

JPRS 69978

17 October 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1461

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<b>BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET</b>		1. Report No. JPRS 69978	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1461			5. Report Date 17 October 1977	6.
7. Author(s)			8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
			11. Contract/Grant No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above			13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
			14.	
15. Supplementary Notes				
16. Abstracts  The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.				
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors				
<input type="checkbox"/> International Affairs <input type="checkbox"/> Albania <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria <input type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland <input type="checkbox"/> Romania <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia		Propaganda Political Science Sociology Military Organizations		
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms				
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15				
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151			19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 41
			20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price

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ZHIVKOV SPEAKS AT IPU CONFERENCE OPENING

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Sep 77 p 1, 2 AU

[Apparent text of speech by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council, at the opening of the 64th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union]

[Text] Esteemed Delegates and guests, ladies and gentlemen, comrades, it is a real pleasure and a great honor to greet you, esteemed participants in the 64th Interparliamentary Union [IPU] Conference, with the always cordial Bulgarian greeting "Welcome to the ancient and renewed and hospitable Bulgarian land!" I greet you on behalf of the National Assembly, the State Council and government of the Bulgarian People's Republic, on behalf of the peace-loving Bulgarian people and on my personal behalf.

With a feeling of great respect I would also like to most cordially greet the representatives of the other international organizations attending the conference.

I hope that you, the esteemed representatives of the parliaments of almost 70 countries, will convey this greeting to your peoples' parliaments and governments, as another sincere appeal for the peaceful understanding and creative mutual cooperation so vitally needed by the contemporary and future world. It is a pleasure to express my sincere gratitude to the IPU for its decision to hold the 64th conference of the Union in the Bulgarian People's Republic. We are convinced that the IPU Conference, which is taking place for the first time in our country, will facilitate the further strengthening of world peace and security and the development of equal and mutually beneficial cooperation between the states and peoples.

The Bulgarian National Assembly has been an IPU member since 1896, for more than 80 years. I would like to assure you that the Bulgarian People's Republic highly values, respects and supports the IPU activity to develop the personal contacts among the parliamentarians of the various countries, and to increase the role of the national parliaments in strengthening peace, understanding and international cooperation. You can be sure that the Bulgarian People's Republic, its parliament and representatives, will also in the future, as it has always done in the past, regularly take part in the IPU activities,

and will contribute to implementing its human and highly noble goals. We are deeply convinced that this corresponds to the basic interests of the peoples of all countries, as well as to the interests of world peace and security and the comprehensive progress, well-being and social and cultural ascent of mankind.

Esteemed Delegates and Guests, a man does not have to be a professional historian or sociologist in order to be able to note the activity of an important and law-governed tendency toward the constant strengthening of mutual cooperation between various countries and peoples. This tendency, which acquires an ever more general character, influences the increasing role and responsibility of the various international organizations. By this we mean the role and responsibility of the governmental, non-governmental, state and public organizations in facilitating the constant strengthening and expanding of the peoples' interaction, and in improving the well-being of all people, using the organizations specific methods, forms and means of work. This is the historic command of our time, and the command of the future. This command, in our opinion, must be consistently implemented, regardless of differences in the various countries' social systems.

The IPU contributed and continues to significantly contribute to implementing this noble command. With its many-sided activity, it has consolidated itself as a unique international non-governmental organization, which plays a determined role in contemporary international life and in the efforts to seek and outline effective roads for understanding and cooperation.

I would especially like to stress the IPU role in strengthening the role and responsibilities of the parliaments in solving the cardinal question of our time--the question of peace and international security. In order to be able to implement their mission, and their duty, the parliaments, as the supreme representative organs of the peoples, are called upon to fully and correctly reflect the will of the peoples to live in peace and understanding, to compete and cooperate in the areas of economy and culture, to secure social progress throughout the globe. The parliaments cannot and should not ignore the burning problems of our times in the struggle for detente, securing progress in the area of arms limitation, and especially the limitation of nuclear weapons, removing the hotbeds of tension in the world, the final liquidation of the remnants of colonialism and neocolonialism and expanding peaceful cooperation among peoples.

We fully share your concern on these matters. Their discussion at your conference and the decisions you will adopt will contribute--we hope--to gradually implementing these human strivings by the peace-loving people throughout the world. This will correspond to the noble tasks and traditions of the IPU, and to the aims and principles of the United Nations organization's charter.

Under the present circumstances the parliamentarians bear an exceptionally great responsibility for the present and future of our planet. It is not necessary to prove, taking into consideration the quantity and nature of contemporary arms, that mankind has no other chance of surviving than to

strengthen and develop the policy of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, by devoting efforts, at the same time, likely to eliminate war as a means of resolving international problems and controversial issues among individual states. The parliamentarians have great opportunities to influence their governments policy and to mobilize the parliaments and public opinion for the sake of peace, security and friendship among peoples.

The best way to serve one's people and mankind today is to proceed along the path of peace and disarmament, to respect the legitimate interests of all countries and peoples, to work to transform international detente into an irreversible and comprehensive process. The taming of the forces of aggression and war in the world, the taming of reaction and obscurantism, this task is becoming a question of vital importance for each nation and for every state leader, it is becoming the urgent necessity of our epoch, an epoch full of anxiety. I would like to stress on this occasion, too, that under the present circumstances, the problem of peace and security, the problem of disarmament is not only a political one, but a global, universally human question, since a future world war is likely to affect all people on our planet. The first cry of man when he is born is not a battlecry. It is a triumph of life. Man is not born to wage war, he is not born to destroy, but to live and create.

We can stress with satisfaction that in recent years, due to the consistent and tireless efforts by the countries of the socialist community, to the international democratic organizations and movements, as well as the sensible approach of sober-thinking Western politicians, statesmen and governments, and due to the efforts of all people in the world who are in favor of peace and security, due to all these factors, detente has been further consolidated. The conviction is strengthening that concrete measures must be undertaken to stop the arms race, to disarm. The trend is developing toward comprehensive cooperation among states, based on equal rights and mutual cooperation. In this respect new progress was achieved in Europe as a result of the successfully implemented CSCE.

The time which has elapsed since the CSCE and the experience accumulated in the international relations on our continent are showing that the principles and agreements signed in Helsinki represent a universal, broad and fully feasible, realistic program of action for all states, aimed at further consolidating peace and cooperation based on equal rights and at truly laying the foundations of a better Europe. According to our deep conviction the forthcoming Belgrade Conference, which will be held immediately following your conference, must be directed to the future. It must be inspired by concern for peace and security in Europe. It must sum up the positive experience of past activities in implementing in practice the agreements reached at the conference, and it must work out recommendations, based on the final document, to further expand communications and cooperation among states and peoples. I do not doubt that the Third Interparliamentary Meeting for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which will be held in spring 1978 in Vienna, will also contribute to the common cause of friendship and understanding among European peoples.

Political detente must not only strengthen and develop, but it must also be complemented as soon as possible by an alleviation of tension in the military sector. The time has come to undertake practical measures to fully halt nuclear arms tests, observe the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, prohibit chemical weapons and new systems of mass destruction weapons, reduce military budgets and reduce the armaments and armed forces in central Europe. We must boldly proceed along the path of universal and full disarmament under a strict international control.

Unfortunately, however, the international atmosphere, regardless of the fact that detente represents the prevailing trend, is not such as we could like it to be. In certain countries military budgets are increasing and the arms race is being intensified. Explosive hotbeds exist in the world, and in many places the disgraceful policy of racism, apartheid and discrimination is still being tolerated. Hundreds of millions of people on our planet are living under extremely difficult conditions.

Along with this, mankind is facing a number of new, common problems--such as protecting the environment against pollution, the conquest of space, as well as the efficient utilization of energy and other earth resources.

All this demands that the states, regardless of their social systems, should wage a policy of true cooperation, that they should seek mutually acceptable solutions and devote sincere efforts to insure a lasting peace throughout the world. Only such a policy is capable of creating favorable living conditions for the present and future generations.

Esteemed delegates and guests, the positions of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on international problems are well-known to worldwide public opinion and this is why I do not intend to set them forth in detail on this occasion.

Allow me to assure you that the People's Republic of Bulgaria will also in the future wage a consistent, peace-loving policy and will cooperate with all states and forces that favor strengthening security, the peoples' freedom and independence, good neighborly relations and understanding and oppose discrimination and arbitrariness in international relations. We will also in the future continue to develop our relations with the Western states on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation.

I would also like to recall that the policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on our peninsula is a policy of asserting the Balkans as zone of lasting peace, a policy of understanding and friendship, of further developing bilateral economic, political and cultural relations with our neighbors. Our policy is a permanent policy, it is in accordance with the vital interests of the Bulgarian people and of the other peoples on our peninsula, a policy devoted to the lasting interests of peace and progress.

As a Balkan country, we are greatly concerned about the situation in Cyprus and in the Middle East.

It is necessary to find a lasting settlement of the Cyprus question, a settlement based on the full observance of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

We also want a prompt and just peaceful solution to the Middle East problem. Experience shows that the more the solution of this problem is delayed, the more explosive the situation becomes in that area and the greater are the dangers threatening the peoples of the Middle East and throughout the world.

We are seriously concerned about the situation in Africa and we favor liquidation the hotbeds of tension on that continent.

We fully believe that the interests of universal peace, the future and present of the peoples, insistingly demands the timely halt to the attempts by reactionary forces to fan new conflicts.

Our foreign policy of peace, understanding and cooperation, its nature and goals are naturally determined by the character of the socioeconomic system existing in socialist Bulgaria, by the essence and trends of our domestic policy.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, which warmly and cordially welcomes you with open hearts and souls, is today a developed industrial-agrarian state, a country whose people have high material and intellectual cultural standards. Socialism brought the working people a true democracy, it created in our working people the feeling of confidence in their future, it opened bright horizons for comprehensive progress. The constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria guaranteed our citizens such great and real rights and freedoms as can exist only in countries where exploitation of man by man has been liquidated.

The socialist state insures equal rights for the citizens, it creates conditions and opportunities for them to exercise their rights. The activities of our National Assembly--the supreme organ of power in our industry--are aimed at further improving and developing socialist democracy, at even more fully guaranteeing the participation of citizens in the administration of society. Sociopolitical life in our country is characterized by the fact that two parties exist--the BCP and the Bulgarian People's Agrarian Union--parties which are proceeding together, in a united bloc, with non-party members. The Bulgarian people, rallied in a broad fatherland front, relying upon mutual friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal socialist countries, relying upon the support of all progressive forces in the world, are working with lofty consciousness and enthusiasm to build a developed socialist society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

It is with great readiness, dear friends, that we intend to give you the opportunity to become acquainted with all aspects of our life, with our successes and problems as well as with our plans for the future. Despite our tremendous progress achieved in the last 3 decades, in our country too,

as in other countries, certain difficulties exist. We have not succeeded in accomplishing all tasks in the way we would like them to be accomplished. The important thing, however, is that we in our country are clearly aware of the tasks we must accomplish, that we have the knowledge and experience of how to accomplish tasks and the unflinching will to resolve the still unresolved problems, to overcome subjective and objective difficulties and to build the socialist society.

Esteemed delegates and guests, ladies and gentlemen, comrades, during your stay in Bulgaria, which we hope will be both pleasant and useful, you will certainly learn how our people are worthily preparing to celebrate two remarkable anniversaries--the 1300th anniversary of the foundation of the Bulgarian nation and the 100th anniversary of our national liberation. These two anniversaries alone are sufficient to suggest to you how dramatic the history of the Bulgarian people has been--it is a history of centuries-old epic struggles, for national independence, for national and social freedom. This is why our people know how to appreciate friendship among the peoples, this is why our people greatly love peace and respect the envoys of peace.

Let us all, united and inspired by the noble aspirations for peace and progress, devote our efforts in the struggle for the triumph of a world rescued from the nightmare of nuclear annihilation and from the heavy burden of armaments, a world of peaceful and clear skies, a world of peaceful and constructive labor, a world in which nations and people of all countries will live together in friendship, in which they will be able to freely communicate with each other and to have confidence in each other thanks to the generous results of their material and intellectual culture.

With all my heart I wish the IPU Conference useful work and great successes in the responsible work which the delegates to this conference are accomplishing in consolidating universal peace and security, in working for the development of cooperation among peoples, for the continuation and intensification of the process of detente in international relations.

I take the liberty to declare the 64th IPU Conference open!

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

BCP ORGAN REPORTS ZHIVKOV INTERVIEW IN IRANIAN DAILY

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Sep 77 p 1 AU

[Report on interview given by Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, to the Iranian Daily [RASTAKHIZ] represented by journalist (Mahmud Takheri) during the latter's stay in Sofia, date of the interview not given]

[Text] Teheran, 24 Sep 77 [BTA report]: The greatest and most influential Iranian daily RASTAKHIZ today published an interview with Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The interview was given to (Mahmud Takheri), a representative of this daily.

The interview is accompanied by biographical notes about the first leader of our party and state and is also illustrated by pictures, representing the meeting with the journalist.

In an extensive interview, which begins on page one and takes more than two and a half pages of the newspaper, Comrade Todor Zhivkov exhaustively answers the questions put to him by the Iranian journalist. These are questions concerning the socioeconomic development of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, its foreign policy and the principles upon which this policy is based, as well as certain topical aspects of the international situation.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov describes in detail our country's economic, social and cultural upsurge, by stressing that the basic care, essence and contents of the BCP and the Bulgarian state's social policy are devoted to the satisfaction of the people's increasing material, intellectual, social and other needs. In dwelling upon Bulgaria's dynamic development, Comrade Zhivkov notes that because of the essence of the social system existing in our country, phenomena of crisis, such as inflation and unemployment, are impossible.

In answering another question, Comrade Todor Zhivkov points out that the communist-agrarian alliance was sealed by the jointly shed blood in the common struggle against capitalism and fascism and that the BCP and the People's Agrarian Union are working side by side for the prosperity and happiness of the Bulgarian people.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov also dwells on the fraternal relations and cooperation with the Soviet Union, by pointing out that friendship and alliance with the USSR are the Bulgarian people's most precious achievements. He stresses in particular as follows: "Our relations [with the USSR] are based on friendship and mutual trust. They represent qualitatively new relations and set an example for relations between two countries...we are conducting and we will continue to conduct an unrelenting course of close, comprehensive cooperation and drawing closer together with the Soviet Union." Comrade Todor Zhivkov adds that the People's Republic of Bulgaria entirely and wholeheartedly supports the peace program of the Soviet Union, which "throughout 60 years has most consistently and perseveringly worked to create a world without wars and violence, for relations with all countries, based on equal rights and mutual advantage."

A few of the questions posed by (Mahmud Takheri) are related to the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and in particular to Bulgaria's relations with the other Balkan states. In this connection Comrade Todor Zhivkov declares as follows: "One of the basic trends of the foreign policy conducted by the People's Republic of Bulgaria is the development of good neighborly, bilateral relations with all Balkan states. He further stresses, that the Bulgarian Balkan policy is consistent and realistic and is not influenced by any opportunistic considerations whatsoever. It is a policy aimed at the consolidation of peace, security and cooperation, at the further intensification of the process of international detente. A concrete expression of this policy is represented by the numerous, constructive proposals submitted by the Bulgarian Government in connection with the creation and consolidation of an atmosphere of trust and useful cooperation with our neighbors in the Balkans.

Asked about his opinion on the Belgrade meeting, Comrade Todor Zhivkov points out the historical importance of the CSCE. He stresses as follows: "We are expecting that this meeting will be held in a constructive spirit, in a spirit of understanding and good will and we are trying, at the same time, to make our maximum contribution to this goal." He emphasizes the topical character of the proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact member-countries to the 35 signatory states of the Helsinki final document. This proposal implies that the signatory states should commit themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other. He also emphasizes the topical character of the Soviet proposals on cooperation in various sectors, stating that a discussion on these proposals in Belgrade would represent a contribution to the consolidation of security and cooperation in Europe.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov also dwells on the Middle East crisis by declaring that our country is conducting a consistent and principle-minded policy for a comprehensive, political settlement of the conflict within the framework of the Geneva Conference and with the participation of the PLO.

Comrade Zhivkov expresses the support of the Bulgarian People's Republic for the just struggle of the African peoples for their liberation from colonialism,

neocolonialism and imperialism and points out as follows: "The future of Africa can be nothing other than the liberation of these peoples and their progressive development."

Comrade Todor Zhivkov also answers in detail questions put to him by (Mahmud Talheri) about cooperation between Iran and Bulgaria. He stresses that our country's foreign policy principles--peace, understanding, equal rights and mutually advantageous cooperation--are guiding principles also in Bulgaria's relations with Iran. "Bulgarian-Iranian relations represent a good example for the successful implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems," Comrade Todor Zhivkov points out, adding that the development of these relations undoubtedly exerts a favorable influence and represents a contribution to the consolidation of peace. The expanding relations in the trade, scientific, technical and cultural sectors, as well as in sports and tourism can only be to the advantage of both Bulgaria and Iran, to the advantage of both our peoples. Comrade Zhivkov conveys through (Mahmud Takheri) and his daily the most sincere greetings and cordial wishes to the friendly people of Iran, for their further progress, well-being and happiness. Comrade Todor Zhivkov, in dwelling on his previous official meetings with Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, Shahinshah of Iran, notes that these meetings have produced a development of cooperation between the two countries and adds that he expects the Shahinshah of Iran to visit Bulgaria no later than next year. These words pronounced by Todor Zhivkov are printed in boldface type and are quoted in the subtitle of the interview.

CSO: 2200

POPULATION STRUCTURE EXAMINED

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Sep 77 p 8

[Article by Prof Dr Minko Minkov: "The Demographic Aspect of the Country"]

[Text] Human reproduction plays a particular role in the sociological structure of society, for man is the creator of all material and spiritual goods. Without the creative energy, enthusiasm, skill and experience of the people society would be deprived of the basic motive force of material and spiritual output and of the possibility to function and develop in all basic areas of social life. However, production is not a self-seeking aim but an expedient activity aimed at satisfying the needs of man who is both the subject and object of the production process. In this sense the pace of the population's reproduction is a yardstick of the factual possibility for the growth and development of society.

In the past 33 years the population -- this national resource of the country -- rose by over 1.9 billion people. The development of this process was characterized by a decline of the birth and mortality rates and a drastic increase of the average lifespan (see diagram 1). Under the people's regime the social reproduction process has had a clearly intensive development which calls for the reproduction of manpower and the population with high quality characteristics and a high cultural and technical standard. At the expense of these objective requirements its quantity declined, expressed, above all, in the declining birth rate. This law, characteristic of all economically developed countries, was naturally manifested in our country through the negative influence which an entire system of factors had on the birth rate.

Our country reached a birth rate of 17.1 per 1,000 in 1974, 16.6 in 1975, and 16.5 in 1976. In fact, it has been close to the optimal which is 17 per 1,000. Taking all this into consideration, our party will continue to emphasize a demographic policy based on the creation of socio-economic and moral incentives to encourage the birth rate (2 to 3 children per family), the development of a network of children's establishments and services, and facilities for working women, securing housing for young families, granting leave for child care, and others.

## Average Population Life Span

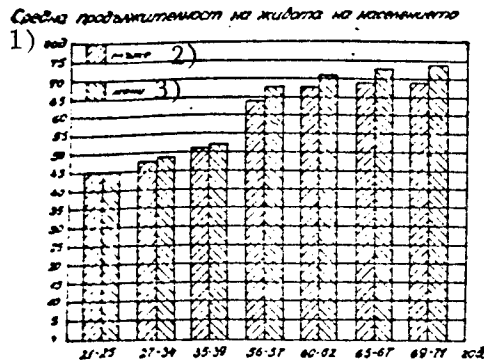


Diagram 1

Key:

1. Age
2. Men
3. Women

Under the people's regime great successes were achieved in reducing the mortality rate which declined from 13.4 per 1,000 in 1935 to about 10 per 1,000 in 1976. This success is particularly clear in the case of infant mortality (reduced from 130.5 per 1,000 liveborn in 1939 to 23.1 per 1,000 in 1975) and mortality in the adolescents and young age groups. It is the result, above all, of the higher living standard of the people and free medical aid, which is a major social gain of our people.

All this lengthened the average life span of the Bulgarian population by nearly 20 years compared with the bourgeois past. This is one of the most outstanding and most synthesized indicators of the successes achieved by our socialist social system in which the results of the party's overall socio-economic policy are focused as in a lens.

The new socialist production relations which eliminated the exploitation of man by man also created new social structures in our social life. The right to work of all citizens was guaranteed, as a result of which the almost entire able-bodied population became active. Thus, the active contingent rose from 53.2 percent of the entire population in 1974 to 58.0 percent in 1975. The socialist state insured the population's support through pensions and social aid benefiting the almost total retired adult population. Thus, we have factually guaranteed the person's right to work, attend school free of charge, and be provided for after he has exhausted his ability to work.

Major changes occurred in the sectorial employment of the population (see diagram 2). Whereas in the past the majority of the people were employed in agriculture (81.8 percent in 1948), their share today is 23.1 percent (1975). This indicates that today 3.3 times less people provide 2.4 times more agricultural commodities compared with 1948. The

released manpower was channeled mainly into industry, construction, and transportation. A number of new industrial sectors such as the chemical industry, machine building, instrument manufacturing above all, metal processing, the cellulose-paper industry, the production of construction materials, and others developed particularly rapidly and absorbed the additional manpower.

Percentage of People Employed by the National Economy  
by Sector

*Занятые лица в народном хозяйстве по отраслям - процентами*

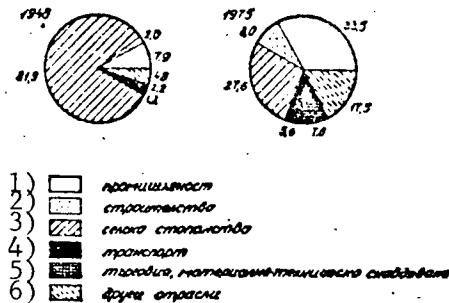


Diagram 2

Key:

1. Industry
2. Construction
3. Agriculture
4. Transportation
5. Trade, material and technical supplies
6. Other sectors

Under the people's regime the societal technological structure has been improving steadily. The development and reconstruction of machine output and the use of an assembly line system increased the number of individual professions and skills to over 10,000 while the introduction of new machines and new production facilities led to the development of new professions and skills.

In our country as well, the initiated process of comprehensive production mechanization and automation has led to the development of broad skills characterized by a variety of individual types of labor activities, combination of labor skills with high technical standards, and a combination of physical with mental work within a single labor process.

The people's shifting from agricultural skills to a great variety of skills in industry, construction, and transportation, and from metallurgical, chemical, and transportation skills to engineering-technical positions upgrades their social status and is a vivid manifestation of their continuing social prosperity under socialist conditions. In the final account, these processes bring the working class closer to the intelligentsia. Since disparities will be steadily disappearing in terms of skills, level

of satisfaction from the work, material prosperity, and others, the process of vocational mobility in the period of building a developed socialist society will continue to help the even closer rapprochement between the working class and the intelligentsia. As the nature of peasant work, professional aspects, and amount and means of earnings change on the basis of single national ownership and as the Bulgarian peasants change their way of life they will come ever closer to that of the workers. Thus, in the future changes in the professional structure will contribute to gradually surmounting disparities among individual socialist groups and classes and to the gradual homogeneousness of our socialist society.

#### Time Budget

The new socialist study of the time budget of the Bulgarian population was completed recently.<sup>1</sup> Its results enable us to compare it with the study conducted in 1970-1971. Following are some of the preliminary data of the second half of 1976 compared with similar results in 1970 (average annual data per day per employed individual):

Type of Basic Activity	Time Outlays in Minutes	
	1970	1976
Work (working time)	340	313
Work related time	79	77
Household work	194	204
Shopping and services	13	17
Sleep, meals and others	631	620
Free time	<u>183</u>	<u>209</u>
Total	1,440	1,440

In the period between the two studies an important social measure was implemented -- the conversion to a 5-day and a shortened work week. This important social gain of the Bulgarian people under the people's regime is bringing about major changes in their way of life and culture. The data show that the leisure time of the Bulgarian people and their possibility to be exposed even more closely to culture and education, as well as engage in meaningful recreation have increased considerably. Between 1970 and 1976 television viewing increased by 16 minutes and travel possibilities increased by 12 minutes. The amount of time spent in gaining skills, in sports and in book reading increased as well.

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<sup>1</sup>The study was conducted by the Central Statistical Administration with the participation of a number of other departments. Senior Scientific Associate Zakhari Staykov was the scientific head of the project.

## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

CHILEAN AT PROTEST MEETING--Sofia, 29 Sep (BTA)--A solidarity rally with the people of Chile was held here this evening. This was the last of hundreds of rallies held throughout the country in the days of solidarity with the Chilean people. The speakers, prominent Bulgarian public figures, spoke about the thousands of manifestations of solidarity with the struggle of the Chilean patriots, about the active support rendered to that just struggle by the Bulgarian working people. Mrs Elena Gomez, member of the CC of the Chilean Communist Party, spoke about the terror practiced in her homeland, from where she has recently arrived and about the recently held there plenary session of the CC of the Chilean Communist Party. The participants in the rally unanimously approved a cable to Mr Kurt Waldheim, secretary general of the United Nations organization, in which they insisted on the immediate discontinuation of the bloody terror in Chile, on the release of the political prisoners and the "missing," and on the restoration of human rights and liberties. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 29 Sep 77 AU]

CSO: 2020

EAST GERMANY

POLITICS-LAW INTERRELATIONSHIP TO PROMOTE PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 26 No 8, Aug 77 signed to press 24 Jun 77 pp 797-805

[Article by Prof Dr Gerhard Schuessler, rector, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; chairman, Council for Research in Political Science and Jurisprudence, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Politics and Law in the Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society"]

[Text] The thesis on the inseparable unity between law and politics is known to be a basic scientific statement of Marxism-Leninism and of first rate importance to determining the nature of socialist law as well as to understanding and shaping its interrelationship with society and the state.

One statement by Lenin most frequently attacked by the opponents of the socialist state and legal order says: "A law is a political measure, is politics."<sup>1</sup> Their attacks range all the way from criticizing an alleged identification between politics and law up to the insinuation that Marxism-Leninism negated generally the necessity for law, denying that law had any value per se within the life of society. Not so infrequently the claim is being made that to Marxism-Leninism law is merely a pragmatic instrument, at the mercy of egoistic political interests, which would in essence find itself reduced to politics exclusively.<sup>2</sup>

Right now the adversaries of socialism are distorting the Marxist-Leninist conception of the inseparable unity between politics and law most vociferously by seeking to impute to the socialist countries a hostility to law and an alleged negation of the rights and freedoms of personality. In tracing the motives for this one finds it is not the concern about the rights and freedoms of the working people, as they are being trampled underfoot in the capitalist world today; one rather finds those roots in a covert or overt anticommunism and in the apologetics of state monopoly capitalism.

Marxism-Leninism makes visible the relations of politics to law. Its scientific conception of law significantly helped the socialist countries create a just and democratic legal order that serves the good of the people and steadily further develops its progressive, humanistic and democratic character.

As far as the Marxist-Leninist conception of socialist law is concerned, it proceeds from the fact that a close interrelationship exists between politics and law which is ultimately conditioned by the social relations, the socialist production relations. This implies the recognition of a relative independence of law vis-a-vis politics as much as vis-a-vis other manifestations of the socialist superstructure.<sup>3</sup> Socialist law is an important factor in organizing the socialist social order, in settling the manifold social relations and in promoting the development of personality and the effective protection of socialist society and its citizens.<sup>4</sup>

Its social influence, its actively transforming and protective role, while rooted in its social determination, particularly through socioeconomic factors, is at the same time also based on its interrelationship with the political, moral, intellectual-cultural, traditional and other social determinants. This at once amounts to a strict rejection of such theories as, for instance, advocated by Kelsen, in his "Pure Law Doctrine," according to which law or the legal norm could assume any kind of substance altogether.<sup>5</sup> That would turn law into a ploy of politics which, in turn, lets itself be guided by the consideration that the end justifies the means.

Positivistic law theories like that, as is well known, are suitable to sanctioning as "legal" or "legitimate" even fascist regimes of terror and violence, as long as they embellish their criminal acts in the form of laws, jurisdiction and so forth.<sup>6</sup> By that theory even the "rules of the game" by a gang of thieves, their "ethics of thievery," would rate as law.<sup>7</sup>

The Marxist-Leninist conception of politics and law however also rejects those ideologies which pretend that the lines of politics, the state and social development are predetermined, as it were, by the materialization of some eternal "idea of law."

In looking at the practical situation in the socialist countries which are shaping developed socialism today and are at work creating the conditions for communism, one will find the importance of law increasing. The political direction of social processes makes necessary to proceed from a broad social understanding of law as the expression of the will and interests of the workers class and all the working people, as the embodiment of the scientific policy of the party of the workers class and of the socialist state, and to bring law to bear as an important political instrument for shaping society.

This becomes most visible in the constitutional legislation of the socialist countries. The new draft constitution of the Soviet Union reflects this, for instance, as a process into which have entered the results of CPSU policy as well as its general line for constructing communist society, in a basic constitutional law that determines the entire legal order and that has received the supreme authority as the source of all laws and of all legal development. This is not merely a record of the political goals and tasks as set down in the CPSU documents, but it is an integrated constitutional system containing the constitutional principles, regulations and rules which compose the legally binding charter for the further development of

Soviet society, the shaping of the state and legal order, the improvement of Soviet democracy, the development of communist social relations and the all round development of personality.

Rooting law in politics assures that it will act as one of the most important instruments in the ever more complete development of the social impulses in the phase that shapes mature socialism and that it will help solve any contradictions occurring in the course of it in the interest of social progress. A firm ingredient of the unified social organism, which cannot be imagined without it, law makes that organism assume ever firmer contours through creating the developed socialist society with its stable socialist forms of life, safe and secure conditions of life, free and democratic political relations, voluntary and conscious creativity and social mass initiatives by the working people. We can and must proceed from the proposition that mature, developed socialism is that kind of social organism, and that among its foundations, along with the perfecting of the socialist state entity and the development of socialist democracy, also belongs the "strengthening of the legal foundation of state and social life."<sup>8</sup>

The SED program states: "The systematic further development of the socialist legal order in accordance with the degree of maturity of socialist society and the assurance of legal security are a firm component of SED policy."<sup>9</sup>

This does of course not mean that a law will always necessarily go closely along at the heels of any single political measure or any kind of tactical political turn. The arena of politics, as one knows, is broader than that of law; politics, in its essence, is more flexible.

Yet it is even less true that law always follows politics at a trot, always only "blindly carries out" the dictates of politics. Rather, it is a compact expression of politics.<sup>10</sup> The rooting of law in politics mainly means that state and legal development always is embedded in overall social development, in the implementation of the entire policy of the workers class.

The task of improving and strengthening the socialist legal order and socialist legality testifies to the intensification of the interrelationship between politics and law in the shaping of the developed socialist society. Principally this means that through the activities of the working class party, through the strategic lines for social development, elaborated by the decisions and the political course of the party, the guidelines for the steady improvement of law also are given.

By elaborating all the fundamental tasks for bringing to realization a unified state policy, the party also determines the main trends for the development of the socialist legal order and the successive steps to be taken toward the further development of law. It is its concern that the workers class and all the people participate in the elaboration of the legal norms and, through various forms of their own initiatives, for instance within the framework of socialist competition, organize the strict obedience to legal norms themselves.<sup>11</sup>

Law, in expressing the will of the working class in the shaping of the developed socialist society, roots itself still more deeply in human thought and action as shown, for example, in the initiatives toward fulfillment and goal-directed overfulfillment of the plans and in the mass competition on improving order and security in the enterprises and residential areas. Work collectives not only struggle for better production results but also, in their high sense of responsibility for our state, fight against all violations of law. The collectives are taking concrete measures against disturbances of the production process and are performing a great educational task on behalf of a conscious discipline and work attitude based on the laws of the workers and farmers power. Thus the protection of the socialist achievements and the safeguarding of legality become a component of the socialist way of life in everyday existence.

The party course toward consolidating state power and democracy in its essence aims in this at developing the revolutionary capacities of the workers class and all the working people and at insuring the safe protection of their achievements, interests, rights and freedoms. That is to say, the interrelationship between politics and law under the conditions of shaping the developed socialist society increasingly depends on the inevitabilities which make possible the uniformity and political cooperation of all the people under the leadership of the working class party. With this, the personality and the collectives also develop their creative initiative and socialist characteristics. Without being firmly anchored in these political inevitabilities and relations, law could never develop its political-ideological effects, its intellectual-educational factors nor its democratic character, closely connected with the people, while developing the socialist way of life and steadily improving political organization.

Paying close attention to the interrelationship between politics and law also provides the key for the scientific and objective nature of the socialist legal order. For that means, after all, that account be taken, with the greatest precision, attention and creative search, of the political requirements in their government and legal forms, and that the mechanism of the implementation of law is synchronized with politics.

This is one of the essential points for the abysmal gap between the socialist and the bourgeois legal order, and they also explain why the working class is developing and perfecting its own legal order and legality. There can, by definition, be no contradictions between politics and law in socialism. This does not preclude, however, certain contradictions that could arise from some legal regulations, for instance, lagging behind new developmental processes, or from this or that regulation becoming obsolete. That also attaches such great importance, in the process of jurisprudence, to steadily adapting socialist law to the requirements of social development in progress.

The thesis that in the shaping of the developed socialist society the interrelation between politics and law intensifies also embraces the relationship between law and management. This leads to the conclusion that the role of law, as a decisive executive tool, be heightened, as the policy of the working

class party means uniform direction for all areas of society, leadership for overall social development. Appropriate to mature socialism, which to create all efforts of the working class party and the socialist state are dedicated to, is a modern state executive as much as a high level of legal order, legality and law culture, which promote social progress, are in line with the conditions of scientific-technical progress, and aim at the exploitation of social laws, especially the economic laws, enhance labor productivity and help increase the happiness and the well-being of the workers class and of all the working people.

Characteristic of law in this developmental phase is that it emerges more and more as one of the most important tools the ruling working class and its allies have in their complex shaping of society on the basis of democratic centralism and uniform state discipline.

This reflects the objective requirement for there being in the current developmental phase, in all socialist countries, a definite turning by state executive activity, and especially also by law, to the problems in economic activity, for they are the ones that form the foundation for many other vital problems of the workers class and the entire people. At the same time, however, it becomes more and more necessary, and also possible to an increasing extent, to find common solutions for social and economic problems. The intensification of production, improvements in the efficiency and quality of all economic activity, the mastery over science and technology and of international economic integration, with the goal of ever better satisfying the material and cultural needs of the citizens in socialist society, are matters that more and more move into the center of state management and thus also put their stamp on the development of new and effective forms of law.

This comes out most visibly in the elaboration and realization of the planning laws, which in many ways are moving toward the center of the legal order and are stipulating legislative lines for other areas as well.

In them can be found altogether the expansion and deepening of the entire economic, intellectual-educational and social activity of the socialist state and of its law as well. The mandatory planning goals are not only guidelines in a general political respect but, in addition, legally binding requirements reflecting the inevitably proceeding economic and social processes. They significantly determine government activity on all levels and the work of each institution and structural unit and greatly affect the development of socialist democracy and the development of its forms. They set down the concrete criteria for state decision in plan fulfillment.

Plan legislation concretely expresses the unity of economic and social policy. It connects the creative abilities and initiatives of the working people and their collectives with the overall social tasks. Their initiatives, diligent work and partnership in deliberation not only enhance the elasticity, consistency and authority of state management. The plans provide sure perspectives for every working person and every collective.

Basic to the unity of politics and law is that state and society be a uniformly creative and active organism. All its members and levels are activated by the decisions of the working class party and are placing their work on the stable legal basis of socialist legality.

It is characteristic of socialism that the intensification of the interrelation between law and politics is by no means confined to the constitutional domain or the sphere of economic law. Scarcely less apparent it becomes in the new socialist civil code, the labor code and in the penal regulations issued.<sup>12</sup>

The whole legal order is pervaded by the policy of the working class party. Together with the socialist modes of thought and conduct, and with the development of socialist democracy, there are also consolidated a conscious discipline and strict order, those factors that provide social relations with their special stability and continuity, but also with their elasticity and dynamics.

Freedom and discipline, rights and duties, competency and responsibility are becoming components that interpenetrate and condition each other. Our law fosters and expands the freedom and rights of personality. At the same time, however, it is an efficient tool for every citizen's observing, and abiding by, his responsibilities to society. From the constitutionally and legally guaranteed citizens' freedom and rights is derived the right and duty of the state to take steps against citizens who infringe their basic obligations as citizens of the state or other legal duties. That is a precept of humanism. That alone can insure and protect the freedom of the citizens in our society.

Legal order and legality thus become social conditions, the organization of which is made by the members of society into an element of their political responsibility. That precludes any schematic type of jurisdiction, any perfectionist legal solutions or any excessively specific branch approach or a "pure" juridical approach to the elaboration and preparation of legal regulations. To the extent that socialist democracy becomes a crucial developmental element of the society and the state -- and with the shaping of the developed socialist society it becomes in fact an element of the way of life --, the legal mechanism must aim at enabling ever increasing masses of people to take part, through new ways and means long tested, in the development of social relations, even at stimulating them to do so directly.

The legal order of socialism at the present time must contain everything that is needed for developing democratic activities (from information to the working people to the determination of tasks, responsibilities and state and social controls, up to the appropriately social ways and means for settling conflicts).

Legal work therefore is, among other things, marked by having the best methods and experiences gathered by the working class and the other working people, and by the state organs in realizing democracy, brought to bear on the law as reflected, for example, in the new labor code. By saying that law, the legal order and legality are becoming important factors in shaping the socialist way of life, we imply a great number of questions. Wherever one begins or ends, however, what is always certain is that those principles of law that are basic

to the entire legal order, like justice, responsibility, equality, the unity of rights and duties and so forth, more and more codetermine human thought and action. And they are most closely connected with politics. They are inviolable values of socialist society because the workers class and the progressive forces of the people allied with it have won them throughout a long historic process and because they significantly characterize the essential features of the political organization of society. These principles of law crucially contribute to the functioning of the social organism. They constitute genuine criteria by which the action of the working people and their collectives, as well as that of the state executives, is being evaluated and judged.<sup>13</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Werke" (Works), Vol 23, Berlin, 1957, p 40.
2. For the issue taken with this, cf. W. A. Tumanov et al, "Buergerliche Rechtsideologie" (Bourgeois Ideology of Law), Berlin, 1975, pp 85 ff.
3. Cf. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie des Staates und des Rechts" (General Marxist-Leninist Theory of State and Law), Vol I, Berlin, 1974, pp 305 ff. It is one of the basic tasks of jurisprudence to examine the role of law within the system of the socialist superstructure, its interrelationship with its components, in order to gain still more accurate insights into the specific functions law has in the shaping of the developed socialist society. The main thing is to explain still more accurately the specific role of law in its total configuration and interrelationship within the superstructure while proceeding from the Leninist remarks about the active role of law in socialism and during the transition toward communist society. This is prerequisite to working out still more concretely how by means of law the entire economic and social development is affected as a uniform process at a high level of social organization. That concerns in particular the various effects law has on the everyday life of the citizens. Interesting remarks regarding legal consciousness can be found in E. A. Lukaschewa, "Sozialistisches Rechtsbewusstsein und Gesetzlichkeit" (Socialist Legal Consciousness and Legality), Berlin, 1976, especially pp 49 ff and 191 ff.
4. Cf. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie . . .," op. cit., Vol IV, Berlin, 1976, pp 9 ff; "Marxistisch-leninistische Staats- und Rechtstheorie, Lehrbuch" (Marxist-Leninist Theory of State and Law, Textbook), Berlin, 1975, pp 334 ff.
5. As to the pure law doctrine, H. Kelsen would like it understood as "a pure law theory, that is to say, cleansed of all political ideology and all natural science elements" (cf. H. Kelsen, "Reine Rechtslehre," Vienna, 1960, preface). For a criticism of Kelsen's legal positivism, cf. H. Klenner, "Law Without Content -- Sentencing the Pure Law Doctrine," ZUR KRITIK DER BUERGERLICHEN IDEOLOGIE, No 14, Berlin, 1972.

6. As long ago as 1892, K. Bergbohm wrote that "the basest legal right would have to be accepted as binding as long as its production was formally correct" ("Jurisprudenz und Rechtsphilosophie," Vol I, Leipzig, 1892, p 144). In the Springer paper DIE WELT, H. Barth, for instance, defends the bloody fascist dictatorship in Chile (and here one may only recall Pinochet's remark: "There is a saying that 'democracy' has to be bathed in blood from time to time in order to continue its existence," cf. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 October 1973, page 6) by arguing as follows: Allende had been "destroyed" by the "contradiction between the constitutionalism he had feigned and the dictatorship of the proletariat he had sought to bring about." "Shortly before his ouster the Supreme Court and Congress had certified the unconstitutional nature of his measures. Thus it is misleading," H. Barth concludes, "to make the undifferentiated claim the military had risen against the legitimate, democratically elected government. It no longer existed when the armed forces rebelled. Their armed breach had been preceded by a permanently breached constitution" (cf. H. Barth, "Pinochet's Drastic Recipe: First Produce, Then Consume," DIE WELT, 10 March 1977, page 8). This is a striking example showing the cynicism with which hostile forces are trying these days by means of their "legal conceptions" to manipulate law and legality for their own ends. In violation of any sensible standards of ethics, honor and justice, murder is justified, the murderer is praised as the "helper in need," democracy is stigmatized as breach of the constitution and in conclusion, the victim is held up to mockery.
7. U. Klug, a member of the Kelsen school, confirms this state of affairs (cf. U. Klug, "Prinzipien der Reinen Rechtslehre," Krefeld, 1974, p 20).
8. Cf. L. I. Brezhnev, "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy." Berlin, 1976, p 99.
9. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Berlin, 1976, p 43.
10. Cf. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie . . .," op. cit., p 328.
11. Cf. K. Sorgenicht, "Staat, Recht und Demokratie nach dem IX. Parteitag der SED" (State, Law and Democracy After the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, 1976, pp 126 ff, especially p 129; G. Schuessler and W. Weichelt, "Arbeiterklasse, Partei, Staatsmacht" (Working Class, Party, State Power), Berlin, 1976, pp 30 ff and 67 ff; A. F. Shebanov, Law in Developed Socialist Society" (in Russian), Moscow, 1975, pp 21 ff.
12. Cf. "Experiences in the Implementation of the Civil Code--Materials of the Session of the Constitutional and Legal Commission of the People's Chamber of 26 January 1977 and Other Civil Law Regulations--From the Activity of the People's Chamber and Its Commissions, Seventh Election Period, issue number 2, Berlin, 1977; GRUNDFRAGEN DES SOZIALISTISCHEN

ZIVILRECHTS, No 1, Berlin, 1977, pp 13, 16, 23 ff, 71 ff; K. Sorgenicht, "Right to Work -- Basic Human Right," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1977, pp 157 ff; F. Kunz and G. Schuessler, "The New Labor Code -- Important Tool for Shaping the Developed Socialist Society," STAAT UND RECHT, 1977, pp 229 ff; F. Kunz and A. Baumgart, "On Some Theoretical Problems Concerning the Draft of the New Labor Code," NEUE JUSTIZ, 1977, pp 125 ff.

13. Cf. G. Haney, "Socialist Law and the Socialist Way of Life," STAAT UND RECHT, 1976, pp 809 ff, especially 814 ff; G. Haney, "Rechtsbewusstsein -- Wertbewusstsein. Sozialistisches Rechtsbewusstsein -- Herausbildung und gesellschaftliche Wirkung" (Legal Consciousness -- Value Consciousness. Socialist Legal Consciousness -- Emergence and Social Effect), Berlin, 1976, pp 26 ff.

5885

CSO: 2300

VATICAN URGED TO SUPPORT INDEPENDENCE OF GDR CATHOLICISM

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 17 No 8, Aug 77 pp 6-7

[Article by Hubertus Guske, member of BEGEGNUNG editorial staff: "Hope For a New Sign of Peace--Need to Make Up for Delays in Establishing GDR Ecclesiastical Jurisdictional Districts"]

[Text] The editors have recently received several inquiries regarding the present position in church law of the apostolic administrators in the GDR and their areas of jurisdiction. The editor-in-chief replies in summary fashion in the following article. Ed.

In July 1973 the Holy See named the then episcopal commissioners and titular bishops in Erfurt, Magdeburg and Schwerin apostolic administrators for their areas of jurisdiction. At the same time the Pope conveyed to them the rights and responsibilities of resident bishops. It was also stated that the new apostolic administrators were "appointed permanently" and that the jurisdiction of the ordinaries of Fulda, Wuerzburg, Paderborn, Hildesheim and Osnabrueck "for the parts of their dioceses situated in the German Democratic Republic" was "suspended."

At that time we evaluated the papal measure as a "half-step forward" (cf. BEGEGNUNG No 9, 1973) for two main reasons: first, because there was no equation of the borders of ecclesiastical jurisdiction with the border established under international law between the two German states and also no elevation of the jurisdictional areas in question to canonically independent ecclesiastical districts; second, because the episcopal commissioners involved had de facto possessed all the powers of an ordinary even before the ruling.

Since then nothing has changed in the position in canon law of the apostolic administrators in Erfurt, Magdeburg and Schwerin. They are ordinaries with the rights and responsibilities of resident bishops but in regions which continue to be subject to external dioceses and which do not constitute canonically independent jurisdictional areas. In contrast for example with the apostolic administrator of Goerlitz, who is the ordinary of an apostolic

administrative jurisdiction, the apostolic administrators in the west of the GDR are merely ordinaries of so-called "episcopal offices," which only constitute a provisional arrangement in canon law.

The establishment last year of the Berlin Bishops' Conference as an independent body of the episcopate in the GDR did not alter the position in church law of the apostolic administrators of Erfurt, Magdeburg and Schwerin. As before, they are still administrators of ecclesiastic regions which do not belong to them de jure. To that extent the Berlin Bishops' Conference is a body of unequals: on the one hand are ordinary resident bishops with their own ecclesiastic districts, such as the sees of Berlin and Meissen and also the apostolic administrative jurisdiction of Goerlitz, and on the other are apostolic administrators without their own jurisdictions.

Looking at it quite soberly, these then are the facts: Despite the recognition under international law of the existing state frontiers under bilateral and multilateral treaties, which was confirmed in the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe by the European states, the United States and Canada--and also the Holy See--the final consequences in canon law have not been drawn from it as regards the border between the two German states. There is an obvious need to make up for delays in this, which also becomes clearly evident in light of the topic of the Belgrade CSCE follow-up conference.

We cannot deny the weight of political influences and inferences to which the Holy See is subjected in every politically relevant decision, and we have always had to point out that in intended rearrangements for the sphere of the church in the GDR particularly massive pressure has been exerted on the Vatican by certain forces in the German Federal Republic. These forces may be precisely determined in every case. Particular "services" in the prevention of normalization under canon law in the GDR were rendered by leading figures in the CDU/CSU, the Central Committee of West German Catholics and certain organizations which raise eyebrows with their revanchist demands. Some bishops in the Federal Republic have unfortunately trodden this path too. Out of purely political considerations they attempted rather unfraternally to withhold full rights and their own territory from some of their colleagues in the GDR. Finally, the FRG Government, too, used its diplomatic channel to the Holy See to bring its conceptions on "Germany policy" to bear behind the bronze door. These conceptions are, as is well known, based on the illusion that "one Germany" still exists, even if in two states, and that the so-called German question is still as "open" as the border between the two German states. It attempted--and is doubtless still attempting--to tie the Holy See to such an unrealistic position.

When the new Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance was signed at the end of May between the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland, in which the two sides confirm the inviolability and unalterability of state borders as the most important precondition for the security of Europe, a clamor went up in the Federal Republic from forces hostile to the relaxation of tensions

who would like to change the existing borders. Specifically at the Pentecost meetings of revanchist-oriented "expellee associations," but also at those of fascist and neo-fascist as well as militarist organizations, one could hear such "home-to-the-Reich" slogans which were on one past occasion the overture to a world war. Perhaps we in the socialist countries are particularly sensitive to such wrong notes in the process of relaxation, since we can clearly recognize the causes of military conflicts because we have rooted them out in our own society.

In any event, no one should think that the question of the inviolability and unalterability specifically of the border between the GDR and the Federal Republic is of lesser importance. Even if the possibility of peaceful border changes is conceded in the final act of Helsinki--something which has always been possible under international law and has also been carried out--nevertheless, no one should deceive himself into thinking that there are any kind of prospects for a revision of the border between the two German states or of the Oder-Neisse border. Those who hope for that are above all seeking fundamental political and social changes in the GDR, the People's Republic of Poland and other socialist countries. That is, they are seeking the restoration of capitalist conditions in those areas, as a consequence of which borders would be displaced for the benefit of big capital and a new "Western Europe" would be constructed, as the chairman of the FRG Bishops' Conference, Cardinal Hoeffner, among others, dreams of seeing. The machinations in Koenigstein which have been going on for years under a religious cover and using church resources--demagoguery and divisive antisocialist work--are directed against the existing borders and the socialist states, thereby against peace and security in Europe.

One must keep all this in mind when one considers possible or actual political effects of the continuing provisional arrangement under church law in the GDR. Naturally, even the half step taken in 1973 was itself too much for the restorative and revanchist forces, which is why they started to howl then. Meanwhile they have had to come to terms with the Vatican's decision. To make up for this they are now abusing the still unsettled church boundaries in the GDR to prop up their dangerous policy of an "open German question." In this way, against its will, the Holy See is being turned into an alibi for the enemies of detente. After they had first exerted massive pressure on Rome, they now say sanctimoniously: As long as the Pope does not draw any comprehensive consequences in canon law from the existing state borders, we do not have to recognize those borders.

We would have to dispute it forthrightly if, based on these circumstances, anyone were to place the Holy See in the front ranks of the enemies of detente. The Pope personally and his co-workers have proven in many ways that they not only preach peace but perform valuable service for it. The participation and constructive cooperation of the Holy See in the conference of states in Helsinki, to name nothing else, merit high recognition. It must then be all the more painful for it when some timid or insufficient measures are misused by those very forces which are making especially noisy attempts to discredit the Vatican's peace policy and "Ostpolitik." The full normalization of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the GDR would rule out such abuse and be an important new sign of peace.

STANDARD OF LIVING DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 15 Sep 77 pp 7-8

[Article by Lothar Julitz: "The Expensive Entry Into the 'Prosperity Paradise' -- 'Intershop' Is Open to Only a Few/Everyday Life in the GDR Depresses the People"]

[Text] Leipzig, 14 September -- The old lady who tends the parking lot in Leipzig complains: "We're just the lowest of the low to them." No, she is not fretting over the vulgar behavior of an arrogant citizen of the Federal Republic. She has just been issued a socialist reprimand by one of her chiefs at the "Leipzig Transportation Enterprises VEB." Once she notices the car with the West German license plate and has directed it to a parking space, she gets a few things off her chest: "This is not a workers' and farmers' state; that is not true." An understanding audience and the chance to unburden herself are definitely more important to this woman than the pack of cigarettes and the apples that change hands on this evening in Leipzig.

An all-German encounter in the GDR in these times, an example of the depressing everyday life that the people on the other side of the border are subjected to. "Socialism Will Be Victorious," proclaim political slogans in large letters on the facades of new skyscrapers. The system has been working at "being victorious" for almost 30 years. The material prerequisites for existence have certainly improved over the years, but living conditions, everyday life, continue to be depressing. In view of the still critical supply situation, especially with regard to luxury consumer goods, most GDR citizens consider it a mockery that the government has now decided to establish so-called Intershop stores in all the cities, where consumer and durable goods from Western production can be purchased for hard currency. It is all well and good that this is now officially tolerated -- but who among them can come by DM or American dollars?

Many people are therefore seeing with growing bitterness that entrance into this "prosperity paradise" is barred to them. In light of the daily harassment on the job, the grind of working for a senseless plan fulfillment that is alien to any personal interest, they perceive once again in the Intershops that despotic cynicism to which they have been subjected for years. "There are no bathtubs, no refrigerators. We actually produce enough of them in the GDR, but very few or none appear on the market. Neckermann buys them all up. Practically speaking, we are working for an export business but receive none of its proceeds." This taxi-driver is happy to see his efforts rewarded with DM, so that he as well will have a small opportunity to buy at an Intershop those goods for which he certainly would look in vain in all the other shops.

The housewife's daily cares and woes are well known. For example, at the centrally located fruit and vegetable market in downtown Leipzig, a Leipzig woman searches for tangerines, oranges, bananas, peaches -- to no avail. Every time a new shipment is announced, long lines form -- there just might be something this time. "It is no different even before and after the trade fair; as a rule the situation is even worse," says a woman of about 30 who is standing in one of these lines. She tells of further examples of the everyday supply situation in the GDR: "Even when the fair is going on, very little ham and salami are to be had for instance, or none at all. Even apples are scarce."

There are 7- to 10-year waiting periods for the purchase of an automobile -- for a "Trabant" or "Wartburg," for example. So everyone gets his order in as early as possible "just in case"; the whole family gets on the waiting list. Then once the "Trabbi" -- as those in the GDR fondly call it -- is finally delivered, depending on the model they must pay between 7,000 and 10,000 marks for this vehicle, which by our standards is technically backward and not what one might call overly comfortable. On an average monthly net income of around 650 marks this is quite a bite out of the pocketbook. Of course, as a rule this is made possible only by the abnormally long periods of "saving up." However, anyone who has relatives in the "West" or any other kind of ties there can sail over all the barriers: For approximately DM 5,000 the "Trabbi" will be at the door after just a few months -- the transaction is handled by "Genex," the state foreign trade organization. Since this happens to only a few, however, the used-car market is booming. At any time after a period of about 3 years a used Trabant -- usually priced at nearly 3,000 marks more than the price when new -- is delivered as a bargain to the customer. In the meantime another family member has received a new car -- by virtue of the order placed several years earlier.

This "small prosperity" is becoming very evident on the roads. Traffic density in the large cities, for example, is probably as great as in the FRG. Of course, maintenance costs are fairly high for the owner of a vehicle. For instance, aside from the fact that spare parts are often found only with great difficulty, a liter of gasoline costs 1.60 marks. Naturally, the general condition of roads in the GDR obviously increases the already high frequency of repairs. Driving conditions on the autobahn are fairly normal, but the speed limit of 100 km per hour can be justified as well as explained merely by the condition of the roadbeds. Trips into the countryside can sometimes be adventurous on "regular" roads. The often uneven and damaged cobblestones shake the car hard enough to make one think there has just been an "earthquake" (according to the Leipzig "Pepper Mills").

Despite all of the difficulties with plans and the system, GDR citizens have still succeeded in achieving a standard of living that is noteworthy for communist conditions. The GDR economy ranks as one of the first 10 among industrialized nations, including the West. Even on the basis of per capita income it is among the top 20 countries. This also means then that the GDR has become a mecca among East-bloc countries. Russian soldiers consider it a privilege to be stationed in Germany, and more and more "guest workers" are coming to the GDR from other East-bloc countries. Whole convoys of tradesmen come streaming out of Poland and Czechoslovakia to shop in Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig.

The citizens of the GDR are naturally justly proud of their accomplishments and the relative attractiveness of their products. But then comes the wistful glance into the Intershop and at those items that West German visitors bring with them. Then they know how much their efforts are being absorbed by an incapable bureaucracy, how much an inefficient system is withholding from them. The Leipzig political cabaret group, "The Pepper Mills," has this to say about this mood: "What is your son going to be?" -- "A good socialist, of course." -- "Then you ought to have him confirmed; he'll need a strong faith."

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## DAILY REVIEWS SALT, EXPECTS NEW PHASE OF DETENTE

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 27 Sep 77 p 2

[Article by Witold Olszewski]

[Text] One cannot say that the career of Cyrus Vance as Secretary of State has been, up to the present, paved with roses. His trips abroad especially made it seem that this politician, with his likeable and open face, was the "kamikaze" of American diplomacy.

From his first great trip to Moscow he brought back, as we remember, a Soviet refusal. The moment for his trip to China was ill-chosen. The result was criticism, repeated several times, by Teng Hsiao-ping, who reminded the chief of American diplomacy of the "set-back to the process of normalization." The widely publicized trip to the Middle East was doomed to failure from the start and, as a result, achieved nothing of significance. And when an agreement was finally reached on the Panama Canal after over a dozen years, the success was attributed to President Carter.

Only Vance's two day talks with the Soviet foreign minister, Andrey Gromyko, in the past week finally brought about a success which leads us, to a certain degree, to forget about the failure at Moscow. And maybe about other failures?

Let us recall how the situation in American-Soviet relations looked. The agreements of 1972 about the limitation of anti-missile defenses, supplemented by an agreement in 1974, expire on 3 October of this year, meaning in a few days. The new dialogue about expanding these agreements found itself in an impasse. This created an artificial tension which was unintended by both sides and which resulted from the deadline hanging over their heads. No reasonable individual, to be truthful, expected that, after 3 October, one or the other power would hurriedly renew nuclear tests and would immediately exceed the arms agreement ceiling. But what would have been the atmosphere of further negotiations if the achievements to date lost their binding force and SALT I proved to be the ruin of good intentions? A return to the state existing several years ago would have

been a mutual retreat. The psychological effect would have been bad, and the atmosphere of future negotiations would have become unfavorable.

Now we can speak about all this in the conditional tense. It is, to be truthful, still a long way to the conclusion of the discussions, but matters have reached a state of great gravity.

Point one. Both sides issued identical declarations that, after the expiration of the temporary Interim Agreement, they would continue to observe its provisions until the conclusion of talks about a new agreement, known as SALT II in the language of journalistic shorthand.

Point two. A joint American-Soviet declaration and a joint communique were issued after the talks. Both sides affirmed their desire to achieve a new agreement limiting strategic weapons and announced that they would go into "active negotiations" in order to finish work on this agreement "in the very near future."

What does this mean? Simply that the impasse has been broken. No lengthy proofs are needed to convince the readers about the significance of this event for the tempo of further detente, and especially in Europe, on which the quality of Soviet-American relations has, of course, a decisive influence.

Such is the typical dynamics of crises that the partners not only made an effort to maintain the status quo, but also moved forward. From the declarations to the press and from their joint communique it emerges that both sides determined to develop their mutually stabilized and constructive relations, which are to lead to the avoidance of nuclear war and to the limitation of armaments. In this we see concern about improving the international atmosphere, since the declared purposes, especially the maintenance of stabilized and constructive relations, include clear intentions to liquidate misunderstandings.

During Minister Gromyko's stay in Washington, President Carter also received him and had with him a 3 hour discussion. Afterwards he conveyed an optimistic mood to journalists. According to this opinion, the prospects for undertaking a new agreement limiting weapons and for a complete ban on nuclear tests appear favorable. (To date underground tests are not limited.) Minister Gromyko also showed a moderate optimism, stating that the positions of both sides had come closer and that the discussions would continue.

Actually, the next round of Vance-Gromyko talks begins next Friday, 30 September, in New York. This emphasizes their simultaneously announced intention that the negotiations should be "active" and should be concluded "in the very near future." The results already achieved and the clear promises of further results testify that the talks by the two ministers of foreign affairs must have been solidly prepared. Certainly events will now follow fast.

Who knows whether the lightning visit by President Carter to three continents, and also to our capital, which it has been announced will take place at the beginning of December, was not planned at the time when decisions about breaking the impasse had already been taken by both partners.

For although Cyrus Vance does not care overly about publicity and spectacular effects for his visits, which would be in accordance with the opinion held about him before his nomination, President Carter seems to attach to them an entirely different meaning. This also allows us to suppose that the breaking of the impasse will be the beginning of a new phase of detente.

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POLAND

POLISH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, FRG EVANGELICAL CHURCH CONTACTS

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 24-25 Sep 77 p 2

[Text] At the invitation of the Polish Ecumenical Council, the Commission for Contacts of the Polish Ecumenical Council (RPE) and the Council of the Evangelical Church of the Federal Republic of Germany deliberated in Warsaw from 19 to 20 September 1977 at the PRE headquarters. The subject of the deliberations was the assessment of the church-ecumenical development in both countries during the recent period, bilateral information on the development of political relations between Poland and the FRG, as well as the contribution of the FRG evangelical circles to the process of normalization.

During the meeting the representatives of the Polish Ecumenical Council turned to the representatives of the Council of the Evangelical Church with the postulate of interesting the FRG evangelical churches in effecting the recommendations of the joint commission on school textbooks working under the auspices of UNESCO of both countries, as well as exerting influence on the bringing up of the young generation of FRG citizens in the spirit of the concluded treaties between both countries and also trust.

It was jointly established that in the winter of 1978 the FRG Council of the Evangelical Church will organize a Polish-German symposium and the Church Commission of Historians of both countries will deliberate in Poland at the beginning of next year [1978].

On the day before the deliberations of the Commission for Contacts, the chairman of the Council of the Evangelical Church delegation, Rev President Helmut Hild, was received in a private audience by the head of the Orthodox Church [in Poland], Metropolitan Bazyli. The Synod of the orthodox church bestowed on Rev President Dr Helmut Hild, deputy chairman of the Council of the Evangelical Church and head of the Evangelical Church of Hesse and Naussau, the order of St. Magdalena 1st Class for services rendered by Rev Hild in connection with church-ecumenical rapprochement of both countries and his contribution to the process of normalization of the political relations between Poland and the FRG.

The Poles and the West German members of the Commission for Contacts were received by the officials of the Office for Religious Affairs.

In the talks with the Council of the Evangelical Church, the Polish Ecumenical Council was represented by Rev Prof Dr Witold Benedyktowicz, Rev Bishop Janusz Narzynski, Rev Prof Dr Woldemar Gastpary, and editor Andrzej Wojtowicz.

The Council of the Evangelical Church delegation was in Bialystok on 20 and 21 September 1977 familiarizing itself with the work of the orthodox church in that area.

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CRZZ EDUCATION, CULTURE, UPBRINGING CONFERENCE HELD

Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 1-2 Oct 77 p 1, 2

[Article by (Kudr.): "Conference in the CRZZ--Education, Culture, Upbringing--Achievements and Intentions"]

[Text] Under the chairmanship of the CRZZ Secretary Stanislaw Lewandowski, a conference of the Voivodship Trade Union Council (WRZZ) secretaries and the main boards of the industrial sector unions was held on 30 September 1977 in Warsaw. During that working meeting in which, among others, participated the deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Culture Department, Jan Kasak, and also a representative of the Ministry of Culture and Art, Stanislaw Dzieran, the director of the CRZZ Education, Culture, and Press Department, Eligiusz Wojcik, presented the basic directions of ideo-indoctrination and cultural-educational activity of the trade union groups in the recently initiated 1977-78 cultural-educational year.

The implementation of the recommendations resulting from the experiences of the huge undertaking, the "Review of the Cultural Activeness of the Working People 'Man - Work - Creativity!'" as well as the realities placed before the particular points of the "Alliance of the Working World with Culture and Art," should be evaluated in the context of unity of production, living conditions, and socialist indoctrination issues. Both of these initiatives, through their unexpected results, demonstrated a further, indispensable need to intensify ideo-indoctrination and cultural-educational activity in small- and medium-size work plants. In order to cope with that task, it is indispensable to refine the forms and methods of the effort with the cultural-educational activities in the plants and also the tasks of the trade union groups at all levels.

One of them is the control of the execution of the Party Central Committee Secretariat resolutions on ideo-indoctrination activity in the work plants. Connected with this is the close and constant concern of the trade unions for spreading knowledge about Poland and the contemporary world and also for propagating pedagogic culture among the public. An unceasing and important direction of activity of the trade union groups will continue to be the participation of the industrial sector movement in the preparation of and putting into effect the national education reform and modernization of the continuing education system.

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution the work plants are organizing and sponsoring many educational undertakings and cultural events which have a special ideo-indoctrination posture. The variety and the broad scope of these actions requires special concern of the Voivodship Trade Union Councils (WRZZ) and the main boards of the industrial sector unions.

During the discussion the participants at the conference, the WRZZ secretaries and the main boards, shared their experiences and the members of the CRZZ Education, Culture, and Press Department officials rendered replies to their questions.

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PZPR JOURNAL VIEWS CONSULTATIONS, INFORMATION FLOW

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTIII in Polish No 9, Sep 77 pp 3-4

[Article by Adolf Dobieszewski, Director of the Institute for Party Science at the Higher School of Social Sciences, PZPR Central Committee]

[Excerpt] According to the recommendations of the Sixth and Seventh Congresses, the Party has improved its methods and instruments for directing the political, social, and economic life of the country. In the life of the party, it has initiated and instituted a style and methods of work which successfully insure the maintenance of a lasting link with non-Party members. The soundness and effectiveness of the applied methods and forms of action of the Party has strengthened their tight connection with the actual situation, with discrimination of social moods, and with tasks which the Party has been realizing during this period.

The political direction of the processes of social development by those means of influencing which are proper to this method, by discussions and consultations, clarification and persuasion, organization and mobilization, formulation of objectives and tasks and exaction of their execution, wise use of human potential, has become the main method of action on the part of Party echelons. This style has made it possible to release the more complex reserves of energy and activeness of Party members and the whole working people. A lasting component of political life are the wide social consultations initiated by the PZPR Central Committee before important socioeconomic decisions. The basic meaning of consultation comes down to realization of the principle of more discussion before undertaking decisions, of more discipline in realizing them.

In the activity of the Party, national councils of the aktiv and centrally planned Party meetings about tasks resulting from the decisions of the PZPR Central Committee have an important meaning for achieving the above-mentioned objective.

The system of intra-Party flow of information, which has become the basic form of the link between Party echelons and members, has been systematically improved. By widening the extent and enriching the content of information

for regional echelons and Basic Party Organizations, the flow of information from the country to central echelons has been accelerated and improved.

A basic element of the intra-Party links and flow of information is systematic analysis of the letters of Party and non-Party members and swift response to the suggestions and demands directed to echelons and organizations of the Party.

Constant confrontation of the program and decisions of the Party with the opinions of the working class, continuous good use of the experience of the entire Party, and especially of its core of workers, protects the Party against taking decisions which can consequently lead to dissonances between the Party and the workers class. The basic task of the Party depends upon the timely discovery and proper assessment of the possibilities which a given historical period offers to the workers class and working people. "To interpret correctly the aims and aspirations of the working people, to delimit a program which approximates socialist prospects, to gather around it the masses and insure its realizations--this is the basis of our duty to the workers class and to the nation. The nation assesses the Party according to its realization of this duty, and we should examine all its matters from this point of view." (Speech by the First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, E. Gierek, at the Sixteenth Plenum of the Central Committee, NOWE DROGI, No 2, 1975, p 10)

The ability to make a sound assessment of the possibilities which are created by the stage of the development of socialism which we have reached, to establish proper methods, and to use these possibilities for the optimum satisfaction of the needs and aspirations of the working people determines the correctness of the Party program.

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YUGOSLAVIA

VIENNA PAPER NOTES RUMORS ABOUT SOVIET CELL IN YUGOSLAV ARMY

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 5 Oct 77 p 1 AU

[Special DIE PRESSE Report: "Soviet Cell in Yugoslav Army?"]

[Text] Vienna--Travelers coming from Zagreb report that the disappearance of President Tito's wife, Jovanka, from public life is the talk of the town there. These sources draw attention to the recent deposition of the Zagreb military commander, General Jovanic, a Serb who (together with other generals) was sent into "retirement" even though he had not yet reached retirement age. Reportedly he is now confined to his quarters. These rumors link several reshuffles with the disappearance of Colonel Dapcevic, who lived in Moscow in exile for many years but was kidnaped in 1975 from Bucharest, where a meeting took place, and was taken to Yugoslavia. It is assumed that he has meanwhile done some talking. In Zagreb, the possibility of the existence of a Moscow-oriented cell in the army is not excluded.

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