Diseases Contracted in the Course of Military Duty

Article 21. (1) Permanent military personnel who have entirely or largely lost their working capacity due to service accidents or diseases contracted in the course of military duty receive a pension according to the duration of the incapacity.

(2) Permanent military personnel also receive a pension if they have entirely or largely lost their working capacity due to a disease contracted while on regular duty if the established incapacity is of the first or second degree.

(3) Persons who have lost half their working capacity and are working half time receive, on the terms of the present decree, a pension for a third degree incapacity.

Article 22. (1) Loss of working capacity is determined by the medical-military appraisal commissions.

(2) Permanent military personnel may qualify in one of the following degrees of incapacity:

- a) First degree, if they need the care and surveillance of another person;
- b) Second degree, if they have entirely or largely lost their working capacity;
- c) Third degree, if they have lost half their working capacity.

(3) The criteria and standards for qualification in the first, second and third degrees of incapacity are approved by decree of the Council of State.

Article 23. (1) The pension for permanent military personnel who have entirely or largely lost their working capacity due to service accidents, diseases contracted in the course of military duty, or other diseases contracted while on regular duty, if the incapacity is of the first or second degree, is based on length of service in percentages of base pay differentiated according to pay brackets. The pension for first degree incapacity is determined as follows:

Retribuția tarifară — lei — (1)	Pensia în procente din retribuția tari- fară pentru 5 ani vechime (2)	Quantumul minim al pensiei — lei — (3)	Pensia în procente din retribuția tari- fară pentru 15 ani vechime (4)	Quantumul minim al pensiei — lei — (3)	Pensia în procente din retribuția tari- fară pentru 30 ani vechime (5)	Quantumul minim al pensiei — lei — (3)
(6) Până la 1 200	50	650	60	—	75	—
1 201 — 1 600	45	660	55	720	70	900
1 601 — 2 000	40	700	50	880	65	1 100
2 001 — 2 500	37	725	47	1 000	62	1 300
2 501 — 3 000	35	800	45	1 175	60	1 550
3 001 — 3 500	33	900	43	1 350	58	1 800
3 501 — 4 000	31	980	41	1 505	56	2 050
(7) peste 4 000	29	1 040	39	1 640	54	2 240

1. Base pay (lei)
2. Pension in % of base pay for 5 years' service
3. Minimum pension (lei)
4. Pension in % of base pay for 15 years' service
5. Pension in % of base pay for 20 years' service
6. Up to
7. Over

(2) For length of service between 5 and 30 years, the pension is based on the number of years of service.

(3) The pension for second degree incapacity is 85 percent, and for third degree incapacity up to 30 percent of the pension for first degree incapacity.

(4) For each year of service exceeding full seniority a pension increase of 1 percent for the first 5 years is granted, and one of 0.5 percent for the following years, of the base pay on which the pension is computed.

(5) The pension for third degree incapacity, together with the pay received for the work performed, may not exceed 80 percent for persons in labor group I, 75 percent for persons in group II, and 70 percent for persons in group III, of the pay received upon determination of the degree of incapacity, updated according to the increases for that function.

Article 24. The base pay upon which the pension for loss of working capacity is computed is the average monthly base pay in 5 chosen consecutive years

of permanent service during the last 10 years before discharge from permanent service or the average pay for the last years when the length of service is up to 5 years.

Article 25. Military personnel who upon discharge from permanent duty have a seniority of less than 5 years and who have entirely or largely lost their working capacity due to service accidents, diseases contracted in the course of military duty, or other diseases contracted while on permanent duty are entitled to a pension of 650 lei for first degree incapacity and 520 lei for second degree incapacity.

Article 26. Military pensioners with first degree incapacity also receive a monthly benefit of 300 lei for medical care.

Article 27. Decisions as to degrees of incapacity may be appealed, within no more than 60 days of notice, to the Central Medical-Military Appraisal Commission by the person in question or by the Medical Directorate in the Ministry of National Defense or the Health Service in the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 28. (1) Military pensioners in the first, second or third degrees of incapacity are subject to a medical review at least once a year on the dates set by the medical-military appraisal commissions. Failure to attend the medical review suspends payment of the pension as of the following month.

(2) The medical review may also be performed upon the pensioner's request, but not before the age of 55 if a man and 52 if a woman.

(3) Disability pensioners with irreversible incapacities are not subject to the periodic medical reviews, nor those 55 years of age if men or 52 if women, nor those pensioned on the terms of Article 15 Paragraph b.

Article 29. If the degree of incapacity is changed, the pension for the new grade is based upon that for the previous degree of incapacity.

Article 30. The provisions of the present decree concerning determination of length of service and base pay, on which the service pension for the activity performed is computed, also apply to calculation of pensions for loss of working capacity due to service accidents or diseases contracted in the course of military duty.

Section IV: Pension for Loss of Working Capacity Due to Accidents Off Military Duty

Article 31. Permanent military personnel who have entirely or partially lost their working capacity due to accidents sustained off military duty are pensioned if their established incapacity is of the first, second or third degrees and if their length of service is at least 5 years.

Article 32. (1) The pension depends upon percentages of base pay, differentiated according to salary brackets and years of service. The pensions for first degree incapacity are as follows:

Retribuția tarifară — lei — (1)	Pensia în procente din retribuiția tari- fară pentru 5 ani vechime 2)	Quantumul minim al pensiei — lei — 3)	Pensia în procente din retribuiția tari- fară pentru 15 ani vechime 4)	Quantumul minim al pensiei — lei — 3)	Pensia în procente din retribuiția tari- fară pentru 30 ani vechime 5)	Quantumul minim al pensiei — lei — 3)
(6) Până la 1 200	35	460	40	—	70	—
1 201 — 1 600	30	470	35	480	65	840
1 601 — 2 000	24	480	33	560	60	1 040
2 001 — 2 500	20	490	31	650	57	1 200
2 501 — 3 000	17	500	30	775	55	1 425
3 001 — 3 500	15	510	29	900	53	1 650
3 501 — 4 000	14	520	28	1 015	51	1 855
(7) peste 4 000	13	530	27	1 120	49	2 040

1. Base pay (lei)
2. Pension in % of base pay for 5 years' service
3. Minimum pension (lei)
4. Pension in % of base pay for 15 years' service
5. Pension in % of base pay for 30 years' service
6. Up to
7. Over

(2) For length of service between 5 and 30 years, the pension is calculated in proportion to the number of years worked.

(3) For each year of service exceeding full seniority a pension increase of 1 percent is granted for the first 5 years, and one of 0.5 percent for the following years, of the base pay on which the pension is computed.

(4) Pensioners with first degree incapacity also receive a monthly benefit of 300 lei for medical care.

(5) The pension for second degree incapacity is 85 percent, and for third degree incapacity up to 30 percent of the pension for first degree incapacity.

(6) The pension for third degree incapacity, together with the pay received for the work performed, may not exceed 70 percent of the pay received upon determination of the degree of incapacity, updated according to the increases for that function.

Article 33. The provisions as to length of service and base pay for calculation, as to qualification in degrees of incapacity, and as to the medical review also apply to pensions for loss of working capacity due to causes other than service accidents or diseases contracted in the course of military duty.

Section V: Survivor Pension

Article 34. (1) The survivor pension is granted to children and wives on the terms of the present decree.

(2) The survivor pension is granted if the deceased was a pensioner or if he qualified for a pension.

Article 35. (1) Children are entitled to a survivor pension up to the age of 16, or if they continue their studies, until they complete them, but not beyond the age of 25.

(2) Military pupils of military and civilian educational institutions receive survivor pensions as long as they attend such institutions or until they become officers of the first rank, military experts or noncoms, but not beyond the age of 25.

(3) Surviving children who have become incapacitated in the first or second degree before the age of 16 receive, after payment of the survivor pension ceases and throughout the whole period of incapacity, a monthly benefit of 350 lei for first degree incapacity and of 300 lei for second degree incapacity.

Article 36. (1) A wife is entitled to a survivor pension at the age of 55 for as long as she lives if she has been married at least 15 years. If the duration of the marriage is shorter, but no less than 10 years, the pension is granted in proportion to the years of marriage.

(2) A lifetime survivor pension is also granted to a wife 50 years of age who has given birth to more than four children by the date of her husband's death, provided the duration of the marriage was at least 10 years.

(3) A wife is entitled to a survivor pension, regardless of age or duration of marriage, for as long as she is incapacitated in the first or second degree. She also receives this pension if she is unemployed as of the date of her husband's death and has in her care one or more children up to 6 years of age.

Article 37. A wife who is entitled to a pension of her own and who qualifies on the terms of the decree for a survivor pension upon her husband's death may choose any of these pensions.

Article 38. A wife receives a survivor pension only until she is employed, but no longer than 6 months after her husband's death if she does not qualify under Article 36.

Article 39. The incapacity of survivors entitled to pensions for first or second degree incapacity is determined by the commissions specified in Article 22 Paragraph (1).

Article 40. (1) The survivor pension is calculated on the basis of:

a) The pension of the deceased supporter, if he was a pensioner;

b) The pension to which the supporter would have been entitled, on the terms of the present decree, for the activity performed or for incapacity.

(2) The survivor pension is determined in percentages of the holder's pension, as follows: 50 percent for one survivor, 75 percent for two, and 100 percent for three or more survivors entitled to this pension.

Article 41. In the case of children who have lost both parents, the survivor pension is calculated on the basis of:

a) The most advantageous pension of one parent, for no more than three children;

b) The most advantageous pension of one parent plus half the pension of the other parent, for four children;

c) The total pensions of both parents for five or more children.

Article 42. (1) Payment of the pension is suspended as long as the surviving pensioner is employed or realizes an income as a professional or small tradesman with his own shop. Payment is also suspended if the surviving wife marries.

(2) When one of the survivors loses his right to a pension the others continue to receive the part of the pension due them as of that date.

Section VI: Determination and Payment of Pensions

Article 43. (1) The following commissions have been established in the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior to enforce the provisions of the Decree on Determination of Pension Benefits:

a) The pension commissions under the army, service and similar commands, with the following complement:

Chairman: a deputy commander

Members: a field grade officer of the Political Council and General Staff, the head of the personnel organ, a finance officer, a lawyer and a physician

b) The central pension commissions of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior, with the following complement:

Chairman: a deputy minister

Members: a deputy joint chief of staff
a deputy secretary of the Higher Political Council
heads of the directorates of personnel and education,
finance, and medicine
head of the Legal Office

(2) The complements of the pension commissions and central pension commissions are appointed by decision of the Administrative Council of the Ministry of National Defense or the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 44. (1) To determine the pension, a pensioning dossier is compiled which must include the pension card and any other necessary documents. The pensioning dossier is compiled by:

a) The military unit to which the serviceman belonged upon discharge from permanent duty, if he qualifies for pensioning as of the date of his transfer to the reserve;

b) The military center in the jurisdiction of which he resides, if he qualifies for pensioning after the date of discharge from permanent duty. For personnel of the Ministry of the Interior, the provisions of Paragraph (1) a) apply in such cases.

(2) The military unit and the military center are entirely responsible for the accuracy of the data on the pension card.

Article 45. (1) The military units and military centers are required to send the pensioning dossier to the pension organ in the Ministry of National Defense or the Ministry of the Interior within 30 days of the date the application is submitted.

(2) A pensioning dossier for incapacity must also contain the conclusions of the medical-military appraisal commission.

(3) The pension organ of the Ministry of National Defense or the Ministry of the Interior is required to verify within 40 days whether the pensioning dossier contains all the data needed to determine the pension and to recommend the decision on pension to the pension commission.

Article 46. (1) The pension commissions issue the decisions on pensions on the basis of the recommendations of the pension organs.

(2) The decisions on pensions may be appealed, within 30 days of notice, to the Central Pension Commission of the Ministry of National Defense or the Ministry of the Interior. Decisions not appealed in time as well as decisions of the central pension commissions are final.

Article 47. The central pension commissions are appeal and control organs, and as such they try and rule on appeals of the pension commissions' decisions and check the pension organs' correct application of the pension laws.

Article 48. (1) The Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior each has a medical-military appraisal commission operating under the military hospitals, as well as a central medical-military appraisal commission.

(2) The complements of the medical-military appraisal commissions under the military hospitals are appointed by order of the head of the Medical

Directorate, and the complements of the central medical-military appraisal commissions are appointed by order of the minister of national defense or the minister of the interior.

Article 49. (1) The medical-military appraisal commissions make recommendations as to the qualification of military personnel for degrees of incapacity and perform the medical review periodically or upon request of pensioners with degrees of incapacity, as regards their working capacity.

(2) The central medical-military appraisal commissions review the recommendations as to degrees of incapacity made by the commissions under the military hospitals, control and direct the activity of the medical-military appraisal commissions under the military hospitals, and resolve the appeals brought by the respective persons or by the Medical Directorate.

Article 50. The organization, operation, functions and responsibilities of the central pension commissions, pension commissions, and medical-military appraisal commissions are determined by regulations approved by decree of the Council of State.

Article 51. (1) The pensions are paid as follows:

a) As of the date of cessation of the pay of military personnel or, as the case may be, of the pay or pension of the deceased supporter, if the application accompanied by all the necessary documents has been submitted to the pension organ within no more than 3 months from these dates;

b) As of the first day of the month following that in which the application with the necessary documents was submitted to the pension organ after the time limit specified in Paragraph a).

(2) For those who qualify for pensioning after the date of discharge from permanent service or after the supporter's demise, the pension is paid as of the first day of the month following that in which the application with the necessary documents was submitted to the pension organ.

Article 52. Survivors of military pensioners will submit their application with the documents needed for obtaining the survivor pension to the pension organ or the military center.

Article 53. The pension is paid to the holder in person or deposited in the Savings and Loan Bank upon his request and in his name. If the pension cannot be delivered to the pensioner it is deposited in the Savings and Loan Bank in the name of the holder.

Article 54. (1) The survivor pension granted to children according to the present decree may be used for their care and education only, regardless of who collects it. Persons who have in their care children benefiting by a survivor pension are required to establish the use of the sums collected solely for the said purpose.

(2) Survivor pensions of children in asylums are deposited in the Savings and Loan Bank in their names after the sums due according to law for their maintenance in these institutions have been paid.

Article 55. (1) Payment of the pension and the other pertinent benefits ceases as of the month following that in which the beneficiary no longer meets the legal conditions on which they were granted.

(2) Sums uncollected by a deceased pensioner for the month in which he died are paid to the members of his family.

Article 56. (1) Payment of the pension and the other pertinent benefits is suspended while the pensioner:

- a) Is serving a prison sentence;
- b) Is domiciled on the territory of another country;
- c) Is concentrated or mobilized.

(2) While a pensioner with first degree incapacity is interned in a social aid unit, payment of the sum granted for medical care is suspended.

(3) Payment of the pension is suspended as of the month following that in which the suspension was caused.

Article 57. (1) In the case specified in Article 56 Paragraph (1) a), if the conviction is reversed and the defendant is acquitted, the sums for the duration of the suspension will be paid, short of exceeding the pension for 12 months.

(2) After the sentence is served or in case of a pardon or amnesty, payment of the pension is resumed as of the month following that in which the pensioner was released.

Article 58. (1) Pensioners permanently or temporarily reemployed are required, within 15 days of hiring, to notify the pension organ of the unit, the date of hiring, and the amount of pay. This is also required of units in which pensioners are employed.

(2) The courts are required to notify the respective pension organ in writing within 15 days of the conviction of a pensioner.

Article 59. (1) Decision to pension military pensioners recalled to permanent service is annulled.

(2) Paragraph (1) applies as of the day the serviceman reports to his unit.

Section VII: The Supplementary Pension

Article 60. (1) The supplementary pension is based on the principle of mutual-ity among permanent military personnel, who contribute 2 percent of their monthly base pay for this purpose.

(2) Permanent military personnel may volunteer another 2 percent of their monthly base pay for the supplementary pension, in which case the total contribution will be 4 percent of the base pay. Those contributing 4 percent of their base pay will receive a supplementary pension increased in accordance with the present decree.

(3) The contribution for the supplementary pension is retained by the units and paid by them, via the Financial Directorate of the Ministry of National Defense or the Ministry of the Interior, into a special account in the Savings and Loan Bank paying 3 percent annual interest.

Article 61. (1) Servicemen contributing to the supplementary pension fund benefit by this pension as of the date of their discharge from permanent service in consequence of pensioning.

(2) For servicemen contributing 2 percent, the supplementary pension is based on percentages of the base pay used in computing the military pension, according to years of contribution as follows:

Duration of contribution	Percentage of base pay
Over 20 years	12
15-20 years inclusive	10
10-15 years inclusive	8
5-10 years inclusive	5

Article 62. (1) Servicemen volunteering 4 percent of their base pay per month receive a supplementary pension based on percentages of the pay used in computing the military pension, according to years of contribution as follows:

Duration of contribution	Percentage of base pay
Over 25 years	18
20-25 years inclusive	16
15-20 years inclusive	14
10-15 years inclusive	12
5-10 years inclusive	8

(2) For servicemen contributing 2 percent to the supplementary pension for one period and 4 percent for another period, the pension is based on percentages corresponding to the 4 percent contribution. In this case every 2 years of contribution at 2 percent counts as 1 year of contribution at 4 percent.

Article 63. Servicemen who have contributed to the supplementary pension for a period of no more than 5 years receive, on the date of pensioning, the sum they have contributed plus 3 percent interest.

Article 64. The supplementary pension is granted to survivors to the extent of 50 percent of the amounts specified for the survivor pension granted on the terms of the present decree.

Article 65. If a person has contributed to the supplementary pension in several sectors with their own social insurance and pension systems, all years of contribution are considered. In this case the sector that pays the pension also pays the supplementary pension.

Article 66. The provisions of the present decree on the determination and payment of pensions and on recalculation of the pension benefit, or suspension of its payment, apply correspondingly to the supplementary pensions.

Section VIII: Final and Temporary Provisions

Article 67. Military pensioners and members of their families receive social aid and other social insurance benefits provided for state social insurance pensioners, on the terms of and according to the Law on State Social Insurance Pensions and Social Aid.

Article 68. In case of death of a pensioner or of a member of his family, a death benefit is granted, on the same terms as for permanent military personnel, through the military center or through the socialist unit if the military pensioner was employed.

Article 69. Applications to any organs for the purpose of determining a pension benefit, as well as all procedural documents in connection with this benefit, are exempt from any kind of stamp tax.

Article 70. (1) Sums wrongly paid, in the form of a pension or other pertinent benefits, are recovered according to law from those who have received them. Sums unrecovered after a pensioner's death are no longer pursued.

(2) Sums wrongly paid are recovered from pensioners on the basis of the decision of the pension organs, which constitutes an executory warrant.

Article 71. Persons who, through disregard of the legal provisions, cause payment of undue pensions are required by law to restore them.

Article 72. In determining military pensions and the supplementary pension, fractions of a leu count as 1 leu in the pensioner's favor.

Article 73. Pensions determined up to the date of the present decree are maintained as long as the conditions are met on the basis of which they were granted.

Article 74. (1) Servicemen who have been demoted or have lost the rank of officer, military expert or noncom are entitled to a service pension for the activity performed if they have at least 30 years' seniority as of the date of discharge from permanent service, including 20 years on active duty, and are 60 years of age.

(2) Those who qualify as military pensioners on the date of demotion or loss of military rank lose the right to the service pension for the activity performed until they reach the age specified in Paragraph (1).

Article 75. The blind receive the full service pension for the activity performed if on the date of discharge from permanent service they have a seniority of at least 15 years if men and 10 years if women, upon reaching the age of 50 if men and of 45 if women. These pensioners also receive the full pension for the time they are employed.

Article 76. (1) Pensioners with any degree of incapacity who can be medically reviewed and are extant on the date of the present decree will be reexamined by the medical-military appraisal commissions at the times set according to the present decree.

(2) Military pensioners who upon medical review are to be reemployed will be assigned to jobs suited to their training and capacity through the county and Bucharest municipality directorates for problems of labor and social welfare. They retain their right to a pension only until they are hired, but no later than 31 December 1977. Incapacitated pensioners receiving both a pension and a salary when the present decree goes into effect retain this right as long as they continue to be employed, but no longer than 31 December 1977.

Article 77. Pension applications under consideration by the pension organs will be resolved according to the provisions of the present decree.

Article 78. The present decree goes into effect as of 1 July 1977.

As of the same date the following are abrogated: Decree No 141 of 1967 on Military Pensions and the Supplementary Pension, and Decision of the Council of Ministers No 2006 of 1967 for the Application of Decree No 141 of 1967, with all subsequent modifications, as well as any other provisions contrary to the present decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 12 July 1977
No 214.

5186
CSO: 2700

END