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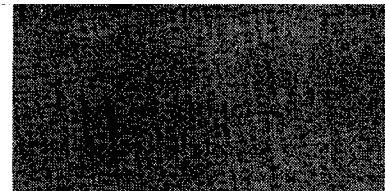
TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1423

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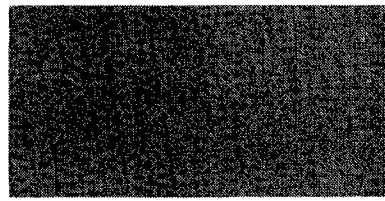
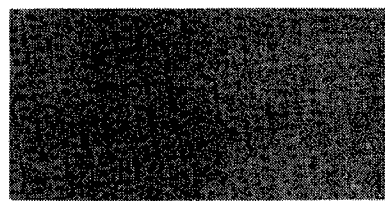
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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### TVORBA COMMENTS ON BELGRADE CONFERENCE

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 24, 15 Jun 77 pp 1,3

[Article by Jan Janu: "Two Years Since Helsinki"]

[Text] On the very day of the appearance of this issue of our magazine, representatives of 35 countries, whose leaders 2 years ago in Helsinki signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, will take their places in Belgrade behind "the largest European diplomatic conference table". It is but a preparatory meeting which will set the exact date, determine the agenda and deal with other specifics of the main meeting where, according to the Final Act adopted at Helsinki, representatives nominated by foreign ministers of 33 European states, the United States and Canada will meet to negotiate. It is assumed that the main meeting could take place in the fall, probably by the end of September or the beginning of October. Alexander Gogolev in the NOVA DOBA magazine characterizes its objectives in this way:

"The meeting is expected to analyze positive, we repeat positive, experiences acquired in the course of the implementation of the principles adopted and agreements concluded at Helsinki and reach accord on concrete proposals and recommendations aimed at further consolidation of security and cooperation in Europe on the basis of the Final Act which represents a long-term action program. Figuratively, Belgrade should be another station on the road embarked upon at Helsinki, a way station rather than the main station (considering the level of the upcoming meeting), but a very important one. This idea can also be expressed in the following way: the meeting should be one of the links in the process of relaxation of tensions, not a deviation from it."

The European socialist countries have already done much to implement the Helsinki agreements in all respects. They have contributed actively to the intensification of political contacts between states with different social systems at all levels and are honestly trying to implement everything which the letter and spirit of the Final Act adopted at Helsinki call for. And they are not satisfied with only the signature of and adherence to the Helsinki documents but are trying to speed up developments

leading to a secure peace and international security by new initiatives. The Soviet Union has proposed convening congresses on energy, transportation and the environment. CEMA countries have taken the initiative by proposing that EEC countries enter as equals into commercial relations. In an appeal to all signatory states of the Final Act, the Bucharest session of the Warsaw Pact states called for a pledge never to be the first in the use of nuclear weapons against each other. Proposals addressed to NATO member states exist calling for an agreement to refrain from enlarging the two military political groupings in Europe. And it does no harm to recall that it was the member states of the Warsaw Pact which proposed the convention of an All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation in 1966. But the conference had to wait a full 9 years for its birth. Let us hope that the serious consideration of the other proposals of socialist countries will not require as much time. Of course, we must not forget that the relaxation of tensions is a process whereby success comes only when there is good will and interest on both sides. There is enough of both on ours.

The communique from the recent first session of the committee of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states which have signed the Final Act of Helsinki, stressing their willingness for broad and honest cooperation with all countries, found a positive response in Europe and elsewhere. However, the communique emphasized at the same time that the facts testifying to the endeavor of certain elements to use the Belgrade meeting for ends which have nothing in common with the Final Act cannot be overlooked. These elements are motivated by the wish to draw attention solely to certain stipulations of the Final Act, to distort their content and to leave other stipulations, especially those dealing with political relationships between states, aside. Similar attempts can only impede the full realization of the Helsinki accords and endanger the relaxation of tensions, as well as cooperation in Europe.

Of course, there are elements which openly oppose the relaxation of international tensions. It would be foolish to try to hide this fact. No one can convince us that the former inhabitants of the Sudetenland, for example, who recently met in Austria with the Chancellor's blessing, are peace lovers. We know them too well for that.

But let us hope that reason will prevail with the majority in Belgrade, that the constructive and realistic spirit of Helsinki can be transferred to the Yugoslav capital, unharmed, even though in the past year attempts were not lacking to prevent it. Recent declarations of some Western statesmen justify this hope. In an interview for Yugoslav television, for example, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt stated that the Belgrade Meeting on Security and Cooperation in Europe should "soberly balance what was accomplished from the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki and determine what remains to be done to realize the hitherto unfulfilled parts of the Helsinki agreement". Even American Secretary of State Cyrus Vance said in a press interview, according to a UPI report, that at the Belgrade

meeting: "the U.S. Government will refrain from all unrealistic proposals and propagandist moves." That would be good but that remains to be seen.

The fact remains, as General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev said in his televised speech on 29 May, that "all states which took part in the all-European conference have the possibility to demonstrate again their good will in connection with the upcoming meeting.... As intended, we would like this meeting to continue and broaden the Helsinki spirit and to form another link in the process of relaxation of tensions. Can this be achieved? It can, if we prepare for it and arrange for it to be a cooperative action, not one of controversies. He who would attempt to embark upon this road would take a great responsibility on himself."

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

YOUTH UNION CHAIRMAN OUTLINES PRESENT, FUTURE GOALS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jun 77 p 3

[Article by Jindrich Polednik, member of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee, chairman of the Union of Socialist Youth Central Committee: "Youth Acknowledges Its Share of Responsibility"]

[Text] The Union of Socialist Youth is busy preparing for the Second Congress of the Union of Socialist Youth which will be held in Prague at the end of September and the beginning of October of this year.

Annual meetings of the basic union organizations and the okres and kraj conferences of the Union of Socialist Youth completely and univocally joined in the active support of the program of the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. All of their course and their plans adopted for their activity expressed the firm determination of the members of our youth organization to participate as much as possible in the fulfillment of the decisions of the congress.

The annual meetings also adopted numerous pledges in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and of the Second Congress of the Union of Socialist Youth. It is a joy to see that most of them are directed toward the fundamental needs of their places of work, plants, and enterprises in the fulfillment of the tasks of the second year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

All of that indicates that the members of our organizations and other young people will continue to follow the path outlined by the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; at the same time, this has created favorable conditions for further preparation for the Second Congress of the Union of Socialist Youth.

Our activity over the past 5 years has been successful in many ways; this fact was commended by the 15th CPCZ Congress. However, when speaking about such achievements and about the young people's confidence in the communist party, the fundamental source of that trust must be seen in the very policy of our party and of its Central Committee led by Comrade C. Husak.

The party succeeded in concentrating the forces of the entire society and in successfully fulfilling the decisions of the 14th Congress and it began just as successfully fulfilling the program of its 15th Congress. That is the basis which determines the security of the young people's life and their enormous opportunities to prove themselves; that also motivates the boys' and girls' widespread involvement in social and political affairs and in work and study. The fundamental source of the positive development of the Union of Socialist Youth and of the Union's Pioneer Organization is the daily care of the party organs and organizations, the concern of the communists for the Union of Youth. It was precisely that and the devoted work of the hundreds of thousands of officials and members of our organizations that enhanced the authority of the Union of Socialist Youth and of the Union's Pioneer Organization among our young people and children as well as in the entire society.

In the report of the Central Committee to the 15th Congress the Union of Socialist Youth was called the party's close collaborator. What does such an honorable title imply? It means first of all to be co-participants, fellow fighters, to stand firmly on the party's side in the great struggle for the further development of socialism. This also means, however, assuming an entirely specific share of responsibility for the fulfillment of the program of the 15th Congress of the party and to recognize such a responsibility every day at every step. Finally, this means fulfilling the conclusions of the Congress in various, versatile, interesting and beneficial daily activity in the Union's basic organizations and to win for it boys and girls who have not yet joined the Union of Socialist Youth.

Of course, this also means not to be satisfied with the achievements obtained so far, to be demanding and critical as concerns the results of our own work, to realize that the enormous demands which the party has set forth for the development of the entire society fully apply also to our union and its Pioneer Organization.

If we wish to merit with honor the title of the party's collaborators, we must take upon ourselves and fulfill our share of responsibility first of all in the fulfillment of national economic tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. For that we must strengthen the awareness in the young people that the sole fundamental prerequisite for the further growth of the material and cultural standard of our society is only to create sources by honest and initiative work.

In our preparations for the Congress--and after the Congress as well--we must therefore devote our utmost attention to the development of activity and initiative in work, to see to it that the young people get involved in those places which need them most.

In the far-reaching development of the working initiative in honor of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution and of the Second Congress of the Union of Socialist Youth it has become evident that in many places this demand was correctly understood. Young people are engaged in an equable fulfillment of the plan, such as, for example, the numerous youth organization collectives that are striving in the mines, working purposefully and with devotion. One of the most important tasks of our time is the trend to save fuel, materials, power and labor force. There are even many stimulating initiative actions. For instance Engineer Rudolf Rojicke' collective of Tatra in Koprivnice solved the construction and technology of a cylinder head and the production of a mixture for the Tatra combustion engines, whereby the financial expression of the oil saved amounted to Kcs 41 million. Well-known is the initiative of the Union members from the Turcianske Machine Works in Martin, who in the interest of full utilization of expensive and highly productive machinery began working in two shifts and at the same time, took it under socialist care. Pledges of many youth organization collectives, socialist work brigades, comprehensive rationalization brigades--as for example Tesla in Roznov, Sigma in Hranice, etc.--are aimed at an accelerated introduction and utilization of new equipment and technology.

The union's organization in agricultural plants and in villages is now concentrating first of all on an economical utilization of the grain fund and on the maintenance of meadows and pastures. One of the examples thereof is the production-organizational unit of the Rumburk State Farm in Jiretin, where the union members took care of the recultivation of 40 hectares of hillside wetlands which were previously classified as a barren area but which, after adaptation, should yield 36 tons of fodder per hectare and moreover, serve as an area suitable for grazing.

In higher educational institutes there is an increasing number of students who are involved in scientific and professional students' activities in which they are trying to solve specific tasks with a practical application. Such Union organizations in schools which are devoting particular attention to study and at the same time are very demanding in review of their members' scholastic achievement are proving to be successful.

The first positive steps toward the fulfillment of the new election programs of the National Front have also been taken in obeces and towns where the Union of Socialist Youth collectives concentrated primarily on aiding in the construction of day-care centers, kindergartens and other institutions serving teenagers and children.

The aforementioned trends and examples indicate that in many places members of our organization have realized that at the present time not just any working initiative would do, only one that is relevant to the most vital needs of our national economy.

Now it is up to the young people to be in the forefront everywhere. At the same time, however, the work initiative must always come from those whose work determines the success of the achievement. This also demands a systematic review of the pledges, evaluation and correct assessment of the results in due time.

For that reason the Union of Socialist Youth Central Committee also decided that those collectives and individuals with the best achievements this year will be entered in the Honor Book established for the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution and of the Second Union Congress: some of them will have the right to bear the title of the collective of the Second Union of Socialist Youth Congress, and other Union awards will be also granted.

Our experience thus far has convinced us that we must not be afraid to make considerable demands on young people and to entrust them with responsible tasks. On the contrary, young people are growing up and testing their socialist attitude to work exactly on that.

One of the foremost tasks of the Union of Socialist Youth is to set--in co-operation with the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement--such demanding tasks before their members and other young people. We can expect from the economic management in plants and enterprises that they will entrust such tasks to the young people and at the same time that they will prepare conditions for their fulfillment.

The youth's working initiative is at the same time an important school for life: the characteristics of the new socialist young person who is proving his patriotism by specific deeds are being shaped in the process of purposeful, initiative activity.

The members of the young generation are taking part to an important extent in the production of all material and cultural values and in diverse forms in the system of administration of society: first of all--through the Union of Socialist Youth--by developing the youth forms of initiative and activity in their places of work, in their active membership in the CPCZ, the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement and other organizations of the National Front, and their broad representation and activity beneficial to the public and in their work in the organs of the socialist state.

The education and shaping of youth are proceeding under conditions of an acute ideological class struggle in the world, a part of which is and always will be the fight for the young people's minds. In the world divided into classes one cannot remain an onlooker, nor can there be any uninvolved individuals, because our attitude or expression as well as our indifference and disinterest put us on one side of the barricade or on the other.

In recent years it was more than conclusively demonstrated that the development in the world has been more and more distinctly determined by the forces of socialism. The success of socialism, however, has logically provoked extremely violent attacks against the socialist countries on the part of the imperialist forces and their lackeys. The imperialist circles have launched a very coordinated and concentrated ideological offensive, not shirking even from fabricating all kinds of lies and slander. At the same time they are trying to strike particularly the young generation with the venom of anticommunism. This means most of all that our union must help its members and other young people more efficiently than thus far so that they may look upon the world objectively from the Marxist-Leninist positions, assess phenomena and events truthfully from the point of view of their class and always stand firmly among those who are struggling for progress, freedom of work and human happiness.

At the same time the Union of Socialist Youth must be aware of its enormous responsibility so that the young people who are growing in its ranks be respectful toward their elders and their parents, like their friends, their obec or town, their kraj and their socialist fatherland, and at the same time realize that their daily task is to contribute to the great revolutionary struggle in the world and to be loyal to the progressive traditions of our nations and of the communist party--to the ideals of proletarian internationalism.

We are being oriented to the extraordinary concern for ideological educational work also by the decision of the CPCZ Central Committee at the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This important anniversary offers us an opportunity for a distinctive expansion of the patriotic and international education, for the comprehension of the values which socialism in the 60 years of its existence has given to humanity and which is also presented to the young generation, of the origins and development of our attitude to the Soviet Union, of the role of the USSR and other socialist countries in the worldwide struggle for peaceful coexistence, detente, security and social progress.

In this context it is our duty in the coming period to devote our increased attention to political education in the union. At the same time we are fully aware that this does not concern only the number of the educational groups or the students' attendance, but most of all its quality and efficiency. We must learn the views of the young people in all organs and organizations of the union, beginning with the committees of the basic union organizations and know how to react to them by persuasive and true arguments, so that we may ideologically arm the young people and thus, develop political work on a mass scale.

Great demands and responsibility also pertain to the special interest activities of the union. Another positive development appeared recently in the

work of the youth clubs and in social entertainment. Together with national committees and the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement we must tenaciously see to it that such an activity not be self-serving but become full, rich and attractive and thus, deeply ideologically motivated.

By the joint effort with the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Training, Union for Cooperation with the Army, organs of the educational system and other institutions we have achieved good results also in the expansion of the mass physical education, sports, tourism and military activities in the organization of the Union of Socialist Youth and among the young people in general. We must follow this path further tenaciously and promptly solve the vital problems in this area--the systematic preparation of a sufficient number of trainers and military organizers of physical training. Their work must be considered as an important social and political activity and therefore, properly appreciated.

Annual meetings and conferences of the basic union organization have also demonstrated that considerable, continued attention must also be devoted to the union's internal life. The success of all our activities depends on continuous consolidation of each individual's responsibility for the work of his basic organization and for the work of the entire union. Here we received considerable help from the exchange of the union membership cards at the end of last year, when we discussed with practically every union member his participation in the work of the organization. We became convinced again, however, that in the activity of the basic organizations it is not enough to start only with the tasks, but that we must know how to link them with the members' interests and needs, with their initiative and at the same time we must see to it that none of their good and useful suggestions are lost. That means that in the preparation for the congress as well as in all of our activities we must proceed from the views, ideas and initiative of the people, so as to better convince every union member that the Union of Socialist Youth is really his own organization and that it is well worth it for him to participate in it actively.

The discussions and conclusions adopted by the okres union conferences which assessed the activity of the basic and okres union organizations produced a great many specific ideas on how to increase, in the spirit of the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress, the impact of the ideological educational work, the work and social action of the union members, how to further improve the quality of all of the union's activity and its effect on the socialist education of the young generation.

The basic union organizations must remain in the center of attention of the administration of the Union of Socialist Youth. We realize that in the administration we are still using too much paper and instructions, that we are requesting various reports, etc. We have also encountered bureaucratic and formalistic phenomena. We must deal with such problems much more deeply so that our administrative work, particularly in relation to basic organizations,

is conducted consistently by contact with the people and so that we render immediate assistance to basic organizations.

An increased concern is due also to the aktiv of the union functionaries, not only for its political growth but also for its professional training and for exchange of experience, so that it could cope with the tasks which we are facing.

In the past period our young people recognized in their own lives and work the quality of the policy of our communist party and the great opportunities which it offers for them to prove their mettle. Such knowledge resulted in the profound trust of the youth in our party's policy and in its active support. The young generation's responsibility to the socialist society--and thereby to themselves--must increase correspondingly. It is the foremost task of the Union of Socialist Youth to guide boys and girls to such a sense of responsibility.

Our union must feel more deeply also its co-responsibility for supplying the ranks of the communist party with young people; it must consider it a privilege to have the opportunity to serve as a guarantor of the new candidates for the CPCZ and use that right responsibly and purposefully as well.

Our youth organization's history proved convincingly that the strength of the Union of Socialist Youth is in its close association with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and in the active participation of each basic union organization in the fulfillment of the party's policy. It will benefit not only our union but the entire society if we make this close association even stronger and if we further increase that participation.

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NVA REGULATIONS ON LEAVE, PASSES EXPLAINED

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 6 Jun 77 pp 82-85

[Article: "Leave, Off-Duty Time and Exemption from Service"]

[Text] Leave, off-duty time and exemption from service--this is the title of Service Regulation 010/0/007, which was put into force by the Minister for National Defense on 1 December 1976. The regulation applies to the National People's Army and to the GDR border troops. Naturally, the rules established in the regulation interest not only the soldiers in the army and the border troops, but also their parents, their wives and children, or their fiancées and girl friends. Many questions concerning the new service regulation have been submitted to us. For this reason, AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU is providing detailed information on the most important regulations concerning leave, off-duty time and service exemptions.

General Principles

There are different kinds of leave: recreational leave, extended pass, pass, special leave granted as commendation and on special occasions, and convalescent leave. With regard to convalescent leave and medical treatment at sanitariums, the military regulations concerning health care are applicable. In addition, off-duty time and service exemptions may be granted. As to recreational leave, the troops are entitled to it. No legal claims can be made in regard to the other types of leave or to off-duty time and exemption from service; according to Subparagraph 4 (2), these types of leave are to be granted "with due regard for constant combat-readiness." Generally speaking, leaves must be scheduled so as to maintain a state of constant combat-readiness and to ensure the protection of the national borders and the attainment of all training objectives. In principle, no leave is granted before the completion of the basic military training.

## Recreational Leave

The duration of the recreational leave varies in accordance with the service status. During the 18 months of basic training, a draftee is granted a total of 18 days of recreational leave, not counting Sundays or legal holidays.

Regardless of their level of training, cadets and soldiers in officers' training are entitled to 30 calendar days of recreational leave per calendar year; from this total four Sundays and/or legal holidays are to be deducted. In the year, in which the officer candidates are appointed officers, they are granted as many days of recreational leave as reserve officers on active duty or career officers. In this connection, one must see to it that by the time they are entering upon their field service, they have already taken at least two-thirds of the recreational leave due them.

Those privates, reserve NCO's or reserve officers on active duty, career NCO's, ensigns [Faehnrich] or career officers, who voluntarily extend their time of service, are granted proportionately longer recreational leave. In the year of induction, the recreational leave is prorated, starting from the month, in which active military service was established; in the year of discharge, the leave is computed up to and including the month, in which active military service was completed. If the length of service warrants an increase in leave, it is granted in full, starting with the calendar year, in which the requirements are met. The leave privileges are shown in detail in the Table on p. 85.

## Extended Pass

The extended pass is a leave extending over the weekend in combination with one day of recreational leave. In principle, the extended pass begins on Friday after duty hours and ends on Tuesday before roll-call. It may also extend over legal holidays. Extended short leave may be granted to soldiers in basic military training, aspirant NCO's, cadets and soldiers in officers' training; all other comrades are granted this leave only if they do not reside at the post and are therefore not able to go home every day. Cadets are granted extended short leave once a quarter from Friday after duty hours until Wednesday before roll-call, with three days of recreational leave being deducted. An exception is the quarter, in which they go on recreational leave. In addition, they are granted extended short leave--with 1 day of recreational leave deducted--at Easter (from Thursday after duty hours until Tuesday before roll-call), or at Whitsuntide (from Friday after duty hours until Wednesday before roll-call), or at Christmas (from 23 December after duty hours until 28 December before roll-call) or over the New Year's Holiday (from 30 December after duty hours until 4 January before

roll-call).

#### Pass

Just as the extended pass, the pass is a leave extending over the weekend or over legal holidays. It begins on Saturday after duty hours and ends on Monday before roll-call. If it is a short leave extending over legal holidays, it begins after duty hours on the day preceding the holiday and ends before roll-call on the day following the legal holiday or holidays. Passes can be combined with a special leave granted as commendation.

#### Special Leave

Special leave is defined as leave granted out of turn, either as a commendation for outstanding achievements or on special occasions. Personnel awarded special leave should be allowed to take it immediately or within 30 calendar days. Here there is no deduction of Sundays or legal holidays or of any days, on which service exemption was granted.

Exactly what are the special occasions justifying special leave?

Special occasions are the soldier's own wedding, the birth of a child, a change of residence, youth consecration and the wedding of a child; also, catastrophes affecting the soldier's own household; severe illness or the death of the spouse, of a child, parent, parent-in-law, sister or brother, or of a daughter- or son-in-law. In these cases, a special leave of from 2 to 5 days is granted. The same applies to the drawing up or signing of an employment contract or to the joining of a socialist cooperative in connection with the imminent discharge, or to the preparation for or commencement of university or technical studies. Should any of the above-mentioned occasions occur during the regular leave, the soldier on leave can turn to the respective post commander. This officer is authorized to grant special leave in such cases, and he will extend the pass accordingly. At the same time, he will inform the unit of the soldier on leave.

In addition, special leave of up to 5 days is granted once a calendar year in case of

- a) illness of the spouse or of one of the children in the household, and if there is no possibility of care by other family members or persons;
- b) hospitalization of the spouse, and if no relatives or other persons are available for taking care of the children.

The facts of the case must be established by official documentation or medical certification--either at the time of application for special leave or upon the return. It goes without saying that at all times special leave is granted only for the specific time of the special occasion. In fixing the duration of the leave, it is necessary to take into consideration the nature of the occasion as well as the duties to be fulfilled and the dates of the trip. Consequently, special leave of this kind cannot be applied for after the event.

#### Leave Scheduling

For soldiers in basic military training, the leave is scheduled for the training period of 18 months; for all other comrades, it is scheduled for 1 calendar year. The objective here is to ensure that soldiers in basic military training can go on leave at least twice every 6 months, that is once for 5 consecutive days of recreational leave and once on extended short leave. This can be done within the framework of whole units--ranging from squadron to company--and it can also be arranged for individual army soldiers or border troops. Reservists and reserve NCOs on active duty, who are not able to go home every day, should be granted at least four leaves within every 6 months; if they are granted more than three extended short leaves during this period, all days--excluding Sundays and legal holidays--are deducted from the recreational leave. Given equal conditions in regard to off-duty time, reserve officers on active duty, career NCOs, ensigns [Faehnrich] and career officers should be granted at least six leaves for every 6 months; if they are granted more than five extended short leaves during this period, all days--excluding Sundays and legal holidays--are to be deducted from the recreational leave.

#### Application for Leave

The application for any leave must be made in the leave book no later than 5 days before the starting date requested. The approval or rejection must be communicated to the respective comrade no later than 3 days before the starting date planned.

#### Travelling Time

Aside from cadets, soldiers in officers' training and soldiers in basic military training, all other comrades can be granted travelling time in addition to the short leave and extended short leave, if the travelling time from the post to the place of residence exceeds 12 hours. The travelling time either precedes or follows the leave, and it must be scheduled in accordance with the time tables. In 1 calendar year, travelling time may be granted six times to reservists and reserve NCOs on active duty, and ten times to reserve officers on active duty,

career NCO's, ensigns and career officers.

#### Rules of Conduct Regarding Illness During Leave

Any soldier, who is taken ill while on leave or who is incapacitated for continuing his journey, must see the doctor of the nearest NVA [National People's Army] headquarters or of the GDR border troops. If he is not able to do so, he must inform the nearest headquarters and request a house call by a doctor. Only if he is unable to do either is he allowed to consult another doctor. In any case, the illness must immediately be reported to the local post commander. The post commander on his part will notify the unit of the comrade taken ill. If the illness is medically certified, the leave days lost are not to be deducted from the recreational leave.

#### Leave for Reservists

Reservists are not entitled to recreational leave during their military service. If the military training exceeds 3 months, the reservists are granted extended short leave once every 2 months. In regard to the granting of passes, the regulations mentioned in the respective paragraph are applicable. If the respective conditions are met, reservists serving less than 3 months may twice be granted travelling time; if their period of service exceeds 3 months, travelling time may be granted once every 2 months.

#### Leave During Assignments

In the case of assignments of up to 1 month, no leave is granted except to reserve officers on active duty, career NCOs after the 4th year of service, ensigns and career officers. If the assignment is of longer duration, extended passes and passes may be granted.

#### Free Leave Transportation

For travel by train or bus from the post or the place of residence to a GDR holiday resort, all soldiers are entitled to a certain number of free travel tickets. Soldiers not residing at or near the post are granted four free tickets per calendar year, while those living at or near the post are granted one free ticket per year (in accordance with their 18 months service period, soldiers in basic military training are granted a total of six free tickets). If they do not live at the post and if their period of service exceeds 3 months, reservists are granted every 3 months one free trip from the post to a GDR holiday resort. If the soldier has the senior officers' permission to spend the furlough

in other socialist countries, a free ticket may be granted for the trip to the respective GDR border station. For these free trips, the army issues second-class tickets.

#### Fare Reductions

For vacation trips by GDR railroad, the army personnel may claim fare reductions in accordance with the regulations concerning round-trip tickets for workers. For this purpose, the distance covered is recorded on the pass. The pass entitles the bearer to a fare reduction of 75 percent on second-class tickets.

#### Off-Duty Time in the Post Command Area

Soldiers requesting off-duty time in the post command area must fulfill or have fulfilled their duties in accordance with regulations. The number of soldiers granted off-duty time is determined in accordance with the requirements concerning constant combat readiness. According to these requirements, only a limited number of comrades may be granted off-duty time at any given time. Off-duty time is defined as the permission granted by the senior officer to leave the barracks for a limited period of time. Off-duty time is granted only within the boundaries of the post command; on principle, it begins after duty hours. Soldiers in basic military training and new reservists may be granted off-duty time until 2400 hours once every calendar week. The comrades are granted off-duty time in accordance with the following rules:

1. Reserve soldiers on active duty with the rank of private or private first class, aspirant NCO's, cadets in the first year of training and veteran reservists with the rank of private or private first class

--on weekdays until 2400 hours

--on Saturdays and on days preceding legal holidays or off-duty days until 0200 hours

--on Sundays and legal holidays until 2400 hours.

2. Cadets in the 2d year of training

--on weekdays until 0200 hours

--on Saturdays and on days preceding legal holidays or off-duty days until reveille

--on Sundays and legal holidays until 0200 hours.

3. Reserve soldiers on active duty with the rank of staff private first class, NCOs up to the rank of master sergeant, cadets in the third year of training and veteran reservists ranking from staff private first class to master sergeant

--daily until morning roll-call.

Ensigns and officers are not subject to any restrictions concerning off-duty time in the post command area.

If married comrades are visited by their wives at the post, they may be granted extended off-duty time. In this case, they are given a pass instead of the off-duty permit.

#### Rules Governing Residence Outside the Barracks

Reserve officers on active duty, career NCOs, ensigns and career officers may be granted the privilege to reside outside the barracks. This does not apply to aspirant NCOs and cadets. Reservists and reserve NCO's on active duty may be granted this privilege only if special family circumstances warrant this. The privilege can only be granted by senior officers holding the rank of Lieutenant Colonel or a higher rank.

#### Exemption from Service

Service exemptions are granted by the senior officer, who also determines the time-limit. The exemptions usually include the permission to leave the barracks for a certain period of time. Service exemptions may be granted in combination with passes and extended passes. This does not affect the regulations concerning off-duty days in the border companies.

Soldiers, who on Sundays or legal holidays are engaged for 7 or more hours in command assignments, in assignments and measures aimed at maintaining a state of combat-readiness and safeguarding military installations, in the implementation of training projects or in the preparation or implementation of political projects, are granted an appropriate service exemption. As a rule, the exemption must be granted on another day during the following calendar week. As regards soldiers in basic military training, reservists and reserve NCO's on active duty, this regulation applies only if they belong to regular guard units. As to soldiers appointed to guard duty, special regulations are applicable; they are established by the competent deputies of the Minister for National Defense.

Furthermore, exemption from service can be granted to enable career NCO's, ensigns and career officers to attend lectures or take examinations in connection with evening classes and correspondence courses. Exemptions may

also be granted to soldiers in the army and in the border forces to enable them to perform state and social functions, especially in the capacity of delegates of elected representations of the people; however, such exemptions must not interfere with the fulfillment of official duties or affect combat-readiness. Service exemptions are also granted, if a soldier is summoned to appear before a court of law or a state investigating or control organ. Furthermore, applications for service exemptions may be submitted in the event that a five-day special leave proves insufficient for taking care of sick relatives, and if the applicant can present medical certificates attesting to this. In such a case, however, one should try--in collaboration with the senior officers, the local state organs, the post commanders and the local social organs--to find solutions necessitating only very short service exemptions or none at all.

For the implementation of sociopolitical measures, Service Regulation 010/0/007 provides for service exemptions for female army personnel and for the spouses of career NCO's, ensigns and career officers, if the latter are entitled to more recreational leave. For reasons of space, a detailed outline of these regulations is not included here.

#### Definition of Terms

In a supplement to Service Regulation 010/0/007, key terms are defined. For example: The term "nach Dienst" [after duty hours] is defined as "after issuance of discharge instructions; after completion of staff duty," and "on Sundays and legal holidays usually from 1000 hours." The term "zum Dienst" is defined as follows: "No later than 30 minutes before roll-call or before the commencement of staff duty; for soldiers in basic training, aspirant NCO's and cadets, no later than 15 minutes before reveille." The place of residence is defined as the place, in which the soldier or border patrolman is registered with the police. As to the proportionate recreational leave, it is to be computed by the month; fractions of the end result are rounded off to a full day. For example, if a soldier is entitled to 26 days of recreational leave per calendar year, it would amount to 2.16 days per month or 6.48 days for 3 months. These 6.48 days are to be rounded off to 7 days.

(This ARMEERUNDSCHAU information is based on Service Regulation 010/0/007--Leave, Off-Duty Time and Service Exemption.)

Table. Recreational Leave Privileges

Dienstverhältnis (1)	(5) Anzahl der Kalendertage für das Kalenderjahr entsprechend dem Dienstalter							
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.-10.	11.-15.	ab 16.
(6) Dienstjahr								
Soldaten und (2)								
Unteroffiziere auf Zeit	24	25	26	30	31	32		
Berufsunteroffiziere (3)	24	26	29	32	35	38	42	46
Offiziere auf Zeit, (4)								
Fähnriche und Berufsoffiziere	36	36	36	36	36	38	42	46

Bei einem Urlaubsanspruch von 24 bis 29 Tagen werden drei, bei einem Urlaubsanspruch (7) von 30 und mehr Tagen vier Sonn- oder gesetzliche Feiertage auf den Erholungsurlaub angerechnet.

Key:

1. Service status
2. Reservists and reserve NCO's on active duty
3. Career NCO's
4. Reserve officers on active duty, ensigns and career officers
5. Calendar days per calendar year in accordance with length of service
6. Year of service
7. In the case of a leave privilege of from 24 to 29 days, 3 Sundays or legal holidays are deducted from the recreational leave; if the soldier is entitled to 30 or more days or recreational leave, 4 Sundays or legal holidays are deducted

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EAST GERMANY

EDUCATION OF PRIESTS DESCRIBED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 13, Jun 77 pp 12-13

[Report by the FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Training of Priests in the GDR"]

[Text] The only training institution for Catholic priests in the GDR is the "College of Philosophy and Theology" in Erfurt, where future priests are studying in a seminary that has the status of a papal college. The special function of the Erfurt Seminary and College of Philosophy and Theology is derived from its status as a regional seminary that is supported by all the bishops in the GDR. At the present time there are 120 students in the seminary, as was recently reported by BEGEGNUNG (a "magazine for progressive Catholics" in the GDR).

In principle, any Catholic, especially any young male Catholic who applies to a bishop of the GDR to study theology, can study at the College of Philosophy and Theology. There is no enrollment quota and there are no other restrictions. The only decisive factor for beginning one's studies is acceptance by the bishop.

In addition to the 120 students presently at the College of Philosophy and Theology there are several female students enrolled at the Edith Stein Seminary, where specially qualified women, church coworkers, are prepared for important positions in church service. At the Erfurt Seminary there are also several laypersons who have been assigned specialized studies in special fields by their bishops. For several years now there has also been a home study course in theology, for laypersons only and comparable to a course at a technical school.

The Erfurt College of Philosophy and Theology was opened in June 1952. Before that date there was in the GDR no training institution on the college level where Catholic priests could be trained. The opening of the college was preceded by long negotiations with the GDR government, and then finally an agreement was reached by the bishops on the founding of a college of philosophy and theology (seminarium regionale major) whose statutes were approved in the spring of 1952.

In July 1953 The Erfurt regional seminary was approved by the Vatican Congregation for Studies. The "Statutes of the Catholic Seminary for Priests at Erfurt" were approved in 1959. Since then the College of Philosophy and Theology has been a papal college of theology administered in the form of academic self-administration by a group of professors. The rector is elected each year as primus inter pares.

The present rector is professor of dogmatics Prof Dr Lothar Ullrich, and the vice rector is Prof Dr Joseph Reindl. For the academic year 1977/78 Prof Dr Konrad Feiereis has been approved as rector by the Berlin Conference of Bishops.

The faculty presently consists of 22 members, half of whom are full-time professors appointed by the Berlin Conference of Bishops. There are at the present time 11 academic chairs at the Erfurt College of Philosophy and Theology and they are held by the following professors and assistant professors:

Philosophy: Professor Dr Feiereis

History of Theology: Professor Dr Sonntag

Old Testament: Professor Dr Reindl

New Testament: Professor Dr Schuermann

Fundamental Theology: Professors Dr Hoffmann and Dr Bernard

Dogmatics: Professors Dr Ullrich and Dr Huebner

Ecumenical Theology: Assistant Professor Dr Bernard

Moral Theology: Professor Dr Ernst

Church Law: Professor Dr Loebmann

Pastoral Theology: Assistant Professor Dr Friemel

Liturgy: Assistant Professor Dr Schneider

Before they begin their studies at the Erfurt College of Philosophy and Theology, applicants must take a 1-year course in classical languages in Schoeneiche near Berlin. Applicants who have completed the tenth grade only must take a 3-year preparatory course at the Norbertinum College in Magdeburg. The course at Erfurt lasts, as a rule, 4-1/2 years and ends with a comprehensive final examination which is the equivalent of a diploma. Students can also take a degree at Erfurt. Pastoral and practical training then takes place at the pastoral seminaries Huysburg and Neuzelle.

According to the report in BEGEGNUNG the Erfurt College does not fit into the unusual scale of either "progressive or conservative." BEGEGNUNG says: "Erfurt, without doubt, stands in the middle but leaves room for progressive theological thought and research--a policy that in spite of the limitations imposed by teaching requirements and the still existing taboos points in a forward direction and gives future priests a basis upon which they can build."

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EAST GERMANY

GERMAN-LANGUAGE PROGRAM FOR FOREIGN STUDENTS DESCRIBED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 12, Jun 77 pp 12-13

[Article by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Foreign Students Learn German at the Leipzig Herder Institute and Prepare for Their Studies in the GDR"]

[Text] The Herder Institute at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig is the only educational institution in the GDR where young foreigners can be instructed in the German language and be prepared for studies at a university or a professional school. Since the foundation of the Institute (1956), more than 12,000 foreign students from 118 countries have been trained in the German language as well as in specialized subjects. The graduates of the Herder Institute came primarily from the developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Dr Johannes Roessler, since 1964 director of the Herder Institute, recently said about the selection of students for this educational institution:

"One of the clear tendencies of our institute is the preferential acceptance of those students in whose homeland a particularly obstinate struggle is being conducted against imperialism. To some extent the trends in the international development are reflected in the student body of the Herder Institute."

Reviewing the development of the institute, Roessler called attention to 11 young Africans--sons of striking mine workers in Nigeria--who were the first to be registered in what was then called the Department for Workers and Peasants in Leipzig for preparatory courses for foreigners in the GDR. Two years later the department established a discipline of Studies for Foreigners, which became an independent institute of the University in 1956. Finally, in 1961, this institute received the name of "Herder Institute."

The "conscious solidarity with the courageous fighters against world imperialism" was also evident in the selection of applicants for the training session currently in progress, for which approximately 500 students from 60 countries are registered. During the registration ceremony, Dr Lothar Rathman, president of the University of Leipzig, greeted particularly "the sons and daughters of Vietnam, liberated after a 30-year struggle, delegates from revolutionary Chile, young citizens from Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola, those who had to struggle longest and fiercest for their freedom," as well as "friends from the Arab nations, among them Palestinians, young fighters against racism and apartheid." Also "Mr Torrez from Bolivia" was registered, "whose father, president of the country, was overthrown by a military camarilla inspired by the CIA."

As a rule, the students at the Herder Institute complete an intensive 10-month course, which is divided into a lower and an upper level. At the beginning, intensive language instruction predominates; five language laboratories, each containing 16 seats, are available for this purpose. According to information from the director of the institute, within a few weeks, participants of this course develop such a facility in the language that essentially mutual communication is functioning. The vocabulary that has to be learned consists largely of terms which will occur in future studies in the discipline of the students. Therefore, the individual groups of the students are not arranged according to country and language but according to specialty: technical studies, medical studies, natural sciences, and social sciences.

In addition to language instruction, students, who as a rule are supposed to submit a high school diploma from their country of origin, receive specialized training required for the beginning of studies in the GDR.

Affiliated with the Leipzig Herder Institute is a branch in Radebeul, where students are prepared for special studies or professional practice. Currently, 87 foreigners are completing an intensive language course in Radebeul, which lasts for 3 months. Among the students at the branch are also many older graduates of the Herder Institute who want to continue studies in their professions. In Radebeul, qualifying courses are primarily in the areas of technical sciences, natural sciences, agriculture, and occupational pedagogy.

Since 1971 a friendship treaty has been in existence between the Herder Institute and the Zwenkau mine of the Espenhain VEB "providing an opportunity for students to enrich their knowledge through practical observation and personal exchange of experiences in a production enterprise." Since then, each student group has been assigned to a brigade of the enterprise which is looking after the group.

In addition to educating foreign students, the Herder Institute is engaged in research with the emphasis on "German as a foreign language." The instructional materials for the institute are put together by linguists. Among these materials are the textbooks "German for Foreigners" and

"Culture in the GDR," of which "hundreds of thousands of copies have been distributed abroad." The institute also publishes the journal Deutsch Als Fremdsprache [German as a Foreign Language] with the regular supplement Sprachpraxis, which is sold in approximately 50 countries.

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## EAST GERMANY

### MINISTER EMPHASIZES NEED FOR POST-HELSINKI LITERARY EXCHANGE

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 10 No 25 signed to press 13 Jun 77 pp 8-9

[Article by Klaus Hoepcke, GDR deputy minister for culture, in 'Reflections on Our Times' feature section: "Literary Development and Literary Exchange Under the Banner of Helsinki"]

[Text] The radius of action of the socialist and anti-imperialist forces in international affairs is becoming wider and wider. But imperialism does not withdraw voluntarily. Tenaciously it tries to hinder hundreds of millions of people on all continents from obtaining their national and social liberation. The book industry is completely involved in this tremendous struggle for intellectual influence and political power.

Publishers and the book trade in the socialist countries have contributed much to the proclamation and dissemination of the ideas of true national freedom. With numerous publications they support the struggle for peace, security, and cooperation and for social progress in Europe and throughout the world. This required and at the same time requires us to adopt a position against the aggressive policy of the enemies of detente, against anti-communism, no matter what form it may appear in.

In contrast to the capitalist states, the final act of the Helsinki conference, as we know, was disseminated in the socialist countries with the complete text in millions of copies. Publications were published and are being published on the Belgrade conference, giving objective information on the implementation of the principles adopted in Helsinki as well as the tensions and objectives and of course the recommendations and suggestions. As an example we might mention the publication "Helsinki und wie weiter?" in nine languages. The German translation of the collection of interviews, published by the Urania Publishing House, from the Soviet publishing house Politizdat under the title "Freedom about the Cultural Exchange," also produced a tremendous echo. We devote much attention to such literature because it is in keeping with the character of publication activity under socialism to inform the population accurately and in depth about the interrelationships and developments in political events. In this way we restrict the possibilities for imperialist falsification.

An outstanding place is held by publications which look into ways in which political detente is to be supplemented with military disarmament. In line with the proposals of the Soviet Union they advocate the idea of gradually reducing the specific weight of the military factors in favor of the political forms of the struggle and peaceful collaboration among countries with different social systems. Arousing and spreading the conviction as to the solubility of this problem--here reside the capacities of socialist literature which we want to make even more use of in the future. The attendant unavoidable dispute with the opponents of detente and the struggle against the arms profiteers have both a current and a long-term meaning. They are closely tied to the comprehensive analysis of the development of the crisis of imperialism. This at the same time uncovers the underlying causes of anti-detente tendencies. The content of the struggle of the working class and other antifascist and antimonopolist democratic forces for the solution of social-economic problems in the interest of the workers is clarified.

In agreement with the Helsinki principles, a process is now taking shape to "materialize" detente also through collaboration of states in the economy, science, and technology, in environmental protection and in the humanitarian area. We are trying very hard to support this process through publication projects. We are meeting the need of vast population circles for comprehensive information on European countries and other countries through stepped-up publication of reports, travel accounts, illustrated volumes and combined picture and text volumes. Thus, for example, we are preparing a popular geography book series under the title "Europa--Im Blickpunkt" (Brockhaus Publishers).

#### Socialist Literature--Very Attractive

Books and brochures, in which the most varied circles of the population are told convincingly and understandably that and why and how socialism is capable of solving the vital issues of our time in the interest of humanity are assuming increasing weight. It is a basic idea in our literature that human rights, such as the right to work, the right to education, equal rights for women, and human rights for real democracy and the free unfolding of the individual personality can be guaranteed only by socialism. Supplying this evidence is a special concern of ours in this year, as we celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution. Numerous books talk about the validity of its theories also for the future. Moreover, we are trying very hard to make sure that its spirit will permeate our entire literature. It is a sign of our strength and our offensive that the profound and forward-pointing, partisan unbiased and aggressive-critical treatment of the developmental issues of our socialist society, its past, present, and future, prevails both in philosophical, economic, and historical writings and in novels, stories, dramas, and poems. In this spirit we can see at work, with undiminished creative force, scientists such as Professor Juergen Kuczynski and Professor Walter Markov and writers such as Anna Seghers and Erwin Strittmatter and many authors of middle age and even younger and very young. They and the publishers of their books, through their work, at the same time are making an important contribution to the unmasking of the campaign

unleashed in the West about an alleged violation of human rights in socialist countries and the overcoming of errors among friends who believe that they can get along without essential experiences which we have gained.

The circumstance that, in recent years, quite a few GDR writers traveled abroad moreover produced a situation where that which has been achieved here and which remains to be achieved is contemplated even more in the context of the entire world; this is partly viewed even more clearly in terms of its reference to the revolutionary international process; among these writers, for example, Kant, Goerlich and Jakobs went to the Soviet Union, the Wolfs and Kunerts went to the United States, Neutsch and Panitz went to Vietnam and the FRG, Fuehmann went to Hungary and Austria, and Kerndl went to Poland and the Near East. This enhances the domestic and international force of attractiveness of GDR literature.

Further information on the implementation of the Helsinki final act can also be obtained from a look at the publication of foreign literature in the GDR and the dissemination of GDR literature in capitalist foreign countries. Helsinki did not signify a radical change in our publication policy. Instead, the publication of the most valuable scientific and artistic works of all peoples was being and is being continued steadily and logically.

In 1975-1976, it was possible to improve and further increase the supply of foreign current titles. To familiarize readers in the most manifold form possible with new works and authors and with developments and tendencies in individual national literatures, the publishing houses made use of the proven series. The "Explorations" program of the People and World Publishing House alone, after Helsinki, put out the following volumes of narrative prose: "Ungarische Erkundungen," "Bulgarische Erkundungen," "Schweizer Erkundungen," "Niederlaendische Erkundungen," "Griechische Erkundungen," "Westdeutsche Erkundungen." Comprehensive anthologies also contribute during this period of time to the exploration of foreign literature; they include "Schweiz heute," "Oesterreich heute," "Politisches Theater aus Frankreich," and "Italienische Erzaehler aus sechs Jahrzehnten." Beyond the series and anthologies, national literatures are presented through a broad selection of current works by famous authors. Besides, the literary heritage of the peoples is continually being explored systematically.

In rapid succession we published the volumes of the "Bibliothek des Sieges," which represents an outstanding example of multinational collaboration in the publications field. The lessons learned here will be very helpful to us particularly in developing a "Bibliothek der europaischen Poesie."

Further Dissemination of Foreign Literature in GDR

How great is the degree of dissemination of foreign literature in the GDR?

In 1975, we published 1,119 titles of foreign authors (924 translations and 195 works from nonsocialist German-speaking countries) in 17,276,000 copies.

In 1976 we published 1,078 titles (including 918 translations) with 19,390,900 copies. With a total book output of approximately 6,000 titles per year and more than 140 million copies, we have the following results: in one out of every six titles and one out of seven copies the place of origin of the original is outside the GDR boundaries. Here it must be added that the share of foreign works is even higher in belles lettres. Here, one out of every three books we publish comes from the literature of other peoples.

Noteworthy contributions were made in this way to the approach among the nations which work together in the community of socialist states. Soviet literature has an intellectual home in the GDR which can never be lost. Soviet writers, who meet with their readers in Berlin or Magdeburg, Leipzig, or Riesa--as did Konstantin Simonov, Fedor Abramov and Aleksandr Chiakovskiy, Wil Lipator, and Vladimir Popov--remark again and again how the characters created by them have found their way into the hearts of friends in the GDR. Polish bibliographers have told publishers and translators in the GDR that, during the three decades of people's government in our countries, more works of Polish authors were published in the German language than throughout the entire preceding history of German-Polish relations. Hungarian cultural policy makers told their colleagues in the GDR that those books on current Hungarian literature, which produced a lively discussion in their country, were also publicized for the readers of the GDR. We could continue in this fashion, listing one country after another in our community.

The works of authors from nonsocialist countries have also found and are finding considerable dissemination here. Among all of the foreign belles lettres titles published in the GDR they account for about half year after year. Among the more than 60 languages, from which our publishing houses translate, we of course also include all from the highly developed capitalist industrial states. And the books, which we give our readers from those countries, also contain views which do not at all harmonize with those of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. We keep in mind that there are two cultures in capitalist countries, as Lenin proved already back in 1913. The germs of a democratic and socialist culture of the working class and the other working people are opposed by the prevailing, mostly reactionary imperialist unculture.

The glorification of fascism, racism, and antihuman force, which floods the market there in mass issues, was and is being rejected and fought by us resolutely. In our publishing practice of course we do not start with the idea that the conflict between two cultures is expressed merely by two groups of works which must be neatly separated from each other. Far more frequently we are dealing with books here in which the struggle of these cultures is reflected in a most contradictory fashion. Wherever one can detect the humanistic endeavors of the authors, we meet their works with an open mind. We consider them as testimony to the search for a way into a future free of imperialist shackles. Among the authors, whose works have been widely distributed in the GDR, we therefore have--along with those who are firmly tied to the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, along

with comrades and members of the communist parties--many bourgeois-democratic personalities and even some humanists with a conservative cut.

Thus the reader in the GDR can obtain a rather comprehensive picture for himself on important and perhaps even some less important phenomena in the literature of the United States, England, France, and Italy, the FRG, Switzerland, and Austria, as well as the Scandinavian countries. Conversely, readers in those countries are far less informed about GDR literature.

#### The Other Side Must Catch Up

If we want to come up with an objective review prior to Belgrade, then we had best stick to the facts. One fact is that there is an imbalance in the area of cultural exchange. Representatives of socialist countries pointed that out frequently with respect to book publications. Here is an example from our area: in 1976 we acquired 422 licenses for belles lettres and 153 licenses for scientific works, in other words, a total of 575 publication licenses from the capitalist and developing countries. During that same year on the other hand those countries acquired only 238 such licenses from the GDR (including 133 for belles lettres and 105 for scientific books). Here are some 1976 figures which will illustrate the situation for the individual countries:

	Acquired by GDR	Issued by GDR
FRG	293	154
Switzerland	49	4
France	51	2
USA	38	7
Great Britain	28	5

This comparison clearly shows that it is not our side that needs to catch up, even if one keeps in mind that exchange in the literary field cannot be on a one-for-one basis. Besides, such a comparison would be incomplete.

One would furthermore also have to consider the number of copies published under each title. In the GDR, we published tens of thousands of copies but it is unfortunately not unique for the titles of authors from socialist countries to be published in capitalist countries in far smaller editions. Because their works, on the FRG book market, mostly appear in no more than 3,500, 4,000 or--and this is a lot--6,000 or 8,000 copies, one might be tempted--with a population of approximately 60 millions--to speak in terms of mini editions or alibi editions.

Another "furthermore" springs from the work of the libraries. In the GDR they lend out 87 million volumes per year. Among the belles lettres lending --according to a representative survey in 1976--38 percent consist of contemporary GDR literature, 37 percent consist of books by contemporary foreign authors (24 percent from socialist and 13 percent from capitalist countries) and 25 percent consist of heritage (10 percent foreign, 9 percent German

heritage of the early 19th and 20th centuries, 6 percent antiquity, renaissance, etc., and older classical heritage). It would be of some interest to obtain data on the share of literature from socialist countries in the book lending statistics of libraries in capitalist countries.

In talking about the imbalance in cultural exchange, we do so with various accents. If somebody objectively discusses various viewpoints of a situation which has developed and if he thinks about possibilities for altering it, then we act in such a manner that the whole thing looks to our Western partners--as recently at the book fair in Leipzig--"kindly and mild." When somebody brings up the point that the possibilities of action in support of humanistic goals is limited in the Western-style publishing business which is organized along private capitalist lines, then we naturally find that discovery to be accurate. And why should it not be? This after all is why we have created a publishing industry that belongs to the people.

The Helsinki agreements of course also bear the signatures of those countries in which different conditions prevail. Sticking strictly to the principle of noninterference, we are thinking neither of giving any nationalization advice as a prerequisite for the implementation of the final act of Helsinki, nor are we ready to accept nationalization debates as a substitute for the realization of the final act of Helsinki. And if somebody comes up to us and tries to fool us about the lack of openness toward the values and works of the socialist work in his country with loud appeals addressed to us, to the effect that we should be more wideopen to the rest of the world, then that, as a Polish comrade said so accurately, looks to us like the behavior of a colonizer and we respond accordingly.

#### Acrobatics of State Secretary

A state secretary by the name of Hoehmann in April and May of this year in the Bonn Lower House and on a West Berlin broadcasting station went through an exercise of this kind. According to a report from DPA, he pointed "to the isolated acceptance of West German authors into the books presented by GDR publishing houses." What does he mean "isolated?" This is a question every expert is bound to ask. Here is a selection of authors from the FRG whose works have come out in the GDR and this list of names is based only on publications during the last two or three years: Alfred Andersch, Vicki Baum, Werner Bergengruen, Heinrich Boell, Franz Josef Degenhardt, Guenter Eich, Bernt Engelmann, Gerd Fuchs, Marieluise Fleiber, Curt Goetz, Max von der Gruen, Peter Haertling, Guenter Herburger, Wolfgang Hildesheimer, Rolf Hochhuth, Erich Kaestner, Marie Luise Kaschnitz, Dietrich Kittner, Wilfgang Koeppen, Franc Xaver Kroetz, August Kuenn, Siegfried Lenz, Angelika Mechtel, Christoph Meckel, Harald Mueller, Andre Mueller, Reinhold Schneider, Uwe Timm, Guenter Wallraff, Martin Walser, Guenther Weisenborn, Theodor Weissenborn, and Leo Weismantel.

Did Hoehmann misspeak: Was he perhaps talking--in keeping with real conditions--about the isolated acceptance of GDR authors by FRG publishers? On the

contrary. To divert attention, he talks about reciprocal assortment orders of books and magazines. He complains that the GDR is using a quota system here. But he does not say--or does he not know?--that each year we at any rate get imports from original FRG publication products worth almost 1 Mark per capita. On the other hand, GDR book exports based on orders from the FRG come to barely 30 Pfennigs per West German citizen, per year. What is more important: the procurement procedure or the degree of supply? All we need is to have Hoehmann declare printing orders placed by FRG publishing houses with the GDR printing industry as deliveries of GDR books going to the FRG--for example, the printing of Kleist for Hanser of Munich by Offizin Andersen Nexoe Leipzig. All we need is to have him blame us for the constant price rise on the capitalist book market which is not exactly helpful in promoting literary exchange. That would take the cake in his acrobatics with basket 3.

Others--not as poorly informed as the state secretary from the Rhine or simply not as smart as he--engage in such boomeranging performances much more rarely. They know that, in quite a few forms of literature, we can present dozens and even hundreds of names of authors whose works have been published in the GDR while not infrequently the fingers of one hand are enough to count the names of GDR authors whose works were published in countries of interested customers. This is why most people quite sensibly ask for individual titles which have not yet been countered in our book listings but which, it is believed, are worth publishing in the GDR.

And we are happy that, in such cases, as experience shows, we can very often point out that the titles, which people ask for, are being typeset are in print or are in the book binding shop; sometimes the translation may not yet have been finished or the publisher's readers are still going over the work. Or in a few of the isolated cases, a title might be involved which--without having to be embarrassed--we would not consider publishing in the GDR or which we might consider publishing only later. If there are no financial reasons--something which on occasion plays a by no means minor role--this is done out of basic considerations, be they of a political, ideological, or social-psychological, moral, or esthetic nature.

#### On Book Freedom

On the occasion of the polemic on such issues we recall Brecht's words about freedom for books, the theater, etc. Brecht put one restriction on his proposals: "No freedom for writings and works of art which glorify war or picture it as unavoidable and for those that promote hatred among peoples." Brecht's demand, raised in 1951, related to the efforts to stop anti-humanist tendencies in the FRG. In the course of the historical development which took place thereafter, the erection and consolidation of socialism in the GDR against bitter resistance from imperialism, the criterion, mentioned by Brecht under different conditions, assumed a much broader content. Working against war hatred among peoples today means above all promoting and defending the treasure of peace, in other words, socialism. Socialism is the vital content and vital form of the people of the GDR. This is why hatred against

it must not be granted any freedom. What is this hatred if it is not hatred among peoples? Protection against the ideological attacks of imperialism had to, must, and will in the future be directed against all antisocialist influencing factors.

Some people in the West might try to persuade us to stay away from forms of the class struggle, such as this one.

On the other hand, we are happy to note that there are many people all over the world who highly appreciate an experience which nowadays can already be stated as a law. Here it is: wherever an indigenous democratic progressive movement wants to and is to unfold during the second half of the 20th century, it must tie itself to the working class which rules in the socialist countries. This is a historical must, a law proved itself in the class struggle. One can recognize its undeniable correctness also when we reverse it: whenever ties and alliances with the peoples of Europe which are building the socialist society are weakened, this means that one's own political, economic, social, and cultural progress is being inhibited.

5058

CSO:2300

## YOUTH'S DEATH, KRAKOW PROTEST, LAID TO DISSIDENTS, WEST

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jul 77 p 3 LD

[Article by NOVOSTI correspondent V. Nakaryakov, written specially for KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: "The Failure of a Certain Provocation; the Background to an Unsuccessful Attempt To Cause Disturbances During a Student Festival at Krakow"]

[Text] One of Krakow's traditions is the student festival--the Juvenalia. This festival began not so long ago but it is rooted in the remote past. In 1364 one of Europe's oldest and most famous universities--the Jagiellonian University--was opened in Krakow. At the time of Copernicus, who was one of the graduates of the university, the city had 20,000 inhabitants of which 2,000 were students. Today Krakow's population numbers about 700,000, and 62,000 students study in the city's 12 higher educational institutions. The ratio, as you can see, has not altered a great deal.

In May each year, on Krakow's main square, the mayor of the city presents the city's keys to representatives of the Bractwo Zakow [Scholars' Fraternity]--the students--and for 2 days the students are "in possession" of the old city. A gay carnival, full of glitter, spontaneity and witty invention begins.

There have been occasions when groups of hooligan elements, having donned carnival costumes, have attempted to disrupt the general jollity. But the experience of the organizers of the festival is increasing year by year. During those festive days a special student guard keeps vigilant watch over the observance of order in the city; this guard is invested with major rights and acts with an energy typical of students.

It is easy to imagine how carefully the students prepare for the Juvenalia. However, this year a group of persons prepared just as assiduously and thoughtfully for the festival, and their actions were attentively followed outside Poland by hostile propaganda which had been informed in advance.

These are the events which preceded the Juvenalia of 1977.

Early on the Saturday morning of 7 May the residents of house No 7, Szewska Street, discovered the body of a student in the stairway; the student was in his 5th year at the Jagiellonian University. An investigation by experts revealed that death had resulted from a hemorrhage in the lungs caused by a blow received when falling down the staircase. Injuries to the skull were also discovered. The blood of the deceased contained 2.6 parts of alcohol per thousand (this means that at least half a liter of intoxicating liquor with an alcohol strength of 45 percent had been consumed).

The Krakow newspaper carried a brief report about the tragic incident on 11 May without naming the deceased. The prosecutor's office had only just begun the investigation and names are not given in such instances. Immediately typewriters began to chatter in certain Warsaw buildings, churning out copies of a patently provocative "address" concerning the death of Stanislaw Pyjas. The potential of typewriter and duplicating paper was utilized to the full. In certain West European countries lampoons against People's Poland were urgently printed and these were quickly duplicated in editions running into millions, on excellent paper and under strident headings.

The majority of the leaflets were intended for the inhabitants of Krakow. A group of thuggish hooligans prepared to carry out an operation. Their task was to transform the 1977 Juvenalia into a demonstration over the death of Stanislaw Pyjas who was allegedly "beaten to death by the militia" for having cooperated with the so-called Workers' Defense Committee [WDC]. During the festival a group of thugs, well-trained and loaded with leaflets, arrived in Krakow. We shall say later who was backing them and what the WDC is.

And so, on 15 May 1977 the Juvenalia was drawing to its close. In the morning, when the city squares were filled with students, black flags were hung up at the entrance to No 7, Szewska Street, and long-haired youths, replacing each other at intervals, began reading the aforementioned "WDC address."

At first they succeeded in assembling quite a sizable crowd but it soon melted away. Toward evening I was walking along that street. There was a crowd of about 50 people at the entrance to No 7; it was composed mainly of passersby who had stopped for a while. One of them listened for a minute or two, then said "nonsense" and walked on.

The "visitors" roved the festive streets and student campuses the entire day, distributing leaflets, indulging in agitation, and attempting to get hold of microphones. For many of them this ended in a sorry fashion: they were simply thrown out of the hostels and clubs. The vast majority of young men and women, and especially the members of the Polish Union of Socialist Students, displayed political maturity and actively thwarted the provocateurs.

Late in the evening the "visitors" nevertheless had succeeded in gathering together a funeral procession which was joined by many people out of curiosity. The column was accompanied by several Western correspondents. They were hoping for a sensational event. But nothing sensational happened. At the old castle, while the boring address was being read out once again, the people dispersed.

Strictly speaking that is all there is to the "events in Krakow," a fuss about which filled the ether and the columns of various Western publications for many days. The hooligans hastily left the city or, to put it more simply, they fled.

The ancients used to believe that "you should speak well of the dead or say nothing at all." To make use of an unfortunate accident that ended in death as a pretext for a dirty political provocation is a blasphemy in itself. But what did the grief of Stanislaw Pyjas' parents mean to those who had gambled on him. For it was, after all, precisely Stanislaw's parents who had resolutely rejected the attempt to turn their son's funeral into the semblance of a meeting.

Local newspapers published a communique from the city prosecutor's office with a photograph of the deceased and an appeal to anyone who had seen him on the last day of his life. Prominent Polish lawyers are carrying out an investigation. Together with a multitude of other questions they are most likely asking themselves: "Who benefited from S. Pyjas' death?"

During those May days, one of Krakow's churches was being consecrated and about 200 foreign journalists were gathered in the city. Weren't there more than enough coincidences suggesting that the death of the Krakow student a few days before the Juvenalia served the purposes of people who were preparing a provocation and who merely needed a specific pretext? The methods of the opponents of the socialist system in People's Poland have long been known and are remote from sentiment. Therefore the question arises once again: Didn't they themselves kill Stanislaw (Pyjas) in order to have the pretext they needed so much, for the provocation?

Many Polish newspapers have informed their readers in detail about the events, duly assessing them, and explaining who was acting on behalf of a group of "oppositional intellectuals," and who had assumed the functions of "defending the interests of the workers." The newspapers also gave an account of the "WDC," whose main aim is to defend five habitual criminals. Among these are W. (Skrzynek) who has 14 convictions, Z. (Zaborski) with 10 convictions, and so on in descending order.

Wladyslaw Machejek, chief editor of the weekly ZYCIE LITERACKIE, writer, and journalist, published on the pages of that newspaper an article entitled "Quieter Over That Grave" in which he wrote about a "radio fifth-column which has emerged, consisting of revisionists of every stripe and Zionists." "The scandal over the grave continues," he writes. "A scandal

caused, provoked and pulled off by Western propaganda and its commissaries from the CIA... They have rich sources of finance."

After the failure of the Krakow adventure, new headlines appeared all over the Western press. First, by the sanction of the prosecutor, several organizers of the provocation, including Jacek (Kuron), Adam (Michnik) and Seweryn (Blumsztajn) were arrested in accordance with article 132 of the Polish Criminal Code. Second, an extremely motley group of WDC activists declared a hunger strike in a chapel of one of Warsaw's churches. Another "address" sent to many destinations in Poland and abroad reported that they had put on martyrs' crown of thorns for the sake of the release of those same five criminals whom we have already mentioned. After a week the mystic atmosphere which had been so assiduously generated by Western propaganda burst like a soap bubble. The hunger strikers quietly left the church by a side door.

The events which took place have confirmed once again that hostile propaganda and its accomplices are making use of all means to maintain a climate of cold war and are generously scattering the seeds of provocation, hoping to obtain at least a few shoots. These attempts are in vain. And the failure of the adventure of the thuggish hooligans at Krakow is yet further confirmation of this.

CSO: 1800

ROMANIA

WRITER EUGEN BARBU ADDRESSES RCP PLENUM

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Jun 77 p 6 AU

[Report on speech by writer and RCP Central Committee member Eugen Barbu at the RCP Central Committee plenum held 28-29 June in Bucharest]

[Text] I read with much interest the documents discussed by our plenum and I will refer here to familiar problems, that is, to those connected with the activity of our publishing houses, television and press. I will obviously not forget the Union of Writers.

Well, reading the pages presented to us, it seems to me that I must say that we are facing a test, which particularly we, writers, must pass well.

Most of the enemies of our policy talk about the freedom of creation, which is allegedly unlimited in their countries, and about a press without obligations, which can do what it wants. As a man who has traveled quite a lot and who is rather up to date, at least a little, with what is printed, I must tell you that, aside from my reservations about the capitalist press and a certain kind of literature written there, I can admit that there is also an honest press, a press which risks everything for the truth, by struggling against social inequities and branding everything that must be so branded. But this press is however hampered and stifled by the big monsters of rotary printing presses, which crush it by the numbers of copies printed, by their capital and even by using illegal means.

It seems to me that each state also consolidates its overall policy with the aid of the press; therefore we cannot separate this tool, which operates in men's consciousness, from the policy we conduct. Our state's policy is known to you. There is no mystery here. The Romanian people have irrevocably chosen the road toward socialism. This people, who honor us journalists and writers, want first of all a socialist press, socialist art, socialist literature, tendentious art, as they say, and we do not have to shrink from using this word.

As you well know, we are engaged in an ideological dispute with capitalism, a dispute which has not ceased since the birth of socialism. We can deal

with capitalist states and with representatives of this system of life, but we will never give up our ideology. Those who work in the socialist press and those who print books, serve an idea. The choice has therefore been made.

We have the advantage, the speaker further said, of being able to write without the constraint of an employer, who can force you to sing somebody's praises today and fling mud at him tomorrow. Our press is less spectacular and all our literature and films are not invaded by drug addicts and murderers killing one after another. It is a "shortcoming" that we admit. Perhaps our books and papers suffer from a certain monotony. Instead of photographing men trampled by police horses or cut down by the bullets of repressive organs we publish pictures of new residential areas, of our plants and our schools, that is of everything that makes us proud.

Well, for reasons that we must understand, we have had control organs of the press and literature for years on end. These people, with whom we always got along, were rather like advisers, who were not always right but well-meaning. They helped us make sure that we did not leave too many errors in our writings. Now, with a really revolutionary measure, at the initiative of Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, our party tells us: Comrades journalists and comrade writers, as of now you are free of the press direction and we give you the newspapers, the publishing houses, the stage and the film camera to prove your talent.

I am sure that this organ [the press direction] will soon be missed by some people. Chief editors who read the paper they were printing by mail as well as publishers who learned the content of the books they were mass printing from literary magazines will hurry to fill out their retirement applications. These editors will probably opt for other professions, noting that it is very easy to have a title, but that you must also respect it.

This personal responsibility toward which we are directed also involves, as you will find out, a degree of seriousness which we can no longer ignore.

This goes even further. Even the author of books or articles, whom nobody called to order when difficulties arose, will have to account for his lack of craftsmanship, at least to his conscience.

Let nobody believe that this means that I am in favor of a return to the past practice. In these organs guiding the press there were enough parasites, who delayed the production process and deleted good pages from books, but particularly there were editors wishing to remain as long as possible in their plush armchairs, therefore avoiding as much as possible the so-called "problems." It must be said that our party has never avoided problems. And goodness, it has had enough problems during its history. Sharp and courageous social criticism has always been made when necessary, and nobody was spared, no matter how important they were.

I have often been forced to make concessions during my long journalistic career. Always, like in the story of Prince Charming, one must pass through a forest and cross a big river until one reaches truth; however, I cannot say that, in the long run, anyone prevented me from saying everything I had to say.

I believe it is time that we assume responsibility and become an active factor in social life, as some of us have actually been until now; we must understand that a political consciousness, as ours is, no longer needs to be always helped by outsiders. Along these lines I believe that the Union of Writers, the film studios, theatres, television and publishing houses will have a big say in this matter.

We need a healthy and party-minded literature, which is not enslaved to literary trends from everywhere, but which is bonded to the tradition of a great literature like the Romanian one, a literature that should make way for itself in the world, not through imitations but through its own character, a humanist and generous literature devoted to the real man. We need a Romanian art which this great and generous people can recognize and which resembles them. We need films that depict this people's consciousness leap, cinematography from which sharp topical problems should not be absent, since they still exist, a cinematography with authentic and combative heroes. We need a patriotic poetry in the best sense of this word, without slogans, and I must remind you that this wonderful idea of the Hymn to Romania Festival, which our country's president has inspired and is so fond of, has turned out to be a great success from its first edition. It was only natural for it to be like that, and the fact is that two million Romanians sang, wrote poetry, painted and performed on the country's stages, thus proving once and for all the talent and skill of our people.

Before such an unfolding of artistic forces, the role of the artist and writer is great. I believe that my colleagues agree with me when I make this statement. A very great role will however be played by our press, newspapers, magazines, radio and television. They are the most accessible information channels and the most efficient means of influence, political education and enlightenment; it seems inconceivable to me that, from now on, we would not have a responsible, lively, interesting and modern press, written by the best pens, a press which takes stands, capable of rejecting from the start the evil attempts of some people to turn us away from our revolutionary path.

The party only asks us to do our duty toward this people, who are working day and night for the flourishing of Romania, so often put to the test, but always victorious.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

RCP DECISION ON 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 27 May 77 AU

[Text] The decision of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution celebrated by the peoples of the Soviet Union and by the Soviet state has been published today.

The document stresses the importance of this crucial point in world history which opened up the epoch of proletarian revolutions and mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism. The document presents the successes recorded by the peoples of the Soviet Union in all fields of activity in the 6 decades that have elapsed since the October Revolution.

The document stresses that the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution was hailed with enthusiasm by the working masses in our country, who manifested their solidarity with the young Soviet state through forceful mass actions organized throughout the country and with the participation of numerous sons of the Romanian people in defending, arm in hand, Soviet power.

The RCP has constantly struggled, ever since it was created, to establish and develop good neighborly relations, relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. In the difficult years of fascist dictatorship and of the anti-Soviet war, the communists, rejecting the fierce repression, were in the front ranks of the antifascist resistance movement and struggled with heroism and devotion to unite all democratic and patriotic forces in order to pull Romania out of the anti-Soviet war and to join the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

Strengthened, after the liberation, through the blood shed jointly by the Romanian and Soviet soldiers on the fronts of the anti-Hitlerite war, the document continues, the relations of Romanian-Soviet friendship were raised to a higher level in the years of the revolution and socialist construction in Romania. They are tellingly expressed in the continuous expansion of all-round cooperation and in the intensified exchange of experience in the construction of socialism and communism on the basis of esteem and mutual respect.

A decisive influence on developing relations between Romania and the Soviet Union, between the RCP and CPSU and between the Romanian and Soviet peoples has been exerted by the meetings and talks between comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Leonid Brezhnev.

The Executive Political Committee decision stresses that the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is being celebrated in our country at a time when all people are engaged with all their energy in the struggle to eliminate all consequences of the disastrous earthquake of 4 March and to successfully fulfill the 1977 and the five-year plan and to resolutely implement the program formulated by the historic 11th RCP Congress.

The document mentions extensive actions and events that will be organized in our country on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In conclusion the decision states that the celebration in our country of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution celebrated by the peoples of the Soviet Union and by the Soviet state will mark a new step forward in developing relations of friendship and all-round cooperation between the Romanian people and the Soviet peoples, between socialist Romania and the Soviet Union and between the RCP and the CPSU.

At the same time it will be an opportunity for manifesting the solidarity of the Romanian people and of the RCP with all the socialist countries, with the struggle waged by the workers class, by the communist and workers parties and by the democratic and progressive forces everywhere for a better life, democracy, independence and for the triumph of the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES CONDOLENCES ON DEATH OF MOTHER

Cable from Tito

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Jul 77 p 5 AU

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

At this time of great loss for you, I address profound condolences to you and your family, on behalf of Jovanka and myself personally.

[Signed] Josip Broz Tito.

Cable from Longo, Berlinguer

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Jul 77 p 5 AU

[Text] To RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, please receive our most heartfelt condolences in connection with the great loss you have suffered.

[Signed] Luigi Longo and Enrico Berlinguer.

Cable from 'Arafat

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 10 Jul 77 p 5 AU

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Nicolae, Ceausescu,

I learned with particular sorrow of the death of your mother, Comrade Alexandra Ceausescu, who sided, from the bottom of her heart, with our people's struggle and cause, thus giving an example to all women throughout the world.

The members of the PLO Executive Committee and myself personally ask you to accept our heartfelt condolences.

Esteemed Comrade President, allow us to wish you long life, for the happiness and prosperity of the Romanian people.

[Signed] Your brother Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

DJILAS ADVOCATES FIRM HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSION WITH MOSCOW

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Jul 77 p not given

[Text] Belgrade, June. The name Milovan Djilas is not in the Belgrade telephone book. One has to ask at the door whether he is receiving visitors. He lives on a quiet street in back of the Belgrade parliament, in a flat in a well-preserved old building. Opposite a big desk there is a narrow Biedermeier bed, now used as a sofa, against the third wall stand a few old armchairs, and there are books all around. A study. The man who was once number two after Tito in Yugoslav communism had participated in Tito's 1948 break with Stalin, but a few years later also broke with Tito's communism. In 1956 he was locked up, because of an interview with the NEW YORK TIMES, until 1961; and then, in 1962, again for 4 years.

When he was already in prison, in 1957, the first of his critical books, "The New Class," appeared abroad; a few years later followed "Conversations With Stalin." Djilas has been free since 1967. He writes, he reads, he sees visitors, he studies. Among the "dissidents" in communist countries, he is the one with the greatest practical political experience.

He speaks English, quite well. A book in the shelves behind us provides the starting point. Its author, Frederick William Deakin, warden of an Oxford college, was dropped by parachute into Tito's partisan headquarters as a liaison officer of Churchill. One of the five British officers was killed, another was wounded; Djilas remembers that night. They accidentally landed in an operation of the Germans against the partisans.

Then the conversation turns to the Belgrade conference. He is surprised that the Western powers remain stubborn in the negotiations about procedural questions. He had not believed them capable of understanding that procedural questions decide beforehand whether human rights remain on the table at all. He is happy to hear that the Yugoslav Government, in the self-assertion of Yugoslavia against the Soviet Union, is also indirectly helping the cause of human rights at this conference.

The human rights debate, he says, is making the greatest impression in Eastern Europe. It is necessary to continue in it and not to let oneself

intimidated: but the West should speak against the Soviet Union without polemics, very precisely and soberly in expression and stubborn and firm in will. It would be wrong, he says, to conduct a propaganda campaign. The West must guard against two mistakes: One should not back the Soviet leadership into a corner. The American Senator Jackson 2 years ago showed in the linkage between the grain export treaty and emigration permits for Soviet Jews how it should not be done. One must not blackmail the Soviet Union; that would fail. But one must press firmly--an important difference. One must not proceed "wildly," but rather one must calculate: also the break.

If it should come to that, the break must be understood by everyone to be the fault of the Soviet Union. It is important also on that account to conduct the human rights debate objectively. How then? A little more gently than Carter and a little more firmly than the West European governments? Djilas nods. What would it cost? The Soviet holders of power would naturally tighten the screw, and that would be more difficult, in the countries of the Eastern camp, for the opposition. But Moscow would no longer be able to suppress the contradiction in its own camp. The development in the Soviet Union itself has already gone too far in this. Should the West therefore boldly press at the Belgrade conference for fulfillment of the human rights obligation of the Final Act of Helsinki? we ask him. Yes, he says decisively.

Why human rights at all? Where is their importance? Djilas replies: Human rights are not an ideology. That is their advantage. The West has no ideology; that is its advantage over the communist East. Human rights derive from a religious root, without themselves being religion. They push the individual into the middle of politics. That makes it generally comprehensible to everyone, in whatever state or in whatever society he may live.

The Western form, he wrote recently, is obviously neither the ideal nor the best possible form of society. "The significance of the Western democracies, and insofar as they also contribute an ideal, lies in the fact that they dispute that they are perfect. They are thus open to intellectual and social criticism. To put it briefly: they thus show a vitality and adaptability of which neither the large industrial enterprises alone, nor the imperialists, nor the capitalist class would be capable.... Due to its basically humanist orientation, the West is today closer to classical, even Marxist, socialism than the East."

Djilas is, considering his age (67) and his noticeably--though of course not too closely--limited possibilities of expressing his experiences to us, an astoundingly optimistic man. In what direction will the communist movement develop? By no means to a consolidation, but rather the other way around, to sheer diversity. National differences will play an increasingly large role. Djilas understands this development less as an occurrence in the dimension of the breadth than in the depth of time. The nations of

Europe are in quite different conditions of development. And the Soviet Union is the most backward country with the least developed communism, although of course the strongest European country, the only country in Europe with great-power awareness and imperial claims. Here he reveals a difference with Solzhenitsyn: Solzhenitsyn's criticism is too brief towards Russian imperialism, in the nationalities question in the Soviet Union, and towards Eastern Europe.

He would also like to show a difference with Hannah Arendt. It is not, or in any case no longer possible to speak of the communist states of Eastern Europe as "totalitarianism." They are "tyrannies" with many holes and gaps, with free spaces, in which contradiction penetrates and develops, which must be tolerated unwillingly, as for example the expansion of private services, private agricultural production, even private partial markets, which are used as stopgaps for the defects of the system. That is proceeding further and will continue to do so, he says.

This process is displayed -- to a varying degree -- even in the communist parties themselves. He named the Yugoslav party as an example. Despite the "purges" of recent years, an empirical study in the Zagreb party district showed that 45 percent of party members are ready to admit that they think differently than the party leadership. One must assume that a further part of the party members also thinks thus, but does not admit it when questioned. The communists are therefore not only a minority in their country but even within their own party. That is inescapable, he answers, if one expands small cadre parties into mass parties with millions of members. The "opposing forces" have penetrated into many spheres in which everything is still hewing to the line: journalism, the official apparatus, diplomacy, the economic bureaucracy.

It is important, he continues to maintain a situation in Europe in which this process can persist and which makes it difficult for the communists to ally themselves with nationalism against a foreign enemy. The West must therefore renounce threats and "Cold War." He again warns against propaganda, and also against boycotts and the breaking of economic relations. One must conduct trade, but not without political conditions or explicit expectations, for example in the human rights question. It would even be well, says Djilas, for Western Europe to keep its distance from America. That would accelerate the overdevelopment, and hence the decomposition, of Eastern communism. The comment of course shows how a man in isolation comparable to exile in his own land is tempted to subordinate foreign policy to the purposes of internal policy, and how observing the Soviet communist party from closer proximity can stunt the feeling for the political power weight of the Soviet empire and for the necessity to produce a balance. From close by one perceives the fissures more; from a distance one perceives the massiveness of Soviet power.

CURRENT RESEARCH PROBLEMS IN MILITARY SCIENCE

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[Article by Dr Milenko Tesic, battleship captain]

[Text] Military Science Defined

It can be said of science that in large part it is an expression of progress in all aspects of the superstructure. It is the fruit of the objective level of development of the material base, and it has a direct effect on all the fundamentals society is built on. Contemporary science has become an integral part of the productive forces and of production relations; it has become one of the most essential factors in the building of society. New dimensions are being constantly added to the existing results, and this imparts new quantities and new qualities.

Science constitutes the basis for every advance. This applies equally to all the social sectors, to all the sciences and all the scientific disciplines, including those we call military. Regardless of differences in the natural conditions making up the environment of society's existence, the extent to which the productive forces and production relations will develop in conformity with the needs of society or the demands imposed by progress depends on science. This has particular importance from the military standpoint, since it is directly related to the strengthening of the armed forces.

Scientific research in the domain of technical military equipment and armament has been registering enormous progress, which is confirmed by the fact that certain combat systems, types of armament and especially the development of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons have undergone revolutionary changes in the last few decades. This has been done on the basis of an advanced technical superstructure and through good organization of research work, assembly of scientific teams of the highest caliber and well-applied material support.

Results in science are achieved largely by applying the methods of critical, rational and objective investigation. By elucidating the course of natural and social events, science ascertains the aspects of the present and

indicates the trends in future development. Many of the achievements in our time are evidence of marked scientific and technical progress. They also show the immeasurable benefits of that progress provided they are used for the good of humanity. Otherwise, society comes up against a dangerous dialectical opposite and a threat of self-annihilation.

In speaking about the importance of science to the development of socioeconomic and political relations in our country, Kardelj\* emphasizes conservative empiricism as the antithesis of the approach of scientific investigation in treatment of problems in any social sector. Conservative empiricism "diminishes society's creative strength and destroys creative people."

Were we to ignore these premises concerning science, it would have a very adverse effect on our country's armed forces and its combat potential, which unquestionably would result in a greater danger of losing our freedom. There is no doubt that the fundamental attributes of military science cannot lie outside the framework of science in general regardless of whether we are talking about the natural sciences, the social sciences or the engineering sciences, or about basic or applied research. But we must take the time to define it epistemologically.

It is difficult to offer an appropriate definition of military science because of the all-inclusive meaning of science and scientific disciplines. One acceptable definition might be this: Science is systematized knowledge gained and developed by means of a particular methodology in order to advance our knowledge of existing laws (patterns) of the more rapid development and transformation of society and in order to discover new ones.

We also need to attempt discussion of the fundamental elements that serve to define military science: its subject matter, its methodology and its laws.

The subject matter of a science is that part of reality which that branch of science or discipline is concerned with. Every science has its own subject for investigation which makes it different from other sciences. One and the same subject matter may not be common to several sciences, at least not in the literal sense. If, for example, man is looked upon as an object for study, it is true that he is not the subject matter of one and only one science. There are indeed a whole range of what we call the humanistic sciences which are concerned with man. However, each of these sciences looks at man from its own angle, which is different from the vantage point taken by any other science.

Though the subject matter of a science is defined as that portion of reality which that science is concerned with, we must say that we are nevertheless dealing with a definite sum total of knowledge and that that knowledge is highly organized. Another fact we should bear in mind is that one of science's basic features is that it advances existing knowledge and discovers new knowledge.

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\* Kardelj's address upon being elected full professor of the political economy of socialism in the Ljubljana Economics Faculty, 17 February 1977.

The subject matter of military science is one of the domains of social reality which is the sole concern of military science. The experts differ in defining the subject matter of military science. Is the subject matter war as a social phenomenon or is it armed conflict? In the case of Yugoslav military science, it is frequently said that its subject matter is nationwide defense.

War is a very broad term, a social phenomenon with which many sciences are concerned. Yugoslav society sets all scientists the task, regardless of the scientific branch to which they belong, of extending their studies to include all relative factors and influences which might arise during a possible war. This applies not only to the social sciences, but also to the natural sciences and engineering sciences. It is true that war does not define those sciences with respect to subject matter, but this is rather left to the military sciences. The other sciences have a more marginal concern with war as subject matter, while war is the focus of military science.

Nationwide defense, as a concept belonging to Yugoslav self-management socialism, is a mandatory subject for the study of all the Yugoslav nationalities and ethnic minorities. That is, it is basic to the definition of the conception of nationwide defense that it is the concern of every Yugoslav and every social community--all subjects or entities in society, and that means that it is the concern of every science and discipline as well. Can an object for study such as nationwide defense be assigned exclusively to military science? Of course not, because of the general social nature of Yugoslavia's nationwide defense. However, whereas numerous other sciences study nationwide warfare and defense as one among many phenomena, this cannot be said of military science. After all, war is the central question for military science and its only definition. There are indeed a great number of other specific features: for example, military science is concerned with the art of war, which cannot be said to exist even marginally in the other sciences.

At this point we encounter a new problem--the classification of military science. Can military science be equated with the art of war with respect to its subject matter? Can we include in military science, for example, military economics, the law of war, or numerous other sciences (military psychology, ballistics, missile system theory, military surgery, etc.)? Where in fact do these sciences belong, what field of science do they fall into? These questions were put at the Symposium on Military Science held in Belgrade in 1969. No definite answer was given, though many solutions were offered. It is obvious that these subject areas belong to the relevant parent sciences, but at the same time they are also part of military science. If military science were to encompass all the fields which take up war-related problems, then it would become a "science above other sciences," and this would be true not only in wartime, but also in peacetime, which is treated as a period of preparation for war. Actually, this is not true of military science, nor could it be.

The need arises, then, to narrow down the subject matter of military science. Its subject matter is certainly war, nationwide defense in particular, but not in all its domains, but only in the domain of armed conflict or its preparation. Everything that is directly related to armed conflict is also included in military science. The range of subject matter is so great that it is not possible to cover it with a single term. The art of war is concerned with the preparation and waging of armed combat within the framework of strategy, operations and tactics, but it also includes rear support (logistics); the study of the influence of the terrain, air and water (sea), which is the domain of military geography; and study of experiences from wars past and present (military history). We should also include here a separate domain whereby the social and other sciences are part of war preparations, which certainly is complementary to armed conflict as the subject matter which is the concern of military science. It is precisely this diversity of subject matter, this wide range of differing content making up the subject matter of research in the field of military science that makes it necessary to differentiate the domain of military science into different sciences. Thus military science is not a unified science, but rather there is a system of military sciences, analogous to the systems of other fields of science such as medicine, biology, engineering, geography, etc.

In short, the subject matter of the military sciences is armed conflict, but there are considerable differences between that portion of this field which is studied only by the military sciences (the art of war) and that portion which is also the concern of other sciences (geography, history, medicine, etc.), whose inclusion in the system of military sciences is debatable.

If armed conflict is the subject matter of military science, then in what field should we place unarmed forms of resistance? In spite of the fact that the term itself (unarmed) excludes those forms of resistance which are germane to military science, this certainly cannot be the case. After all, the people without weapons is confronting an aggressor who is armed. Is this, then, the subject matter of military science? The answer must be affirmative: the struggle of a bare-handed people is also armed conflict.

Method and methodology are also fundamental to the categorization of a science, and we must therefore examine them with respect to military science. Method is the manner in which a particular problem is investigated. It is a specific procedure for achieving a certain goal, for solving a particular problem, the manner in which reality is purposefully conquered for purposes of theory and practice.\* Science cannot exist without its own method of investigation.

For a method to be scientific, it must possess certain attributes. It first must be theoretically sound, and its practical application must have been proven. It must be consistent and clearly determined in the application of

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\* Stojkovic, A., "Opsti uvod u metodologiju vojnonaucnog rada" [General Introduction to Research Methodology in the Field of Military Science], Higher Military Educational Center, 1971, p 45.

its regulatory principles. From the standpoint of functionality, the method must afford movement by the shortest and most reliable routes in order to achieve the best possible results. Economy of time and space and economic efficiency in the investment of money and materiel are indeed achieved by applying an appropriate method of scientific work.

There are general methods which are common to several sciences, and there are specific methods applicable to one or several related sciences. It is characteristic of military science that in conformity with its social definition, it makes use of several general methods, but it also has its own special methods.

The general methods used by military science are the subject matter for the study of methodology, which in this case is general methodology. This science studies the modes of investigation whereby objective and systematic scientific knowledge or theory is gained. As the science of scientific cognition, it is a part of logic and also a part of philosophy. As a scientific strategy methodology examines the goals, organization and general orientation in scientific work. It concerns itself with analyzing the problems, with their rational application [sic--translator's note], with a critical stance toward experience, and with processing and systematizing the scientific results.

In addition to general methodology, there is also special or specific methodology which affords a broader and more comprehensive familiarity with a specific science, which plots the ways and means which scientists must have in order to discover new knowledge or new laws in a particular science. In military science\* there is both general methodology and special methodologies. General methodology consists of that stock of methodological knowledge which is applicable to the system of military sciences and by and large also to other sciences as well. It might therefore be called the methodology of military sciences. The special military methodologies pertain to the separate military sciences or fields of military science. By contrast with general methodology, which can be treated separately as one of the military sciences, the special methodology does not have a separate subject matter which it studies, since it is inherent in the military science to which the special methodology is applied. To separate methodology, say, from strategy, tactics, military geography or other military sciences would be to detract from the scientific definition of those sciences, since a science's methodology is inseparably bound up with that science. However, this does not preclude the possibility of a methodological examination of the methods which are inherent in the particular sciences, so that we can speak of the methodology of the art of war, of military geography, of the laws of war, etc. The purely military methods which would be taken up as subject matter by the special methodology are, for example, maneuvers or large-scale

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\* Since with respect to its subject matter military science is composed of several separate sciences, it would be more correct to speak about a system of military sciences; when we use the term military science in the singular, the implication is nevertheless plural.

training exercises, the process of evaluating a situation, the conduct of tactical, tactical-operational and other missions in the command, in the classroom, or in the field.

Scientific laws are an important determining element of military science, and we therefore need to discuss their place and importance in the military sciences. Armed conflict, as the subject matter studied by the military sciences, does not occur haphazardly and arbitrarily, but is subject to the effect of definite patterns which are characteristic of all the social sciences.

To be effective in armed conflict, one must know the objective laws, one must act in accordance with them, one must find the way of making best use of them, and one must especially obtain knowledge of new laws. That is the purpose of scientific research. Whichever side applies the known laws more appropriately, whichever side displays creativity in this, and especially that side which discovers new laws, that is the side which will achieve better results in armed conflict insofar as it has met the conditions to which the patterns of development are subject.

A law is an inherent relation among phenomena in any science, including the military sciences. The development of any phenomenon must take place within the context of other phenomena, must arise from objective conditional relationships, and must be the basis for the birth of new phenomena. Every concept can be treated both absolutely and relatively, but in every case it must be treated as a part of a system or systems to which that concept belongs, just as it must be borne in mind that there exist numerous systems within that concept.

Meanwhile, another fact that must be borne in mind is that there are a great many laws which exist independently of human will and knowledge, men are unable to alter or suspend them, but they may discover them, learn about them and use them in their everyday work. The purpose of any science is to discover, verify and explain scientific laws.\* Laws already discovered represent an empirical category, which means that man is already using them in practice and acting in accordance with them regardless of whether or to what extent he is aware of that fact.

War as a social phenomenon has a great number of laws governing the course of events. It indeed occurs according to the laws of development under given social conditions. Within war as a social phenomenon one can distinguish the general laws which apply regardless of time and geographic space from the specific (special) laws which are related to a particular historical era, a specific war, operation or battle. Numerous principles are derived from the laws of armed conflict, of which the following have particular importance: the principle of massive use of personnel and materiel by

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\* When several scientific laws are bound together into a logical whole, they constitute a theory. Every science has its practical and theoretical purpose, which is manifested as an indivisible whole.

comparison with the enemy (superiority), the principle of imposing one's own mode of warfare on the enemy, the principle of uninterrupted combat action in order to wear the enemy down, the principle of rationality in the use of men and materiel at the right time and the right place, the principle of surprise, the principle of unity of time and place in direction and command of units, etc.

The laws of armed conflict do not operate in isolation from one another, but in a synchronized and interdependent relationship. Some of them have greater influence in certain situations, and others less. It is in fact a study of the specific conditions which is decisive to the use of forces, space and time under specific wartime conditions. The prolonged peacetime research done in the field of military science by responsible institutions and offices is now brought to bear on the use of units in the upcoming battle (operation). He who has acquired the skills of systematically following and studying a situation will be at an advantage over him who has ignored the principles of scientific research, and this will be directly reflected in the outcome of the action.

The military sciences also satisfy this condition of their existence. As a matter of fact, it is thereby that they fulfill all the fundamental prerequisites for existence of a system of military sciences, that is, for a gnoseological, logical and epistemological treatment of military science.

One problem that arises is this: What is the relationship between the military sciences and the other sciences, what kind of interaction is there among them?

The multidisciplinary approach is an imperative of present-day scientific research. It is more evident than ever in the military sciences, above all in practical military science. For example, a tactical solution in the course of combat certainly cannot be the fruit of but one science nor even of one scientific area. Almost every decision, even though its impact be limited (small), has its origin in several different wellsprings of military science. If one is to make the correct tactical decisions, one must know not only tactics as a science, but also as a practical and operational matter (in some cases strategy as well), and then military organization, the theory of direction, military geography and military history, and these are all sciences within the body of the sciences of the art of war (the traditional military sciences).

Yet this purely military knowledge proves insufficient unless one has an adequate knowledge of the social, economic, engineering, medical and biological sciences. This is no reason for us to proclaim all those sciences to be military sciences. Consistent with the principles of nationwide defensive warfare, they study war, each from its own aspect, and this would include the efforts which society makes to organize resistance to a possible aggressor. Within these scientific areas each of the sciences has its own military aspect, yet it belongs to the scientific assets of the relevant sciences.

It is the military sciences (strategy, operations, tactics, military organization, military geography and military history) which should aid the other sciences with work done in military schools and military scientific institutes to elaborate the conception of nationwide defense, so that those sciences are equipped to become more effectively involved in nationwide defense within the limits of their subject matter. Research in military science studies most effectively the potential aggressor, his capabilities, armament and strength, and the routes along which he would advance in carrying out aggression against our country. The military sciences also study our own forces and capabilities, the optimum organization of forces for given conditions of warfare, the mode of reaction in specific situations, forms of combat action in the context of frontal, guerrilla and combined frontal-guerrilla warfare, and experience with procedures used in past or present wars. There is no other science which would be concerned with this outside the system of military sciences. That system is therefore an inevitability. The subject matter of the military sciences is offered to the other sciences as material to serve as subject matter in an examination from their angles of investigation.

The military sciences do not stand in a relationship to the other sciences as of an object which in science should be respected and an object which should be "exploited." The military sciences themselves are constantly "receiving" information "broadcast" by the other sciences. The military sciences enrich themselves thereby and equip themselves for more realistic assessment of all the relevant factors within the subject matter of the military sciences, and this in turn has a feedback effect on the other sciences as well. In this lies the dialectical interaction among all sciences, and specifically between the system of military sciences and the other sciences. After all, the military sciences have a source of their own development in all the other sciences, and at the same time they represent a wellspring for all the other sciences.

#### Certain Attributes of Research in Military Science

Systematized knowledge of a higher order, that is, the subject matter of military science, and then the methodology the scientist uses in approaching the problem being investigated, then the laws on which all work in military science is built and which represent the optimum goals of research work, represent the fundamental principles of military science, just as they are the fundamental elements of any other scientific field. There are also other principles which are characteristic of research in the field of military science, namely: objectivity, ideological orientation, progressiveness, originality, precision, gradualness, verifiability, freedom of judgment, and a critical attitude. The extent to which these attributes and principles are represented characterizes the level of a project's scientific value. We must therefore devote more space to the attributes of research in military science, at least sufficient space to indicate their importance in scientific research, since that is the main point of this topic.

With respect to impartiality scientific knowledge differs from religious and commonsensical (layman's) knowledge, which is not able to predict and impart practical guidance to future events to meet man's needs. In his search for new data of significance to solving specific scientific problems the researcher turns to reality, to empirical facts or events taking place in contemporary society, and the military scientist thereby equips himself to plot the future line of development of events.

The principal prerequisite of objectivity is the thorough elimination of irrational influences on thought. The researcher must be free of subjective influences, emotional states, interests based on personal property or political advantage, various ideological prejudices, emotions, passions, moods, etc. Since this is practically impossible, the researcher is expected to strive to achieve this kind of liberation.

The criterion of truth in science is indisputable and universal. There are no criteria in science which would allow anything to be falsified in pursuit of special interests. The scientist must use the methods offered by the particular science. This makes it incumbent upon every scientist to be impartial, which is not exclusively a matter of personal ethics or group ethics, but is a necessity. Consequently, the scientist must be objective and must not arouse suspicion as to the impartiality of the scientific results, not because he wishes, but because he must.

The principle of objectivity does not allow science to have class attributes, which does not mean that it is not class-oriented and that differing ideological orientations may not be represented in science. Science should serve all social strata, since the achievements of scientific work are a benefit belonging to the entire community.

The social scientists, however, are in most cases under the influence of the ruling class in whose interest it is for scientific work to confirm the expediency of the sociopolitical system which ensures the ruling class certain privileges. In science this influence is manifested in the seconding or justification of steps taken by the ruling class. Though this violates impartiality as a principle in science, class influences are undoubtedly manifested, and different ideological currents are represented.

In social systems where the working class is in power science by and large has socialist attributes, though even here there are differences. In principle socialist science develops in the interest of the ruling working class and represents the interests of all social structures. Our own social sciences are oriented toward self-management socialism, which is evidence that the self-management concept is the only option and interest of Yugoslav society, just as the concept of nationwide defense is the only choice if our society is to develop freely with self-management relations.

Ideological or conceptual orientation in science has its broad and narrow aspects. In the broad sense it implies dialectical treatment of a problem and elucidation of conditions related to the origin, existence, life and

work of a community, to its development. Every activity has its conceptual framework, its meaning, representing not only its motivation but also an essential component of that activity's content. The conceptual framework in the social sciences means conceptualization of the activity of a social community, regardless of its size, including even separate subjects in the sense of independent agents. In the military sciences the conceptual orientation is a constant in scientific development. It can be said of our own military science that insofar as it is based on the conception of nationwide defense, to that extent it will have a conceptual framework (in the broad sense).

Ideological orientation in the narrow sense is the manifestation of the class attributes of a science. As one of the social sciences, even military science will be imbued with the class character of the ruling social system. With respect to class commitment military science may be either progressive or reactionary, this being a manifestation of ideological orientation in the narrow sense. That military science is progressive which discovers the laws of war, but which also demonstrates that armed conflict is not inevitable, which makes it clear that military conflict is an absurdity, and which at the same time builds up the most favorable forms and effective weapons to combat an aggressor and preserve its integrity.

Our concept of nationwide warfare is profoundly progressive, since it is based on preparing the populace as a whole to defend its independence. The doctrine of nationwide defense therefore excludes wars of conquest and wars to subjugate other peoples. The reactionary military sciences, on the other hand, are those which take a fatalistic attitude toward armed conflicts among nations, overlooking the fact that wars bring about self-destruction, those which conduct research to find the most effective means of waging wars of conquest and of fighting liberation movements.\*

The ideological stance\*\* of Yugoslav military science has been expressed in the Resolution on Nationwide Defense, Security and Social Self-Protection of the 10th LCY Congress: "The 10th LCY Congress requires organizations of the League of Communists and individual party members concerned with the fields of science and creativity in society and in the armed forces to join their efforts in contributing to more rational and effective commitment of the country's scientific potential to all matters which have a bearing on nationwide defense, security and social self-protection."

\* Pekic, D., "Vojna nauka u sluzbi samoupravnog drustva" [Military Science at the Service of a Self-Managed Society], p 79.

\*\* Ideology is the sum total of ideas and theories whereby a social class, in our case the working class, expresses its interests and the goals and standards of its activity. The Marxist unity of science and ideology follows from the fact that the working class has no special goals whatsoever which would not at the same time represent the interests of society as a whole. Our own science is unified with an ideology which is oriented toward the fuller liberation of man. The ideological element in Marx' philosophy lies in the conception of the ultimate goals of the working class movement.

Progressiveness is an essential determining element of any science. Even military science must be constantly exposed to the new, to what has still not been achieved. It has been said several times: nothing is so good that it cannot be improved. The search for that new thing, the assimilation of new information and new ways and means is an expression of society's movement and of the world's development. The scope of science and the range of its capabilities are great. Just as the world is infinite, so science, and that implies military science as well, is also infinite. When a science reaches its summit (perfection under the given conditions of social development), it comes close to art and becomes an art.\* Conversely, when an art achieves ultimate perfection, it achieves that culmination by becoming a science in its own way. Here we see the unity of science and art as the highest manifestations of human creativity.

Originality is another link in the chain of science; without it there certainly would be no science. Research in the field of military science must also be original and must distinguish itself by the discovery of facts previously unknown. They must be the fruit of an investigation. There is a very wide range of achievements which represent the fruit of scientific research. They may be a new datum, a new attitude, judgment, theorem, law, a new methodological or technical procedure, the verification of certain scientific discoveries, and so on.

Although the objectivity of a science is an indispensable attribute if authentic values are to be attained, the subjective approach certainly cannot be excluded from scientific work. A science expresses the results of personal research and reflection, the creator's imagination, all of which constitute the essence of originality. It would be an illusion to expect that all scientific work would be altogether original. In actuality there is no such work, and we especially cannot expect it of young scientists. This has been confirmed by the experience of all great researchers and great men, both past and present.\*\*

Even in military science originality is one of the important conditions when a work of science is being evaluated. It is especially important in Tito's work in military science. His contribution represents an integral expression of theory and practice, particularly of the latter, placing him in the rank of distinguished military scientist not only in the Yugoslav framework, but indeed in the world.

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\* Rajnberg, "Metodika i tehnika naucnog rada" [Scientific Research Methods and Techniques], p 13.

\*\* Goethe once said: "We always speak about originality, but think of what it means! As soon as we are born, the world begins to influence us, and that influence continues to the end. And it applies everywhere!... Were I to say everything that I owe to my great predecessors and contemporaries, I would have little left. (Samic, M., "Kako nastaje naucno djelo" [The Genesis of Scientific Creation]).

Gradualness is an especially important principle in the process of scientific research. This applies equally in all sciences. No great scientific achievement can come about overnight, as the fruit of a momentary inspiration. Much work must be invested to arrive at great results. Those who are impatient, who want to jump over the indispensable steps that lead to the scientific heights, cannot easily arrive at the desired results, and then they are disappointed and lose their motivation.\* Copernicus worked almost 60 years before he published his paper on the heliocentric theory of planetary motion. Darwin spent more than 20 years preparing his major work "Origin of Species." Pasteur devoted 5 years of work to the serum against rabies, and Faraday devoted 10 years to the problem of the influence of magnetism on electricity. It took long years, much strenuous work and about \$3.5 billion to produce the first nuclear bomb.

The development of the sciences is characterized by gradualness; they pass through prescribed stages of development:\*

- i) the descriptive sciences are characterized by the gathering of facts and by their systematization;
- ii) the sciences based on logic and analysis perform content analysis on the subject matter being studied;
- iii) the sciences based on harmony and unity accomplish the optimal assimilation of the qualitative and quantitative scientific knowledge that has been gained.

Accuracy as a concept signifies that objectivity is a prerequisite of research in military science. It is indispensable if one is to speak about the progress of military science or of any other science. Moreover, this principle also applies to phenomena which need not become part of the fund of scientific knowledge. A further degree of accuracy can be applied to scientific work, and that is what we call precision. In certain sciences, but especially in the physical and engineering sciences, precision is indispensable to achievement of good results. The precision of scientific work is enhanced by scientific procedures, and above all by the use of quantitative methods in scientific research. Failure to respect this principle in the military sciences will detract from the success achieved in an action, a battle or an operation.

Writing in military science is characterized by clear explanation, a logical connection of ideas, an emphasis on the most important point. In the military sciences there is no place for ambiguous interpretations and vagueness.

There are no data in science which cannot be verified. There are several ways of making this verification. This applies to every theoretical position and every work of science, which is why verifiability is frequently part of the definition of science, constituting one of its fundamental

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\* Dobrov, "Nauka o nauci" [The Science of Science], p 21.

determining elements. It is this attribute which makes it possible for science to be objective. If it were not possible to verify the data and the positions taken by scientists, science would easily become an instrument for achievement of special interests which individuals or groups have in a given social community.

The verifiability of postulates might appear to be uncertain in the military sciences in view of the fact that development of combat operations is predicted in peacetime relative to a state of war when it is not known when that state of war will occur. It would be too categorical to assert that war verifies the military sciences, that military science cannot be sufficiently objectified until it is confirmed in combat situations.

By and large the military sciences do confirm their postulates in war. On the other hand, the military sciences verify scientific achievements in maneuvers, which are able to create a combat situation in peacetime. The better the preparation of the maneuver, the more faithfully it will reflect the hypothetical situation and the development of events under wartime conditions. Present-day training facilities make it possible for many postulates to be verified indoors (tactical exercise boards, demonstration rooms, special command posts used in exercises, etc.). So, military science is also subject to the principle of verifiability, but certainly there are specificities related to the subject matter which it studies.

Freedom of scientific creation is a prerequisite for good scientific work. The researcher must be freed of restraints which affect the way he thinks and the objectivity of the work of science. There is a danger that this principle be subordinated to interests of the moment, momentary political currents, and this applies equally to all fields of science. Even the institution setting the topic, and especially the university department, the supervisor, the school, the financial authority, etc., can have an effect on the scientist and suggest its own views and opinions to him. It is dangerous to give in to material interests or to some established authority in the phase of investigation. This would degrade not only the fundamental principles, but also the other principles on which scientific creativity is based.

At the Eighth Congress of the League of Yugoslav Writers, Comrade Dolanc expressed the stance of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia concerning freedom of creativity in literature and art, but it applies in science as well and also to military science: "Freedom of creation is not an abstract principle, nor a political slogan, but an organic, class and humanistic component of our socialist revolution.... Freedom of creation is not reserved to the narrow cultural and intellectual sphere, to the sphere of art and science. It is not some privilege extended exclusively to cultural creators, but a part of the fundamental principle of the liberation of labor, a part of that social and historical development which is based on the character of our socialist revolution." Freedom of creation, then, is a principle applying not only to scientific investigation, but to all work, but it also implies the creator's obligation to the collective, to the social community he belongs to, which is the supreme judge of his creative work.

Freedom of creation is differently treated and evaluated in closed and open communities. The former characteristically resists all outside influences; the only pronounced influences are those of the closed environment. Military structures are by nature closed in many respects, and there is a danger of this affecting the freedom of scientific research. Adaptability is a form of inertia on the part of military researchers, resulting from the structure of military organization. It is a necessity to attain freedom from these objective limits so as not to stray into practicalism and pragmatism, so as not to jeopardize the scientific value of the research and of the researcher himself. Only in an open atmosphere is it possible to attain the summit of scientific creation. Military communities are open in many aspects, but even where they are objectively closed, scientific creativity should be open.\*

Science can advance only if a critical attitude is taken toward what has been previously created in science. Marx in fact defined science as criticism of the status quo of society and as the theoretical implement for building its new form. Criticism makes it possible for reality, life and the true development of events to be compared with what has been prescribed by behavioral norms, and in many cases this is the scientific contribution of an individual or a branch of science.

Regardless of his type of work, the scientist can never be permanently satisfied with the results he has achieved. Achievements in science should serve only as the basis for new theories, new laws and new results. Criticism is a vigorous attitude toward the topics (concepts) being debated. Only when man sets himself in opposition to what exists and what is known is he able to conquer what does not exist and what is still unknown. Not only in science is this the case, but in life as well. By extending support to certain solutions, man is in a position to stabilize that solution, to facilitate performance of functions that depend on that solution, that is, to bring the existing contribution into conformity with other contributions. However, even when he gives his support, in scientific work (and practical life) a man should think about improving the solutions he has supported and about ways of making them still better than what has been achieved.

Because of the specific nature of military organization, there is a danger that research in military science be restricted to some extent with respect to criticism, depending on the identity of the person doing the scientific work. The younger man in the army cannot oppose an older man in treatment of problems which concern military subordination, even though it be a question of scientific creativity. But in the army there is no one who is not at the same time both younger and older. To some extent this objectively

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\* Socrates drank the poison in order to demonstrate to his fellow citizens that life is pointless without freedom and responsibility and that man lacking critical spirit and deprived of the right to doubt is a thing in a world of things (Susnjic, Dj., "Otpori kritickom misljenju" [Obstacles to Critical Thought], p 34).

affects criticism in scientific creation. Of course, any limit on creation which has scientific pretensions has an adverse effect on the results of research work. As has often been said, in science there is neither youth nor age, neither subordinates nor superiors. Science recognizes only teamwork in achieving results not yet attained and in moving beyond present solutions. The more respect that is given to the principle of freedom of creativity and criticism of the status quo in science and in life within the various military communities, especially scientific and educational institutions, the more useful the results of scientific work will be to that community and also the broader community.

When criticism becomes an end in itself, if it is aimed at achieving goals which have no relation to the subject being debated, when criticism is ad hominem and not related to the topic being studied (debated), then that criticism is rather fault-finding or destructive (negativistic) criticism, which should have no place in scientific research. Scientific criticism ought not to be categorical either. It must be tentative, diplomatic, well-argued and courteous. When some research procedure or some scientific achievement is being criticized, one must always bear in mind the fact that the researcher has spent quite a bit of time on the problem under consideration, that he has had an opportunity to formulate the solution being presented with more attention and patience. At least a little room should be left for other solutions besides those being suggested by the critic. Moreover, criticism frequently does not offer solutions of its own, which is poor practice not only in science, especially the military sciences, but even in work groups which have more modest pretensions.

By way of conclusion to this part of our presentation we might say that objectivity, ideological commitment or conceptual framework, progressiveness, originality, accuracy, precision, gradualness, verifiability, freedom of creation and a critical attitude are essential attributes of scientific research in military sciences and in other sciences. It was Mendeleev who postulated the functionality of goals in science when he said: "In scientific study of a subject there are two basic or ultimate goals: prediction and benefit."\* When nothing better than what exists is discovered, when even pathways toward finding that improvement are not plotted, then there is no science. For scientific achievements to be worthy of the name, they must be beneficial to man, to society, and to the immediate and broader community. This applies above all to work in military science, which is oriented toward achievement of clear goals. All our research activity is based on the conception of nationwide defense, which means that it is subordinate to the general and special goals which are confronted by the social (Yugoslav) community.

#### Importance of Scientific Research to Strengthening Combat Capability

The overall goal of scientific research in the armed forces determines its importance to the armed forces and thereby to the broader community as well.

\* Dobrov, "Nauka o naukama," p 15.

That purpose is primarily the further theoretical and practical elaboration of the conception of nationwide defense, and especially of the theory of combat.

Within this general goal one can distinguish separate goals within particular domains of scientific research: adoption of the scientific approach as the basis for finding optimal organizational solutions in work on problems important to the armed forces; achievement of good cooperation with all institutions within the armed forces and in society which are engaged in scientific research; examination and adoption of medium-term and long-range planning targets as well as the financial framework of research undertakings; guidance and faster development of research personnel in accordance with the needs of the armed forces; constant improvement of scientific research methodology; development of the methods of operations research; improvement of procedures for verifying and evaluating the results of research; improvement of military training, maneuvers and the everyday work of staffs, commands and units so as to equip them for the complex combat missions which they may be assigned in armed conflict; development of information systems, which should make it possible to follow the relevant data at all times and which are a prerequisite for scientific development.

Which topic should be written up, which projects should be completed so that combat capability in the armed forces is advanced by virtue of science? The question is so broad that it implies a whole range of answers. Each answer must have certain qualifications as a function of the system which is to be satisfied (the overall system, the branch, the arm, the army, division, regiment, or battalion, the service, school or organization, etc.). Research may be primarily theoretical or primarily practical, it may be done in an institute, in the field, or in a school, it may be in the field of strategy, operations, tactics, military organization, military geography or military history, or again it may concern military engineering, military medicine or military economics. There is a range of possible answers even within each of the military sciences, but that is also the case in other fields of science as far as elaboration of the conception of nationwide defense is concerned. It is not possible in this place to furnish satisfactory answers to all the problems related to the scientific approach to strengthening nationwide defense or the combat readiness of the armed forces and the nation as a whole. One can only discuss the principles and provide examples, that is, offer partial answers by taking up certain of the problems.

For example, the topic "Lessons of Local Wars Since World War II in the Operational-Strategic Field." The topic is general, it concerns military strategy, but it contains significant elements of operational and even of tactical problems. It encompasses the armed forces as a whole, but it also may involve discussion of the branches, arms and services, units at different levels, activities which are combined by nature (involvement of several different disciplines, several different arms and services, actions which belong to different levels because of their scope). We are dealing, then, with a complex topic which would have to be handled by several teams, would

take a long time, and would pursue the general goal of investigating the conditions which give rise to local wars, the character of the individual wars and the way in which they were waged, the personnel and materiel which participated in them, in order to generalize the lessons which have broad importance to theory in the art of war and to the practice of waging armed conflict under present conditions. The purpose of all this is to use the experiences of others and to maintain continuity in development of thought in military science and so that appropriate steps might be taken under given conditions, in situations that represent a crisis for our country.

Preparation of the study would be a lengthy process, and it would encompass specific research into wars which have the greatest value to military science (Algeria, Vietnam, Cuba, the Near East). The design of the project should solve the basic questions concerning organization and techniques: who will do the work, what shall be taken up, how shall it be done and what set of techniques shall be used.

The design is the work document that gives guidance to the researchers. It is the true coordinator of activities in work on the overall topic. There is no doubt that it would be necessary to involve experts (scientists and specialists) with diverse backgrounds, including military historians, strategists, operations experts, tacticians, and representatives of the branches, arms and services. All of this should be unified by the day-to-day supervisor of the project and by the bodies elected to verify the various segments and the project as a whole.

The methodology of work in military science is the same for all scientific communities: in the field (fleet), command, school or institute. But the objective conditions and the subject matter worked on do differ, and consequently the contribution which the various organizational entities make to military science will also differ. Nor are conditions for scientific work always the same in field units. There is a great difference between units (operational and higher tactical units), especially in the navy and air force, and smaller units (tactical and below). In the former the conditions for scientific work are much better. Proximity to scientific sources, urban centers which possess up-to-date libraries, archives and information centers has an important role here. Reliance on such sources facilitates systematic work, which is not the case with units stationed in out-of-the-way places.

The following principles apply to scientific work in field units: rational distribution of the work, good organization of work, purposive application of scientific methods, work standards and incentives, creation of favorable physical conditions for work, creative initiative, the ideological approach to tasks, well-thought-out work on problems of training and indoctrination, and constant improvement of the skills and cultural level of researchers. All of this should be attained insofar as allowed by the objective conditions prevailing in the unit. However, it should be borne in mind that the principal subject matter for research work in field units is training and indoctrination, the use of war materiel, armament and equipment. No one is in a better position to examine the processes of training in detail than

field officers. It is they who are doing the training, and they are in constant contact with the problems as they arise in units.

If officers lack the time or do not have the facilities to write or to engage in research, they can furnish valuable material in the form of communications in more modest form to researchers in higher commands and institutes, who might be supervisors of task forces consisting of field officers.

At this point we come upon the term scientific management and innovation. Are these scientific categories? We must say that they are not, but very significant results can be achieved by virtue of activities related to them.

Scientific management is defined as the sum total of procedures whereby changes are accomplished in management and use of existing equipment, materials, mechanical energy and human manpower. It manifests itself in improvement of product quality, augmentation of specific output and better organization of labor. There are various procedures used to achieve it, but the primary technique is to simplify tactical procedures (when we are talking about the art of war), to shorten intervals of time and space, to make fuller and more expedient use of combat equipment, to specialize, and so on.

Innovation may be an extension of scientific management, but it also may be a manifestation of research in practice. It involves the introduction of new achievements in science and technology whereby a contribution is made to qualitative improvement of certain procedures, certain combat devices, installations, power plants, etc. The innovator is an expert who has contributed to more rational use of some implements.

Scientific management and innovation make the biggest difference in the field. Improvement of training is scientific management, but it also may be innovation if qualitatively new approaches are involved. The field officer does not have the facilities to go beyond this as a researcher. He may be a very useful collaborator of a researcher, which gives him an opportunity to be involved in projects and to offer valuable contributions to practice and beyond that to the theory and development of thought in military science.

Higher commands and staffs undoubtedly have better facilities for scientific research than field units. Here you have more experienced officers who have come up through a succession of field assignments, officers who are still closely concerned with the problems faced by field units. These officers are in a position to have immediate feel for the requirements imposed by everyday practice and to formulate those requirements as problems which should be investigated with scientific methodology. In view of this intermediate role played by officers of higher commands and staffs with respect to performance of topics important to units, the problem is how to activate all officers to the fullest, that is, to turn higher commands and staffs into centers of a sort for operational scientific work, which would make them very important to improvement of the practice and theory of military science.

It is not a simple matter to set up research groups in commands and staffs for continuous work over a prolonged period. The pace of the everyday business of directing units precludes this to a large extent. That is why the tasks are assigned to officers in these commands on an individual basis; they are given individual segments of topics or projects which are parts of larger studies, and those officers are then able to do the work in collaboration with officers from field units or on their own. The commander or chief of staff has a duty to see that officers engaged in research in military science are occasionally relieved of their everyday duties, especially when it is a question of completing the assignment and putting it in its final form. Superior officers will undoubtedly bear in mind the general benefit to be obtained from this work, which need not have direct relevance for their units alone. When research assignments are being given or passed on to officers in a command (staff), consideration will be given to coordinating research work with the practical needs of the unit.

Preparation of documents for the internal work of the staff or for communication with subordinate units may also be a scientific research problem. An erroneous definition, unclear expressions, failures to be explicit, all of this can have fateful consequences concerning the unit's operational capability. That is why the responsible officer (chief of staff, chief of operations, or in special cases the commanding officer) will call the officers together for information and instruction concerning the requirements of up-to-date staff documentations, taking into account the need to simplify and reduce the number of documents.

Since military schools are teaching and research institutions, they have the officers with the highest education and diverse specialization with respect to research and teaching. Though the principal function of this personnel is to teach by holding classes, this function is inseparable from research work. The fact is that the instructors gathered together in an institution have exceptional opportunities to be in direct contact over a prolonged period of time. They have available to them libraries well stocked with both public and internal materials. Through the appropriate commands and institutions they have ongoing contacts with units, and therefore the opportunities are very favorable for development of intensive research work.

Though scientific research in the armed forces should be conducted in units of the ground forces, the navy and the air force, and then in high commands and staffs, as well as in military schools, nowhere can this work be carried on so successfully as in specialized scientific institutions, in military scientific institutes. Scientific institutions are founded in the armed forces only if the needs for scientific work and development work cannot be met by using services of scientific institutions outside the organic makeup of the armed forces. On the basis of the makeup of the military sciences and the demands put by nationwide defense as the strategic concept of Yugoslav society, the following institutes ought to exist in the armed forces: an institute for the art of war, an institute for military social sciences and military economic sciences, and then institutes for military engineering and medical and biological sciences. Scientific institutes are organized

in the Yugoslav People's Army if a problem has been defined which can be researched only within an institute; if the personnel and facilities have been provided for; if the tasks or research programs have been established; and if the funding has been furnished.

The methodology of scientific research can be applied most fully in a scientific institute. The staff members of the institute are usually equipped for research in the relevant field of military science, though complete formal qualifications is not a necessity to becoming a staff member of the institute. We should emphasize that the institute cannot resolve the vital problems of the theory and practice of the armed forces on its own, since such problems depend on several institutes and units of the armed forces. Work on projects of whatever kind is not only a problem of an institute, it is also a problem to be worked on outside institutes; this latter component frequently is even more pronounced than the former.

In some countries there are military science societies similar to civilian scientific societies. Their aim is to bring together scientists from the military and civilian life in a single entity in order to promote particular scientific disciplines (or all the military sciences together) with the purpose of strengthening the country's combat potential. Individuals and groups of scientists might easily be lost if they did not belong to a scientific organization within whose framework they can develop themselves as scientists, and thus promoting efforts which are being made in society to enhance combat capability.

Our concept of nationwide defense makes it incumbent upon all sciences and all scientists to concern themselves with the problems of defense, to guide their scientific research in accordance with situations and capabilities toward strengthening efforts to make science a part of the structure of nationwide defense.

So as to achieve the best possible planning and organizational setup and so as to define the initial technology of scientific research, we need to make a detailed analysis of the results achieved so far and of needs as a whole. Accordingly, more should be done than in the past to coordinate facilities, personnel, organization and other capabilities and direct them toward the central questions. Since we now have all the prerequisites for work that is still better organized, in line with the needs we should undertake to work out all the essential components and obtain a more complete commitment from those who can help to make research more vigorous thanks to their work and contribution.

The interests of nationwide defense must be the principal criterion applied to the approach to every problem and every topic; this objectively creates all the conditions for fruitful and meaningful work in the domain of scientific research.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article represents an attempt to point up certain essential facts relevant to further investigation of the phenomenon known as national defense. From the standpoint of the topics covered, this is very complex subject matter, and it was difficult to cover it in any detail in this small space so that scientific research within this social activity can become as concrete as possible and can become efficient and effective in its procedures. If by his work the author has to some extent stimulated thought and the need for further study, and if the topic should be continued in the journal VOJNOEKONOMSKI PREGLED with an exchange of opinions and debate, this would be a step toward examining the place, role and principles of research in the military. One very relevant field of research would be the economics of nationwide defense.

The editors of the journal VOJNOEKONOMSKI PREGLED call upon all collaborators and readers to send to the editors their opinions, suggestions, disagreements, proposals and anything else that might contribute to scientific research in the Yugoslav People's Army and in the armed forces as a whole, which the editors shall then include in their program for publication.

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