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14 October 1977

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## ALBANIA

### ALBANIANS PRAISED BY FOREIGN YOUTH GROUPS

Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 30 Jul 77 p 4

[Article: "The Youth of Socialist Albania - A Great Example and Source of Inspiration for the Revolutionary and Progressive Youth in the World"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania has recently received many letters from progressive youth organizations of various countries of the world which express sympathy for the Albanian people and youth who are successfully building socialism and vigilantly defending the victories which they have achieved. In their letters they express high esteem for the correct, Marxist-Leninist line of the Albanian Workers Party led by Comrade Enver Hoxha and they emphasize that Albanian youth has become for them a brilliant example, a source of inspiration in their work and struggle. We are publishing extracts of some of these letters.

A letter sent by the Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union) (CISNU) said among other things:

"In the name of CISNU we send the warmest fraternal greetings to you and through you to the glorious Albanian Workers Party led by Comrade Enver Hoxha. On this occasion we thank you warmly for the message sent to our 17th Congress. Your greeting was received by the delegates and guests with vigorous continuous applause accompanied by the shouts 'Long live New Albania' and 'Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha.' This greeting filled us with indescribable enthusiasm and it was a great manifestation of solidarity with the Iranian people who are fighting against the fascist regime of the Shah, who is a lackey of American imperialism, and also against hegemonism and world reaction. The youth of socialist Albania is a great example for the revolutionary and progressive youth of the world. Your struggle inspires us, we learn from your experience."

The first secretary of the organization "Revolutionary Youth of Burundi, Rwagazore," Emil Muoroha, who is also the minister of education and culture, wrote the following, among other things, in the name of his organization:

"The Rwagazore Revolutionary Youth" supports Albanian youth and the Albanian Worker Party in its struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism. It supports the Albanian youth and the entire Albanian people in the path which they have set to build socialism in their fatherland, which is the only way which serves the interests of a people and favors their full development."

In its letter the Federation and Youth League of Ceylon [Sri Lanka] said, among other things:

"We thank you very much for the bulletins and materials and brochures you sent us. By reading them we have become acquainted with the work and struggle of your youth and of your organization. Here in Sri Lanka it is very difficult for us to find the works of the great and respected leader of Albania and the Albanian Workers Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha. We stress that our youth is truly eager to study them."

The most recent congress of the FEANF (Federation of Black African Students in France) approved a resolution of solidarity with Albania. The resolution on Albania begins with an appraisal of the struggle which our people have waged against Turkish occupation, against the Italian-German fascist aggression and occupation and continues by emphasizing that the War of National Liberation of our people was a contribution to the struggle of all peoples of the world for freedom and independence.

The resolution assesses the role of Albanian youth and the Union of Working Youth of Albania in this struggle and calls it an inspiration for the anti-imperialist youth of the world and especially of Africa. The resolution continues:

"In view of the imperialist encirclement and the danger which the two superpowers represent for Albania; in view of the fact that the heroic Albanian people under the leadership of the Albanian Workers Party, led by their great leader Comrade Enver Hoxha are advancing in the construction of socialist Albania while successfully confronting internal and external enemies; in view of the unselfish support and aid which the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has granted to peoples who are struggling, especially those in Africa; in view of the triumphant holding of the 7th AWP Congress ... the FEANF on the occasion of its 29th Congress warmly greets all the brilliant victories and great accomplishments of the Albanian people in all fields under the leadership of the AWP ... forcefully unmasks the constant provocations of the two hegemonist superpowers against the Albanian people, reaffirms its unwavering support for the heroic Albanian people who are resolutely fighting to defend their independence and to proceed without interruption on the building of socialism; we appeal to the militants of the FEANF to be inspired by the experience of the struggle of the Albanian people and we reaffirm that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania remains for all people fighting in the world, especially for those in Africa, an impregnable fortress in the worldwide united anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonist front."

In its most recent congress which was held last month in Stockholm, the "Clarte" student association, an organization of Marxist-Leninist students of the Communist Party of Sweden, sent a message to our youth organization. Here are some extracts of that message:

"Under the leadership of the Albanian Workers Party led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian revolutionary youth and its vanguard, the Union of Working Youth of Albania, have waged a victorious struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to build socialism in Albania. Albania is the only country in Europe which was able to wage the war for national liberation until final victory, mainly with its own forces. Primarily by its resolute and principled policies the Albanian Workers Party was able to turn this victory against invading armies directly into a socialist revolution. Since that time a bitter struggle has been waged to eliminate bourgeois ideology and to revolutionize all of Albanian society still further. And the entire worldwide Marxist-Leninist movement has much to learn from Albania's long and consistent struggle against modern revisionism. The "Clarte" Swedish student association is proud that the Albanian Workers Party and its youth organization are its friends. We wish you complete success in your constant work to build socialism. Long live Marxism-Leninism! Long live proletarian internationalism! Long live the Albanian Workers Party and the Union of Working Youth of Albania! Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha!"

CSO: 2100

## ALBANIA

### TEACHERS ENLIGHTEN PUPILS ON RELIGIOUS PLACE NAMES

Tirana MESUESI in Albanian 1 Sep 77 p 4

[Article by Sabah Sinani: "They Collect and Study Place Names"]

[Excerpts] In addition to their daily work to increase the productivity and quality of educational work inside and outside the school, the teachers of Puke District are also outstanding as social activists, as propagandists of the party line and disseminators of culture among the masses.

An important field in which the teachers of our district are making a good contribution is the collection and study of materials on place names. The collection of place names is not for the purpose of satisfying curiosity about the origin of this or that name but, by explaining the place names in their historical framework and with a scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis, it is helpful in the political-ideological and patriotic education of the students and the working masses. Also, the study of place names is helpful in combatting the old and affirming the new, as the scientific session organized recently in the eight-year school in Kabash illustrated. The study of place names came to the assistance of teachers in the villages of Qelze, Lufi, and Kryeziu in their work of preparing subjects for educational work with the masses and combatting the remnants of religion and backward customs.

In the bitter past, religion spread its influence everywhere. One of its many forms was giving places religious names; however, the party years healed this wound of the past. Thus, in the village of Kabash, religious names were replaced by new place names. Mountaineers no longer say "at the mosque" but "at the cooperative center". Formerly, in "Lemi i Lushajve" square there was only the mosque which was seen from every direction, but now this square is filled with socio-cultural buildings: the cultural house, the kindergarten, the eight-year school, the shops, residential buildings, etc. Everything is new here just as the name of the place is new. The former name "St. Nicholas' plain" has been replaced by a new name "wheat field." In Qelez, they no longer say "priest's pastures" but "the field of high yields," etc. Such names, old and new, are collected

one by one by the teachers. They study them, compare them, and come to the conclusion that the old is giving way to the new in the area of assigning place names.

In everyday life, here and there, place names with religious significance are still encountered. If the teachers and parents do not give the necessary explanations, these names will be implanted in the consciousness of children as something mysterious. In Krrab, the students had heard from the elders the name "evil eye rock". They had woven all sorts of legends around it. The teacher and a geology worker had to explain that atmospheric agents have been working on this "evil eye" rock for centuries.

The explanation of some place names with religious significance has helped the students to become better acquainted with their birthplace and to become educated to struggle with severity against all remnants of religion and backward customs.

CSO: 2100

## ALBANIA

### SHORTCOMINGS IN HYGIENE IN MIRDITE DISTRICT CITED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 21 Sep 77 p 3

[Article: "The Health Care of Workers Begins with Hygiene and Prophylaxis"]

[Excerpts] In light of the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress, the People's Council of Mirdite District analyzed the work which has been done by the government and health organs in the area of hygiene and prophylaxis, setting forth duties for the future. Analyzing with a critical eye the achievements in this area, the district people's council stressed that there is need for even greater work because there have been instances where work was carried out in spurts. There has been onesidedness and there have been erroneous concepts and practices which have resulted, on some occasions, in an unsatisfactory level of food, clothing, and work hygiene. There are dispensaries in the villages of Mirdite District, and this is even true for the hospital in Rreshen, where the lack of order and of cleanliness is evident. Such phenomena are also encountered in food units, in some schools, and in cafeterias of agricultural cooperatives.

The struggle for the improvement of hygiene and health conditions is also the struggle against backward concepts and customs. During the years of the people's power, good work has been done to combat damaging concepts in the area of hygiene, concepts which had their source in the anti-popular regimes and which were nourished by the clergy. Nevertheless, there are cases where erroneous concepts which hinder progress appear. Often, people think that the results achieved so far are satisfactory for the village in comparison with the situation a few years ago. There are cases where the people's council says "this is the doctor's job, let him do it" and the doctor says "this is the council's task, let it resolve it." In this way, each is able to get out of its own responsibility. Incidents like this were criticized by the district people's council as manifestations of liberalism which obstruct work.

Great progress has been made in regard to hygiene in clothing. The national costume of Mirdite is beautiful and valuable but the rapid development of our socialist economy, the broad participation of men and women in work, has made it necessary to use lighter-weight clothing for work. However, while men's clothing has undergone changes, this phenomenon has been slower in regard to women's clothing and especially the clothing of small children and infants.

EAST GERMANY

HONECKER SPEAKS AT OPENING OF SED SCHOOL YEAR IN DRESDEN

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Sep 77 p 3-5 AU

[ "From the speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the propaganda mass rally on the opening of the 1977-78 school year in Dresden" on 26 September ]

[Text] Dear Comrades: Today we open with the party school year a further stage in the educational work of our party. It is of great importance for our entire work. As everyone knows, we are living in an eventful and politically turbulent time in which complicated developments are occurring frequently on the international scene. It is becoming even more evident that there is no weighty decision concerning the vital interests of the peoples which remains untouched by this. This demands from all members of our party a firm class position and ideological clarity and actions in accordance with it. The party school year is to assist in this.

In this connection, permit me to make a few remarks about the course of the socialist revolution on our country and its prospects. One might think that everything has been said on this subject, particularly since the eighth party congress. It is indeed difficult to counter this argument. After all, the basic line of our socialist revolution laid down by the eighth party congress has been confirmed by the ninth party congress and is at present being successfully continued. We have achieved results in the national and international field which speak for themselves. The development of the GDR is taking place on the stable foundation of the worker-peasant power along an ascending line. One need only think of such facts as that we have succeeded in the past 7 years in consolidating the national economy of the GDR, developing it at a rate which is unprecedented in the history of our country, and tackling the implementation of a comprehensive sociopolitical program.

As we all know, this has had positive effects on various fields of social life and I would even say on all people. It is no exaggeration to note that the economic and social upward development is felt by almost every family. Even on such an important and, as is known, not easily solvable question as the old-age security of pensioners we are able to find a

positive answer by twice increasing old-age and social pensions. From 1971 to 1976 we have spent almost M24 billion more on pensions than in the previous 6 years. Our housing construction program is making progress. It is really a substantial achievement. So one could list many things, enumerate many more examples to demonstrate the progress in our country and our stable development.

But can one draw from this the conclusion that everything here is already running as we wish, that already all people have a clear picture of the current problems of our struggle and its prospects, and that there are no questions which we must rethink anew? Despite all the progress and despite all the pride in our successes, which we do not belittle, naturally this cannot be said.

#### Securing Peace--Fundamental Question of Our Time

Let us take a question which is of decisive importance from the viewpoint of the further course and prospects of the socialist revolution in the GDR. That is the question of peace, so to speak, the question of all questions. Are there not things here about which we should think? Naturally there are. It would be foolish not to realize this and simply to pass on to the daily agenda. Because as strange as it may seem, it is true: at a time when one says, and I think justly so, that detente is making progress and that one has to make detente irreversible, tensions on the international level have increased in many fields. This is indicated by the sharpness of the ideological and political struggle between the two systems and even more by such a weighty fact that the arms race is being stepped up by imperialism in an unprecedented fashion. The situation is that, despite all the progress in detente, disarmament has become the key question for further development.

As is known, 35 states at Helsinki, including the United States and Canada, set their signatures under the Final Act. This remains undoubtedly a great success for peace, security and cooperation in Europe. But one cannot overlook the fact that at the same time the weight of armament expenditures in all capitalist states has grown immeasurably. The officially published armament expenditures in the United States are 109.7 billion dollars. As far as the FRG is concerned, Mr Leber, as a minister in a social-liberal coalition, boasts of the fact that he now has at his disposal the highest armament budget in the existence of the FRG, namely, more than DM50 billion. An additional 100 billion is envisaged for the reequipping of the Bundeswehr. On 1 and 2 October this year a sample fair of "super weapons" is to be held at the Cologne/Bonn airfield.

NATO has announced comprehensive armament programs including, in particular, the introduction of new weapons of mass annihilation. Does this constitute a threat? No one can deny it. A statesman said recently: The nuclear arms arsenals currently amassed would suffice to destroy mankind twenty times over. Naturally, anyone with commonsense will find that once would suffice, would be too much. The question remains: for

what dreadful hell should more systems of weapons of mass annihilation like the neutron bomb be developed and introduced? All peace-loving men are not calling for new weapons but for a ban on the means of mass annihilation and for preventing the outbreak of nuclear world war.

How can peace be durably assured, however? Some people present the situation as if all that was needed was yet more trips and human contacts to solve the question of war or peace. As life shows, this is not only naive but an intentional deception. It is to lead people onto a wrong path and even divert them from the sources of war danger. Before 1393 there also was much traffic between Germany and France, Germany and Poland and various other European countries. However, this could not prevent the outbreak of World War II.

It would certainly be wrong, therefore, to say that the safeguarding of peace depends on the development of travel or the exchange of youths. We support one and the other. Regarding contacts, the GDR certainly does not show a deficit. Contacts help to promote the peaceful cooperation of states of different social systems; however, they do not eliminate the threat of was emanating from the aggressive circles of monopoly capital.

It is known that annually more visitors from Western countries travel over GDR roads than the GDR has inhabitants. In general, contacts are being developed broadly as a result of our situation. They rest on the whole system of treaties and agreements with the FRG, a system which did not materialize without the activity of the GDR. The so-called trust-promoting measures have resulted even in military personnel of one camp not attending exercises of the other.

However, all these developments, which undoubtedly are significant, have not changed the fact that so far no step forward has been taken on the question of disarmament and the limitation of armaments. There have even been retreats from agreements that had been achieved, and there is the above-mentioned wave of new armament in the NATO bloc. In addition, there is an accumulation of NATO military exercises. In view of their extent and nature they by no means serve the sole purpose of checking on the standards of the forces' training. They appear, rather, to be a component of NATO's psychological war preparations.

Thus, the safeguarding of peace does not depend on the number of trips and the volume of contacts. The issue, rather, is to check the most aggressive circles of imperialism through the peoples' determined struggle, that is, to prevent them from implementing their plans. If there are successes in this decisive area, further progress will also be made in all the realms of cooperation among the states. If this does not happen, detente will be endangered, and even what has been achieved will be jeopardized. That is why we are speaking of implementation of the Helsinki final document as a whole. This includes the principles of security, and this includes the complementing of political detente by military detente.

This is the general base for a fruitful cooperation of all the states. He who denies this context or tries to circumvent it wants a detente with a double bottom, so to speak. However, this is incompatible with the vital interests of the peoples of Europe.

#### Adversaries of Detente Want To Block Progress

You see, dear comrades, how important it is to view things in their large context, even if this is not to the liking of some people. Without this we cannot safely advance. From the beginning we did not approach the policy of detente with naive ideas. We have always clearly realized that detente does not eliminate the contrast between the two systems and that imperialism does not lose its essence in the period of international detente. After all, one must not forget either how the first steps of detente in the mid-sixties came about. It was the influence of the changed balance of forces in favor of socialism, the influence of the forces of peace and progress, which forced imperialism to adjust to the changed situation. Let us not forget: thanks to the support of the Soviet Union, the other socialist fraternal countries and many forces thinking along realistic lines in the world, it was possible in these years to achieve the decisive breakthrough for the universal diplomatic recognition of our GDR against all the revanchist doctrines. Our socialist state has taken its long-due seat in the United Nations, and it thus has been able to participate more effectively than before in international life. An essential requirement for security in Europe has been settled in accordance with our foreign policy aim.

In close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries we are striving to make our further contribution to peace and detente. The joint Soviet-American announcement on questions of the limitation of strategic armaments, published yesterday, shows that with goodwill there exist possibilities for the solution of complicated international problems. It is an encouragement for all those who want to make the process of detente irreversible and to extend it to ever broader areas. In this context we cannot overlook the fact that influential imperialist circles are making a major attempt to block a further change of the international situation in favor of a peaceful and progressive development and, therefore, have started a hitherto unprecedented campaign of calumny against the socialist countries. They use every means for this purpose. Intensified armament is being accompanied by anticommunist agitation. Contrary to treaties concluded, a policy of systematic and undisguised meddling in the socialist countries' internal affairs is being pursued. This violates the principles of European security, respect for the states' sovereignty, noninterference and respect for the inviolability of borders.

Dear comrades, speaking about the socialist revolution in the GDR and its prospects, we naturally always bear in mind that we are conducting the struggle under the conditions of an open world. This forces us always to view things soberly. Let us take just the fact that, despite the contractual relations initiated, the FRG still refuses to recognize the GDR state

order with all the consequences resulting therefrom or to recognize the GDR citizens for what they are, that is, citizens of the socialist GDR. Here is the real root of the recurring difficulties in relations between the GDR and the FRG and of the fact that sometimes there is even an accumulation of complications.

In this context, FRG politicians frequently say that this has due to the constitution and that they must deserve their constitution. This is not the issue, however. We have nothing against FRG politicians' respecting their constitution. However, in this case they should also know that this constitution of theirs contains the principle that international law always represents the superior law. It is known that relations between sovereign states always are subordinated to international law. In addition, I beg to ask whether the FRG constitution stipulates that school classes and youth groups are to be guided to the GDR state border with provocative intent and there fed revanchist slogans.

Essentially the question of state citizenship is not an issue of negotiations for us. We expect the FRG to take due account of GDR state citizenship, which results from international law. If, allegedly, the old revanchist FRG legislation opposes this, these laws must be changed accordingly. The decisive thing is: Do the people in the FRG want to normalize and step by step improve relations on the basis of the treaties, or do they want to use the treaties to meddle in internal GDR affairs and to fight socialism in central Europe?

This includes the repeated attempts to misuse West Berlin for fanning tensions. Contrary to the quadripartite agreement of 3 September 1971, a position--which cannot but be termed revanchist--is being taken and practiced which considers West Berlin to be FRG territory and treats it as such. This is extremely risky. The starting point for a crisis-free situation in and around West Berlin is full observance of the quadripartite agreement, under which West Berlin is not a component of the FRG and must not be governed by it. He who tries to hollow out this core of the quadripartite agreement should take into account that he thus also puts into question the advantages and positive developments connected with the quadripartite agreement. We are for a positive development in this area.

#### No Acceptable Alternative to Peaceful Coexistence

Our concept is clear. We have expressed it again and again since the ninth party congress and in each phase of practical politics and have justified it. We proceed from the assumption that in today's world there is no acceptable alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence. We are for peace and the peaceful cooperation of states. We want to live in peace with all our neighbors. The inevitable controversy between the two big camps must not be conducted with the means of war. Proceeding from this aim, which corresponds to the vital aims of all the peoples, we are for detente, for the observance of treaties, particularly the Final Act of Helsinki. In this spirit we also will participate in and work at the Belgrade Conference.

We are ready to cooperate with all realistic forces concerning the problem of peace. In doing so we endeavor to further develop the treaty system with the capitalist countries. Incidentally, he who in the West, and especially in Bonn, has preserved his sense of reality will, consequently, have no difficulty realizing that in those times without provocations and under the conditions of a favorable political climate things have developed better than in times when the representatives of the cold war are gaining ground once more and even setting out to dominate the arena.

It is part of the continuation of the policy of detente that we always remain vigilant and that we regard it as the paramount requirement of our policy to safeguard the interests of our GDR, the interests of our country's citizens.

#### Unmastered Past and the Unstable Situation in the FRG

If I make a few more remarks here about the FRG, then I do so not because I like to draw a picture of political conditions in the FRG that is distorted in all details and trends. The point is, simply, that in the FRG developments are underway which upset people more than at any other time since World War II. After all the historical experiences no one can remain indifferent to the course of events in a capitalist state such as the FRG. It is general knowledge that the FRG no longer can evade the economic crisis of the capitalist world as it was able to do to a certain extent in earlier years. There are more than 1 million officially registered unemployed and nearly as many semiemployed workers. Hundreds of thousands of young people have no chance of a job, a vocation, and thus a proper future. The economic situation is most unstable. In government and business circles no one knows where the journey may end under the influence of the world economic crisis. All forecasts have so far been refuted by reality.

The word "crisis" has become the most used term in the FRG. All this is really bad enough, for it affects millions of workers and employees and their dependents. To be sure, the economic crisis with its devastating social effects also exists in other capitalist countries. But what alarms the peoples even of these countries is the political scene that is at present becoming visible against the background of the economic crisis in the FRG.

The entire past, with which they have not come to terms, is coming to life again. A flood of books, films and magazine articles about the Third Reich, about Hitler and other Nazi bigwigs is sweeping the country. As in the school textbooks, the historical truth is being distorted, and the crimes of Hitlerite fascism are belittled. But now they no longer stop at mere Nazi propaganda. Today the SS mass murderer Kappler, despite international protests, is granted asylum and the right of domicile in the FRG after his flight from an Italian prison. Bourgeois newspapers of West Europe and America have noted that "the Fuehrer has become fashionable again" and that in the FRG one can again hear the call for a

"strongman." It is obvious that no one in the world can ignore this development without harming himself.

All those who are for peaceful cooperation between states are today looking at the FRG with a certain amount of concern. The detestable murders and kidnappings by anarchists and terrorists, whose positions are difficult to classify, involve the danger of rushing the FRG into a direction that only suits the voices from the past. This is bad. Already we are witnessing that, under the pretext of the struggle against so-called sympathizers, agitation is being intensified against leftist forces, against the DKP, against Marxist-oriented Social Democrats, against democratic-minded circles, and primarily against young people seeking a way out. It is acquiring striking forms. I merely mention the key word "employment ban." I merely mention the name of Sylvia Gingold, the daughter of an antifascist family who has become the symbol of the persecution of democratically minded forces in the FRG. The communists point out very seriously the danger that even the last remaining democratic rights laid down in the constitution are to be eliminated in the wake of this development.

This internal exacerbation is accompanied by a corresponding intensification of anticommunist incitement against the GDR, against the Soviet Union and the other countries of socialism, which is being stepped up lately. This is an incitement against the German state that has most resolutely mastered the past, the state in which the Potsdam Agreement has been fulfilled, in which Nazi propaganda has been prohibited from the very first day of its existence, in which children in their school textbooks learn the truth about history and are educated in the spirit of democracy and peace for the future. It is the state in whose capital Berlin a few weeks ago a powerful demonstration against racism and war took place for the 32D time since the crushing of the Hitler gang.

Delegates of antifascists from all over the world came to us to meet their old fellow combatants, who are fulfilling the legacy of the antifascist resistance by building socialism in the German worker-peasant state.

In the GDR the Years Since 1945 Have Been Used Well

Without boasting we can say that we have made good use of the years since 1945. We have had to stand many tests. In our state, together with the comrades and friends steeled in the antifascist struggle, there are already working the members of several generations who in the decades behind us have successfully built the new society and who, although it was not so easy at times, have always stood their ground.

Naturally there have also been people in these decades who became weak kneed in difficult situations, who lost their clear judgment, and some who went over to the other side. There have been such cases in the course of all revolutionary movements. But history has always marched over them. Renegades could never alter the course of events. The same

is true today. He who turns his back on the future is running back into the past. He may perhaps be able to get into the headlines for a few days and pocket a few dollars. But the past remains the past, and the future remains the future. It is fortunate for our people to live in a socialist state which is firmly allied with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, a state which together with all peoples strives for a secure peace.

Socialism that really exists determines more and more the fate of the world today. If we in our country advance the socialist revolution, then we are doing this in the awareness of belonging inseparably to the revolutionary movement that has affected all continents. We regard ourselves as belonging to the great community of the socialist countries rallied around the Soviet Union. We regard ourselves as belonging to the workers movement in the capitalist countries which wages a hard struggle for the elementary rights of the working people. We regard ourselves as belonging to the fighters for national independence and liberation in the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Firm solidarity links us with the courageous fighters against fascism in Chile and Uruguay. We will not rest until the worldwide demand is fulfilled: freedom for the incarcerated patriots of Chile, freedom, democracy and progress for the brave Andean people! Our sympathy and solidarity belongs to the revolutionary forces in Africa which, despite all imperialist machinations, continue their national-democratic revolution and are seeking a socialist road for their peoples. Our policy of building the developed socialist society in the GDR is a most deeply national and internationalist policy which unwaveringly lets itself be guided by the words of Marx and Engels: "Proletarians in all countries, unite!"

#### The Fundamental Differences of the Two Social Systems

Dear Comrades, to understand today's world, to correctly assess the revolutionary processes and their opposing forces and to always find one's fighting position, one must view political phenomena against the background of the relations of economic domination and social conditions. That means to approach things in the sense of Marx, Engels and Lenin, because the fundamental difference between the two social systems lies in their production relations.

The goal of the capitalist economy has been and is profit. Of course, capitalism, which historically is on the defensive, still has large resources and potentials. But the profit economy in the interest of a few thousand multimillionaires makes it impossible for the governments of the countries concerned to solve the social and societal problems of our era in the interest of the working people in the capitalist countries. What is more, the contradiction between a sometimes considerable development of the productive forces and exacerbation of the social misery of the masses is becoming more and more conspicuous. Things have come to a point where technical progress is depicted by the bourgeois theoreticians as a "fury," because it means that more and more manual and office workers lose their jobs and find themselves without subsistence, without a vocation.

Socialism, however, which, being a new, historically young social formation is undergoing a forceful upsurge, is developing its potential in keeping with the masses' social interests. Socialist production relations do not fetter the development of productive forces but provide the most extensive development possibilities for them. Every increase in economic power, every scientific-technical achievement, every percentage increase in labor productivity is transformed into a higher social quality of life. Man is at the center in our country. Therein lies the meaning of socialism, as we have already stated at the eighth party congress: to do everything possible with our socialist national economy and its further continuous development for the prosperity of the people, for a constant increase in their material and cultural living standard.

Whereas capitalism faces an unbridgeable gulf between economic and social policy, socialism is able to raise the unity of economic and social policy to its supreme guiding maxim in the interest of the workers class and of all working people. This is the gist of the social progress of our time, the gist of the socialist revolution in the GRD and of its prospects.

When economic policy is discussed in our country the term effectiveness is mentioned right away. Everyone knows that we have set ourselves ambitious goals in that area. It can even be said that in the end everything depends on our achieving them. But as for the question of which social system is more effective, this answer was provided a long time ago. All we need is to ask what is more effective--the system of monopoly capital which throws millions and millions of people unemployed into the streets and thus a million times eliminates the main productive force, the working man, or the socialist system in which everyone has a job and bread and in which every working man can fully develop his capabilities and talents and his personality.

What is more effective--the system of monopoly capital in which the economy fluctuates up and down and in which an upswing only constitutes a preparation for the ensuing cyclical crisis, or the socialist system under which the dynamic and stable upward development of the economy and a constant growth of the people's prosperity are characteristic features?

The answer to these questions is clear. Under socialism the people possess the most effective economic system. Unemployment and a critical situation in vocational training do not merely demonstrate the limits of the so-called social market economy. They make visible the limits of monopoly capitalism in general. The existence of the USSR makes it clear: with the socialist economic system the people have finally developed a system which serves their interests, their aspirations for happiness in prosperity. Since we have abolished exploitation, since we take seriously the rights and liberties of every individual working man, we are embarking on the only human, the socialist road of production, of increasing effectiveness and of accelerating scientific-technical progress in which every new gain also pays off its originator and in which the knowledge of this benefit in turn provides the best impetus for new ideas and achievements.

## The Socialist Order Is Fighting for Human Rights

Comrades, it is an edifying feeling for us to sing The International on special occasions. As every one knows, it concludes with the words: "The International is fighting for the human right." Why do I recall this here? If in today's world a political power has the right to speak about the struggle for human rights, it is first and foremost the revolutionary workers movement. And if today a political system is able to point to human rights that have been implemented, it is our socialist system, the socialist world system.

We appreciate the merits of the bourgeois democrats on behalf of the formulation of important human rights. Very highly, but history has taught that human rights are directly linked with class relations. The imperialist human rights propaganda which is now being conducted at full blast is hypocritical. It refers to progressive bourgeois ideas which the bourgeoisie itself has since betrayed. As early as 1844 Karl Marx in the "German-French Yearbooks" extensively and critically dealt with the human rights declarations of the French Revolution. Marx perceived the main contradiction in the incompatibility of the right to freedom with the right to private ownership of the means of production. It becomes evident here that freedom and human rights are no abstract matters but concrete class problems.

What is always involved is the question: freedom, democracy and humanness for a minority of exploiters or for the majority of people? Freedom for the majority, for those creating all the values--this is the basis of freedom for all. The entire revolutionary process in our republic, the building of socialism and its communist goal, have been and still are aimed at the implementation of the interests of the majority of the people. This is the supreme fulfillment of the age-old demand of humanity for freedom and democracy.

## The Decisions of the Ninth Party Congress--Yardstick of All Our Work

Dear comrades, for a long time now our GDR has belonged to the world of real socialism, a world which is pointing out for all mankind the road into the future and which attracts therefore the hatred of all the exploiters on this earth. Life shows: they are slandering us but they cannot stop us. From one 5-year period to another we are further developing the socialist relations in our country, relations which are being determined by the interests and rights of the people, first and foremost by the workers class. Even in the 60th year after the Great October Socialist Revolution we are preparing ourselves to worthily commemorate the 32th anniversary of the GDR. This will be a jubilee of truly historical significance for our people.

It is becoming evident precisely now how purposefully we are proceeding in this respect. Fashioning the developed socialist society was characterized in our party program as a historical process of far-reaching

political, economic, social and spiritual-cultural changes. It is the significant demands and the fine results of this process which are shaping our country's everyday life today.

Almost 7 years ago we described comprehensively what the developed socialist society in the GDR will look like, and we have laid down the necessary planned steps on this road. One step after the other have been taken ever since. This applies to the 1971-75 5-year period as well as to the more far-reaching decisions of our ninth party congress, which ushered in a new stage of this progress. The growth of productive forces and the increasingly better gratification of the working people's material and cultural needs are proceeding in keeping with our policy, which is guided by scientific principles. This can be verified year after year. This is often taken as something self-evident, but no capitalist country can say anything similar about itself. In those countries the so-called guidelines and orientation data lie in the wastepaper baskets before they are half a year old.

The GDR is one of the countries of this earth which are distinguished by a high efficiency of industry and agriculture, indeed, of the entire national economy. This position was won by the hard work of our people, the GDR citizens, and it has now been maintained and further developed for many decades. In 1980 the national income will rise to 166 percent compared with 1970. It then will be eight times greater than in the year of the founding of our republic. In 1980 we shall produce in our country in 45 days as much national income as in all of 1949. Industrial output in 1980 will rise to 184 percent compared with 1970. In 1980 our country's commodity production will be almost equivalent to that of the 8 years of 1949-56 combined. Labor productivity in industry in 1980 will be 70 percent higher than in 1970.

We are now in the second half of this decade, and one-third of the 1976-80 Five-Year-Plan is already behind us. We are able to state that the positive trend of economic development is continuing in 1977. It should only be noted here that all areas of the national economy have fulfilled their envisaged production targets through the end of August. An increase of more than M9 billion was achieved in industrial commodity production compared with the same period last year. We consider it a very essential fact that nine-tenths of this results from an increase in labor productivity. Hence the people already know better how to utilize the qualitative factors of economic growth. Almost two-thirds of all centrally administered industrial enterprises have exceeded the planned labor productivity by 1 percent or more.

As is in keeping with the nature of the main task, we are employing the economic results to a great extent in order to further develop the people's living conditions. Let us take the annual earnings from work of workers and employees in the state-owned economy. From 1970 to 1976 alone they rose from M9,144 to M11,124. The wage policy measures adopted, above all, have brought about this increase. This shows once more how our society respects fine work and good performance and how it promotes them.

Social funds, whose means are being used for all citizens, are increasing at a particularly rapid rate. From 1971 to 1980 our state is allocating the enormous sum of more than M390 billion for these funds to constantly enhance the people's material and cultural living standard. A total of M80 billion is being spent for our socialist education system, M130 billion for the health system and for other social purposes, and M120 billion to guarantee stable retail prices, rents and services.

The FRG mass media lately have been devoting great attention to our price policy. If national economic necessities alone were decisive, the SÜDDUTSCHE ZEITUNG pointed out last week, general price increases would have been overdue for a long time. Obviously they are unable to understand that in our country retail prices for foodstuffs and nonessential foodstuffs and beverages, industrial consumer goods, and rents and services remain stable. They need not bother about "cool reckoners in our economic apparatus"; the leading GDR economic organs know extremely well how to achieve, in closest cooperation with the working people, such an increase in labor productivity that the stability of prices will also be guaranteed in the future in keeping with the decisions of our ninth party congress.

Everyone knows, one can say, and everyone daily sees the progress of our apartment building program. In the period 1976-1980, 750,000 new apartments will be built or modernized. An additional 100,000 apartments are being added to this by additional initiatives. If we add to this the 609,000 apartments created in the period 1971-75, the living conditions of 4.3 million citizens are being improved in one decade, that is more than one-quarter of the population of our republic. This brings us closer by a large step to the goal of solving the housing problem as a social problem by 1990. Thus, almost 700,000 more apartments are being either newly built or modernized than in the 1960-70 period.

#### The Peoples' Industriousness Yielded Great Social Progress

The seventies produced great improvements which today hardly anybody can ignore in our people's daily life. We always place the workers' interests in first place in the most varied measures, from increases in incomes to apartment building and the assignment of apartments. The starting of family life has been made easier for young people. Let us only think of the interest-free loans granted to them. We have created more favorable possibilities for working women to combine their vocational interests with their needs and obligations as mothers. The increasing birthrates prove that our society, which is friendly to children, has rendered meaningful assistance. At the same time the increase in pensions in 1972, 1973 and particularly in 1976 reaffirms the great respect for the veterans of labor. It has resulted in the thus far most significant increase in the incomes of elderly citizens.

The significant steps to reduce working hours also should be singled out among the various measures. As is well known, they resulted in the fact that effective this May the 40-hour work week applies to 1.2 million working people and the 42-hour working week to 600,000 workers.

Some people regard statistics as a dry affair, but they offer a deep insight into life. In 1960 only 18.8 percent of all households of workers and employees had a monthly net income of more than M1,000. In 1976 the total was already three-quarters of all households. For 42.6 percent, family incomes totaled more than M1,400 monthly. And all this while prices have been stable. This mirrors a far-reaching change in the standard of living. It also has produced, as is the case with much of our progress, new demands--on the structure and quality of the commodity supply.

Every year since the eighth party congress children have entered our ten-grade general educational polytechnical secondary schools, and youths have graduated from them to take up vocational training, as something self-evident. Those were years in which science and technology become more and more a matter of concern for our entire people. At that time the democratic custom of participating in the deliberation and decision-making on social problems in enterprise and cooperative farms, in the cities and the countryside, became firmly established. From all this emanated powerful impulses for the intellectual life in our country. New comprehensive legal projects were created; let us recall only our labor code, which with good reason we term a Magna Charta for labor. They, too, are evidence of the constant development and consolidation of our socialist relations.

Summing up, one can say: Our GDR is politically stable and economically healthy. It reliably steers its course toward social security, social progress and social safety.

The line of the eighth and ninth party congresses has brought results of historic significance. Indeed, one may well say that the advantages of our social system are becoming more and more clearly visible. We can strike this balance for a period during which the principal imperialist powers experienced their deepest crisis since World War II, the consequences of which they have not been able to cope with to this day. Our country's working people regard the good results of their work as new proof of their strength, of the correctness of our party's scientifically founded policy. GDR citizens rightly feel pride in the successes achieved with so much industriousness and inventive spirit.

Comrades, in our days it is becoming particularly evident that the firm orientation on friendship with the Soviet Union and the fraternal countries rallied around it is the foundation for the flourishing of the GDR, the first socialist state on German soil. Our treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries, which reach far into the 21st century, are a solid basis for the continuation of our policy aimed at the peoples well-being.

The productive power of our GDR has grown. It will continue to grow. On this road of advancement we will not let ourselves be dissuaded by threats of economic pressure. For the socialist world system, in which our

republic is firmly integrated, today constitutes the most dynamic economic region on earth. As you know, 70 percent of our exports go to socialist countries and 30 percent to nonsocialist countries. This is how it should be in the future as well. Our trade with the socialist countries, whose volume is constantly expanding, is supplemented by trade with the nonsocialist states. This is natural. At the Leipzig Fair we have declared that the GDR is for a world-open trade. This is how it should be in the future as well. Here we are taking into account that our republic is one of the states which takes a particular interest in the development of foreign trade.

Regardless of all efforts to develop our own raw material base, we have to import raw materials on a large scale. Moreover, we must buy some foodstuffs and nonessentials such as coffee, cocoa and tropical fruit. They do not grow in our country. But from foreign trade in particular there result considerable burdens. In the past few months prices in the capitalist market have increased six-fold for oil, four- to five-fold for coffee and cocoa, two- to three-fold for cotton and grain, and nearly three-fold for some nonferrous metals.

This multiplication of prices within a few years constitutes something completely new. This development cannot be compared with the usual cyclical fluctuations and inflationary trends which kept within the framework of a few percentage points. It was not predictable on this scope and at this rate, and no one in the world expected it. The entire price level of raw materials had increased comprehensively, and one has to face the fact that this situation will continue for a long time to come. True, the prices of finished goods with which we pay for our imports have gone up, too, but not anywhere nearly so much. Thus the entire situation in international markets has changed, affecting to some extent the basis of the calculations of our long-term economic strategy. In view of this situation, we had to spend an additional sum of nearly 14 billion foreign exchange marks for the period after 1973.

In the framework of CEMA, too, raw material prices have gone up substantially more than prices for industrial finished products. At the same time, the payments we are making for investment participation in socialist countries, in the interest of supplying our economy with raw materials, are increasing. However, we can finance all burdens stemming from foreign economic relations only through a growth of our national income.

In view of this situation, our Central Committee was confronted with the question of whether the course initiated by the eighth party congress can be continued. As you know, this question, which is of such decisive importance for our country, was answered with a clear yes. This is founded on trust in the party's strength and the working people's active support of the policy of the main task, in the GDR's economic potential and its firm cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the community of socialist states.

The ninth party congress drew the necessary conclusions from this. We abide by our program of growth, prosperity and stability. We also abide by the principle that we can consume only what we have produced through work. The burdens must be equalized by performance. Socialism possesses the internal resources of strength which make it possible to solve, even under the changed conditions, the main task in its unity of economic and social policy.

It could be stated quite simply. Life has shown it. More than one and a half years of the current 5-year plan are behind us. In the face of the difficulties which appeared, the dynamic growth of production was safeguarded, new social progress was realized: sometimes it was done with exertion, with more overtime than we like, but successfully in the end. Indubitably this has its logic. Naturally our party did not take this decision lightly. All the essential factors, the results to date and the foreseeable developments, were thoroughly analyzed. The result: an emphatic increase of the intensification of production is required and also possible, particularly an acceleration of scientific progress and a consequent greater yield for the national economy.

In this situation it emerged how vital it was that, as early as at the eighth party congress, our party had placed such emphasis on socialist intensification as the main road of increasing performance. This was not just a decision taken according to the conditions of our country. We stipulated the fundamental direction for expanding the material-technical base, and this created the necessary room for development in the future. Without the great efforts on this path it would not have been at all possible to produce with the manpower potential of the GDR a national income in 1976 of M147.7 billion (figures at comparable prices). Let us call to mind: in 1970 our national income was M109.5 billion and in 1975, M142.4 billion. In 1980 it will be M182.2 billion. All this underlines that we possess a modernly organized national economy based mainly on the big industrial combines, the LGR's and cooperative institutions in agriculture, and the GDR's scientific potential.

Without this intensification we would not be where we are now. At the same time we thus created the starting points from which it is now possible to step up and intensify this process to the necessary extent.

It is a vast and ramified task to fully attune the GDR's economy to the main path of intensification and concurrently to energetically push forward on rationalization. Essentially we are concerned in this context with the most far-reaching perfection to date of the body of our national economy and all aspects of economic activity. Beginning with the production collectives up to the Planning Commission and the Council of Ministers, all levels of production, of economic and state guiding activity, are called upon.

To make rapid progress in this respect requires combat. We have never made a secret of this. From the beginning our party termed this five-year plan a battle plan. I should like to repeat it: in the rates of

the growth of production, in improving goods supplies, and in practically all our planning we count on a rapid pace of scientific-technical progress.

In order to realize, develop and make further concrete the clear concept of our party, our guiding activity concentrates on key questions of the unity of economic and social policy. At the conference of the Central Committee Secretariat with leading district secretaries last February the questions of how to cope with the essential requirements were thoroughly discussed. At its fifth meeting the Central Committee occupied itself with the building industry. There is no need to talk about what construction activity signifies for the sociopolitical program and the future of our industry. At the sixth plenum we worked out the targets for the electronics industry, particularly in microelectronics. In this field of the productive forces in particular, qualitatively new developments have taken place. A higher standard of technology makes possible economies on a scale commensurate with the national economy. To an ever increasing extent the quality of finished goods depends on microelectronics, and, thus, so does the competitive ability of exporters of finished goods, among whom is our republic. Here are chances worth gold for our country; they are chances, however, which demand great efforts if they are to be realized.

We also have great projects in the chemical, engineering and consumer goods industries. We are profoundly studying the most significant problems. This particularly concerns the further expansion of the material-technical base according to the comprehensive programs in the national economy as they were worked out at the ninth party congress. On this basis we began to analyze the sectors which are of major significance for the development of our country. The results are being evaluated and, in the first place, the most effective paths are being determined for implementing our aims up to 1980. At the same time--and this is coming to the fore all the more emphatically as time passes--it is now that we must create the conditions for reliably pursuing our course after this deadline. We can justly state that our socialist planned economy possesses vast possibilities for opening up, through higher quality and effectiveness of work, latent economic reserves at each plant and throughout the national economy.

#### Realistic and Ambitious Planning Tasks for 1978

Dear Comrades, in these weeks the people in the plants, combines and institutions are doing exacting work. There is still much to be done to fulfill and overfulfill the plan for 1977. In close context with this we are preparing the next annual plan. This plan for 1978 includes a period beyond the middle of the five-year plan, and everyone feels that this plan will involve significant decisions about how we master the necessary pace.

The democratic activity in the production collectives is at a correspondingly high level. Many plants have worked out plan proposals meeting the

state targets or surpassing them and anticipating high rates of growth in production, in labor productivity, and in producing supplies for the people and for export. This is also true of numerous plants in your district. We appreciate such plan proposals as an expression of a high degree of responsibility shouldered for the implementation of the decisions of the ninth party congress.

Naturally, a number of questions arise in discussion of the plan which have not yet been settled. This is no extraordinary thing, since the requirements are exacting. Regarding problems which the plants cannot clarify on their own, the immediately responsible bodies take the decisions as we have stipulated in the politburo and in the Council of Ministers. Such decisions will still have to be taken in the further work.

We also have to state, however, that some managers of plants which have not yet implemented the state targets seek the causes for this mainly in others. Taking a closer look, one frequently finds things which have not been tackled with sufficient purposefulness in the plant itself. This begins with the scientific-technical preparation, with an insufficient rationalization concept for the plant; it goes on with outdated consumption norms for material and ends with a large percentage of rejects. The targets of the 1978 plan require that each plant in the first place exhaust its latent efficiency reserves and assure order in every respect. This is imperative. The remaining open issues are a concern of the superior bodies.

Naturally we need realistic plans. We will not curtail them in any way since we consider them the reliable base which is needed if the mass initiative is to develop. However, realism does not signify peaceful coexistence with shortcomings in one's own sector. Our five-year plan is a battle plan, and the battle is being waged for a high rate of increase of performance with no plant lagging behind. This is of the greatest significance for the current defense of the plan.

As little as we neglect the material prerequisites, we also do not overlook the significant influence of subjective factors, that is, the management, the trustful cooperation with the workers, the good atmosphere for the upswing of the innovators' movement and socialist competition. Let us call to mind what was considered realistic and feasible at the Robotron Combine and its mother plant a few years back. Now they have advanced much farther, particularly when we think of the scientific-technical standard of their products.

Some plants are demanding more material or higher investments than envisaged to date. It is true that it is impossible to maintain continuous production without sufficient material supplies. Plants which have not been completed do not supply goods. The necessary stipulations will have to be made where they are needed. However, the first question will always be how to better utilize what is available or what has been planned. This is a commitment of each collective to the people of the GDR. A simple

calculation will show what dimensions are at stake. In 1976 the industrial production plan was fulfilled 100.7 percent. This was possible although it had been planned to use highly productive machines and sets of machines 15.6 hours a day, while only a utilization of 14.7 hours was realized. This difference alone represents a latent reserve of roughly M3.3 billion in products. This is more than the 3-day output of the entire industry.

Dear comrades, let us consider a question which is equally significant, that is, exports to the nonsocialist economic area. Much depends on implementation of the planned sales targets. Often this is impeded by the fact that traditional ranges of products continue to be offered which no longer hold their own either in the socialist or in the capitalist countries. There is only one way--to use scientific-technical strength for a better range of export goods, to expand the manufacture of profitable goods greatly in demand at the expense of traditional goods which are difficult to sell in the world market. Quite a few combines demonstrate that even under the conditions of the recession in the capitalist countries sales can be effected at good prices. One must be better than the competitor. In a country which is so much dependent on foreign trade as is the GDR it is not only the economic effort but specifically the export strength which is significant for social progress and the progress of society. At the same time we want to improve supplies to the people of good products which successfully stand the test in world markets. This is closely interconnected.

In the last few years economic exchange with the capitalist industrial countries has expanded. This is normal. The changes in the international situation have helped make this development possible. Our close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA states also expands our opportunities for trading with the nonsocialist economic area. At the same time the increased economic potential of our republic is mirrored here.

This cooperation is taking place in more variegated forms. In addition to goods exchange there are barter transactions, cooperation, and production under license. Despite all the differences in detail these transactions have one very essential thing in common: we thus implement tasks of socialist construction which we could not otherwise tackle at the moment. You know that this applies particularly to a series of significant projects for strengthening the material-technical base, particularly for better utilizing raw material supplies. It is the progress of socialism which is being speeded up. This is the salient issue. No one can be surprised at the fact that the other side wants to make a profit from these transactions. After all, this is inherent in the nature of the imperialist system. It is our task to see to it that trade continues to develop well on the basis of mutual advantage.

We must look quite soberly at the two sides of the coin: since the two world markets objectively entertain manyfold relations with each other,

we, too, are concerned with the effect of the capitalist crisis. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that, particularly in times of the recession, the capitalist countries are interested in expanding the so-called Eastern trade, that is, trade with the socialist countries. Statesmen from capitalist countries have stated frankly that they would have had to cope with even greater problems of unemployment and insufficient utilization of capacity if this trade did not exist. Since things are as they are, it is our task to use the opportunities of this trade in the interest of our own people and the further development of our national economy. This is exactly what we are doing.

#### The Intershops and the Expansion of Trade With Choice Goods

Comrades, in this context allow me to again say a frank word about the intershops. Naturally these shops are not durable institutions of socialism. We cannot overlook the fact, however, that the vast flow of visitors in particular is bringing far more foreign currency among the people than formerly.

It is known that about 9.5 million guests from capitalist countries visit us annually. They take their meals in our country, most of them stay overnight, and, naturally, they also have money in their pockets. Through the intershops we have created the possibility for the foreign currency to remain in our country. It is being used to still more strongly develop our national economy in accordance with the decisions of the ninth party congress.

Intershops, by the way, are nothing new under socialism. They exist in diverse forms and under diverse names in other socialist countries, too. As far as we are concerned we have now essentially reduced the intershops to an adequate number.

Naturally we do not overlook the fact that GDR citizens who do not possess foreign currency are at a disadvantage in a certain way compared to those who have such currency. We have considered this question and have stipulated the expansion of the system of choice goods shops so that citizens of our republic have the opportunity in each district to buy goods of the higher price category for GDR marks. These goods are high-class products of our country, goods produced under license and imports. We also will raise the number of special delicatessen shops which are known to offer a broad range of certain foodstuffs and nonessential foods and beverages.

Concurrently the goods supplies to the people envisaged in the plan for the national economy will continue to be available as in the past in all the price categories and in all the shops as planned. We want the choice goods and special delicatessen shops to develop as competitors to the intershops by expanding their system and the supplies they offer.

Regarding coffee supplies, you read the announcement of the GDR Ministry of Trade and Supply in our press last Friday. I should just like to

mention again that we spend as much as 300 million dollars annually on raw coffee imports. We cannot easily afford this. But we can afford it through the working people's great efforts in export production. The calculations are based on the effort to find the best solution for the consumer in the face of world market prices for raw coffee which we cannot influence.

### The Great Significance of Socialist Rationalization

Dear Comrades, socialist rationalization holds a significant place in our economic policy. It is striking how rationalization recently has more and more become the stage of the political and economic confrontation with imperialism. Meanwhile, in the FRG the production level of 1973 has again been roughly achieved. But there are more than a million jobless and an immense number of so-called guest workers have been dismissed and moved out. On the one hand the subsistence of workers has been destroyed on a mass scale, and on the other hand there is a steep rise in productivity and profits. The elimination of jobs through rationalization has become a real bogey for the FRG working people.

In the GDR, that is, under socialist conditions, rationalization in its social substance is the very opposite of what it is under capitalist conditions. While full employment is assured, it helps to improve the living and working conditions of workers and white collar workers. The workers, white collar workers, scientists and technicians rightly consider rationalization, that is, the continuous raising of our technological standards, the prerequisite for a higher productivity of social labor. It improves the production conditions and, in particular, rationalization is being implemented jointly with the working people. On the basis of this common effort, the whole thrust of rationalization must be utilized, and we must rationalize at least on the same grand scale as do the capitalists.

Here, in particular, modern science allies itself with the rich production experience and the skills of the workers class. Through progress in this field we decide to an essential extent what increase in performance can be achieved with the manpower potential of our country. No one fears unemployment in our country. Instead of creating problems, rationalization solves one of our most pressing development problems, because it helps to overcome the manpower shortage. It has been recognized in the end that rationalization, after all, is the one and only reply to this trouble. To demand labor, to ask someone else to release labor, almost always means to chase after an illusion. The crux consists in saving jobs on a large scale through rationalization and, particularly, through high technological standards and thus to win workers for the full utilization of machines and plants.

Rationalization is a main factor in raising labor productivity. We conceive it as a broad range of tasks. This includes a good organization of production as well as safeguarding continuity, the appropriate setup of jobs, and the introduction of new technologies and automatic equipment. That is why we must use investments even more strongly for this

purpose than anticipated to date. That is why we request that the plants and combines build means of rationalization in their own sphere to a large extent. That is why we welcome the progress made in territorial rationalization, but we realize at the same time that its opportunities are still far from being exhausted. That is why socialist rationalization now concerns everyone wherever he may work.

#### To Achieve Great Results with Minimum Efforts

Comrades, I should like to say a few words about thrift, a term which is playing a significant role in the discussion of the targets of the current year and next year. Naturally, thrift is not a thing outside daily work, outside our economic policy; it is an inner component of these things. He who achieves great results with minimum effort acts in this spirit. Nor is this a sort of "temporary affair" to which attention is devoted today and dropped tomorrow. Whenever national property is squandered, the means we need for the current and future requirements of the people are curtailed. We are writing thrift in capital letters because we want to effectively use each mark for our course of the unity of economic and social policy.

It is known that we have taken certain decisions to save fuel, for instance, to reduce administrative costs, and to reduce social expenditure that is not essential. The particular purpose is to spend as little as possible on imports. This has been generally grasped well. Most of the people in responsible positions are implementing these stipulations in accordance with the specific conditions. It is true, however, that a few of them have taken things too lightly and simply have schematically applied the prescribed limits to the number of plants. This has had the result, for instance, that fuel needed by service corporations or health facilities was taken from them and that funds for vacation camps and meals for children were curtailed. However, our savings measures, among others, are aimed at all the more securely assuring supplies and services to the people. These things have been corrected at the behest of the Politburo and the Council of Ministers. The right principle must also be understood rightly and must be incorporated in the entire context of our course. This requires that people use their brains, take into account the experience of the collective and apply it to the specific situation. Only in this way will something useful and valuable materialize.

Dear comrades, particularly at this time the plants and combines need support on the spot. One must rapidly respond with the necessary decisions to questions that arise. This naturally means that combines, associations of state enterprises and foreign trade corporations must submit realistic alternative proposals.

Better coordination of the required measures among the individual spheres of responsibility is of great significance. Just as no manager is allowed to simply shift his problems "to a higher level," no central body is

allowed to shift genuine questions of the national economy to "a lower level." We need far more living work relations between central and local state bodies, between the central guidance body and the plant, relations that are linked with coordination and the taking of decisions. Concurrently, the drawing of general conclusions from the best of experience by the central state bodies is becoming increasingly significant.

The central state bodies--the State Planning Commission and all the ministries--now bear a particularly great responsibility for the solution of problems which plants, combines and associations of state enterprises cannot settle on their own. The central working groups instituted by a decision of the Politburo and the Council of Ministers in all the districts have stood the test and have been able to clarify many things. This is not only an organizational measure but an important method of making democratic centralism even more concretely effective for the drafting of the plan. This, too, will help us to enter the year of 1978 with a realistic and ambitious plan.

Comrades, the numerous letters the Central Committee recently received from many working collectives are imbued with creative optimism. Point by point in these letters workers and cooperative farmers, scientists and technicians and many other workers render account of their commitments in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. They also have stated what they plan to do to implement well the plan for 1977 and to master the higher requirements of the coming year. One idea we find particularly interesting, namely, the proposal in connection with the final account of the competition in honor of the October Jubilee--to call for a competition in honor of the 30th anniversary of the GDR's foundation. We fully support this initiative. It will help to worthily celebrate the GDR's 30th anniversary.

Our Central Committee and all the parties and mass organizations represented in the GDR National Front will in time appeal to the entire people of our GDR and will define the aims of the socialist competition, as well as the aims for a further upswing in all fields of social life, with a view to celebrating this great jubilee of our socialist workers' and peasants' might. The time leading up to the 30th anniversary of the GDR will be another period of the successful advance of the socialist revolution in our fatherland, the GDR.

#### Results and Tasks of Our Agriculture

Dear Comrades, a few remarks on the development in agriculture. We can now state that a good grain harvest has been gathered in our republic. That this was possible despite the unfavorable weather is a significant achievement of the cooperative farmers and workers of socialist agriculture and of the voluntary helpers supporting them: Soldiers of the National People's Army, students and many others. The most diverse branches of the economy lent support to the struggle against bad weather

conditions and supplied the necessary means of production, particularly drying plants and storage rooms. In the truest sense of the word the harvest became an affair of the entire population, and the advantages of our socialist system have been convincingly demonstrated.

The working people of socialist agriculture did not just heed the interests of their own cooperative or of a single establishment. Cooperation developed beyond local and district borders and thus increased its force many times. Drivers of harvesting combines from the Dresden and Karl-Marx-Stadt districts helped out with their equipment in the central districts when most of the grain there was ripe for gathering. Afterward over 5,000 machine operators, mechanics, truck drivers and other working people from the northern and central districts came to you and the other southern districts with their technical equipment to lend socialist support on their part. The collectives of the youth project of "Central Harvesting Technology" have earned great merit.

We are sure that the current work in harvesting the rich yield of hoeing crops, fodder crops, vegetables and fruits will be coped with everywhere with the same drive. It is very significant for our national economy and all the citizens of our country that all that has grown should be gathered, properly stored, preserved and thus well utilized. This helps decisively to implement the 1977 plan for the national economy and to create significant prerequisites for the development of production in 1978.

In tackling the forthcoming tasks the valuable lessons provided by the grain harvest should be thoroughly utilized. What has stood the test under complicated circumstances deserves to rapidly be used generally. Thus it proved right to employ labor in a concentrated form as well as, particularly, harvesting and transport equipment. The capacity of machines and sets of machinery thus is utilized in a better way. It also becomes easier to flexibly organize work according to local conditions. The best results have always been achieved where effective political-ideological activity has been safeguarded and where the cooperative farmers and workers have always been briefed about the tasks and results in socialist competition.

It has emerged again that in harvesting much depends on preparation, on the maintenance of the machines, the appropriate supplies of spare parts, the training of the cadres and many other questions. Essentially this also includes the maintenance of technical equipment throughout the year. No machine becomes better when you leave it standing in the open. Simple solutions not involving an increase in the volume of construction may yield substantial results.

All in all the past weeks and months, too, have shown that our agriculture, forestry and the management of our food supplies are successfully developing on the basis of the decisions of the ninth party congress. Thus the

people were supplied with food and industry with raw materials as planned. It appears necessary to plant far more fruits and vegetables in the cooperatives and to further develop the individual keeping of livestock.

To date the planned supplies to the state in all animal products have been overfulfilled. With the support of all sectors of the national economy it has been possible to curtail the effects on this significant agricultural branch of the losses in yields in 1976 due to unfavorable weather. Great efforts have been made to keep the numbers of livestock stable. We succeeded in doing so. Currently there are 11.7 million pigs in our country, 5.6 million cattle, 2.2 million sheep and 26.3 million fowl.

Because of the good production results it was possible to further improve living conditions in the countryside. Particularly much was achieved in the building of apartments. But the possibilities in that field are still great.

We are consistently pursuing our line of fashioning an intense socialist agriculture which increasingly uses science and technology, comprehensively develops cooperation and which is step by step shifting to industrial production methods. The division of labor, meaningful concentration and specialization are being further expanded in this spirit, naturally with careful respect for specific circumstances. Thus it is important to boost production and to improve effectiveness. Thereby no reserve must remain unutilized.

The new model statutes of the plant production LPG's and animal production LPG's show how the Marxist-Leninist agricultural policy of our party is being consistently developed and how Lenin's cooperative plan is being applied to the present conditions in our country. As is well known, these statutes were thoroughly discussed with the agricultural working people before their approval. They serve the constant consolidation of the alliance between the leading workers class and the class of cooperative farmers. They are an expression of the fact that in this alliance the cooperative farmers are making a valuable contribution to fashioning the developed socialist society in the GDR.

#### Considerable Achievements in the Management of Our National Economy

Comrades, the past few years were an important trial period for the leading cadres of our national economy. The management of our national economy increasingly guarantees the implementation of the policy of our party and state aimed at the peoples' benefit. Every one of us realizes that our positive balance sheet in the economic sector would be unthinkable without effective management activities, without the high personal commitment of many responsible communists, nonparty members and members of friendly parties. The situation is indeed such that our cadres have learned in a short time in history to successfully manage the national economy. The experiences of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal socialist countries are of great value to us in this respect.

Must we, despite this success, enhance the standard of management activity? Naturally. A standstill in this field would imply a step backward. After all, we want to advance. It is therefore necessary to more effectively utilize the advanced training system and in a broad exchange of experiences to familiarize the leaders of combines and directors of state-owned enterprises, in particular, with the findings in management activities. This year our country's industrial commodity production--calculated in comparable terms--will total almost M260 billion. In 1960 it totaled less than M130 billion. But, together with the economy itself, management also must develop further. New quantitative and qualitative requirements arise. Even today it must be kept in mind that we are already preparing ourselves for the tasks of the years 1981-85. Hence the most recent findings of management science must be complied with in this respect as well.

The combines have proved to be the mainstays of modern economic management in industry and the construction industry. We attach great importance to their further development as well as to the establishment of new combines. It is important to set up effective combines which--with far-reaching responsibility on the part of the enterprises--are capable of fulfilling their tasks in keeping with the targets of the national economic plan. Thereby an even greater importance attaches to enhancing the responsibility of leaders for the enterprises and combines entrusted to them. They are fully responsible to society for the accomplishment of their tasks. The maturing problems will be solved as outlined by the ninth party congress. The common denominator of these requirements is to orient our management and planning even more comprehensively toward a high quality and efficiency of work. To express it even more clearly: what matters is not that quality and effectiveness be viewed as a consideration among others but that they be made the decisive criterion of action. With last year's Politburo decision on the evaluation of performances some initial conditions were created. It now is important to build on their foundation, and this must be done with great consistency and not half-heartedly. The main task requires that in the assessment of performance attention be focused even more strongly on the national economic final result, that is, national income in its concrete shape, on its agreement with the quantity and quality of social demand.

An end must be put to the schematicism which still is found sometimes in stipulating tasks and in evaluating performances. What is involved here is not merely indexes but also ideology. No matter how good an economic regulation might be, it can never replace the national economic understanding and responsibility of a communist who is striving--beyond the limits of his own enterprise and industrial branch--for the best results for his socialist state.

The new stage of our social development initiated by the ninth party congress is also a new stage with respect to an effective exploitation of the driving forces and advantages of our socialist system. In this spirit it is important to develop planning and incentives in such a manner as to increasingly promote the people's initiative and to aim it at a high overall economic result.

## Far-reaching Transformations in Spiritual-Cultural Life

Dear comrades, it is with good reason that we can note that far-reaching transformations also have taken and are still taking place during the socialist revolution in our people's spiritual-cultural life. We are fashioning the developed socialist society with a highly educated workers class which lives up to all requirements resulting from the increasingly complex processes of the national economy and of other social spheres. Education, science and culture have found a firm homestead in the cities and villages and are contributing to the further approximation of city and countryside. Our scientific and technical intelligentsia has excelled in many areas with performances that redound to its credit. Artists and cultural workers have reaffirmed with their works their conviction of the correctness of our road. With one word, dear comrades, ever new horizons have been opened up for the creative vigor of man. This expresses the human face of socialism.

An essential contribution to this has been made by our public education system, which with its results fully and entirely agrees with the high demands of our modern socialist industrial state. Part and parcel of this is that it has become self-evident for almost all children during their 10-year attendance at secondary schools to acquire a solid natural science, social science and polytechnical education. Thus they are being enabled, as intelligent and knowledgeable individuals, to participate with expert knowledge in the social development of socialism. Yes, we noted with great satisfaction that the youth which has gone through the schools of our worker-peasant state not only cherishes an open-minded attitude to politics, science and technology but is armed for life in the truest sense of the word. This youth knows that under socialism study makes sense, because in our aspiring world knowledge and talent are being fully developed for the benefit of the individual and of the community.

Since we have declared our objective to mold a comprehensively educated man, we shall create increasingly more favorable conditions for a high education of the workers class and of the entire people. We shall not permit anyone to exceed us in this respect either. It can be stated with good reason: the highly developed education system in our country is part and parcel of those great social achievements which have conveyed to the GDR weight and prestige on an international scale. This is an achievement of our entire society, and in this the main credit is due the 700,000 people employed in the school system, including 400,000 teachers. Their selfless commitment to the implementation of the party-government policy constitutes a great contribution of the socialist intelligentsia to the further fashioning of the developed socialist society.

Comrades, science and technology, for whose development the conditions are more favorable than ever, are exerting a persistent influence on the spiritual-cultural life. It has been possible with numerous research results to achieve remarkable international positions. This has helped to accelerate scientific-technical progress. Socialism is a unique

challenge to science. In the future, even more than in the past, the development of socialism will be determined by the extent to which it succeeds in basing social and economic tasks on ever new scientific and technical findings with maximum effectiveness. This first and foremost concerns the application to the national economy. In order to grasp the full truth, one only has to recall Lenin's words that ultimately labor productivity will be the decisive feature for the victory of the new social system. This is why we attach such a high priority to scientific work. In addition, the results of this work shape the spiritual face of the workers class and of our entire people.

Comrades, if we further develop our socialist present and prepare the communist future, then our country is again expecting much of the working people of this bezirk and of this city. Here there are mighty strongholds of the workers class. The modern technical equipment of our agriculture will depend to an important extent on the Neustadt "Progress" combine. The Robotron Combine and other combines of your bezirk belong to the main forces for our further advance in the field of microelectronics and data processing. Your agriculture has great commitments for providing the nourishment for our people. The Dresden Technical University is not only a research center with a rich tradition and an international reputation, but at the same time an important cadre forge of the GDR for the development of virgin scientific territory. The institutions of culture that are tended with so much care and love enjoy a worldwide reputation.

In medical research and supply, too, in the public education institutions, in trade or in transport and in all other sectors of life here in your bezirk, as everywhere in our republic, the new tasks are tackled with confidence and dedication. The SED Central Committee is certain: the battle-tested collective of the communists of your bezirk party organization, the workers and all working people of the Dresden Bezirk will devote all their energy to the fulfillment of the decisions of the ninth party congress.

Comrades, what imperialism had devastated has been brought to flowering by socialism. Where could this have been proved more convincingly than by the fate of your city of Dresden? It has really risen from ruins, and our housing construction program is constantly adding new elements to its appearance. In the city of Dresden alone, about 49,000 apartments are being newly built or modernized in the period 1971-80, of course including the social institutions that go with them. Thus housing conditions have improved for 140,000 citizens in one decade. Results are being obtained that equal those achieved in the quarter century 1945-70.

This is certainly progress that is making itself felt in everyday life. However, it has not yet fulfilled all our housing needs. In the future, too, Dresden will require growth rates in housing construction that are among the largest in our republic. Even in the preparation of the coming Five-year plan 1981-85 it will be necessary to create essential prerequisites for this. Such planning should not, however, be made at the expense of the small garden plot holders. You know that I do not say this without reason.

In the whole fashioning of this city, the unity of new construction, modernizing and building preservation is being maintained. As you know, together with the construction of new apartments important conditions are to be created to implement in the 1980's the reconstruction of the old city residential areas. In the case of Dresden, this applies particularly to such housing areas as Innere Neustadt and Friedrichstadt. The building measures designed to strengthen the material-technical basis of our national economy are also acquiring great importance.

Today Dresden is again a beautiful city, loved by its residents, a city whose charm attracts hundreds of thousands of guests from abroad year after year. To create something new and at the same time build up again and preserve for our people the valuable and humanist assets of the past--that is part of the mission of the workers class. What began with the reconstruction of the Zwinger we are continuing today by rebuilding the Semper Opera in its former beauty. We could hardly pay a better tribute to the memory of Gottfried Semper, the great builder and revolutionary democrat, the 100th anniversary of whose death will be observed in 1979. This anniversary, too, will be a commitment for the builders to restore the opera with diligence and skill for the people of Dresden and for all GDR citizens. In the two years until this date we will come much closer to this goal.

We understand and share the strong interest of the people of Dresden to restore, after the Semper Opera, such buildings of cultural-historical value as the Taschenberg Palace and the Castle. And this will indeed be done. The costs involved are large, but step by step we will rebuild these buildings. At present we are intensively working on determining the order in which we will proceed with this.

#### Red October--Holiday of Progressive Mankind

Comrades, in a few weeks we will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, together with the Soviet people and with all progressive mankind. This is indeed a world-historic event. The circles and seminars of our party school year in particular will help bring out clearly the significance of Red October and the topicality of its generally valid lessons.

Looking back on the decades that have passed since 1917, one sees that the peoples of the world have undergone tremendous transformations during this relatively short span of time. The October Revolution, mankind's entering the epoch of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism, and the alteration of the international balance of forces bear witness to the victoriousness of the cause of the revolutionary proletariat. At the same time they reflect the living vigor of the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the effectiveness of the world outlook they created as a creative guide for action.

The 60 years of October Revolution were 60 years of struggle for peace and social progress. The grandchildren have remained faithful to the heroes of Red October. Sixty years ago the revolutionary workers, soldiers and sailors, Russia's proletariat led by Lenin and the party of the Bolsheviks crushed the rule of the capitalists and estate owners. They established their own power, the power of the soviets. With the victory in the Great Fatherland War over Hitlerite fascism that saved the peoples from barbarism, the heirs of Red October continued the great work of liberation. Socialism became a world system. Today the community of the fraternal countries is constantly strengthening, is proving to be the driving force of historical development, the stronghold of peace and progress, the reliable support of all anti-imperialist fighters.

Everyone can say of our new world: "Where I am a human being, here I can be a human being." And while capitalism is becoming increasingly affected by the ills of its system, with all their negative effects in all walks of society and in the life of the working people, it is emerging all the more clearly that socialism guarantees social security, growth, prosperity and stability. It gives the working people what capitalism takes away from them--a desirable and long-term prospect. In the new world of socialism our GDR, too, occupies a firm place forever. It draws strength from the community with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries and at the same time contributes to their prospering.

In your work, dear comrades, you can always proceed from the premise that our party's Central Committee devotes great attention to the solution of those questions that still cause us difficulties and annoyance. On the whole, things are developing in your bezirk as well as in our entire republic in such a way that a propagandist need never be at a loss for good arguments.

#### Study To Solve the Tasks of Today

Dear Comrades, with the 1977-78 party school year intensive studying begins in the party organization. Equipping ourselves again and again with the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, we enrich our knowledge and at the same time arm ourselves for daily work, for the further struggle to implement the decisions of the ninth party congress. For the circles and seminars of the party school year the same thing applies that we said at our party congress about the party groups and basic organizations: they should be in the truest sense of the word a political homestead for the comrades as well as for the nonparty participant.

Here is a good opportunity to deepen the findings gained from studying the classics, to discuss problems, and at the same time--and this is not the least important aspect of the party school year--to absorb our world outlook in such a way that one can master the tasks of daily political work with new conviction and with a clear vision. He who can base his arguments concerning the topical questions of politics on a firm conviction of the rightness of our cause, on the foundation of a solid theoretical knowledge, will be

able in every situation to represent our policy well and to more and more consolidate the trustful relationship of our party with the working people in town and countryside.

In conclusion I can state with pleasure that tens of thousands of comrades help carry the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin and our party's general line to the masses. On behalf of the Central Committee, I should like to thank them all from the bottom of my heart and to wish them further successes in their responsible work.

Work in the party school year is part of the process of augmenting the party's militant strength. In the unity and cohesion of our party, the quality of its structure, the high educational level of all members and candidate members, the constant enrichment of the experiences and developed activity of the comrades, there is the guarantee that we will continue to successfully implement the decisions of the ninth party congress and will win new victories for socialism!

In this spirit I declare open the 1977-78 party school year.

#### NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Commentary

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[Text] Berlin--Friday's NEUES DEUTSCHLAND publishes a commentary underlining the topicality of the declaration by the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker, on the question of citizenship in his Dresden speech. Under the headline "A Cause for Thought" the paper notes:

Just how topical is the statement on questions of citizenship made by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the opening of the party school year in Dresden is clear from the discussion in the FRG mass media, and most recently from a so-called hearing on the "Germany policy" held by the FRG Bundestag committee for "intra-German questions."

In his Dresden speech Erich Honecker said: "For us, the question of citizenship is basically not a matter for negotiation. We expect the FRG to take account of GDR citizenship, which results from international law. If the old, revanchist legislation of the FRG allegedly stands in the way of this, then these laws must simply be altered accordingly."

But the heroes of revanchism ride on this old FRG legislation. A Professor Kimminich said at the aforesaid hearing that "the Federal Republic is entitled to adhere to its basic constitutional concept. This means that, as before, German inhabitants of the GDR (that is, citizens of the GDR) are subject to the Basic Law (of the FRG)." Abelein, CDU/CSU spokesman for German affairs, added a piece of geography in an easterly direction and demanded "the obligation to provide welfare services" for Germans "in the German areas on the other side of the Oder-Neisse."

"It must be noted that the impertinent claims by the 'all-German' Eastland knights and their impudent interference in the internal affairs of the GDR are in flagrant contradiction to international legal norms. As is known, the basic treaty between the GDR and the FRG was concluded 'in the knowledge that the inviolability of frontiers and the regard for territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe in their present frontiers is a fundamental condition for peace.' Article 6 stipulates 'that the jurisdiction of each of the two states is limited to its state territory.' The treaty partners 'respect the independence and sovereignty of each of the two states in their internal and external affairs.'"

"The question arises: Can one recognize a state and conclude treaties with it but at the same time not recognize its state frontier and the citizenship of its citizens? Can one talk of international law but in one's relations with a neighboring state disregard the most elementary rules of international law--respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity? In medical terms one would describe such an attitude as schizophrenia; in political terms it is called revanchism."

"To this must be added the fact that the whole matter is utterly and totally hopeless. Certain politicians are also correspondingly uncomfortable as far as this matter is concerned. Even at the beginning of the year they were dropping hints that 'one (ought) to find solutions and codes of behavior for the question of citizenship which do not constantly provoke fresh political conflicts between the two German states.' They meant that it was necessary 'to look for practicable settlements.' In the lower house hearing, expert Professor Kriele even said the following: 'We have recognized GDR citizenship for a long time. If we accept its laws, then we also accept its citizenship,' a thought pointing definitely in the right direction.'"

CSO: 2300

## HUNGARY

### FUNCTIONS, POLICIES OF MINISTRY OF CULTURE DETAILED

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 8, Aug 77 pp 1-17

[Interview with Minister of Culture Imre Pozsgay by Istvan Lazar, number 8 in a series, titled: "What Does This Ministry Want?"]

[Text] Is it an exaggeration to say that all the domestic film production for one year does not have as much mass effect as one weekend program on television, that a year of Hungarian literature, theater and graphic arts does not weigh as much or have such a direct effect on the awareness of the national public as what is seen on the picture tube in one week? And this is only television....

So one can say about the minister of culture not only that his task is virtually unsurveyable when he must care for the problems of many thousands of artists, twice that many dilettantes, several times ten thousand popular cultural workers and those seeking amusement, but also that the multitude cultivating the activity put under or offered for his supervision belongs in his sphere of authority only in small part in regard to persons or direct function. It is as if the minister of heavy industry had to direct mining with coal being mined by the enterprises of his ministry, with sand and gravel mines in other hands and crude oil or uranium being produced by enterprises under other ministries or by all sorts of free lance individuals.

Imre Pozsgay took office as minister of culture last year. So I will ask him today less about his experiences and more to describe his ideas. But, about what? It would be difficult to start the interview otherwise than to ask: What is the task of the Ministry of Culture?

[Answer] There are many reasons why we must talk a lot about this now. Our institution is one of recent origin. It was formed in 1974. Its presence and significance are yet to be understood even in the area directed by us. And this is one of the most unique ministries in the Hungarian state apparatus. It does its work primarily with political and ideological tools, which is not a typical state administration method; the tools of state

administration entrusted to us serve to support the ideological-political approach. Am I being clear enough? What I would like to emphasize is that the Ministry of Culture carries out its state administrative activity in subordination to the ideological-political tasks connected with culture. The work entrusted to us is of such a nature as to tolerate with difficulty, although it requires, administration. So we--under the guidance of the Central Committee--must, perhaps, work with greater ideological, intellectual persuasive force and with fewer tools of power than others in the state administration.

But we, like those in other organizations, have ambition. We would like to work effectively. But it is very difficult to plan efficiency with these tasks and work methods. If we only had planned this efficiency then we could work well with our colleagues, could train politicians and state administrative experts so that the administration of cultural life should take place in this country in accordance with the interests and peculiarities of culture.

If, for example, we say that "in addition to supporting works of a socialist spirit we will make room for every humanist value in whatever part of the world it is produced" then that is a beautiful sounding principle and a requirement as well. But how is a state administrative organization to meet this requirement? By administrative means? Or, even more difficult, how can one ensure with administrative tools the critical mastery which is indispensable at such times? Let us look at another requirement. "Imbue the entire society with the idea of public culture." Our programs often consist of such abstract and political-ideological formulations. These require specially trained, cultured, well informed workers blessed with political commitment and sensitivity. So the ministry, while it is the state administrative organization for the arts, public culture and public collections, must constantly politicize and do ideological work. This is what is most difficult but perhaps also most attractive in the task.

If we now seek the limits of our activity organizationally, we guide or have under our authority all cultural activity with the exception of education. Under our direct guidance we have, primarily but not exclusively, those institutions which have national scope and do official work. Which does not mean that there might not be under the administration of council or social organs important intellectual workshops or cultural institutions which affect the life of the entire country.

In the spirit of the Councils Law of 1971 most cultural institutions are administered by our councils; many are maintained by various social organizations and movements, the institution network of the trade unions being the largest of them. On the basis of its branch supervisory right the Ministry of Culture can intervene, indeed is obliged to intervene, in the affairs of these cultural institutions. The tool for this is formulating regulations and supervising their execution. We can issue decrees,

ministerial resolutions and guiding principles and we have the right to ask for reports. This is the legal side, which is easier to grasp. But I must say that the affiliation of certain institutions affects serious interests so it is not simply a question of regulations where and how these are administered. There are organizations, social organizations and producing units, in which ambition is strong to have their own independent cultural institutions administered by them without regard to whether there is a similar institution with an identical function nearby or not. In such cases rational solutions can be found only with circumspect reconciliation in regard to prestige questions.

Simply because of our political-ideological role we turn great attention to the social organizations and forces under our direct supervision. I am thinking primarily of the artistic federations and the TIT [Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge] which are indispensable in artistic activity and public culture and are our good partners. When we get the right of supervision over a social organization on the basis of the associations law it would be narrow-minded power rivalry for us to emphasize their subordination. This is not what is essential. What we emphasize and what we strive for is that the intellectual capacity and experience built up in them should become our experience and our intellectual strength too; the errors and contradictions discovered by them should become lessons for us too. This may sound a little hypocritical because if, for example, the leaders of the artistic federations were here they would tell you what sharp debates we have in many questions.

But I consider this an entirely normal, regular thing. We do not want to mute debates, we do not want to round off the corners. Nor do we care if these corners sometimes jab us in the side or kidneys if it wakes us up a bit and makes us pay attention to phenomena which might never have come up here in this more closed state administrative organization. And I must say that we would never like anywhere that division of labor which protects its own authority or rights from consultative contacts while shifting responsibility upstairs. What should we say, for example, if some megye or local leader blames us at a parliament session, congress or elsewhere for something he is to blame for? Then every megye would have its own independent film enterprise and every megye or town would form its own theater policy--and I could mention many similar things. We imagine a distribution of both work and responsibility. This is not a dodge on our part. This is the command reason.

[Question] Your first job was to reorganize the ministry fundamentally. Why this reorganization and how did it take place?

[Answer] Putting it this way is only a declaration, but I do not believe in reorganization for its own sake, that if there are problems, if serious difficulties arise, then organizational measures will bring a solution. It would be easy for this country if all our problems could be taken care of this way. This insight is complete only if we supplement it by noting

that one should not postpone reorganization where it has become timely, when the organization is hindering work.

Our institution was created in 1974 when the former Ministry of Cultural Affairs was cut in two and one half became the Ministry of Education and the other half became the Ministry of Culture. Educational affairs have a traditional administrative system developed long ago. It could be seen from the first, however, that our organization would have to be perfected further because certain tasks could not be organized in the new ministry while there was overlap and functional confusion in carrying out others. The organization was excessively fragmented and dispersed.

We tried to group those tasks which could be brought together so that people with a larger view, with good political and state administrative vision, could administer at the head of fewer organizational units. The earlier, chopped up organization--and I think the great majority of my colleagues now agree with me in this--was excessively bound to the institutions being guided.

Things were standing on their heads. Our colleagues--and I now say this about them in the best sense--felt themselves to be more the representatives of the institutions in the ministry than the representatives of ministerial, state administrative or political interests in the institutions. This is where their interests and experiences tied them and this had to be broken up. This is not a charge against persons--because the tie was produced by the earlier situation. I do not say that everything has changed with the reorganization but it can change because order has been restored--those who work in the ministry represent government interests in the institutions and not vice versa. At least this is what we are striving for. There is no problem if an external organ proclaims its own interests; this is a matter of perspective. There is a problem if the central organ becomes prisoner of an external viewpoint. Interest relationships become tangled in this way, interest lines cannot be seen or traced, goals and interests cannot be guided and integrated with central intentions.

Earlier the ministry had 18 organizational units or main departments, now there are 12. In itself this is a significant change. Our internal order thus better reflects the actual interdependencies of cultural and artistic life and the surveyable structure make it easier for the minister and his deputies to keep an eye on problems and carry out guidance.

The reorganization was also important for us because a certain laxity was appearing and unsettled matters were piling up in the institutions guided by us too. On what moral foundation, with what right could we have tried to restore order there if we had not done it first at home and if we did not have in sufficient numbers workers who believed in what they were doing? This is not a "purge" or a "strong hand" or the like; these are political concepts and even as such have a bad sound. I am talking about the elementary order of the institutions and I say that there is no liberal regime which would tolerate the sort of disorder which can be found in

some institutions here. We have a social interest in having elementary order rule in these, in cadre work and in selecting suitable people; this is all that is involved, not a policy "change." On the contrary, it is in the interest of realizing cultural policy and, in the final analysis, general policy more consistently.

Obviously the changes in the institutions may cause the same sort of bruises which the reorganization of the ministry did. Perhaps those now trying to guide this ministry are undertaking some spiritual burden by urging these changes. Understandable human interests attach to the given, present operation of this or that institution. This must be considered because it is a reality which exists whether we recognize it or not. We are not getting ready for a wave of general renewal. We have no problem with the well proven institutions which are operating normally now. But we will make changes, for example, in theater or graphic arts life where the problems are most ripe.

[Question] The ministries of the production branches can relatively easily prepare statistics for an exact accounting of development achieved or of possible shortcomings. Although there are data for intellectual life too the fundamental standards are different--more subjective, less certain. But if we dare say that there is a standard then must we not admit that Hungarian intellectual life today is less effervescent than it was several years ago? What can cultural policy do to counteract this?

[Answer] Even where objects are produced it is people that are being administered. Even there it is not so simple to find the correct standard. It is even more difficult for us where the product is not a thing or an object. Or if it is its unique nature is such that one can only measure what it means, that there is more room for subjective judgment. Of course, statistics can help orient one in human relationships too. If we can read into them. This is one of our chief problems. For example, the data on book borrowing or the spread in the number of readers are truly convincing. But I cannot measure what real human behavior they express. What is the value of the cultural goods to which people have access and if society is becoming a reading public are not other possibilities being neglected in the meantime? I am filled with uncertainty and reservations when I read statistics. And I say this because there is a natural inclination in an official organization to handle matters bureaucratically, to simplify human phenomena and contacts--for example, acceptance behavior--to the simplest standards and forms of movement, to measure them this way and be satisfied with that.

To return to our theme, we need a more general or, to put it differently and not only in regard to data, an empirical approach. The objectivity of our picture of the situation is limited by the lack of development of a complex "science of culture," by the deficiencies of Marxist esthetic thinking and research. So it is important that the ministry be aided by a number of advisory bodies made up of experts and we rely on the

achievements of the artistic sciences and on the judgments of criticism. We established the Scientific Coordination Committee to strengthen the scientific foundation of our work and we have designated the chief directions of cultural research.

Is our intellectual life less effervescent than before? I am not so sure. There were debates--for example the population debates--to which an answer was given by practical measures of the party and government. The debate of the national question led to a certain agreement too and the spastic, rough tone of debate in this area was toned down. The questions raised in the theater debate are opening a way for practical solutions. The debate of educational problems was lively (and even had some fallout in art, for example "Pokfoci" [Soccer Bum]). There is a debate about public culture, about the role of the cultural homes, etc. All this indicates the liveliness of intellectual life. The recently concluded general meetings of the artistic federations--most recently that of the graphic artists--do not indicate that intellectual life is stagnant. Of course effervescence cannot be measured by debates alone. But does not the recent book week also prove liveliness?

[Question] When formulating the above question I was not thinking of public acceptance, although there are enough problems here too. The uncertainty of numbers is perhaps greater for the theater than for book trade or film making. Partly because he who buys a movie ticket does see the film but in the theater there are more and more "full houses" that are half empty. Nevertheless it seems certain to me that a positive process is continuing in the "reception" of culture. The public base and the prestige of good works are increasing. But as for debates much could be said about their quality. And where the effervescence is least convincing to me is in artistic creation, "production." There may be a greater attempt in our theaters to modernize, to expand their frameworks. But more new things were started at the beginning of our decade in literature, film and, perhaps, in graphic arts too. Do you subscribe to this or dispute it?

[Answer] I would be inclined to dispute it. And if I wanted to define the really tangible change with one word I would say "a redistribution." Without manufacturing pseudo-theories I would hazard that effervescence, readiness, or readiness for movement is always present in creative circles but it migrates among the various arts. You mentioned the theater where there is movement thanks to a few creative personalities taking the initiative. And I would again list films here. But especially musical life. Although this is a field for the theory of art, for esthetics, I feel that music will be, if only temporarily, the most representative branch of Hungarian art. This can be felt in its international effect. This is the only art in which our export is greater than our import; the balance is positive for us in regard to practically all the partner countries.

[Question] The international exchange of graphic art works is of a different character than that of musical works. But even if it is a fact that we have an "over-production" in musical performers is it not similar in the much more problematic Hungarian graphic arts? I feel that its productivity is much greater, under present circumstances, than the domestic demand and we could sell many more of its works abroad if we could or dared to offer more. The fact that our graphic artists cannot try out elsewhere as easily as our musicians is not only a disadvantage in terms of making a living it also means that they cannot compare, compete, measure themselves by international standards. And this causes unnecessary bitterness, hurt--and illusions.

[Answer] The nature of these two arts is different. People communicate entirely differently with music than with vision--although there is no doubt that both arts are very international. But for us, at least since Bartok "proved" us to the world and then, with no small delay, the broader Hungarian public also has accepted it, there has been a strong change of taste in listening to music. This change of taste cannot be observed in the graphic arts. The conservatism of taste is so strong that it is not certain that it would support, indeed it might sharply oppose, the movement in the world desired by the graphic artists, the gathering of experiences there. As I told the general meeting of the graphic artists, do not believe that we are the determined enemies of avant garde or non-figurative works. But you should know how much of this the country will tolerate and we should protect artists from the pressure against them. So cultural policy not only sets up limits to prevent the spread of certain types of works but also to guarantee the existence of such works in the country. It is interesting that the same public which judges, for example, illustrations so conservatively--and national unity in this is fairly broad here, from the communists to the most backward in their thinking--not only tolerates but desires and expects original solutions and modern forms in industrial arts, household goods and useful items. Here, however, some branches of industry are rather conservative.

Returning to the question of effervescence, there is no doubt that in the 1960's film was the representative art. The films of the 60's were adequate to the problems of the 60's and the questions asked and the answers given by films coincided with the political requirements. If this is not so now then who is at fault? Perhaps neither the one nor the other. Changes have taken place in Hungarian reality which--why should we deny it--even politics received with orienting debates. The 1970's have been an age of the most lively political debates of the last 20 years. Let me recall the clash of views in the debates over the worker class and the debate over the evaluation of petit bourgeois thinking, property relationship, agriculture and the household plots. These apparently abstract, more theoretical debates also had deep roots, went deep into everyday reality, even if this did not always become entirely obvious in the broadest circles.

This also may be a contributing factor if public feeling and creative spirit come in waves and migrate in the arts--where the greatest publicity appears, where it can be observed in branches with the least publicity. And what has happened with literature, which we always justly considered the most representative Hungarian art? In the 1960's literature stood at the top. And then film became representative, based on just this literature. If the role of literature, inflated unhealthily for historical reasons, ended or at least decreased with this, with the later "redistribution," it shows a development of our artistic life, for the good of literature, because it relieved it of supplementary roles. And if we look back at the 60's, is there not a good bit of nostalgia in this?

Was there a good harmony between film and politics then? It was no idyll. It was rather a struggle. Because there is always some inclination in politics to expect an everyday publicist verification of its intentions. And in art to speak about the present in opposition tones, regarding only abstract goals and measuring things by that. So there was a struggle between them then too. And they had to struggle for the public. It was not such a glorious age for our film arts as we now remember it. But it was a better age, there can be no doubt.

In the final analysis, how intellectual life is developing is a question of social, historical conditions, of the situation. And the chief problem today is that our cultural life is not sufficiently sensitive to problems, does not keep in the center an analysis and debate of the truly timely new questions awaiting answers. All the Ministry of Culture can do here is to call the attention of cultural institutions and organs and of public opinion to these questions. For example, to questions of planning cultural and artistic life, to the structural shifts observable in artistic life, to problems of entertainment; and ask greater attention for such branches of the arts as dance and photography; and emphasize the importance of an examination of the interdependencies of cultural phenomena and life style.

[Question] Can we close this line of questioning? Because another to be taken up is: Can one even judge the condition of our intellectual life in a given period of time considering the very long times involved in creating works, getting them to the public, their critical response and their getting into the intellectual circulation system?

[Answer] I have tried to resist.... I don't know. The answer is in the question, I cannot dispute that. Sometimes that reality on the soil of which a work is prepared is quite different from that when the work appears. Some might say to this that the masterpieces speak to an eternal reality. That is true too. But the literature of an age does not consist of masterpieces alone and the literary functions of an age are served not only by masterpieces but also by honest literary works which are closely tied to the age and pass with it. What a later age judges to be a masterpiece depends largely on the extent to which it harmonized with that reality, how much it could reflect of that reality in which it was born.

But here I am starting to be a dilettante esthete and I do not like to work in this area. Let us stick with the facts; technical factors, the long time required for publication can change the value of a work and can especially have an effect on the further path of the author. If a scientific work or literary creation appears in its own time it can have the strength of discovery. If it is delayed it may be banal because by that time society has gone beyond the problem, has digested the age about which it wanted to say something. This is especially true of the social sciences where authors would not spend a minute today on works considered extraordinarily daring a few years ago because their time is past. Confusion is also caused if not the work but criticism is delayed; if it fails to appear or is at first superficial, prejudiced or in error and gives a true and worthy evaluation only late.

Delayed appearance can also lead to an unjustified magnification of values. The work is surrounded by a curious halo--the longer it is delayed its value seems to grow. Especially among the insiders. When it finally appears it "changes hands" at a value which is no longer realistic; the inability to reach a decision, the procrastination has increased the rate of exchange.

And we should not forget that "appearance" or publication have several phases today. A literary work, for example, may receive more publicity in a theater, film, radio or television version so that its chief effect comes not in its original form. And here I would return to a few words of your introduction written before the interview. The overwhelming effect of television? Yes. But even television can only transmit works or ideas which have been created. It increases that cultural effect--good or bad effect--which can be achieved in a country but only if there is a content to be transmitted. And this arises in large part outside of television, in literature, film, graphic art, etc. Recognizing the nature of Hungarian television as an independent workshop I must still say that the gigantic effect which it has is basically that of the arts and sciences, of cultural life as a whole.

[Question] And here we come back to something else mentioned in the introduction. Cultural work is much broader than that which falls under the Ministry of Culture, which is done under its direct guidance. What responsibility do you have for Hungarian cultural life as a whole; what consultative, supervisory or other possibilities do you have not only to obtain an overview of cultural activity not under your direct control but also to realize your intentions in it?

[Answer] We are not satisfied with legal or administrative tools alone. We are striving for special agreements with individual organizations. We have signed such agreements with the Capital Council, with Hungarian Radio, with Hungarian Television, etc. The trade unions are especially important partners of ours. Our contracts are not of an alibi or ritual character. They are worthy, substantive and serve mutual advantage. But--and this "but" should be stressed very much here--there are too many forums for agreement. And so the compromise finally developed is not always convincing. This not

only leads to a situation where someone starts something and by the time a decision is reached he no longer recognizes his own idea--because, my God, this is part of the democratic process: plans are carried over and changed, other interests and other plans have a say, and finally a common decision is born out of the debate which can be carried out. But if the decision, the compromise, is not sufficiently convincing, if the "hamburger is ground over and over again" through too many forums, then during execution people start to retrieve their own ideas and distort that which was decided on. Finally no one regards the decision as his own so everyone proposes again what he wanted earlier, smuggles it in somehow, while "sticking" to the other intentions, the common agreement as a whole. I have already mentioned that distribution of responsibility where everyone shifts responsibility one step higher; and the most dangerous thing in this is that everyone tries to get political sanction for this manipulation. They are not satisfied with getting a sphere for making decisions but only if they also get special sanctions for everything. This spreading of responsibility is a unique method used in a fairly broad sphere. In the meantime some of the bodies often deal with insignificant matters of little importance, make decisions in matters several steps below their competence or sphere of authority, while sometimes some with little competence make decisions of great importance.

[Question] According to many culture requires what war requires--money, money, money. According to others much better art and public culture could be obtained with less money than at present. Without taking a stand between these two extremes let me ask: Is what we spend on culture really much or little? And whether much or little is not that which is spent on public culture split up through too many channels?

[Answer] Of course the amount of money spent on culture is little. I would be betraying my own area of work if I did not say so. But there is waste. Because where there is little money people choose the cheapest solutions--and that is waste. In the closing word to the Parliament debate of the Public Culture Law I noted that we had sufficient strength to create grand and glorious institutions but not always to undertake the expense of maintaining them. Thus at the moment of opening them we hand over these institutions to decay. Then the casting of blame starts--give money to these for this when these wonderful palaces exist and no worthwhile work is done in them.... Because we cannot pay that good expert who could bring life there with an awareness of mission, enthusiasm and organizing ability. We cannot even pay a cleaning lady who could watch if people were spitting on the floor or behaving properly, if the facilities are used in a manner worthy of a human being. Our old, great zeal in opening institutions and our indolence in maintaining them, in carrying out tasks--this serious contradiction is not simply behavioral, it can also affect the budget.

Yes, we could have better art and public culture for less money. If the saving were not in intellectual strength or in material recognition thereof. Perhaps raising the pay of those now working in public culture would help

some but it would not change the situation fundamentally. The public and the theaters are breaking down the doors to make it possible for provincial theaters to play in Budapest and the capital ones in the provinces on a lasting basis. Everyone would like this. But this is so expensive that it must be thought out very thoroughly before we agree to it. And the economic view of those working in culture is limited to the world of material tools serving culture. It is by this standard that they measure whether something is much or little and we make ourselves believe that it is thus in harmony with the capacity of the entire country. If we were to notice how much waste there is in some areas then we would have to say that ours is the most thrifty branch in the country. Of course there is not much sense in such comparisons. Within the cultural branch it is our task to uphold and develop further a rational management and budget system. Thrift. So that, among other things, we limit unfounded ambitions aimed at creating new institutions whereby, perhaps, we can get the responsible financial organs to contribute more readily to those which are truly justified.

In this way also we might get people to accept the idea that wealth depends not only on objects, on the ability to dispose of material goods, and that protection with a little money of intellectual wealth which cannot be expressed in money could be of immeasurable significance. Let me give one example. A person may like opera or hate it, it may give him pleasure or he may consider it an obsolete form of art but there can be no doubt that for the past 30 years the Hungarian State Opera House has piled up an unparalleled intellectual capital--in its repertoire, its artists, its ballet, in its entire society--which cannot be expressed in money. But now everyone can think of only one thing, that the complete reconstruction of the Opera House will cost more than one billion forints. And they tear their hair to think of sacrificing so much on one institution in the near future. But no one compares that with what it is in any case so difficult to compare, that if we do not do this then what wealth and treasure will slip from our hands. No one believes, not even one of our guests we sent there, that the Kodaly Institute in Kecskemet cost 20 million forints--true, at prices at that time. That is nothing and it is a world famous institution which has played no small role in the fact that we may be known someplace in the world. Are these data and accomplishments comparable? This is what one must think about if one is talking about the material conditions for culture, raising public thinking out of that annoyingly materialistic approach which can measure wealth only in material goods. In addition, social science research and economic analyses alike prove that as a whole intellectual investments pay off most quickly and are most profitable today.

Is there unnecessary duplication? There is. There are even plans to create more. Luckily, public opinion keeps us in check; waste in culture is hardly tolerated. And if economic conditions worsen, if living conditions deteriorate somewhere, if progress slows or stagnates somewhere else, then culture is made to account for every penny--You are spending money on this when the country or I am in such a situation?... Our business is conducted before the greatest public and this also prompts us to disclose duplication.

For example, where there are many daily commuters in an enterprise it is more rational to support culture for workers in the residential areas rather than invest the same money on cultural programs of doubtful value in the enterprise. Or where there is a good trade union culture house we must agree that it should serve the residential area too and not build another, or vice versa. Because such duplication leads to waste and extravagance.

[Question] Integration is now a frequently mentioned concept in public culture as well as in health affairs. But whereas combining health services into a uniform system is primarily an organizational problem, only secondarily requiring a different sort of basic network, a unity can hardly be created by reorganizing the separately built culture houses, schools and movies. So what does integration mean in public culture and to what extent is it linked to the "cultural combines" to be built hereafter?

[Answer] I feel that I understand well the spirit of the party resolution and the law on public culture. I understand a principle of activity therein and I understand on the basis of this principle the meaning of the cultural effect of people on one another, the cultural environment, independent activity, etc. But I cannot imagine the whole without suitably organized institutions. I might say that like all revolutions the cultural revolution cannot avoid the age of institutionalization. And there is nothing unacceptable in this as long as the institutions do not kill the activity, the movement itself. This is a difficult dilemma. At least it has long concerned and pained me. One must institutionalize because at the present level of the technical distribution of labor this is unavoidable in culture, in public culture. But movement must be maintained. Guidance must be such that people can continue to express themselves because only thus can they develop their personalities.

I consider the schools to be the most important institutions of public culture. It is there that greater progress must be achieved and then we can progress greatly in public culture as a whole. To which I must add that this is, of course, unimaginable without popular cultural activity done professionally and with great awareness of mission. The foundation for all integration is that a public culture view be established in the youth in school. That is that children be made aware from the moment of entering school that they are surrounded by a single, uniform cultural environment which includes the museum, archeology, the library, books, films, the theater, concerts, records, tape recorders and heaven knows what all. So, the future belongs to the school which trains for self-cultivation.

God forbid that I should speak against that knowledge which must be acquired in school. But the school should be not only an institution providing information, it should also be a cultural environment for the children in which they can live their lives intelligently. A large number of Hungarian schools today are not yet suitable for this, neither in regard to intellectual nor material conditions. There are many reasons for this, permit me not to talk about them.

So those complex cultural centers which we intend for small communities, villages or new residential areas in cities are only one element of integration. And I consider integration realizable everywhere where two rational principles are realized. I have already talked about one of them, that children and everyone have at their disposal those cultural institutions the use of which will become an obvious vital necessity later. The other is the principle of economic rationality.

Of course, one can justly ask what can be done "until then." Well, the schools can begin to make use of the methods mentioned, and a beginning has been made on this. For example, I see the significance of the literature hours involving appearances by actors not in the fact that beautiful poems are presented beautifully during class but rather in the fact that they are performances, that the students become acquainted with the performing arts. And showing films in film esthetics or other classes is interesting not only because the films thus serve as an illustration for information presented in certain classes but rather because one can see that they belong to life and not only to the movie theater. The link between the schools and film, theater, the graphic arts and the institutions transmitting them is that in which the integration can begin and, indeed, be fulfilled. The condition for integration is not that the institutions be in one building but rather that they be compatible for people and create new needs while satisfying cultural needs.

In any case, a strange turn has taken place in the institution network, not entirely in opposition to our intentions. The balance has tipped and today Budapest is least well supplied with some institutions. In so far as this shows the cultural development of the provinces this is gratifying. On the other hand, our capital may be the only city of over one million population in the world today which does not have, for example, a large capacity concert hall with good acoustics.

[Question] One often hears at the Planning Office and the Ministry of Financial Affairs that the cultural branch should not come with a request to increase support by this or that ratio but rather should say what the money is needed for and if it is reasonable it will be provided. Can cultural life be planned, even in regard to material needs alone?

[Answer] The problem was that when planning cultural life we always thought in terms of material development and not in terms of planning activity. Models and fashions were developed. "There should be no village without a culture house." So now we have about 2,500 culture houses and it would be good if we used several hundred of these in the spirit of modern public culture principles. "Every megye should have a megye cultural center." Maybe so. But frequently they did not think out first what we would be doing in the megye cultural centers; just let there be a building and then there would be some activity in it. These are the easiest things to plan-- buildings and budgets. But one cannot plan in this way that intellectual activity which was to be made at home in this building.

If we can achieve a turning in this then cultural life can be planned, not in an exact, quantifiable form as we plan production or a building but rather as we plan a goal and the route leading to it. This does not require scholarly expertise, large offices or brain trusts to concoct cultural plans. What is required is greater self-knowledge, knowledge of the locale where there is some human community. Then one needs a building and tools with which to carry out our plans. But in my opinion this is the easier part.

Let us look, for example, at the socialist brigades. Need I confess how really important I feel this movement to be? But the greatest formalism surrounds their cultural undertakings. Because these undertakings are too far fetched, fixed to abstract demands. They are not linked to the lives, origin, previous experiences or desires of those working in the brigades. They lack "just" that little bit of self-knowledge which would make the cultural activity of a brigade plannable. Today they often regard their cultural undertakings as something they undertake "for them," offer "to them," what is needed "by them." So the cultural program is often an external, alien requirement which has to be worked off so as to get the other advantages going with a socialist brigade. This denigrates culture and the brigade movement alike in the eyes of those workers on whom culture is forced in this fashion. Not even to speak of the fact that when socialist brigades are promoted in this fashion we are making stars out of them which finally resemble those in the work competitions of the 1950's. We have no need of such socialist brigades nor of such cultural "planning."

[Question] Since the appearance of our public culture law our broad tasks in this area, embracing our life as a whole, have been especially obvious. But I recently heard the bitter comment: "Public culture is even flowing out of the water tap...." Is anyone keeping an eye on exaggerations, going one better, means which defeat the end?

[Answer] There is exaggeration. And this is the result of our bad reflexes. You might ask, why is the minister of culture talking about this, let someone else talk about it.... But I am a rather cautious man in such matters and I would like to prevent trouble. Let no one say that the cultural branch is puffing up the public culture law or program. It would be especially bad to increase the interest of society, to create needs where we cannot satisfy them. But this is the smaller problem because then public opinion might help, if it beat on the door and demanded the creation of the missing conditions. The bigger problem would be if we aroused a distrust in public culture, by exaggeration and much ado, in just those social strata and groups where the significance of it has not yet been seen. But--if I may push it--an even greater problem would be if some people thus did the whole thing in. Getting an idea to take root is always a problem. There has been a public culture hubub for 2 years and then something else comes out and then you have to do that.... Public culture is not realized so quickly or obviously; it requires very diligent work and social movement must reckon with it as a constant element. It does not go in this way if everyone speaks about it with constant euphoria.

Some of those working in public culture are inclined to speak more loudly than is suitable or necessary--out of good intentions, knowing finally that society is behind us in "our cause." Comic situations can arise in this way, although this is not a cause for comedy. I have already spoken of the bureaucrat who, when something is forced on him, takes care of it with considerable bustle. Why this bustle among the bureaucrats? Because public culture has been placed on a very high political pedestal. There was a Central Committee resolution, a law.... People who want to do right will not say a bad word about it; people have been "terrorized" in the matter of public culture. This is not a good thing but this is not the fault of public culture; rather, let me repeat, it is our bad reflexes.

Is it proper for a worker to leave his machine in the factory and use the working time of himself and others to sell books or theater tickets? Is it correct for an official to do the same thing? No, this is a reversal of roles. In this case cultural activity goes beyond its proper sphere and harms both culture and production. I believe that I well understand the principle that a condition for sensible use of free time is sensible use of work time. And work time can and must be filled sensibly with work. But one should also know that the obstacles to sensible organization and use of work time are not over-zealous public culture workers.

Some institutions like to distinguish themselves by doing public culture work without realizing that the mere existence of their institutions is a form of public culture. They sweat to concoct special public culture programs, sign showy contracts, get involved in pseudo-activities and record all this as public culture. You can ascribe to excessive zeal those not to be imitated "cultural" competitions in which a few people get a chance to perform while 20-30 others are tortured to master unintelligible information.

I used to say that public culture was not an invasion by Tartars. Nor is it a general method which replaces everything else. It is not a haystack from which everybody forks out something as he likes. Even without exaggerations the program offers enough to do. Most exaggerations do not derive from someone wanting to do more of the work than the average but rather from an attempt to hide incompetence or indolence with high sounding phrases. Of course, it is necessary to talk more and publish more about this theme now. Because only in this way can we get people to understand the real tasks and the desired change in approach.

[Question] In our artistic public life there have been a series of irritated attacks against the critics. On which side in the debates between critics and creators do you see the arguments to be stronger? And how, in general, would you formulate basic principles for a correct relationship between criticism and artistic creation, between criticism and artistic public life?

[Answer] Criticism is an indispensable aid and creative partner for cultural policy and for creators alike. For the political leadership and for cultural policy criticism is an aid with which the arts can be freed from administrative

guidance. Criticism is needed for much besides but I would like to emphasize now the viewpoint of cultural policy. Of course criticism is needed so that the creator "can see" the work but it is also needed so that cultural policy can guide and orient creators and public alike.

I am not ashamed of speaking of such a grim purpose, which might be considered manipulation. Because if we use criticism as such an aid for a good purpose we have nothing to be ashamed of. So I say that if criticism does not fulfill its function then it does a very bad thing for art because it forces policy to use administrative measures. I do not know if what I am saying is clear? We want to proceed in this country in accordance with the principle and requirements of creative freedom. But if this is to be done there must be modalities which, in addition to realizing creative freedom, provide policy with possibilities for certain limitations. Our principles are well known--we have no censorship but we do not want to tolerate hostile or anti-human works; we are thus protecting the interests of society. Criticism can frequently pass on very well to the creators, and to the public, the needs of the society, the quasi-political needs. If it did not function, if it proved incapable, then--let me repeat--politics would be forced to something worse. And this is not in the interest of either art or politics. It is fortunate that the interests of art and politics agree in this. So I have hopes that a balanced, if not loved, critical life can develop in Hungary.

Cultural policy, which also guides criticism, turns greater attention to criticism because it can see the ideological relationships of artistic life more directly there and because criticism has an extraordinarily important role in our art policy work in regard to support for socialist works and adopting humanist values and in developing the contact between art and public.

Of course, the feeling against criticism is extraordinarily strong in certain areas. Especially in theater life. But this should not be exaggerated. The intellectual product in the theater has an effect which, by the nature of the art, is more perishable than that of literature. So the sensitivity of those working here is understandably greater. Because they are more bound to the present, forced to be here now, and cannot appeal to posterity for justification. And if they feel that criticism is disputing their present then, one might say, they feel offended in their artistic existence.

In my opinion the basic principle for the relationship between criticism and art is that we not imagine this relationship as one of subordination or superordination. There is a division of labor between them. Neither is "more clever" than the other and neither can replace the other. In actuality both are struggling with the same thing, to master the new questions of a developing society. What is important is that they not force off the difficulties of this struggle on one another or seek in each other the causes of occasional reversals.

Artistic public life is inclined toward prejudiced hostility against theory and criticism. Inclined to think that art, the creator is always right.

Is this not interdependent with the present plethora of interviews with artists, often with the thought in the background that the artist is free to say "everything," that he is not restricted by social responsibility "here and now"?

On the other hand, esthetic thinking and criticism do not always follow with sufficient sensitivity the genuine experiments of art; they often measure by old standards and do not fill their system of categories (party spirit, populism, realism) with sufficiently fresh and modern content. There are critics who are too much involved in a branch of art and others who protect the "independence" of the critical position so much that they avoid even the vicinity of the creative workshops. Perhaps the artistic federations could find a solution by creating joint forums for artists and critics and they should realize that requirement of the position on criticism taken by the Cultural Policy Work Group that creators themselves should write more criticism. But if the artist does not speak about artistic questions on the pretext of concrete works this is just as much a part of artistic awareness as criticism.

[Question] I would put together several questions concerning our book publishing. After the debates and surveys will you take a stand in the matter of the widespread private book publishing? Do you not see a link between the attempt of institutions and private persons to publish themselves and the fact that our book publishing is over-specialized and thus monopoly situations have developed unavoidably? Is it true that supports have been abolished and that book prices will increase? Do commercial works "support" the valuable works? Is the ratio of republication and new works, of stock and orders reassuring?

[Answer] Popular control has established a number of negative things about nonprofessional book publishing. I would not be opposed to two sorts of book publishing. The basic problem is not what the question suggests. Nonprofessional book publishing is a scattered activity, largely a system for publishing works which cannot be repeated where various localities, institutions or economic organizations--following good or bad ambitions--want to document their existence in book form. The majority of Hungarian books are published outside of the professional publishers but only in regard to the number of works because the number of copies is negligible. This also shows that a scattered phenomenon is involved which it would be a shame to sweep aside administratively. Even if we know that those who decide on publication in nonprofessional book publishing are sometimes dilettantes. Should the central administration of book publishing watch this phenomenon more closely? They are not prepared to carry out this quantitatively large task. It would be better if those directly responsible for publication were better prepared in the qualitative sense.

Monopoly situation? If we disregard juvenile works there are now really only two publishers for Hungarian literary works. But these hardly dare say of any suitable work that they will not publish it. Because they are

responsible publishers and because a strong social control keeps track of works and forces their publication if there are no legal or fundamental esthetic obstacles. Indeed, this pressure on the publishers is such that they often publish inferior works too. There would be no obstacle in principle to the existence of more publishers, even in the provinces, except that the material consequences of establishing an enterprise are not small. The question is, could they play a real role, become real intellectual workshops?

In regard to private publishing it should be noted that there are famous, outstanding authors who publish books in this way too but this form is rather for those who write with great effort and professionalism, in whose works there is nothing harmful or distasteful according to the publisher, but it just does not hit the necessary mark. The judgment of the publishers can be measured by whether or not the works which see the light of day in this way prove themselves thereafter. And relatively few such books prove themselves.

Supports have not been abolished. On the contrary, they are increasing because of the increase in printers producer's prices. Prices covered 82 percent of the costs in 1975, 85 percent in 1976 (this was the best year), and will cover only 79 percent according to the 1977 plan. It is true that with changes in the cultural allowance we did make a rather great price increase for a very few types of books, primarily mysteries and reading matter [lektur]. This does not fundamentally change data for book trade and price income but it does change income for the central cultural fund. The cultural allowances influenced in this way do not return to book publishing but are turned either to the benefit of book trade or other cultural purposes. So it is not at all true that we publish Agatha Christie so that we will have Petofi. We do it because the demand cannot be ended overnight and this is not such a danger that we should get out the big guns. I think it would cause a bit of social dissatisfaction if we were to choose the path of the withdrawal cure for such works. There is demand for the goods. In regard to book prices, the price increase for mysteries and reading matter was 10-20 percent, at the same time the consumer's price level for books increased by an average of 2.5 percent in 1976, so the increase for valuable works was virtually nothing, there being some increase only for representative albums intended primarily as gifts. So there is no reason here for us to pour ashes on our heads.

It is not the publishers' fault if they are living off their stock. The republication ratio is highest for the Mora Publishers which must publish a whole series of books again and again for every new generation; and the "production" of children's and juvenile works has not kept pace with demand. Of the nearly 120 works for book week this year 90 were new. Of course, publication today is very much centered around book week, especially in regard to new Hungarian works. It cannot be denied that certain market viewpoints play a role in this but only to the extent that cultural goods also appear in market form, in the form of goods. Because although we may

emphasize that culture itself is not a commodity it cannot remove itself from the system of commodity-money relationships. I feel that how greatly the demand for books is increasing is more important than the "new or old" dilemma. The average number of copies for the Gondolat Publishers, which specializes in scientific and knowledge spreading works, is 17,000. This is unparalleled in the history of Hungarian book publishing and I believe in the history of countries of similar size with the same population. The hunger for books is great in general and book week especially had successful books. The publishers know this and carefully plan what will come out for book week--usually anthologies.

[Question] They don't know well enough. For many years book trade, if not so much the book publishers, has not taken note of a lasting boom in a certain form of interest. Namely--and it makes no difference now what part the populist nostalgia plays in this--the ardent demand for ethnographic and especially historical and archeological works. And when book supply does not take care of this an artificial shortage is produced. This indicates an organizational or functional confusion in the complex system of publication, distribution and direct sale which urgently needs examination.

[Answer] This is true, it must be looked into. But there is a gratifying thing in this, the gigantic increase in demand which has still not made a sufficient impression on book distribution or cultural policy. The poetry, novella and drama anthologies for book week, for example, sold many tens of thousands of copies in a matter of days. We have left something else out of our calculations in culture and elsewhere. We forgot, for example, to draw the consequences from the fact that one million residences have been built in 15 years. And it should also be remembered that books are still very cheap.

[Question] And now some bookshelves can be obtained for these new residences....

[Answer] We always believed that all this was a victory to be announced on the front page, something the government, the system could take credit for. And the social consequences? It may be that some buy books for fashion, following others, at first as decorations. But there is prestige in the schools for children who have books whereas formerly such children were often made fun of. And if somebody has a library and television then he does not want to set foot inside a mangy, crumbling walled culture house or a movie theater filled with creaking chairs with a raspy loud-speaker. I do not want to put down the problems the movies or culture houses have with audiences so cheaply but this is a factor.

[Question] Nationality book publishing was recently nationalized. What is behind this? And in general what tasks does our cultural policy have today in connection with the nationalities living in our homeland?

[Answer] The purpose of the "nationalization" was that such books should be published by a professional publisher, carefully executed, in accordance with the most timely requirements of the language of the given nationality and with a good staff of editors. We want to increase, not decrease, the number of copies. And the say of the popular group involved remains via the nationality federations, in fact it may improve; we only took from the shoulders of the federations the organizational and business tasks. We will provide these works--they can be the critics. Nationality book publishing went to the Textbook Publishers because that is where the editorial staff and readers for nationality textbooks are so it has the required intellectual capacity.

Basic supply is the least problem cultural policy has affecting the nationalities. The larger problem is to arouse interest in or a demand for maintaining their unique national existence and culture. Our policy here is over-supply. In nurseries, schools and books alike. We do not consider this expensive even if a deficit appears in the financial budget. Politically it yields a profit. It is proof of the sincerity of our Constitution and our nationality policy.

[Question] With the possible exception of attempts to cultivate the mother tongue, the cultural life and artistic activity of Hungarians living in the emigration, or simply "torn off abroad," are relatively unknown here at home. Sometimes we hear of graphic artists who become famous but we do not deal much with Hungarian language papers and books appearing in the West. So it sometimes happens that the complete neglect is replaced by uncritical bursts of enthusiasm without any transition. What is the correct behavior here? To put it plainly, who should make the approach?

[Answer] We watch the intellectual life of the emigration very closely, sometimes with good intent and sometimes with undisputed suspicion. Of course we have a basic principle--let the works speak. This is true even when the question is whether we should give publicity at home to works prepared in emigration. But one has to add that in the eyes of contemporaries the work and the author cannot be separated from one another. Let me mention, not as an excuse or an apology, but by way of illustration, the example of the French Celine, a book of whose has now appeared in Hungarian but whose works could not be published in France for a long time; not even his most magnificent book which did not at all contain those retrograde views which later led Celine to join fascism.

Not being able to entirely separate author and work we want to know first of all the entire emigration, this differentiated world, and, my God, we certainly keep track of who left when and why. And of how he related to his old homeland after leaving or how he relates now to the homeland--and to its political and social system. Primarily, we support the mother tongue movement. But Hungarians living abroad are represented in our book publishing too, to mention only the most famous from scientific life,

Albert Szent-Gyorgyi and Janos Sellye. Vasarely is well known in the graphic arts; Amerigo Tot, Lajos Szalay and Jozsef Domjan have exhibited here also. We recently published social science works by Karoly Polanyi and Etienne Balazs. We support contacts between domestic and external Hungarian intellectual life where they do not harm the interests of our homeland or where it is in the interest of our homeland. But in the case of some authors the man and the work cannot be separated; the work cannot be made independent if the author inspires different behavior or offers a bad example. Of course there was a time when we were distrustful even of the emigres who fled fascism. This was a mistake. But we have not committed a mistake against the right wing emigration. The approach is up to them and they can approach if there are enough human resources in them for it.

[Question] There are differences which are not small between the income of creators in the several branches of art. In addition to much else this sometimes harms morale in artistic life. Does our cultural leadership want to influence earning relationships too?

[Answer] The income differences are not so much between branches as within them. Our system of authors' fees could be a cause of this but only to a small degree. The phenomenon is basically natural. What is exceptional and rare gets promoted to an independent value, not in the economic sense of the word but in a way which is realized economically. Of course, the rare and the exceptional are not the same as artistic value because then we would have to put the gold record pop singer higher than the ingenious writer. Public demand creates here a market situation--especially on the record market but even more in graphic arts--so that mammoth incomes can develop. In sculpture the one who gets state orders because he is talented, or because he is thought to be, can soon become one of those with very high incomes while others experiment for years and, not getting a single state order, scrape by but remain with their career out of a sense of calling or for other reasons and live an artists' life. Administrative intervention in income relationships might easily affect the creative process. But it makes room for it too. For example, paying for picture postcards by number of copies led to incomes out of proportion with the intellectual effort so we assumed the role of rough administrator and changed it. Prizes also serve to correct the moral and material recognition. And according to analyses the prizes have a significant role in differentiating incomes. Following our awards the social evaluation of those decorated improves, other respect and demand for them increases and their incomes go up. I think that in the future we should pay more conscious attention to this effect in awarding prizes.

[Question] For a long time the abolishing and restoration of studios has stirred up our film arts and, in my opinion, held them back. Have we reached a resting point with the film studio system or can a new reorganization be expected?

[Answer] Setting up film studio enterprises proved to be bad. We had to return to the four studio production of dramatic films where the four creative studios are artistic workshops and not enterprises. The film people saw the mistake immediately and we could do nothing else but bow to the facts and the experiences, bringing back--with some structural changes--the old system and restoring the destroyed harmony between the interests of the film factory and the studios. I do not say that this is now the most perfect system. But let us establish something very fundamental, films can be made in Hungary.... The state budget has put an umbrella over film making, even in the midst of a world economic crisis; there is an opportunity, there are supports for the making of 20 films per year. Our studio system will change only to the extent that their functions will probably be expanded by preparing films which follow the goals of social circulation, serving more directly a recognition of reality.

[Question] Complaints have been piling up for decades among our graphic artists in regard to the Graphic Arts Fund, Lektoratus and Artia--that is, the export of graphic arts and industrial art. Can we expect a change here?

[Answer] I have no reluctance in saying what I said at the general meeting of graphic artists too, that unfortunately trust has been rather shaken in the state institutions for graphic arts life. After the general meeting many said that this trust was so badly shaken that anyone who got involved with these state institutions had discredited himself in advance. This is not true in this way. What is nearer to the truth is that others also would like to get involved. Because this is that branch of art where there is the greatest dependence in terms of making a living, primarily on the enterprises of the Arts Fund, especially the Picture Gallery and the state jury system. I can see that there are really serious problems here which have lasted for a long time. The leadership of the Fund sees this too. We cannot isolate ourselves from criticism and we cannot ignore what the graphic artists are saying about it. But we cannot abolish this system for selecting works. How could it be done better? What is most important, the common task, is to develop a value system which will decrease uncertainty and lack of principle in the execution of state tasks of criticism and orientation too. There are organizational and leadership questions to be settled too. And if you ask, as you did a while back "outside the interview," whether we might not establish an art gallery in addition to the Picture Gallery traffic where the artists--like farm producers at market--might rent space, I do not say this is unimaginable so let me pocket it as a good idea which is worth thinking about.

[Question] In conclusion, can I ask about your life and in what are the minister of culture, as a private person, finds the most beauty? Can you relax as an enjoyer of culture, of the arts, or do your official worries and points of view always come along?

[Answer] I grew up in a village, in a peasant environment, this influenced my choice of career. I graduated from a horticultural secondary school but my political inclination developed fairly early, perhaps as a result of family because in secondary school I found the world view for me, the truth of which I was consciously convinced of later. I became a party member at the age of 17 and got such a start in political activity that by the time I graduated from secondary school I had changed my career. I attended what was then the Lenin Institute from 1952 to 1957, graduating as a history teacher to which I later added philosophy and finally I became a sociologist. But after graduating from the university, in 1957, I joined the party apparatus, going into the Bacs-Kiskun Megye Party Committee in Kecskemet. It seems strange to say it now when the generations bottleneck is so strong but at the age of 23 I became director of a megye organization, the evening university of Marxism-Leninism. That's what I was until 1965. Then until 1968 I was a department chief in the megye party committee and from 1968 to 1970 secretary of the megye Party committee, still in Bacs Megye. I spent 12 and a half years in Kecskemet and I felt good about my Trans-Danubian life. This city meant a lot in my personal development. They recruited a megye leadership there then that showed a willingness to take the initiative in economic and cultural life alike. I think this is still true in Kecskemet. And this start, the environment there, the city and megye atmosphere helped me to continue scientific activity in addition to my everyday work. I got a degree as candidate which they were still giving in philosophy although my theme was sociology. I dealt with questions of our political system, wrote my dissertation on socialist democracy and began to publish on this subject. I went from Kecskemet into the apparatus of the party's Central Committee where I headed the press sub-department for one year. Then for 4 years I was deputy editor-in-chief of TARSADALMI SZEMLE. I worked as a professional party worker for 18 years.

In regard to learning and thus satisfaction with work I consider myself lucky because it is now 20 years since I started to work and I got many years out of the 20 when the nature of my work made it possible for me to spend time on study, further training and self-improvement and in the meantime I succeeded in building up personal contacts with Hungarian intellectual life which helped me orient myself in this over-intellectualized Budapest atmosphere but also helped me remain more unsophisticated than this same over-intellectualized atmosphere would have required. Perhaps this is also why my reflexes are not nervous and I am not immediately seized by a feeling of catastrophe if something goes wrong.

It was good everywhere. I consider myself willing to undertake things--these changes of career and undertaking tasks show this. The assignment I am in never gave me any special pride; they say it's the job a person does but I really feel that way. It was always the task that interested me. It made me feel good that they always chose me, not in the organizational sense of the word but they always called me to some task and I didn't have to come forward. Of course I do not consider this a merit but attribute it to that luck which has accompanied me all my life.

I grew up in life circumstances which were not easy. My mother was widowed at an early age and raised the three of us alone. Even as a child I did hard peasant and other work--which I would not brag about as a strayed intellectual but it is good to remember it.

I think I have a good family; I hope my family thinks of me that I am good among them. My 18 year old son is now entering the Technical University, my 17 year old girl is in the third year of gymnazium, my wife teaches college. I have good friends of whom I hypothesize that they consider me a good friend. I am not accustomed to concern myself with my own person so I have not quizzed those around me about myself. I talk about myself now because you asked. It seems to be part of this sort of piece.

As to my amusements, I can relax to such an extent that sometimes I feel guilty, bordering on irresponsible. I feel this when attending entertainments as at the time of other amusements. Otherwise, I say this with trepidation because it may not be congenial to the readers of VALOSAG, but I very much like to hunt, this has been my sport for 15 years. I have excuses for hunters. As for the arts I am hardly different from other Hungarians; I like literature best. But I am glad to go to the theater, movies and exhibits and I am happy to hear music. Unfortunately I have little free time.

What else can I say about myself? It is hard to lead this ministry. I hope I can deal with it. There are good leaders here, I have good colleagues who agree that we are doing something important. Without this faith it wouldn't work.

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## POLAND

### BRIEFS

FRENCH PARLIAMENTARIANS--On 19 September 1977 the vice marshal of the Sejm and chairman of the Polish-French Friendship Society, Halina Skibniewska, received the delegation of the French-Polish friendship group of the Senate of the French Republic with its chairman, Senator Jean Paridier. The French guests also paid a visit to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Emil Wojtaszek. Also present was the charge d'affaires a.i. Marcel Guillemant. On that same day a meeting took place in the Sejm with the deputies and members of the Polish-French parliamentary group. During the talks which were conducted by the chairman of the Polish-French parliamentary group, Jarema Maciszewski, experiences were exchanged on the work of the Sejm as well as the National Assembly and the Senate of the French Republic. The French guests were also interested in the issues associated with science, education, and the training of youth in our country. The directions of further cooperation of Poland and French in this area were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 77 p 4]

CSO: 2600

## YUGOSLAVIA

### VICISSITUDES OF POSTWAR SATIRE SCRUTINIZED

Overview by Journalist Dzadzic

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1385, 24 Jul 77  
pp 18-19

[Article by Toma Dzadzic: "Satirists and Saints"]

[Text] The talk is starting up again, as if it ever stopped, on whether or not we have enough humor and satire.

It is readily noticeable that, as time went on, many columns with such pretensions have disappeared from the newspapers. Our oldest and most prominent magazine of humor and satire, JEZ [Hedgehog], has been struggling for years with a small circulation and, naturally, financial difficulties. Last year JEZ received 300 million old dinars from the Republic of Serbia and the town of Belgrade and this year it will receive 400 million. Television, which has at its disposal the greatest financial means as well as the largest audience, shows barely once in a while something from domestic contemporary creative arts and contemporary life that could possibly be classified as humor. As far as the appearance of satire on television is concerned, however, only those with excellent memories can talk about it.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the better known Yugoslav satirists have changed jobs, or even occupations, a long time ago.

Branislav Crncevic, a former editor of JEZ who now works as a foreign correspondent for the illustrated magazine DUGA [Rainbow], observes: "We have come to a paradoxical situation where we have more humorists and satirists than humor and satire. There are many unemployed professionals who have taken other jobs in order to survive."

In response to the direct question of whether we have humor and satire, Crncevic answered in a picturesque manner: "If one is looking for apples, and there are 5 kg of apples on the market, you cannot say that there are no apples, only that there are very few."

An experienced journalist who is neither a humorist nor a satirist agrees with this, and complements the thought with the remark that satire is like a girl. He argues in the following manner:

"A girl cannot be a little bit pregnant: She either is or is not pregnant. Either we have satire or we do not have it."

#### A Time of Excessive Sensitivity

Ljubisa Manojlovic, who was the editor-in-chief of JEZ until 5-6 years ago, cannot answer with absolute certainty why Yugoslav humor and satire are in their current crisis, but he vividly remembers editorial difficulties.

Even though there was occasional "unofficial interest" concerning the reasons that prompted the publication of certain material, neither he nor others who were interviewed can remember a satirist being jailed after the war because of his satirical creations. If any of them were called to court, it was because of other reasons; disorderly conduct in which they engaged as private citizens, or else, because of private litigations.

Radomir Ivanovic, who acted as the editor-in-chief of JEZ for 4 months, claims from his experience that not a single piece of writing or cartoon was rejected from JEZ because of satirical content but simply because they were bad. The same claim was made upon parting by the previous editor-in-chief of JEZ, Branislav Jovanovic, who spent 4 years in that job.

In spite of this open door policy at JEZ, it can be easily noticed that there are no well-known domestic authors' names on its pages, which must reflect itself in the magazine's quality.

"We called upon them all, but no one responded to cooperate," is the claim made at JEZ, and no explanation can be found for this phenomenon. Furthermore, they frequently point out that JEZ's pages are open to all good humorists and satirists and that there is not a single name on any so-called "black list."

Nowadays, one cannot even imagine the reasons for which at one time satirists ended up in trouble and received party punishment.

It was during the fifties that the first political punishments were meted out for political satire. Copic was punished because of some short stories, and Zuka Dzumhur because of a cartoon on the front page of JEZ, after which, more than likely, he never published another cartoon on an internal-political theme.

Dzumhur's disputed cartoon best illustrates the "naivete" of the censorship at that time. It showed a chubby married couple standing near a Mercedes automobile and it commented on the price increase of gasoline, that is, the limiting of consumption. The wife is saying:

"I don't understand why they are limiting it when it is not an article of wide consumption."

At that time, the consumption of bread, sugar and oil was limited, while there were few automobiles and everyone knew who owned them for the most part. Someone was excessively sensitive to this.

"All things considered, such an attitude toward humor and satire had an influence on the people's decisions and contributed to a diminished production," according to the opinion of Ljubisa Manojlovic.

Pondering on the eternal theme of satire and society, poet and raconteur Vasa Popovic, who wrote for NIN [Nedeljne Informativne Novine] for a number of years, has different views on this phenomenon:

"We identify satire with political satire. However, there is something more valuable and more human than this, because political satire is always tied to a specific moment, personality or institution. Thus, the writer who understands satire in this light invariably creates a text resembling daily politics. It is more noble and intelligent to seek satire in human relationships, types and characters."

As a writer, Vasa Popovic is currently interested in powerful men. The following are powerful as far as he is concerned: A powerful, famous tailor, a powerful, famous surgeon, a powerful politician, a powerful auto-mechanic, a powerful administrator in city hall. According to him, there is real, honest satire; it is being written by Branko Copic, Dusan Radovic, Branislav Crncevic, Fadil Hadzic, Vlada Bulatovic, and Milan Vitezovic.... They all belong to this country, he claims, although some of them are not necessarily always in public favor.

One of them, Crncevic, speaking for NIN, claims that humor has an easier time of it in our society because it can exist even in a cafe, while satire needs a cabaret. Humor is satisfied with oral literature, he further states, while satire needs periodicals, newspapers and the theater, which is why they do not always coexist. Crncevic is of the opinion that if there is a lot of humor there will not be much satire, while if there is enough satire, humor is not necessary.

#### The Cabaret's Fate

Do the readers of NIN know the location of the satirical cabaret in Belgrade? Since the end of the war, Belgrade has never had this type of domestic scene. Even at that time plans were being made to open a satirical cabaret. The president of Belgrade at that time, Milos Minic, became excited over the idea, and demanded that the area underneath the present-day Yugoslav Export and Credit Bank in Terazije [a section of Belgrade], which was being used as a warehouse, be made available. Unfortunately, he was unable to implement this idea before he left for his new duties, so that he simply bequeathed us the idea.

As far as the cabaret is concerned, Vasa Popovich thinks that only one individual or 2-3 kindred souls could open it. He himself would be willing to manage the cabaret for a year, because he claims that not even the company could stand it any longer. Thus, now there are in JEZ serious discussions about the opening of a satirical cabaret.

What Belgrade could not do, Zagreb has managed to accomplish by making it possible many years ago for Fadil Hadzic to open the satirical cabaret Jazavac [Badger], which has been operating successfully to this day. It is worth a trip to Zagreb just to see it, if one has not done so already. It seems that the sharpest satire, in the milieu of a cleverly arranged restaurant, is being practiced there.

It is this combination of "snacks-drinks-satire" that reminds one of a more recent formula, according to which the best known humor-satire periodicals manage to support themselves. Some of them have incorporated a lot of advertising which, in reality, is what supports them while others publish "sexy humor" up to and including the most extreme pornography. A possible exception is only the Paris CANARD ENCHAINE which treats purely journalistic investigations or the greatest social scandals in a humorous, satirical fashion. This brought to the periodical in question a large circulation, money, glory and power.

But, let us return to our troubles.

"I think that 80 percent of our current humor and satire does not merit any attention"--judges writer Dusan Radovic, now employed by Studio B at the Radio Station where, among other things, every morning except Sunday he voices his satirical ponderings. Seven or 8 years ago he wrote for JEZ and now he claims that at that time JEZ was much better. Why does he not write for it today?

"No one wants to cooperate with anyone else" he answers, and concludes 'JEZ' is very bad and completely uninteresting. I would only accept the position of editor-in-chief there!"

According to Dusan Radovic, in order to have a good humor magazine, the editor-in-chief must be "politically unfit" and he claims to satisfy that condition.

As far as Radovic is concerned, humor is a very serious and responsible thing, and he therefore feels that not everyone is suited for the job, among other things, because, in order to perform this serious task, one must, in addition to having a sense of humor, know a great deal. As far as certain people are concerned, he does not believe that they want to write humor, but rather that they want to earn a livelihood with it.

He sees a lot of humor in the guise of literature which does not relate to anything (he asks himself whether this really is literature, or humor). As

far as he is concerned, it is like soccer without goalposts. In Radovic's opinion, humor or satire improves the closer it gets to the phenomenon or incident. In this light, he respects cartoonists like Ivo Kusanic, Dusan Petricic, Predrag Koraksic, Ranko Guzina or, "that exceptional Yugoslav, Vlahovic." Stressing that he is speaking only of Belgrade authors with whose work he is well acquainted, he mentions Branislav Crncevic, Vib and Jovan Hadzi-Kostic.

#### The Shorn JEZ

Speaking of humor on television, Radovic says that it is a pity that there is none on the Television Journal. It would be a fantastic joke, for example, as he put it, to air a cartoon feature on Woody Woodpecker instead of the descriptions of the bank situation.

"Careerism is the greatest enemy of humor and, instead of having humor pass judgment on careerism, careerism is passing judgment on humor." This is his view of the situation, with the explanation that careerism is the fear of erring which causes one to miss the opportunity. "Such persons are always concerned with what others will say, in whose name the laws are enforced, and this fear of erring suffocates any temptation for humor and satire."

Thus, ponders Dusan Radovic, as far as he is concerned, humor is an important aspect of social criticism and a significant social psychological valve: the satisfaction of seeing justice done in some fashion. Therefore, according to this thesis, humor releases a great deal of people's energy.

As far as Dusan Radovic is concerned, the fact that a humor magazine is receiving a subsidy from the state is compromising. According to him, it is a waste of money, because only "those lacking in humor need subsidies."

"It was very pretentious to remove part of the title OSISANI JEZ [The Shorn Hedgehog], as if to say that before the war they were shearing JEZ's quills, while nowadays no one is doing this," concluded Radovic.

#### The Well Fed Satirists

One can hear still another interpretation of the current crisis from those who follow domestic humor's creative effort. According to this version, now it is much more difficult for the humorists to work, because the social relationships are far more complex and demand an exceptionally good understanding. According to these people, it is impossible to write constructive satire on something that has already been regulated. Judging from this, there is nothing in socialist society that needs criticizing. In other words, the ill-informed humorist can only erroneously interpret the situation he is trying to criticize, which was done with the aphorism "we are exporting farmers and importing wheat." As a matter of fact, Yugoslavia has far more agricultural workers than it can profitably employ according to the percentage of arable land.

Admittedly, the conditions for understanding are very complex even in those societies whose rate of change is much lesser and slower than Yugoslavia's.

However, this certainly is neither the fundamental nor the primary reason for the fact that we have no satire. Even those close to the satirists are at a loss to unearth the real reason for this unusual phenomenon.

Before the war, satirists were frequently jailed, but there is no known instance in the post-war period of a satirist ending up in jail because of his satire. Before the war many satirists went hungry, while now some of them are even overfed.

In any event, the message from JEZ is that for a long time now there have been no intrusions or requests to come to the Committee's headquarters for a talk on satirical texts and cartoons. However, there must be a reason for the fact that we have, once again, begun to wonder why there is no satire.

JEZ offers good remuneration in addition to its pages but, still and all, nothing comes of it.

Vlada Bulatovic VIB says:

"The low tide of humor and satire has come. I have a feeling that humorists and satirists have begun to create an oral literature. The literate ones have become oral."

Finally, in answer to the question on what kind of humor we have, Branislav Crncevic answered very seriously:

"It is good; it obeys!"

So, little by little, judging from the amount of satire we have, we have almost become saints.

#### Observations from Zagreb

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1389, 21 Aug 77  
pp 18-19

[Article by Fadil Hadzic: "Humor on Duty and Deceptions"]

[Text] Humor and satire are sensitive plants which will grow only in favorable climates and during harvest years. Where there is no humor, there certainly is no developed social critical consciousness either--but this need not be the only reason.

Along with the above, it is of crucial importance that talented writers be born, those fine satirical pens who know how to observe phenomena. You can give unlimited freedom to an untalented writer and he will utilize it poorly.

He will write a sharp, satirical text, but one without a trace of true wit, of the sort that is classified in literature as the work of a pamphleteer rather than a satirist.

I would agree with Brana Crncevic as quoted in Toma Džadžić's article "Satirists and Saints" where he says that we have more humorists and satirists than humor and satire. Unfortunately, we see the phenomenon where "the humorist" has become a special profession in the tariff rulebook. Thus, it happens that you are addressed as "our humorist and writer," as if humor and literature were two different things.

The Yugoslav aphorism inflation (infected by the appearance of the Pole Jerzy Lec) produced overnight entire divisions of "humorists" who have translated and overrated Lec's well-known aphorisms on the theme of eunuchs and poltroons. It is with such blanks (without a gram of satirical gunpowder) that all the large and small periodicals have been loaded for the past 10 years, from the well-known political ones to factory newsletters, with the honorable exception of a few names in satire whose aphorisms have a certain original literary authenticity.

In answer to the direct question of whether or not there is true satire in Yugoslavia today--I feel free to claim there is. There is not much of it, but I see no reason why there should be more. Satire is a sort of highest quality literary extract. This "extract" also appears in the works of our greatest writers (Krleža, Andrić, Čopić), but only on rare pages, in moments of special inspiration, when lucid irony dominates the spiritual realm.

#### No Need for Shame

A few years ago, an anthology of satire was published in Serbia with ten or so contemporary names, satire writers from that particular republic. That book alone (in which the writers were represented by only a few contributions each) is sufficient to disprove all the gossip about the non-existence of satire in our country. This book is filled with mature satire (which measures up to the best satire writings in the world) in addition to being a very contemporary work, a kind of short history of critical consciousness for the past 30 years.

In Zagreb, during the 13 years of its existence (minus the 14 days when it was administratively closed) Jazavac [Badger] has presented on its scene about 40 evening long contemporary satirical works. All the established Yugoslav satire writers took their turn, from Čopić and Vlado Bulatović-Vib, to the young writer from Zagreb Hrvoje Hitrec, who is today the resident writer for our theater. If we were to take these 20 writers from all of our republics and their 40 works and dismiss two thirds as "passing humorist occurrences," take the rest and filter it through a still sharper sieve, we would surely come up with two or three books whose authors would not be ashamed of them even in front of future generations, whose judgment will be even more severe.

Did not Mikeln, Petan and Partljic (to mention only a few) in Slovenia demonstrate with their scenic collages, comedies and books that they have a critical eye for their times and enough spirit to take this socialist period (interlaced, as it is, with tempestuous happenings of an exceptionally dynamic development) and illuminate it from all satirical viewpoints? Today, writer Mikeln is the director of a large publishing firm in Ljubljana, which means that he is a "man in power" (if someone could impute this to him), but in his satirical collage "Radi Inventure Otvoreno" [Open due to Inventory Taking] recently presented by the Mestno Gledalisce [City Theater in Slovenian] from Ljubljana at Jazavac, I have not noticed even a trace of "state supporting" conformism. This was a sharp, witty and uncompromising work, considerably sharper and satirically more sensitive than the one I saw 2 months ago in the Paris satirical theater Two Donkeys.

I took the liberty to name here a few colleagues, satire writers, in order not to fall into the trap of cheap statements of the type frequently uttered about our satire, bemoaning its fate like the changing fortunes of our tourist industry.

The Risk Exists, But...

The fate of domestic satire is frequently equated with the fate of domestic humor magazines which, it seems, are experiencing a certain crisis in the number of readers. That golden postwar period is long gone, when these magazines were in the vanguard of the settling of accounts with the "reactionaries" (the Zagreb KEREMPUH [named after Petrica Kerempuh, a legendary practical joker] alone we had a circulation of 170,000, and was printed in both, the Latin and Cyrillic, alphabets); and when humor was a sort of successful exterminating spray for the remaining political vermin. That type of humor was more propagandist than literary, but it was real and had a certain life presence and, it would seem, more of an audience. There is a belief that the present day circulation of humor magazines would be greater if all the better known domestic satirists were to cooperate with them. I doubt this, because, in that case, the number of readers would grow even smaller--to include only those true connoisseurs of literary satire. The French humor magazine CANARD ENCHAINE has even today a good circulation, but it does not manufacture generalized aphorisms; rather, it "reports" (more or less wittily, sometimes even in a semi-serious journalistic vein) on the daily political happenings and politicians.

This could be the "prescription" for our humor magazines. Someone will immediately add that this "prescription" has a serious defect in that French politicians are less sensitive than ours to criticism and would further add that French politicians cannot replace the editor-in-chief of CANARD ENCHAINE should it offend their personal vanity.

Such a risk does exist, because I know from personal experience that certain persons from the political establishment will sooner overlook the sharpest criticism of social practices than even a minute personal criticism.

While the risk does exist, the question that must immediately be asked is what kind of satire does not take into account a certain amount of risk, a certain amount of public criticism of its own critical stand?

#### Why Did Jazavac Survive?

Last year, we started a night show in Jazavac where we are serving a somewhat more piquant program in which we are naming even the highest men in politics. We invited two comrades from the higher political spheres to one of the performances in order to test on them just how sharp this really is. Both of them had a good time, and one said that it could have been even sharper. After this "checking out" we felt free to test our television as well. We offered to let them film a short portion of the same program, which they did gladly--but they never broadcast it. It was "too sharp" (as they said), even though we had selected a scene with the least amount of critical barbs, in which we only repeated, harmlessly enough, the name of a certain political manager.

I have mentioned this to support my personal conclusion which is as follows: The satirist himself is most often ready to accept the risks involved in his work, but those who publish his work are less ready for such "adventures," so that many misunderstandings come about because of this "ideological" schism.

While we are cultivating satire in our books, periodicals and sometimes in our newspapers (occasionally, there are excellent satirical passages in travelogues, if one reads Zuka Dzumhur), we have delegated that milder form of wit, humor, to television. In spite of the slurs that we are throwing at television on a daily basis because of its efforts at humor, I think that it has accomplished quite a bit in this field. It developed a taste for humor in its viewers and they are becoming more and more discerning, so that humor, which received a mass applause 20 years ago, today is not given a pass even by a viewer with the most undiscerning demands. Television has spoiled its viewer to the extent that he now wants each station to have three Mark Twains, while all of America had only one in the 200 years of its existence.

I would like to say a few more words about Jazavac's experiences, since this topic has been mentioned several times in this dialogue of NIN's on satire, whose successful initiator was Toma Dzadzic.

Jazavac did not manage to survive merely because it is receiving social financial assistance. The subsidy was so small during the first few years (10 million old dinars) that we could not properly equip even one production with it. In order to survive, we entered into a partnership with a well-to-do restaurateur who footed part of the bill during the first few years. For the last 6 years (thanks to the fortunate fusion with Varijete) we have had our own building in the center of Zagreb with 500 seats and, at the same time, the smallest subsidy of all the Zagreb theaters, one half of that received by the puppet theater and the children's theater--even though, we are having daily shows, sometimes even two a day.

## A Double Life

We are supported to a large extent by the "subsidies" given to us by the writers, directors, costumers, and spectators. Some of our resident writers have been writing for 13 years for no pay, some directors work for half pay, some costumers sew the costumes themselves, some musicians are not collecting their fees, some excellent painters (like Nedjeljko Dragic) are drawing everything that we need, from posters to sets, for a fee so minute that it is not even worthy of mention.

We are not presenting this as an ideal formula. On the contrary--it would be much better if we had a more secure budget, but we are not sure that with a more secure budget we would still have such a good, aggressive and enthusiastic mood. We have become used to this double life where, in the same year, we have received the High Award from the city of Zagreb along with what is by far the smallest subsidy, which would have forced us to immediately close our doors were it not for the "internal reserves" of our own volunteers.

Our greatest problem is the repertoire. We play the old, good comedy writers only on rare (anniversary) occasions because we have opted for contemporary satire. The director has the easiest time of it when he pulls out of the drawer, or, better yet (as is the custom in our theaters), out of the theater reading book, the proven classics. Each year we order or receive from writers approximately 20 works. Usually, half of them do not satisfy the basic literary or stage criteria. Ten or so works are discussed by the "art parliament" of Jazavac, composed of all the 16 actors of our permanent company who, for the past few years, have voted on each work that has gone into the repertoire. Occasionally, there are heated discussions. Our financial situation does not allow us the luxury of putting into the repertoire a work which does not guarantee at least 60 repeat performances. The work must then, in addition to having literary value, be attractive to the spectator.

It is completely understandable that political motives of the work in question do enter into our repertoire discussions. I have been frequently asked at literary soirees whether we at Jazavac have censorship.

I always answer: "We do not!"

### If They Should Overcome the "Barricades"

To be honest about it, in all these 13 years we have never taken the texts to anyone for inspection or political consultation. We perform our own censorship to the extent that it is necessary to satisfy the criterion of good literary taste and to separate the cafe level, petty political sarcasm from true satirical wit, regardless of how sharp it may be.

It is understandable that not all of us in the house are always of the same opinion and that we are sometimes divided, that when we vote we try to overcome each other concerning certain decisions, and that we learn certain

lessons only after the premiere, because the echo of a sharp satirical barb can only be noticed after the first encounter with the spectators. In this, our daily "satirical laboratory," we have forged a lot of experience as well as a number of spectators with very subtle reactions, who are now capable of catching all the satirical metaphors. I think our guests on Dani Satire [days of satire] (which we hold at the end of each season), the actors from other republics, have become convinced of this.

I want to take advantage of this opportunity presented by NIN to invite all those Yugoslav writers with a facility for satire to write something for Jazavac, and to take the chance of having their work voted on either favorably or unfavorably by our 16 actors. If they should overcome this barricade, we guarantee them at least 60 repeat performances in a full, laughing theater.

As far as humor and satire in general are concerned, I think that their developmental trajectory (to use the words of our presidents of government) has been quite good in these past 30 years. There is a great deal of difference between the "jokes" that we made in KEREMPUH in 1946 and the works that we are producing at Jazavac now. I believe that this progress will continue, and that a faster growth of this sensitive plant--satire--will not depend only on satirists, their talent and courage, but also on the social climate.

Satire is frequently the barometer of general social maturity and if the "mercury" is falling rapidly--it is not only the fault of the satirists on duty.

9110  
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## YUGOSLAVIA

### MILITARY POLICE TRAINING EXERCISE DESCRIBED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jul 77 pp 12-13

[Article by Radovan Ivanovic: "In the Network of Electronic Ambush"]

[Text] Everywhere we encounter soldiers with white belts, soldiers on exercises, around command locations and communication centers, on highways, as escorts for military equipment and arms, in the streets of cities, on holidays or passes, as preservers of order... These are military policemen, members of the military police, but the road to the white belt is not simple, much less easy.

After more than a thousand hours of basic training future policemen actually become soldiers first. Only later, along with a substantial addition of knowledge, do these young men become policemen of the military police. It is necessary to learn how to catch, pull down, contain and escort the enemy's guard, courier or officer. Through physical exercise one acquires the skill for close combat. In order to perform everyday functions successfully, military policemen must be familiar in detail with patrol, search, and escort services, with those of duty officer and security. Yet each of these tasks again requires good knowledge of the rights and perquisites of the policeman, the procedures of the criminal law, even knowledge of the bases of photography.

Yet this is not all. The members of the military police must have good and detailed knowledge of the forces for special actions of an eventual enemy, since their effectiveness in the struggle against [the enemy] depends upon it. All these skills are best acquired through training exercises. Recently such an exercise took place in Dusan Tomic's unit. The subject was "Blocking and Destroying an Infiltrated Diversion Group".

The group was "played" by about ten of their fellow soldiers from the unit masked as diversants. Their task was to orient themselves as best they could on a completely unfamiliar terrain, and to hide well and "mine" a hydroelectric power plant in the canyon of a mountain river.

## Cats in a Bag

The exercise was conceptualized as a test--at the termination of basic training. Therefore the territorial [defense units] and the communal police were not involved. However, the outset of the exercise was such that they nonetheless joined the action--on their own initiative...

The members of the infiltrated group were brought to the mountain, blindfolded, like cats in a bag.

They started [working on] the task immediately. They were cutting their way through all night long. At daybreak they realized that they were again at the spot where they started the previous night. Time was passing--and it was not working for them. The task itself was, of course, called into question, and with it the test as well. Instead of night now they had day. Orientation was easier, yet the [day] light "concealed new traps". They decided to approach the first peasant they saw. This was Desanka Jovanovic who was tilling her field.

They asked me for the route--Desanka told us later. They looked suspicious to me, but I was afraid, so I pretended I was deaf. They asked again. I turned and pointed in the opposite direction. They looked at me suspiciously and left. I freed the oxen from the yoke and went straight to Milutin the miller. I told him everything in detail, including that it seemed to me they had shotguns under their fur-lined jackets...

Half an hour later this important piece of information was known and the headquarters of the territorial defense of the territorial community met immediately. It was decided that the chosen ones start out.

## A Special Assignment

All envelopes contained the same message: they are going on a special assignment. For the highlanders this was sufficient. They got their equipment quietly and walked on the road to the meeting place.

The military police unit which had already been camping up on the mountain for two weeks was immediately informed of this.

"Group of unknown armed persons observed..."

Dusan Tomic was visibly pleased that such a message arrived precisely from the headquarters of the territorial [defense]. He glanced once more at his watch. It was exactly eight [o'clock]. He underlined this number on the radiogram--in red. This was a signal for his "headquarters" [members] to set out.

Special vehicles filled with soldiers "poured" from the forest. For the first several kilometers they moved in one column. At the first mill they

separated into two [columns]. They proceeded along goat paths--still in the vehicles. It was immediately clear: this was a technique specially "cut out" for such actions. In less than an hour Stojan Cvijanovic Cviija reported that he had closed the right exit from the canyon.

Hristivoje Jovic Joca started out to the left. His column was moving along a more difficult caravan road. For this reason his men left the vehicles considerably earlier and set out on foot. There was still no message from him, but this did not concern Commander Tomic. In his section he has already marked the positions of the territorial defense units. The red circle is almost closed. In the middle there is another circle, also a red one--this is the police unit.

#### "Diversants" in a Circle

The line of the blockade is closed. In less than an hour Joca's men have doubled it. The "diversants" are encircled. It is important that they do not escape. And they will attempt [to do so], even persist--since this is a test for them as well.

No one is concerned about the hydroelectric power plant any longer. The circle becomes tighter. Those with search dogs also start out; they search every bush. Yet the "diversants" are nowhere to be seen. The search continued. But here no one loses patience because of it, least of all Commander Dusan Tomic.

In the afternoon it began to rain. For Commander Tomic this was a sign to introduce a unit of specialists into the search.

From vehicles covered with camouflage nets, quietly, according to strict instructions by Tadija Salipur, emerged an unusual column, armed with special electronic equipment, predominantly snipers with special telescopes. Walking, group after group, they received their assignments.

#### Nazif's "Magic Lamp"

Nazif Kajdana remained in the brush with Milan Orlic. He was holding something in his hand which resembled a lamp.

This is an infra-red device--Nazif told us--it turns the night into day.

It did not take too long for us to become convinced of the real power of Nazif's "magic lamp". The human eye was now being served by the invisible portion of the light spectrum. By means of this device everything could be seen as if it were daytime. Nazif, otherwise a plumber from Rogatica, was observing carefully. Whenever he spotted something, he gave us the device to assure us of its power.

This evening, however, Nazif's lamp was only one of the "wonders". By nightfall we had the opportunity to witness even greater things.

This is an electronic-optical binocular--explained soldier Stevo Jednak--and the insignificant light of a star is sufficient in order that it "dawn in the middle of the night". The binocular magnifies that small distant light over 40,000 times, which is sufficient for the human eye to see almost as well as during the day.

We looked at him disbelievingly.

Radar Against Diversants

Do you hear anything?--reached us.

This is a soldier in charge of listening, we concluded. When we came closer, there was a soldier without helmet, with earphones. We could not photograph since the flash would have been welcomed by the "diversants" who had similar equipment. But, nonetheless, we could enjoy the "concert" of unusual music as much as we wished. We took turns using the earphones. Soldier Slobodan Skarica was turning the unusual device to the left, then to the right. On one azimuth we heard repeatedly: Fi-ju...Fi-ju...

Where did Ljuban go with the dog?--Tadija asked his assistant Rajko Mrdjan.

He left with Aris down that path--answered the soldier.

Here, listen to this. This is a signal of a dog moving.

Distance?

Over one and a half kilometers.

They also told us that this instrument registers the completely inaudible crawling of a soldier even at [a distance of] 200 meters. To be discovered it is sufficient that the target be exposed for only several seconds, they told us.

While waiting for a "thicker darkness" we were told about the characteristics of search dogs... We watched Zvonko Cekic measure a "suspicious" footprint. Shortly, in front of us, he took the footprint in plaster. He measured the length, then multiplied it by some constant and informed us of the height of the person. This crime expert in the uniform of a young officer further explained that at least nine characteristics are required to confirm the finding. For such confirmation, a modern device--the comparative microscope--is used.

### Tomic's Magicians

As the exercise continued, we increasingly admired Tomic's "magicians," whose equipment transformed the night into day. There were increasingly fewer "doubting Thomases" among us. We returned again to the electronic-optical binoculars. Stevo Jednak offered us the instrument...

Whoever took a look released a sigh. There was a truly unusual sight before us: the young green forest became an enchanting winter landscape colored with some kind of unreal green gamma.

Through the lenses of the binoculars one could quite clearly catch sight of people, recognize faces, arms. The amber of a cigarette at several hundred meters appeared as the glow of a full moon. There were some careless ones from the second circle smoking. Those on the hillock over a kilometer and a half away were also holding binoculars. It was clearly visible that they were watching us. We waved and they waved back. The binoculars "walked" to the next person's hands. Once more it was pitch dark around us.

Down ahead of us sprayed a volley of bullets. The search dogs began to bark again, clamouring in the immediate surroundings. "Handcuffs" clicked and everything became peaceful.

Everybody passed the test: the military police, the police and the territorial [defense].

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END