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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1474

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'TANJUG' COMMENTS ON ARTICLE IN BULGARIAN MILITARY PERIODICAL

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1225 GMT 29 Oct 77 LD

[Text] Sofia--The Bulgarian military periodical IZVESTIYA writes in its latest issue about the cooperation of the Bulgarian people with the Balkan peoples against Hitler's occupation. The author of the article Col Yofif Ilel asserts that Hitler's command, "Alarmed by the spread of the armed struggle in Bulgaria," held "large forces ready for possible operation against Bulgarian troops should they go over to the side of the uprising movement."

The author of the article does not merely describe the German involvement but also adds that the armed struggle in Bulgaria "restricted the possibilities of the fascist authorities to send troops to the aid of Hitlerites in their struggle against the Greek and Yugoslav peoples." In this context, the author does not mention that Bulgaria entered the war against Hitlerite Germany only at the end of the war, in September 1944.

Colonel Ilel suggests to the readers that the troops of the Bulgarian Imperial Army in Yugoslavia and Greece did not play the role of the occupier which was intended for them. He goes on to add that the victories of the Soviet Army and the revolutionary work of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the Imperial Bulgarian Army "hindered the efforts by monarchofascists to use the army for antipopular aims," and that "The results of the actions organized against Yugoslav and Greek partisans were in the majority of cases unsuccessful." On that occasion author presents an unusual argument by asserting that Bulgarian forces had been warning partisans about their presence "in order that clashes be avoided."

The author of the article then goes on to present some elements which relate to the cooperation between the partisans of Serbia and Macedonia and the units formed on their territories by Bulgarian patriots although one cannot see from this whether there were among them also those who were in the partisans following their capture. But, only indirectly, from the facts about the formation of Bulgarian partisan units on Yugoslav territory, about the period when the main headquarters of the Bulgarian resistance movement

was in Macedonia, or about the existence of representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party in Macedonia and later at the Supreme Headquarters of the National Liberation Movement and the partisan detachments of Yugoslavia, can one gain an impression about the role of the National Liberation Movement of Yugoslavia in forming Bulgarian partisan units. An explicit admission in Ilel's article is the report that the cooperation with Yugoslav partisans from Crna Trava created the conditions for the development of the partisan movement in the Trnska region.

CSO: 2800

BULGARIA

SPEECH BY DEFENSE MINISTER DZHUROV

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Oct 77 pp 1,3

[Speech by General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politbureau candidate member and minister of national defense]

[Text] Comrade generals and officers:

The all-army practical science conference on the socialist way of life is concluding its work.

Allow me to emphasize, to begin with, that the discussion of this problem at our conference is, in itself, an exceptionally necessary and useful matter, for it is not only of great theoretical but of tremendous practical significance. It is no accident that the party's Central Committee has paid great attention to the problem both in the accountability report submitted to the 11th Party Congress as well as in its entire activities following the congress.

The BCP has no more important imperative than that of making the life of the people more beautiful and more prosperous. Its supreme objective has always been, and will remain, to insure the steady improvement of the material and spiritual welfare of the people. The entire activities of the party and the people's government in the past 30 years, following the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, have been dedicated to this objective which, to this day, is the focal point of its attention.

As in all socialist countries, in our country the characteristic features and great advantages of the socialist way of life are manifested vividly. The rights and freedoms of the individual are guaranteed. The Bulgarian citizen has a broad field for the expression of his capabilities. He has possibilities for education and culture and all prerequisites for exercising his right to work and actively participate in the administration of the country and the resolution of basic problems of social development. His future is secure and clear. He is not threatened by the social calamities characteristic of millions of working people in the capitalist countries.

The report correctly emphasizes the basic directions to be followed in the further assertion and development of the socialist way of life under army conditions. They encompass an entire group of problems. I shall direct your attention to two of them.

The first deals with decisively upgrading the effectiveness of command and managerial work.

The accountability report submitted to the 11th Party Congress emphasizes that socialist labor is the core of the socialist way of life. Under the conditions of the Bulgarian People's Army, command and managerial work is no exception. It is a highly socially useful labor and is characterized by certain specifics.

The managerial work of the commander is one of the most complex and highly intellectual theoretical and practical activity. It demands of the officers' corps profound military knowledge, high general education and culture, a broad political and military-technical outlook, and great professional and educational skills.

The quality and effectiveness of the commanders' managerial work largely determine the effectiveness of the work of hundreds and thousands of people and large army collectives, and the combat capability and readiness of the units. This work is most directly linked with the training and upbringing of the defenders of the homeland and the defense of the country and the socialist comity.

The commanders' managerial work is of exceptional importance to the further assertion and development of the socialist way of life under army conditions. It affects to the greatest extent the molding of a socialist attitude toward labor among the troops, the development of their socio-political activeness, and the building of high moral-political and combat qualities inherent in a socialist soldier.

The party's strategic slogan of high effectiveness and quality fully applies to the work of commanders. The main thing now is for this work to rely to an even greater extent on the Leninist methodology of scientific management. The organization of the work of commanders, political organs, and staffs must be made consistent with the party's stipulations and requirements.

The scientific organization of labor in the army is a system of scientifically substantiated and systematically implemented comprehensive measures to insure the rational utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and leading experience in the organization of military work with a view to maintaining a steady high combat readiness and create conditions for the defeat of the enemy within the shortest possible time and with minimal losses and outlays of forces and means.

Further improvements in the organization of the commanders' work require, above all, the mastering of the Leninist style of work and management by military cadres.

The most characteristic and distinguishing feature of the Leninist style is that it organically combines the insurmountable life-bringing power of Marxist-Leninist theory, the dialectical method, and the knowledge acquired through the natural, social, technical, and military sciences with creative activities, with revolutionary scope and efficiency, and with systematic and comprehensive efforts to insure the victory of communism.

The varied and exceptionally responsible and intensive activities of commanders and political organs require the comprehensive use of all the features of the Leninist style. Allow me to direct your attention to some of them.

The first is the question of efficiency as one of the most important features of the Leninist style of work and management. Communist efficiency converts all ideas, plans, decisions, tasks, and measures from a theoretical possibility, an intent, and an objective into reality. The communist efficiency of military cadres means high level organization, intensiveness and effectiveness, utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in all-round activities aimed at upgrading the army's combat readiness, and combining one-man and strict centralization with extensive reliance on the collective.

Efficiency presumes the ability to adopt most expedient decisions and the ability to organize most effectively practical work. It presumes expeditiousness, consistency, planning and synchronizing overall administrative activities, and the skill and inflexible will to reach one's objective.

At the 25th CPSU Congress and the 11th BCP Congress comrades L. I. Brezhnev and Todor Zhivkov paid great attention to initiative, scope, and creativity in the work as inseparable features of the Leninist style.

Initiative is the type of quality which enables the individual to find his proper way under changed circumstances, make an independent decision, and act.

The Leninist style of management demands of the party, economic, and military leader not only to display initiative and independence in the making and execution of decisions but to create circumstances in which the performers could display their initiative and autonomy.

The second question is that of the organizational activities of commanders and political organs and of all army units.

The purpose of improving organizational work is for all leading and performing units in the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army] and of every officer, master sergeant, and sergeant to fulfill their functional obligations

promptly and on a high quality level. The principle that no one would do someone else's work or would justify himself by referring to someone else must become the rule, the inviolable law. Only thus could individual responsibility for assignments be enhanced.

The question of improving planning methods, the organization of execution, and control with the help of senior commanders and staffs also acquires great importance. It is a question of a type of control which teaches the people, protects them from errors, prevents failures in the work, and helps in the successful implementation of assignments. At the same time control must be strict and exacting and intolerant of weaknesses and negative phenomena. It must fight for the assertion of the principles and norms of socialist morality and of the socialist way of life.

The second problem I would like to discuss applies to the requirement of making the behavior of military personnel and, above all, of the officers consistent with the requirements of the socialist way of life.

The socialist way of life is not only a philosophical category, a theoretical concept, but practice, a historical gain of socialism. It is expressed in the daily life of the people, in their work and their behavior. We can not speak of a socialist way of life wherever the Leninist principles of party work, the principles and norms of socialist morality, and the requirements of regulations and orders are grossly violated.

The socialist type of individual predominates in our life. It is composed of soldiers who work dedicatedly to enhance the combat readiness of the army and secure the defense of the country.

The main problem now is to make the behavior of all commanders and political workers consistent with the party's requirements, the stipulations of military regulations and orders, and the principles and norms of the socialist way of life. Knowledge must be converted into conviction and, above all, into norms of behavior, into a practical line of behavior.

Commanders and political workers at all levels must master the Marxist-Leninist doctrine as their own outlook and method of practical work. It is particularly important to master profoundly the ideological wealth of the 11th Party Congress and July BCP Central Committee Plenum, converting them into convictions, into motives for behavior and action; we must upgrade the ability of officers to analyze contemporary events on the basis of class positions. These party forums called for changing the thinking and style of management of the subjective factor and for enhancing the significance of the ideological and educational functions of leading cadres and the role of the personal example given by the leadership.

Today the authority of a leader is determined not only on the basis of his special training but his ideological-educational functions and personal qualities. The party calls for surmounting manifestations of technocracy in the managerial activities of some officers and neglecting the political and class approaches.

Under army conditions the socialist way of life demands of every serviceman to observe strictly specific norms of moral relations. Norms of military ethics such as willingness, accuracy, conscientiousness, and zealousness are particularly important. Their development in the troops and their observance create a healthy atmosphere in military collectives and contribute to upgrading the effectiveness of military work.

Norms pertaining to relations within the family, in outside life, in the so-called informal sphere, are of great importance. Such norms presume warmth, modesty, delicacy, purity of intention, and sensible interpretation of all actions.

Model behavior at home and respect for women is an indicator of a high moral standard.

Concluding, allow me to express the confidence that our conference will contribute to our ideological work to make the socialist way of life the center of its attention both as a target and as a factor of the educational process, thus largely contributing to upgrading the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army.

5003

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

REPORT READ BY DEFENSE MINISTER DZHUROV AT CONFERENCE

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Oct 77 p 2

[Report by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politbureau candidate member and minister of national defense]

[Text] The all-army conference of secretaries of Komsomol organizations is an important event in the life of the Bulgarian People's Army. It is taking place at the very eve of the anniversary of the most outstanding event of the 20th century--the Great October Socialist Revolution whose immortal ideas are victoriously marching on our planet for the past six decades.

After undergoing severe trials today the great Soviet Union is a powerful support of the socialist comity, a decisive factor in the development and historical victories of the world's revolutionary movement, and a reliable defender of the peace, democracy, and social progress. Having achieved remarkable successes in the development of the economy, science, and culture it is confidently marching at the head of human progress and the struggle for communism.

This anniversary year our people live and work with increased political and labor activeness. The successful implementation of the decisions of the 11th Congress and July BCP Central Committee Plenum are the manifestations of its infinite loyalty to the ideas and the cause of the Great October Revolution.

The Bulgarian People's Army is welcoming the centennial of the Russian-Turkish War of Liberation and the October Revolution anniversary with properly fulfilled duty. The school year ended with new considerable successes achieved by troops and commanders in upgrading the combat readiness of the forces and strengthening the defense of our socialist homeland.

Today, with its steadily growing economic and military power and uncompromising struggle against imperialist aspirations the world's socialist system is exercising a decisive influence on the development of worldwide processes.

The most reactionary forces under the patronage of the new American administration are answering the socialist efforts to strengthen the peace with a mad arms race, the creation of new types of mass destruction weapons, and the expansion of their armed forces. The United States and NATO are intensively elaborating and developing military doctrines, plans, and strategic concepts. The circumstances in the Middle East are becoming steadily more aggravated and complicated. Major hotbeds of tension have appeared in northeastern and southern Africa. The United States and NATO are energizing their political and military activities in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean.

The danger of the breakout of a new world war obligates us, as military people, steadily to upgrade our revolutionary vigilance, maintain the combat readiness of the troops at the highest possible level, and, together with the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries, be ready to defend the cause of socialism. The army youth and its Komsomol have a great share in the fulfillment of this task sacred to all Bulgarians.

The Bulgarian Communist Party has always paid the greatest possible attention to the Komsomol and the youth. It has promptly resolved the urgent problems of the youth movement and dedicated comprehensive concern for its development and strengthening. For the past 10 years Komsomol activities have developed in the spirit of the theses of the BCP Central Committee on work with the youth and the Komsomol. Their rich ideas were further developed and concretized in the BCP Central Committee theses on the condition and development of the BCP and the public organizations and movements. They were confirmed at the 11th Party Congress, in the July Central Committee Plenum decisions, and the party's greeting to the 13th Komsomol Congress. The concern of the BCP Central Committee for the Komsomol is most closely linked with Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the loyal follower of G. Dimitrov, noted Leninist, leader of the party and the state, and hero of the Soviet Union and of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

The conference of Komsomol secretaries in the Bulgarian People's Army is a new vivid manifestation of the concern of the party's Central Committee, the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the People's Army for the army youth and its Komsomol. Its purpose is to sum up the experience gained in the fulfillment of the party program, earmarked in the theses on work with the youth and the Komsomol and in the spirit of the 11th Congress and July BCP Central Committee Plenum, and concretize the tasks of the further intensification of the role of the army Komsomol organizations in upgrading the quality and effectiveness of military work in the struggle for the communist education of the young soldiers and for the sake of the high combat readiness of the troops.

Steady Increase in the Komsomol's Contribution to the Struggle for High Quality and Effectiveness of Military Work.

The contemporary requirements in waging a war and the tasks set by the party to the Bulgarian People's Army make military work exceptionally intensive more than ever, with a tremendous stress of the moral, mental,

and physical forces of the personnel. Its proper utilization, high quality, and effectiveness determine to the greatest extent the condition of the troops' combat readiness and their ability to engage in decisive combat operations and to win in battle. The strategic party slogan "For High Quality and Effectiveness," raised at its 11th Congress is of exceptional importance to the army, to all troops and commanders. In the case of the army Komsomol members this slogan determines the main direction in their work to insure the constant combat readiness of the troops and their ability to carry out their assignments whatever the conditions.

The army Komsomol plays an important role in the struggle for a turn to the highest possible effectiveness and quality of military work. This is now the meaning and content of its educational, political, and organizational efforts.

Under the leadership of the party organizations and with the most active participation of party members the societies are engaged in purposeful educational work to upgrade the conscientiousness, activeness, and political vigilance of the Komsomol members and develop in them a proper attitude toward the tasks and readiness to carry out their duties most quickly and accurately.

There have been highly effective Komsomol initiatives such as implementation of combat tasks with reduced crews and meeting daytime norms at night. In many units the young people are reducing various norms by 5-10 percent.

Using effective forms of work such as talks, assignments, and individual work in the companies and crews, personal ratings, accountability, dissemination of leading experience, encouragement of leading soldiers, and others, the Komsomol managements are exercising a positive impact on the troops concerning the qualitative and most effective implementation of combat watch assignments. Day and night, whatever the conditions, thousands of Komsomol members are vigilantly guarding our air and sea borders and projects of important state and military significance.

The Komsomol's contribution to upgrading the quality and effectiveness of military training is rising steadily. In this field the Komsomol societies and organizations are displaying their strength and possibilities most completely.

The Komsomol's contribution and influence in the implementation of weekly tasks is rising steadily. Today the societies coordinate their activities with commanders and party groups more closely.

The active participation of Komsomol members in the socialist competition and the work of the committees for its development are having a favorable influence on upgrading the quality and effectiveness of military training. For years on end the Komsomol members in the BNA have joined the competition with their individual comprehensive plans. This method of work with

the young soldiers has proved to be a useful means for their mobilization in labor, training, and socio-political life, and upgrading the combat and political training of the subunits. Positive Komsomol initiatives have been launched to encourage the socialist competition and enhance its educational role. They include the struggle for the right to sign the Komsomol report to the party, to have one's photograph taken in front of the holy of holies of Bulgarian-Russian friendship, the Samara Flag, the right to be part of the Friendship Train to the great Soviet country, the initiative among young commanders launched on the basis of the appeal of the ten young officers in officer Delchev's unit, and others.

The struggle for mastering the equipment and achieving high graded skills is the core of the socialist competition among the Komsomol members of technical and special units.

An eloquent proof of the steadily growing Komsomol contribution to upgrading the combat readiness of the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army] is found in the results achieved by the troops this school year: 42 percent of them are individual excellent soldiers and 28 percent are graded specialists.

These are unquestionable accomplishments. However, there are some substantial weaknesses in Komsomol activities. The contribution of such activities to achieving an upturn in the struggle for high quality military work and for upgrading combat readiness and training results are below the requirements of the July BCP Central Committee Plenum and of the great possibilities of the societies and organizations.

The following is necessary in order to enhance further the Komsomol's contribution to the struggle for high effectiveness of military work: further improvement of Komsomol work in raising Komsomol members in a spirit of high responsibility and conscientiousness for the strict and precise implementation of assignments related to maintaining daily combat readiness in the subunits.

The primary task of the Komsomol is steadily and substantively to explain to the young troops the party requirements and the political nature and significance of high combat readiness. It is particularly important to give them prompt information on the situation in the country, the decisions of the BCP, and the international circumstances. Skillful use must be made of all youth ways and means of work to develop in the soldiers high conscientiousness, activeness, and political vigilance, and to build in them a feeling of responsibility for the most precise fulfillment of their official duties. The implementation of this task requires that the activities of the committees become even more differentiated and specific. They must focus their efforts on combat crews and companies. They must direct themselves to Komsomol members who play a leading role in the fast and organized bringing of units to a state of combat readiness. They must extensively disseminate initiatives for mastering a second skill, meeting norms with reduced crews, and reaching daytime norms at night.

Mobilizing the efforts of Komsomol members for their active participation in the training process and for achieving the highest possible results in combat and political training is the main field of organizational and political work of the Komsomol organizations. The efforts of the committees must be focused on the societies and groups. Their influence on the qualitative implementation of training tasks for all topics and types of training must be enhanced. Assisting commanders and party members, they are contributing to the 100 percent involvement of the personnel in training, the maximal utilization of training time, and the fullest utilization of the troops. Furthermore, more operative and flexible forms of work must be applied within the Komsomol group. Greater emphasis must be placed on individual and differentiated political and educational work with the soldiers. Most commanders of platoons, squads, crews, and companies are Komsomol members. The quality and effectiveness of all training depend on their own preparedness and responsibility. That is why the main task of the committees is to work most effectively with these people and to help them to upgrade their methodical and pedagogical skills.

In order to reach the highest possible results in combat and political training we must make clear the profound meaning of the new content of the socialist competition for high quality and effectiveness of military work and struggle for reaching the 100 percent implementation of pledges by Komsomol members and for reaching the highest possible quality indicators in combat and political training.

The leading experience of the excellent workers, the champions, and the masters of military affairs must be promptly converted into the mass practical experience of the army youth. Each organization must know the names and successes of the best marksmen, mechanics-drivers, radio operators, and others.

Following the example of the Soviet army, in the socialist competition we must take into consideration both quantitative and qualitative indicators. The modern means of warfare are, above all, collective means. That is why the criterion in assessing the results of the socialist competition should include not only the number of excellent soldiers but the training of the squad, crew, or company, and the fulfillment of the collective pledges.

The Komsomol organizations should pay particular attention to upgrading the conscientiousness and model behavior of the troops in the study, operation, and socialist management of the armaments and combat equipment. In work with the youth we must make clear the nature of the superiority and power of Soviet weapons and combat materiel with which our army is equipped. We must improve our efforts for their prompt study and maintenance and increase the number of masters and graded specialists, encouraging every Komsomol member to gain an additional skill and reach total interchangeability in combat crews.

Upgrading the Role of Komsomol Organizations in the Struggle for the Strengthening of Military Discipline and Uniting the Collectives

The education of conscientious and disciplined soldiers is one of the main factors in increasing the Komsomol's contribution to the struggle for high combat readiness among the troops.

The 11th BCP Congress indicated that discipline is a manifestation of the degree reached in the development of a socialist individual, the level of his conscientiousness and his responsibility to himself and society and, in the final account, his attitude toward the socialist system. Essentially, this is an entirely new approach and a new criterion which faces Komsomol societies and organizations with far more demanding requirements.

After the 11th Party Congress and the 13th Komsomol Congress the Komsomol committees have been implementing more meaningful and effective initiatives aimed at improving the individual discipline of Komsomol members. Evenings on discipline, talks on military comradeship, competitions for the knowledge of regulations, movie lectures, and other mass measures are being organized. Every year the majority of Komsomol societies and groups in the navy hold, in stages, discussions on "duty, discipline, and comradeship," which contribute to upgrading the responsibility and personal example of the young people in performing their military obligations.

Most Komsomol organizations and societies are now working more adamantly to unite the collectives on the basis of strong reciprocal comradesly relations. They are steadily intensifying their struggle against negative phenomena in Komsomol collectives in the spirit of the July BCP Central Committee Plenum.

The conclusion is that the Komsomol's contribution to strengthening the discipline is growing and that it should be given credit for successes achieved.

Assessing discipline on the basis of the high criteria set by the July BCP Central Committee Plenum, the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the People's Army considers, however, that a number of weaknesses exist in the task of achieving the major upgrading of discipline.

The contribution of the Komsomol to a change in the quality and effectiveness of military work could not be considerable unless a change is made in the Komsomol's efforts to strengthen the discipline. We may have resolved all other problems but we could not speak of a reorganization of our work unless we have completely resolved discipline problems.

What are the main directions on which the Komsomol must focus its efforts to achieve strict statutory order and strengthen the discipline and the collectives?

The molding in the army's youth of a qualitatively new attitude toward discipline and explaining its significance in upgrading the combat readiness of the troops must be the permanent task of Komsomol societies. The meaning and essence of the stipulation of the 11th Party Congress on the subject of the discipline must be the basic criterion in assessing the level of development of the socialist individual and of his conscientiousness and responsibility to himself and to society.

We must work most adamantly to enhance the feeling of responsibility in Komsomol members for obeying the regulations and maintaining strict order in the units. Using Komsomol ways and means of work we must extensively explain to the troops the stipulations of the military oath, the by-laws, the instructions and regulations. We must make clear their ideological-political and practical significance in army life. We must make clear that they are the basis of the strength and combat capability of the army for which reason they must be obeyed conscientiously, with no conditions or stipulations.

The role and contribution of the Komsomol to strengthening one-man command must be increased steadily. Rich and varied methods must be used to develop in the Komsomol members love and respect for their commanders.

The establishment of proper comradely relations and of united military collectives is one of the main directions in the Komsomol efforts to strengthen the discipline. Secretaries, society committees, and persons in charge of groups must get to know closely every Komsomol member, his character, interests, and needs. They must try to win him over, to influence him. Skillful use must be made of Komsomol assignments in developing comradely aid, sharing positive experience, and promoting good traditions in Komsomol groups and societies.

Accepting this must be combined with comradely concern for every member of the collective. Such concern must be displayed by the Komsomol committees above all through specific work for the prevention of violations.

In the spirit of the decisions of the 11th Party Congress today the Komsomol activist must display more than personal discipline. He must show high responsibility to the party and society, for the actions of the entire collective. The development of such an understanding of discipline among the activists must be the main task of the Komsomol leadership.

Raising Soldiers who are Ideologically Trained, Morally Firm,
and Loyal to the Party

The ideological-educational work of the army Komsomol organizations is entirely subordinated to the tasks stemming from the BCP program which stipulates: "The communist education of the youth is the prime concern of the party and the entire society."

Implementing the decisions of the 11th Congress and the BCP Central Committee February Plenum, in recent years, under the guidance and with the concern of the political organs and party organizations, the army's Komsomol has substantially improved its ideological-educational work. Today the committees consider it an important means for exerting daily political influence on Komsomol members and for the practical implementation of their functional duties. They try to link more closely educational work with the life and tasks of subunits, and increase their influence on the quality and effectiveness of military work and on developing in the young people high moral-political and combat qualities, strengthening the discipline, and maintaining combat readiness on a high level. The organizations engage in effective educational initiatives inseparably linked with measures related to combat training such as quizzes on knowledge of weapons and regulations; evenings of champions; meeting with excellent soldiers; days dedicated to achievements and demonstrations with weapons and combat equipment, and others. These measures are of great practical value to enhancing the combat readiness of the subunits.

Today the organizations use most extensively a far greater variety of basic means to promote the patriotic and international education of army youth. Their mass-political activities have been particularly rich in connection with the centennial of the war of liberation and the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We rate highly the activities of the committees in promoting the "march along the paths of the revolutionary, combat, and labor Bulgarian-Soviet friendship."

The troops of the Bulgarian People's Army are ideologically tempered, morally firm, and loyal to the party. They are ready to fulfill their patriotic and international duty to defend the homeland and the cause of socialism. This is most clearly displayed by their unreserved support of the party's policy and their great activeness in the training process.

However, a number of weaknesses and unresolved problems remain in the ideological and educational work of the organizations, delaying the reorganization of this work and lowering its effectiveness.

Some Komsomol managements do not work systematically for the reorganization of their ideological-educational activities. They underestimate the significance of such work in the education of the troops, upgrading their political conscientiousness, strengthening the discipline, and enhancing troop combat readiness. They do not sufficiently contribute to upgrading the quality of political and Marxist-Leninist training, the profound and lasting study of the material, the conversion of knowledge into conviction, and the molding of Komsomol viewpoints.

Some organizations are slow in organizing the study and interpretation of the party's policy and decisions. They are not making extensive use of our times as a source of love for the homeland and socialist patriotism.

In the future as well the main purpose of the ideological-educational work done by the army's Komsomol must be the molding of a Marxist-Leninist outlook in the young soldiers and the conversion of Marxist-Leninist knowledge into durable convictions and main behavioral motivations.

In their work the organizations must apply more extensively the new active methods for the ideological education of the troops--theoretical conferences, political contests, and talks and discussions on problems of Marxist-Leninist ideology, party policy, and international events. They must increase their struggle against imperialist ideological subversion. They must expose in a Leninist fashion contemporary revisionism and opportunism and the anti-Soviet nature of Maoism.

In military schools, using even more varied and effective methods, the Komsomol organizations must develop in the students lasting interest in and liking for ideological subjects.

The main aspects of the activities of all organizations must be the class-party, patriotic, and international education of the young soldiers and the interpretation of the party's policy and, on this basis, the development in them of a readiness for its implementation in army life. The patriotic and international education of the soldiers must be the focal point of Komsomol activities in developing in our troops love and respect for their homeland, the BCP, the Soviet Union, the CPSU and the invincible Soviet army, and the peoples and armies of the members of the Warsaw Pact.

All ways and means of Komsomol work must adamantly promote the socialist way of life in the daily activities of the young soldiers. It must explain the advantage of existing socialism which is the only one guaranteeing the broadest possible rights and freedoms to the individual, and the full blossoming of his creative possibilities. High moral and, above all, military virtues must be developed in Komsomol members such as feeling for duty and responsibility, love for the army and military work, honesty, modesty, military comradeship and mutual assistance, collectivism, military valor, obedience, respect for superiors, and so on.

The Komsomol organizations have the duty convincingly and comprehensively to disclose the truth of the bourgeois way of life--a life governed by predatory laws and exploitation--and the harm it causes to the development of the individual. They must acquaint the soldiers with the situation of their contemporaries in the west.

The Komsomol's entire ideological-educational work must be linked even more closely with the tasks and the life of the units. The Komsomol must increase its contribution to the daily training process, the implementation of the weekly schedule, the holding of exercises, field training, and fire practice, combat duty, and patrol and park services. The committees must use all available ways and means of ideological influence to clarify the meaning and content of combat training assignments and, on this basis, mobilize the Komsomol members for their implementation.

The total mastery and utilization of the comprehensive approach is a decisive prerequisite for the reorganization of the ideological-educational work of the Komsomol organizations. Its successful application calls for saturating all aspects of Komsomol activities with a vivid ideological content. The closest possible ties and interconnections must be established among the class-party, patriotic, international, military, moral, and esthetic education of army youth.

The speaker further discussed problems of the development and strengthening of the condition within the Komsomol organizations and societies, the styles and methods of work and the role of the Komsomol assembly.

Establishing a New Approach to the Work of Commanders, Political Organs, and Party Leadership with the Komsomol Organizations and Societies

It would be impossible to resolve successfully the problem of steadily upgrading the role and influence of the Komsomol in the army's life without the active and daily support and help of commanders, political organs, and party organizations. The establishment of a new approach to the work of commanders with the Komsomol is a basic duty of the political organs, party committees, and bureaus. As a result of their direct concern most commanders have changed their attitude and approach to the Komsomol organizations and societies. They rely on them and accurately guide their activities in resolving the main problems of combat readiness.

However, some commanders and chiefs are slow in reorganizing their work with the Komsomol. They do not understand adequately the deep political meaning and practical purposefulness of the decisions of the 11th Congress and July BCP Central Committee Plenum in improving the work with the youth and the Komsomol. They do not dedicate systematic concern for the development of a high feeling of responsibility in subordinate commanders concerning the condition and activeness of Komsomol organizations and societies. They do not systematically review their work and are not strict toward those who underestimate the role and possibilities of the Komsomol and do not rely on it in their practical work.

In order for such shortcomings to be surmounted the approach and, above all, the practical actions of commanders and chiefs of all ranks toward the Komsomol must be changed entirely. It must be realized that this is our party and official duty and a major prerequisite for the qualitative implementation of the responsible assignment given by the party: the defense of our socialist homeland. Today it is no longer sufficient merely to provide the conditions and time necessary for the implementation of youth measures. Individual participation and full responsibility for the condition of Komsomol work are necessary.

Senior commanders and political organs must constantly increase their efforts to increase the ability of subordinate commanders to work with the Komsomol, paying particular attention to company and platoon commanders.

The party's requirements, and the content of orders and instructions related to improving work with the Komsomol must be systematically explained at commanders' gatherings, rallies, and others. Visiting the troops, they must meet with the Komsomol aktiv, become interested in the problems of the young people, and take effective measures for their resolution.

Company and platoon commanders must assume greater responsibility for the practical implementation of their obligations concerning the Komsomol. They must improve their practical work in Komsomol societies and groups. They must rely on them in all activities, in resolving all problems, and implementing all measures.

The work of the command-teaching personnel and of the political organs in the VUZ must be enhanced in order to develop practical skills and ability in the students to work with the Komsomol.

The Komsomol's strength lies in the party's guidance. Implementing the party's decisions, the Main Political Administration of the People's Army discussed and passed a program for improving the work with the Komsomol and upgrading the effectiveness and quality of youth activities.

Political departments and party committees are working more concretely and systematically with Komsomol organizations and societies. They periodically assess the condition of the party's guidance and the activities of party members assigned to work within the Komsomol. Measures are being taken to strengthen the party nucleus and influence within Komsomol organizations. A number of political organs, party managements, and deputy commanders in charge of political affairs have still not found the best way and are not working adamantly to surmount serious weaknesses in Komsomol organizational and educational activities. They do not always promptly acquaint the Komsomol aktiv with the party's decisions, and the orders issued by commanders and the instructions of senior political organs. They do not instruct and guide them regularly.

A weak point in the party's leadership of the Komsomol now is providing practical assistance in the implementation of youth measures.

Political organs, party committees, and bureaus must focus their attention to giving daily practical aid to Komsomol societies and their leadership. Direct and effective party guidance must be provided to each society with a view to its organizational and political strengthening.

The daily practical work of deputy commanders for political affairs with the Komsomol aktiv and societies must be improved considerably. They must help to clarify the tasks and plan Komsomol measures and insure the timely and good organization needed for their implementation.

In order to strengthen the party nucleus in the Komsomol not only young party members but party members of longer standing and experience must be assigned to work with the Komsomol to help to improve the Komsomol

activities. Their activities should be assessed only on the basis of the factual condition, activeness, and contribution of the Komsomol committees and societies to the solution of problems related to combat readiness, upgrading the quality and effectiveness of military work, and personnel training.

The political organs and party managements must decisively improve their selection, training, and upbringing of Komsomol cadres and activists. This must be based on the practical and political qualities of the young people, their organizational experience, and their readiness to implement party decisions. In training reserve Komsomol cadres more extensive use must be made of the possibilities offered by the party schools. The deputy commanders for political affairs and the party bureaus must actively become involved in the training of Komsomol cadres. They must sponsor the organization of courses with society secretaries, monthly seminars, and hours for the training of those responsible for the groups.

We discussed the basic and decisive sources and reserves for the further enhancement of the authority of Komsomol organizations and their secretaries on the basis of the criterion of the July BCP Central Committee Plenum. Unquestionably, one and a half years after the 11th Party Congress and five months after the 13th Komsomol Congress, the present conference will enable the army Komsomol organizations to take a bold step toward the conversion of the Congress' decisions into specific military accomplishments.

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CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

REPORT ON ALL-ARMY CONFERENCE WITH KOMSOMOL SECRETARIES

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Oct 77 pp 1, 4

[Report by Colonel Rangel Zlatkov, Colonel Avram Molkhov, and Major Yanko Vladev: "With Youthful Impetuousness and High Feeling of Responsibility for High Combat Readiness of the People's Army; Creative Environment and Profound Assessment"]

[Text] Our capital welcomed inspired and enthusiastic soldiers--representatives of the army's Komsomol youth. All of them are energetic and firm armed defenders who have dedicated their forces, energy, and youthful daring to the enhancement and development of Komsomol activities, enriching the Komsomol with new modern forms of work and linking it even more closely with the direct tasks related to combat and political training for the implementation of the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and 13th Komsomol Congress. The Komsomol secretaries are the representatives of thousands of people's defenders who, together with the organizations, societies, committees, and military collectives shorten the path to the high combat readiness of the troops, and work tirelessly for the communist education of the army's youth. In the past, today, and in the future, the troops and commanders of the people's army--the loyal sons of the people--have always dedicated and will continue to dedicate all their activities to the communist party whose path they are following and will follow firmly, looking ahead. The army Komsomol members, like the entire personnel of the people's army, respond to the constant care of the party's Central Committee, the Politbureau, and, personally, the leader of the party and the state Comrade Todor Zhivkov by mastering to perfection military affairs, steadily increasing their successes in all directions of army life, increasing the number of excellent soldiers, excellent units, and units consisting of excellent soldiers, and comprehensively enhancing the combat power of the army and the defense capability of the homeland.

This was categorically demonstrated at the all-army conference with Komsomol secretaries which opened yesterday at the G. Kirkov Hall at Party House. It was sponsored by the main political administration of the people's army. The conference was attended by General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politbureau candidate member and minister of people's defense,

Colonel General Velko Palin, head of the Military Affairs Department of the BCP Central Committee, Colonel General Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, Colonel General Khirist Dobre, Colonel General Slacho Trunski, Colonel General Mircho Asenov, and Colonel General Tencho Papazov, deputy ministers of national defense, and others. Also attending were Boycho Shteryanov, first secretary of the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee, and senior personnel and associates of the BCP Central Committee and Komsomol Central Committee. The conference was also attended by Lieutenant General Pavel Bilaonov, assistant to the representative of the commander in chief of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact-Member Countries, to the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army], and Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Sidorik, candidate member of the VLKSM Central Committee Bureau, assistant to the chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy for Komsomol Affairs.

The conference was opened by Colonel General Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army. Welcoming the participants and describing the main purpose of this high level army forum, Colonel General Kosev gave the floor to General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politbureau candidate member and minister of national defense who presented the report submitted by the Main Political Administration of the People's Army entitled "For Continually Upgrading the Role and Contribution of the Komsomol Organizations in the Struggle for High Combat Readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army and for the Communist Education of the Army Youth." (Speech published separately with minor abridgments).

Discussions followed the submission of the report. The Komsomol secretaries and leaders who spoke, as well as senior army commanders and political workers exchanged exceptionally rich and useful positive experience.

The first speaker was Senior Lieutenant Nencho Nenchev, secretary of a Komsomol organization committee, followed by Senior Sergeant Georgi Georgiev. Lieutenant General Tsan'o Bakalov discussed the work of political organs in the training and upbringing of Komsomol cadres and activists. He was followed by Lieutenant Petur Bolnov, and Lieutenant General Boris Karamfilov who discussed the role of senior commanders and staffs in improving the condition of all-round Komsomol activities.

During the lunch break the participants laid wreaths expressing their gratitude and reverence at the Georgi Dimitrov Mausoleum and on the foot of the monument to Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, leader of the international proletariat, and creator of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The afternoon session was opened with the speech by Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Sidorik. The envoy of the great Leninist Komsomol presented the warmest greetings of the Soviet military Komsomol members to the Bulgarian army youth, wishing them new and even greater successes in improving the combat readiness and communist education of the troops. The guest described varied and interesting initiatives in the work of the Soviet army Komsomol

in honor of the forthcoming great anniversary--the 60th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Revolution. After his statement Lieutenant Colonel V. G. Sidorik presented Colonel General Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, a beautiful commemorative gift on behalf of the Soviet soldiers.

Major General Kostadin Manolov, deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, thanked the representative of the Soviet army for his warm speech and shared experience, assuring him that the Bulgarian soldiers feel a sacred and inviolable love for and loyalty to the USSR, the CPSU, the Soviet people, and the invincible Soviet army.

He was followed by Captain Lieutenant Valentine Dimitrov, officer Petko Popov, Senior Lieutenant Damyan Dimchev, and Captain Ilko Boyanov.

Boycho Shteryanov, a Komsomol Central Committee first secretary, made an extensive touching speech. He stressed that the significance of this army youth forum is enhanced by the fact that it is taking place on the eve of the Great October Revolution anniversary and of another important event to the Bulgarian youth--the 10th anniversary of the adoption of the theses of the BCP Central Committee Politbureau on work with youth and the Komsomol. They are and will remain a rich source for the development of the youth union in the period of building a mature socialist society. Under the leadership of the BCP Central Committee and, personally, of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, Comrade Shteryanov emphasized, our union is successfully implementing the party's instruction on the military-patriotic education and military-technical training of the pre-draftees for the defense of our socialist fatherland. He rated highly the extensive and varied Komsomol activities in the army, the initiative of the 10 young officers, and the initiative "From Excellent Subunits to Subunits of Excellent Soldiers" in terms of upgrading the combat readiness of the units and the defense capability of the homeland.

He was followed by Senior Lieutenant Valeri Ribarov.

After the statements an address to the Komsomol members and to all young soldiers in the Bulgarian People's Army was adopted. It stated: "Today it is necessary more than ever before to dedicate all our forces, youthful energy, and Komsomol enthusiasm to strengthening the combat capability and readiness of the BNA. We must be vigilant and always ready to carry out our sacred patriotic and international duty for the defense of the homeland and the cause of socialism at the call of the party and the people's government.

"It is a question of dignity and honor for all of us adamantly to work for steadily increasing the contribution of the Komsomol organizations in the struggle for high quality and effectiveness of military work in the daily training process and reaching the highest possible results in combat and political training."

An order of the minister of national defense and a decision of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau was read presenting awards to Komsomol organizations and societies, secretaries, commanders, and political workers for outstanding actions in the communist education of the young troops and for their contribution to the development and improvement of Komsomol activities.

A major concluding speech was delivered by Colonel General Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army. We could say with satisfaction, he emphasized, that the conference took place entirely in the spirit of the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and of the July BCP Central Committee Plenum. We are confident that it will accelerate Komsomol work further and upgrade its quality and effectiveness. It will have a favorable influence on the activities of Komsomol organizations and societies, and on the work of commanders, political organs, and party organizations with the youth and the Komsomol.

Expressing the warm gratitude of the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the People's Army to the USSR Ministry of Defense and the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy for the great attention and all-round aid they are providing for enhancing the combat power of our army, Colonel General Kosev discussed the immediate tasks to be undertaken now by all commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations. He paid particular attention to the style and approach adopted by the subjective factor, to the party leadership of the Komsomol organizations, and to the role of the youth leader. The speaker emphasized that the political organs and party leadership face the important task of rendering practical aid to Komsomol societies and organizations to develop specific political and organizational activities for the assertion of the norms of the socialist way of life among the young soldiers.

Colonel General Kosev then outlined the ways and means through which problems, views, suggestions, and ideas shared at the conference could reach every soldier and become his personal project to be implemented in the life of the units.

This marked the end of the great army Komsomol forum. Positive experience was exchanged among the best Komsomol organizations, societies, committees, and secretaries. New ways and means of Komsomol work were presented and summed up. In fact, the all-army conference with Komsomol secretaries turned into an assessment of the path covered in recent years. It became a creative laboratory for even more effective methods for the implementation of the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and the 13th Dimitrov Komsomol Congress. Unquestionably, as revealed by the creative atmosphere and deep assessments, in the future all useful ideas, thoughts, and ways and means of work will be converted into reality, into the flesh and essence of army Komsomol activities. As the assistant of the command and the party organs, the army Komsomol has always worked and will continue to

work tirelessly for the further unification of the troops round the line and policy of the communist party, for strengthening Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, raising the combat readiness and capability of the army, and promoting the blossoming of socialist Bulgaria.

To the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party

Dear Comrades:

The participants in the all-army conference with Komsomol secretaries address to you their warmest soldierly greetings.

Strongly united around the Central Committee of our party, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the Komsomol members in the Bulgarian People's Army unreservedly support the life-bringing April party line. They are ready to execute any order issued by the people's government for the defense of our dear fatherland.

The importance of this all-army conference is due to the fact that it is taking place under circumstances marked by a general labor and political upsurge and of a nationwide struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and the July BCP Central Committee Plenum in honor of the great 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and the centennial of Bulgaria's liberation.

The remarkable successes achieved by our toiling people and the building of socialism under the wise guidance of the BCP are a powerful source of strength and inspiration to the entire personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army in the struggle for steadily upgrading the combat capability and readiness of the units and strengthening the defense capability of the country within the Warsaw Pact.

Commanders and political organs, and party and Komsomol members are working with great enthusiasm and energy. They are developing all-round political, educational, and organizational work to enhance the contribution of the army's Komsomol organizations in the struggle for upgrading the effectiveness and quality of military work and the communist education of the army youth.

The conference provided a profound analysis and assessment of the activities of army Komsomol organizations for the communist education of the army's youth. It earmarked the main directions and ways and means of work for the implementation of the tasks stemming from the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and the 13th Komsomol Congress under BNA conditions

Dear Comrades:

We shall answer the army's concern with new successes in combat and political training, in strengthening the discipline, and achieving excellent mastery of weapons and combat materiel. We shall dedicate all our efforts

to strengthening the fraternal friendship with the Soviet army and the armies of the Warsaw Pact and, together with them, we shall always be ready to defend the socialist gains and peaceful toil of the people.

May the combat friendship and fraternal unity among the armies, peoples, and countries of the socialist comity, headed by the great Soviet Union and its heroic and invincible army strengthen and blossom!

Long live the Bulgarian Communist Party--organizer, leader, and inspirer of our people in the struggle for building and defending the developed socialist society!

Long live our dear fatherland--Bulgarian People's Republic!

From the Conference.

5003

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

REPORT ON ALL-ARMY PRACTICAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Oct 77 pp 1, 3

[Report by Colonel Rangel Zlatkov, Colonel Avram Molkhov, and Major Boris Khristov: "The Socialist Way of Life and its Role in Molding the Military Personality"]

[Text] The problem of the socialist way of life was one of the most important among the problems considered at the 11th BCP Congress. Our country is in the stage of building a developed socialist society. During this period, along with resolving the problem of creating a proper material and technical base, processes of all-round improvement in the human way of life are taking place. In this process all state organs and cultural institutions, social organizations, and collectives have their place.

The improvement of the socialist way of life is of vital importance to the further development of the socialist society and the socialist individual. It is a strategic task which brings together the problems of our practical efforts to build a developed socialist society and achieve the communist education of the new man. It is also an ideological struggle for the minds and hearts of the people, for upgrading socialist conscientiousness, and for mastering the norms of the socialist way of life and their conversion into motivations governing the behavior of the individual.

The development and improvement of the socialist way of life in the country create prerequisites for improving the way of life in the army and, consequently, for upgrading its combat readiness. Inherent in the army's way of life are the basic laws of the socialist way of life. However, it has its characteristics as well. Its distinguishing features are great and constant stress of mental and physical efforts; continuity of combat assignments and their execution in a great variety of natural and weather conditions; strict, scientific organization of military work, objectives, nature, and social significance; steel discipline and precise regulation of military interrelationships, and others. All this demands of the troops to acquire high combat, political, and moral qualities in the course of their training, education, and self education, as a basis for their political conscientiousness and a prerequisite for upgrading the combat capability and readiness of the army.

Considering the great significance of the problem and observing the established tradition, yesterday the Ministry of National Defense and the GIPUNA [Main Political Administration of the People's Army] organized a practical science conference on the following topic: "The Socialist Way of Life and its Role in Molding the Military Personality." Its purpose was to contribute to the theoretical clarification of the nature of the socialist way of life and its characteristics under the conditions of the Bulgarian People's Army, sum up positive practical experience and equip commanders and political workers with knowledge and the ability to use the ways and means of work to improve the socialist way of life under army conditions, mold the military personality, and enhance the combat readiness of the troops.

The conference was attended by General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politbureau candidate member and minister of national defense, Colonel General Velko Palin and Stoyan Mikhaylov, heads of BCP Central Committee departments, Colonel General Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, Colonel General Slavcho Trunski, Colonel General Mircho Asenov, and Colonel General Tencho Papazov, deputy ministers of national defense, and other generals and officers.

The conference was also attended by Lieutenant General Pavel Bilaonov, assistant representative of the commander in chief of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries to the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army].

Major General Ivan Shtiliyanov, deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, opened the conference with a short introductory speech. Colonel General Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, delivered the report: "The Socialist Way of Life and its Role in Molding the Military Personality" (abridged report published separately).

The report was followed by debates. The first speaker was Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, deputy minister of national defense. In his statement he reviewed profoundly and comprehensively various aspects of the role of military work and its molding influence on army troops and commanders. The speaker expressed his views on the need for a decisive improvement in the scientific organization of military work aimed at insuring the fullest development of the military personality and the development of the type of creative, efficient, and principled circumstances in which the soldiers would dedicate maximal efforts to enhance the combat readiness of the unit. Colonel General Dobrev also mentioned the need for commanders and political organs to study and apply new developments in the organization of scientific military work and to enhance and improve control and aid. The thoughts, ideas, and viewpoints expressed by Colonel General Dobrev were directed toward further work in the people's army for the successful implementation of the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and July BCP Central Committee Plenum. The rich experience of a number of commanders, staffs, political organs, and party and youth organizations in improving the socialist way of life under army conditions was summed up and concretized.

Lieutenant General Tsotsov spoke of the role of one-man command in the execution of regulations and orders as a characteristic feature of the socialist way of life. He spoke of the struggle against the vestiges of the past. He emphasized the leading role of military regulations and orders and particularly stressed the role and place of the officer who implements the party's policies and decisions. The speaker described the experience of the best commanders who resolve the problems set by the party and the government adamantly, persistently, and with a high feeling of responsibility. Major General Stoychev spoke of meeting the material needs of the troops as a necessary prerequisite for the assertion and development of the socialist way of life in the people's army. This is a problem of major political, economic, theoretical, and practical significance. A new approach must be adopted to problems related to the way of life. All aspects and components of the socialist way of life in the army must become an organic entity. Captain First Rank Stoyanov spoke of the socialist way of life and of meeting the cultural requirements of troops and commanders. Based on experience at the N. Y. Vaptsarov Navy Academy he drew certain typical conclusions and generalizations of importance to the entire armed forces. In his statement Comrade Stoyanov spoke extensively on the role and place of the various types of socialist realistic art in molding the military personality. He discussed the work of commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations in this connection.

The practical science conference was also addressed by Stoyan Mikhaylov, head of the BCP Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department. He began by pointing out the skill of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army of engaging in a profound and realistic assessment of problems raised for discussion at various army forums, particularly noting the scientific and principle-minded approach taken. He spoke of the assertion of the socialist way of life and of the great requirements facing the subjective factor in this area. He discussed at length some characteristics of the international ideological circumstances and the immediate tasks of the ideological workers.

Major General Trifonov was the first speaker at the afternoon session. He discussed in detail collectivism as an essential feature of the socialist way of life. He focused his attention on subjective factors which determine the development of army collectives and their role in molding the military personality.

With a great deal of interest the participants in the practical science conference heard the statement by Captain First Rank A. I. Skril'nik expressing the gratitude of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy for inviting their representative to the conference, he presented the warmest greetings of the Soviet soldiers. He stated that the problem of the socialist way of life and of molding the new personality today is drawing the attention of the entire Soviet public, including all cadres of the USSR armed forces. The speaker then shared interesting thoughts on a number of characteristic features of the Soviet way of life and of some of its characteristics in the Soviet army.

Major General Kostadin Manolov, deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, stated that inviting representatives of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy to participate in the basic measures of the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the People's Army has already become a tradition in our country. Then, on behalf of the participants in the conference he thanked Captain First Rank A. I. Skril'nik for the interesting thoughts he shared on the problem.

The statement by Officer Velikov dealt with the activities of the party and Komsomol organizations in mastering and applying the norms of the socialist way of life. On the basis of the experience of his unit he shared interesting thoughts and drew conclusions of interest to all those present. Officer Bonin spoke of the socialist way of life and the ideological struggle. Using a number of figures, examples, and specific facts borrowed from life in the United States, France, and other western countries, he convincingly described the steadily growing and ever intensifying ills of the capitalist way of life and profoundly substantiated the groundlessness of the attempts made by bourgeois ideologues to defend and praise it.

General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politbureau candidate member and minister of national defense, delivered the concluding speech at the all-army practical science conference (speech published separately).

Colonel General Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, closed the practical science conference. He expressed the confidence of the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense and of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army that the conference will contribute to the successful solution of the numerous and complex problems of the further establishment of the socialist way of life and the enhancement of its role in molding the military personality.

The practical science conference proved that as a fundamental category in Marxist-Leninist theory the socialist way of life has an exceptionally strong ideological charge. One of the most topical tasks facing today all army units is to master and use this charge for the further advancement of command-organizational, political, ideological, and social activities. All efforts related to training, education, and upbringing must lead, in the final account, to developing in the troops a communist morality and to enhancing the combat readiness and preparedness of the people's army.

5003

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

REPORT BY CHIEF OF ARMY MAIN POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Oct 77 p 2

[Report by Colonel General Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army]

[Text] Comrade generals and officers, comrades:

A gigantic struggle is being waged in our complex and dynamic epoch on the political, economic, ideological, and cultural fronts between the socialist and capitalist systems. Tens of millions of new people are becoming convinced of the superiority of socialism over capitalism, of Marxism-Leninism over bourgeois ideology, and of the socialist over the capitalist ways of life.

In the ideological struggle between the two opposite social systems, to an ever greater extent the problem of the way of life is turning into a real battle field on which the future of mankind will be largely determined, for unquestionably the right to life will be secured only by the type of social system which can provide a better way of life to the people, i.e., which will insure the comprehensive and harmonious development of the individual.

World socialism has reached a level of development in which a developed socialist society has already been built in the Soviet Union while in a number of socialist countries its building has become an immediate practical task.

The task of developing further the socialist way of life and of the more profound establishment of its nature and characteristic features is as important as the other tasks related to the building of communism. That is why the highest party forums--the 25th CPSU Congress, the 11th BCP Congress, and the congresses of the other fraternal parties--indicated the tremendous importance of the problem of the socialist way of life, established its scale, elaborated many of its important aspects, and earmarked a number of directions for its further study and elaboration.

It is in assessment of the significance of this problem that the Ministry of National Defense and the Main Political Administration of the People's Army are holding this practical science conference. Its purpose is to contribute to the theoretical clarification of the nature of the socialist way of life and of its characteristics under the conditions of the BNA (Bulgarian People's Army); to sum up existing positive practical experience and equip commanders and political organs with the knowledge and skill to use the ways and means of work for improving the socialist way of life under army conditions, upgrading its role in the molding of the military personality, and enhancing the combat readiness of the troops.

I. Nature and Characteristic Feature of the Socialist Way of Life

The concept of "way of life" is an integral philosophical category with a basic significance and specific methodical function in the social sciences.

The way of life is a combination of essential features which characterize the forms of vital activities of society, of peoples, classes, social groups, and individuals within specific socioeconomic systems. These features are objective and specific-historical. They are determined by the nature of the socioeconomic system, the development of production and material culture in the society, the nature of its political organization, and the sum total of its spiritual values.

The way of life includes human activities at work and at home, and socio-political and cultural life. The various types of activities, however, are determined, in the final account, by the production method and the reproduction of conditions required to insure the human existence.

The people's way of life has gone through different development stages. In all pre-socialist systems, built one way or another, on the private ownership of capital goods, the main interests of the ruling class are objectively incompatible with those of the oppressed toiling masses and, hence, their ways of life are incompatible. That is why the concept of a single way of life in an exploiting society, capitalism included, is an illusion created by the bourgeoisie for the purposes of its political and ideological struggle.

The socialist way of life is the highest existing form of human activities. "The way socialism is a qualitatively different, higher, and more progressive social system than capitalism," pointed out Comrade T. Zhivkov at the 11th Congress, "the socialist way of life is basically different, incomparably richer and more humane compared with the way of life of the capitalist society." Along with its specific qualitative advantages the socialist way of life synthesizes everything most valuable and progressive of the ways of life which preceeded it. Under the conditions of a developing socialist society it is a determining factor in the molding of the socialist personality

Describing the nature of the socialist way of life we must also clarify the link between way of life and living conditions. The concepts of living conditions (in the sense of a prerequisite, of a base) and way of life should not be confused. For example, the socialist way of life is not inherent in all the people of a socialist society. The fact that a given person lives in a socialist society does not mean in itself that such a person necessarily lives like a socialist. That is why there are different ways of life under socialist socioeconomic conditions.

The socialist way of life has its own structure which is identical to the structure of the basic activities of the people through which they realize their personalities. Naturally, the most important aspect of this structure is that of labor-production activities. The structure also includes socio-political activities, activities in education, at home, in services, in the leisure time, and others.

Where the socialist way of life represents an entire system of vital activities, its nucleus, its core is socialist labor. This was expressly emphasized in the Central Committee reports to the 11th BCP Congress: "The core of the socialist way of life, its essential feature, is socialist labor, this most important form of human activity."

An important characteristic feature of the socialist way of life is that it is an integrated way of life. This means that it is a way of life both of society as a whole as well as of the individual social groups and of the tremendous majority of working people. The unity of social, collective, and private interests is the objective base of this feature.

The socialist way of life is a deeply international phenomenon. It is a manifestation of the new relations among people, nations, and nationalities. It is also the expression of the unity between patriotism and internationalism. For the first time in human history patriotic awareness and feelings conquer and modulate the actions of the broad people's masses, while internationalism draws its strength not from words and appeals but from the true rapprochement among socialist nations and the growing social homogeneity and unity among socialist countries.

To the working people of our country the socialist way of life is incompatible without pure and eternal love for the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, and without the life-bringing Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. Anti-Sovietism is the opposite of the socialist way of life in any socialist country.

A characteristic feature of a socialist way of life is the constant concern of society for the individual. "Concern for man is the main concern of the party. It is the meaning and content of its entire policy," the party's program stipulates.

The scale and pace of satisfaction of the material and the spiritual needs of the people are determined by the results of their socialist labor which, in turn, depend to the greatest extent on the socialist attitude toward labor. To expect and demand of society without giving to society is contrary to the socialist way of life.

Socialist democracy is a characteristic feature of the socialist way of life. The 60 years of life of the Soviet Union proves that true freedom is possible only in a society with socialist democracy. "From its very first days, even at its most underdeveloped level," Comrade T. Zhivkov states, "the socialist state is immeasurably more democratic than the most developed bourgeois democracy, for it represents the power of the working class allied with the broadest toiling masses. It is ruled by a class whose objective is not to increase its rule but to build a classless communist society." That is why, however it may try to prove that the basic rights and freedoms of the citizens are not protected in the socialist countries, and whatever slanderous campaigns it may organize, bourgeois ideology can not conceal the truth. Socialist democracy not only grants all civic freedoms but guarantees them. The new USSR Constitution, just adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, is a vivid manifestation of the triumph of socialist democracy.

The steadily growing role of spiritual culture in the life of society is a basic characteristic feature of the socialist way of life. Under socialism spiritual culture effects not individual aspects of the development of a certain social elite but all forms of activities. It ennobles the behavior of all its members.

Under the socialist way of life the social equalization of the people, the reduction of disparities in the income and living standards of workers and peasants, of mental and physical workers, and of the different social groups is a steady trend. This process is the basis of the moral and political unity of the entire people.

The bourgeois ideologues and defenders of capitalism are trying, on the one hand, to distort the theory and practice of the socialist way of life and, on the other, to embellish, absolutize, and perpetuate the capitalist way of life. To one extent or another and in one way or another many of them realize that they would be unable either to liquidate socialism or eliminate it historically should they fail, both theoretically and practically, to pit against the socialist way of life their own "better quality" model. It is no accident that in recent years there has been ever greater mention of the "quality of life." However, the prescriptions for reaching such a "quality" have never exceeded the frameworks of capitalism. That is why it remains an illusion and a means for deceiving the people.

One of the main trends of modern bourgeois propaganda related to the way of life is based on an imaginary complaint of the "failed attempt" to build a new way of life in the socialist countries.

Another trend in contemporary bourgeois propaganda is the attempt to prove that no substantial differences exist between the socialist and capitalist ways of life, and that they are different merely because of some non-essential characteristics.

There is yet another basic trend stemming from the assumption that both the bourgeois and the socialist ways of life are equally unworthy of man.

The characteristic feature of all these trends in contemporary bourgeois propaganda dealing with the way of life is that they aim at concealing the deep contradiction and qualitative difference between the socialist and the capitalist ways of life, and to belittle the advantages of the socialist way of life, thus undermining its tremendous power of attraction to millions of toiling people the world over.

II. Further Assertion and Development of the Socialist Way of Life Under the Conditions of the Bulgarian People's Army and its Role in Molding the Military Personality

As an army of a new socialist type our army is a people's army in the complete sense of the term. As the offspring of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, from the very first day of its existence it has defended the gains of socialism and the peaceful constructive toil of the people and, together with the armies of the Warsaw Pact-member countries, has insured the peace on the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world.

The Bulgarian People's Army has been following the forward movement of the people in building a developed socialist society and in the preparations for a gradual transition to communism, as well as on the basis of the tremendous socioeconomic changes made. Its aspect and activities entirely reflect the beneficial process of the improvement of the socialist way of life in the country. All features of the socialist way of life are fully inherent in our army's way of life.

Under army conditions, however, the socialist way of life has certain characteristic features and specifics.

The army of the socialist fatherland can attain its basic purpose of defending the gains of socialism by steadily upgrading its combat readiness. That is why the first and most important feature of the way of life under army conditions is the fact that all forms of life and activities of the troops are subordinated to the requirement of maintaining constant and high combat readiness of the troops. Maintaining high combat readiness by the armed forces is not a transitional task. It is an objective need for the defense of socialism. As the imperative order of the time, combat readiness covers all aspects of the comprehensive activities of the Bulgarian People's Army, reflecting the level of its combat and operative preparedness, combat coordination of the units, and ideological-political education of the troops. In the final account, this is the peak of the combat skill of the troops in peace time and a key to victory in war.

An important characteristic of the socialist way of life under army conditions is the systematic and strict implementation of the one-man command principle. Under army conditions it is absolutely mandatory to subordinate the will of the collective to that of the commander. However, this does not exclude but presumes the fullest possible utilization of collectivism in the work and the development of the activeness, initiative, and creativity of the personnel.

Another characteristic of the socialist way of life under army conditions is the precisely regulated relations among military servicemen such as relations between seniors and juniors and superiors and subordinates. The observance of the stipulations of the regulations governing relations among military personnel is an equal imperative without which the complex problems of army life, whether in peace or war time, can not be resolved.

The next characteristic stems from the requirements of military discipline and regulations. In the army discipline is of exceptional importance and is strongly reflected on the way of life. Some aspects of activities are inconceivable without strict discipline and without the precise and strict implementation of regulatory requirements, orders, and instructions issued by superiors. It was not accidentally that V. I. Lenin noted that "military discipline is a superior form of state discipline."

Here is another characteristic stemming from the nature of military work: very frequently this work is an activity based on the military duty to the socialist homeland. This is as it should be. This is work not for direct personal advantages but for the sake of the supreme interests of society. That is why in the case of people engaged in this type of work there is no code there is only military duty.

As we pointed out, the way of life includes all human vital activities. Naturally, the limits of a report can not cover all aspects of military activities. We shall discuss some basic directions which, in our view, are today of the greatest importance in the establishment and development of the socialist way of life under army conditions, and which contribute to the greatest extent to the molding of the military personality and to upgrading the combat readiness of the troops.

First, the assertion of military work as the core of the socialist way of life.

Military work is highly socially useful and necessary. Its significance is determined in terms of securing the peace and safety of our homeland and providing the most favorable conditions for the building of socialism, and readiness to defeat any aggressor. That is why one of the most important tasks is to develop in the troops a socialist attitude toward army work.

Ideological and political education must be closely linked with labor education. It must develop the type of attitude toward labor in which it is considered a means for the full creative expression of the personality and

the application of its knowledge, talents, and abilities and the practical realization of its loyalty to the socialist homeland and the socialist community. We must develop in the troops the desire to engage in creativity, innovation, and initiative, high labor (training) discipline, desire to learn, cult of the working hour, and intolerance toward the waste of training time. Developing respect for labor means developing in the troops a feeling of responsibility and conscientiousness.

It is particularly important to improve the organization of the labor activities of the soldiers. We have become accustomed to say that today science is a direct productive force and a decisive factor in social, economic, and technical progress. The high organization of labor in all fields of life becomes the same type of direct productive force and decisive factor.

The introduction of new methods and means in combat training personnel activities assumes major importance. The achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the available training facilities must be used most rationally. All training in the classroom, in the training grounds, or in the field must yield the greatest possible results.

Socialist competition has a major influence on upgrading the effectiveness of military work. Its achievements are increasing. However, we must continue the struggle against formalism in this creative matter, as it has an adverse effect on the initiative and activeness of the personnel. We must insure an even broader scope and effectiveness of the socialist competition, linking it most closely with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and with leading experience and its extensive application in military collectives.

The quality and effectiveness of military work can not be upgraded without strong military discipline based on ideological convictions, and the conscientiousness and feeling of responsibility of the personnel.

That is why discipline is not only a necessary prerequisite for upgrading the quality and effectiveness of military work but a means for the education of the troops, an indicator of the level of socialist conscientiousness and a criterion of the effectiveness of ideological-educational work.

The second direction leading to the further development and improvement of the socialist way of life under Bulgarian army conditions is the intensification of the socio-political activeness of the troops.

Social activeness should not be considered as a constant value. Its level depends on the extent to which commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations have been able to involve in the measures the mass of military servicemen and develop their dedication in the implementation of their social functions and their initiative and creativity in combat training and socio-political activities.

The development of normal conditions for the expression of the social activeness of the troops requires precise moral and pedagogical assessments of the activities of the troops and proper moral and material incentive. In general, work in the units must be organized in such a way that the soldiers can grow steadily as political persons.

The third direction in improving the socialist way of life is the assertion of the principles of communist morality in the behavior of military servicemen.

The building and defense of the developed socialist society enhance ever further the role of communist morality in material and other social relations and in the development of a socialist attitude toward military labor, conscientious discipline, collectivism, comradeship, and mutual aid.

We must expand the effectiveness of moral education among all categories of military personnel. We must methodically and organizedly enhance the role of the spiritual incentives and factors in relations among soldiers and in their behavior. This requires for the moral and ethical problems to be given priority in overall ideological-educational work and become an intrinsic factor in the educational process.

The fourth direction leading to improvements in the socialist way of life under army conditions is upgrading the educational influence of army society and, above all, of the military collective.

As the basic element of army society, the military collective plays a determining role in the development of the socialist way of life under army conditions.

The military collective has a double function. It is an active combat unit as well as an educator. At the present stage in the development of the armed forces the educational function becomes more important. In our time, when equipment and armaments are primarily collective the results of military work depend more than ever before on the activities of every soldier and of the collective as a unit.

In order to upgrade the role of the collectives in molding the military personality we must develop, above all, proper relations among the members of the collective. It must honor and respect the most conscientious, industrious, honest, disciplined, and politically active members. Furthermore, we must develop an atmosphere which would encourage the manifestation of the abilities of all the members of the collective. Particular attention should be paid to the young troops. Officers, master sergeants, sergeants, and privates with longer army service must render them comradely aid enabling them rapidly to adapt to the conditions of the military service.

Greater attention should be paid to strengthening comradeship in the collectives on a principled basis.

We must also enhance the role of public opinion in the education of the troops. This must be one of the factors regulating relations among people.

The enhancement of the role of the collective and of public opinion calls for enhancing the feeling of personal responsibility in the troops. The feeling of responsibility focuses within itself convictions and views, and the knowledge, abilities, and habits of the people. This feeling is one of the most important and valuable qualities of troops and commanders. It is a socio-political value of first magnitude. That is why educating the troops and, particularly, the command personnel, in the spirit of a feeling of personal responsibility in carrying out assignments, and making their feeling of responsibility fully consistent with the strict requirements facing the BNA at the present stage are the basic duty of senior commanders, staffs, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations.

The fifth direction in improving the socialist way of life under army conditions is the satisfaction and development of the needs of the troops.

The party's Central Committee takes into consideration the great importance of material living and cultural conditions of the troops and is always concerned with their improvement. The country's economic successes offered the possibility to insure the further comprehensive satisfaction of the army's material requirements.

III. The Tasks of Commanders, Political Organs, and Party and Komsomol Organizations in the Further Advancement of the Socialist Way of Life under Army Conditions

Under contemporary conditions the role of the subjective factor is rising steadily. Georgi Dimitrov, the teacher and leader of the Bulgarian people, used to say that "all other conditions being equal, in one case we may obtain one result while in another the result could be ten times better. This depends on the subjective factor. . ." This law equally applies to the advancement of the socialist way of life in the army.

The subjective factor under army conditions consists of commanders (superiors), staffs, political organs, and party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations.

The effectiveness of management activities in improving the socialist way of life in the army depends to the greatest extent on the purposeful work of the commanders (superiors). This is based on the one-man command principle and on the extensive rights they have been granted by the party. They guide and directly manage the overall training and educational activities, way of life, recreation, and molding of the military personality. They rely on the trade union and Komsomol organizations and direct their activities in resolving all problems related to the training and education of the troops.

All aspects of the activities of the commander, the chief, or the economic manager influence the advancement of the socialist way of life in the unit. His ability to see the problems and tasks in their comprehensive and long-term aspects, and to coordinate and direct the efforts of all the components of the subjective factor is of particular importance.

The shaping of commanders (superiors) as political leaders, as active fighters for the implementation of the party's decisions and policies in the life of the troops, has a tremendous impact on the effectiveness of managerial activities aimed at improving the socialist way of life.

The personal example of the commander (chief) and of the economic manager has a most direct impact on improving the socialist way of life in the unit, formation, or military enterprise. More than ever before today there must be full unity and consistency between the words and deeds of military cadres.

Improving the socialist way of life is an important task of the political organs and of the party, Komsomol, and trade union organizations.

Using the ways and means of party-political work they must actively influence the course of the comprehensive military life in full accordance with the socialist principles.

The political organs and the party and Komsomol organizations must develop criticism and self-criticism. The April tradition of trust in the people and of unity and solidarity for the sake of the great objectives set to us by the party must be asserted ever further in our military collectives. However, trust has nothing in common with liberalism, with the concealment of weaknesses, and with ignoring obvious or secret violations of socialist morality. Criticism and self-criticism are a tried weapon which we must use to an ever greater extent.

The political organs and the party and Komsomol organizations must struggle for the reaching of a high criterion in assessing the work of every military serviceman and of the results of the training of commanders, staffs, and troops. A high criterion will contribute ever more successfully to the solution of the strategic tasks set at the 11th Party Congress: high effectiveness and high quality in all fields of life.

The development of the socialist way of life in the army largely depends on the level of the ideological-political education of the personnel and the steadily growing ideological and spiritual-moral potential of the military personality. At the July BCP Central Committee Plenum Comrade T. Zhivkov emphasized that "our explanatory and educational work must develop into a practical and effective factor which would encourage, mobilize, and direct the creative searches and the will and energy of all working people and all collectives in resolving the new problems, molding not only a conviction of their correctness but a high level of readiness to implement them." In this connection commanders, and political organs and party and Komsomol organizations face very important tasks:

The socialist way of life must become the center of ideological work both as a target and a factor of the educational process. Through propaganda we must extensively popularize the achievements and tremendous advantages of the socialist way of life which embodies and expresses the daily life of the working people in the USSR, in our country, and in the other socialist countries. Only thus would the army ideological front be able to be on the level of its new tasks in the contemporary stage of the building of the BNA. The rich content of the socialist way of life--the political, socio-economic, cultural, and other gains of the working people--must be made clear to the troops with the help of specific facts and figures and on the basis of comparative data with capitalism. The advantages of the socialist way of life in the social field must be brought to light particularly convincingly.

At the same time the faults of the capitalist way of life must be exposed far more convincingly and comprehensively: the growing unemployment, criminality, alienation, pessimism, drug addiction, moral decadence, concern for the future, the physical and spiritual plundering of the individual and the damages which this way of life causes to the development of the individual.

The further development and advancement of the socialist way of life presumes a tireless continuation of the effort to mold a communist outlook in the soldiers, linked most closely with the struggle for the implementation of the party's military policy. The Marxist-Leninist outlook must be the basis for developing in the personnel characteristic features of the socialist way of life such as communist idea-mindedness, socialist patriotism, internationalism, collectivism, and others. Commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations must pay attention to the further study and dissemination of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the 11th BCP Congress, the July BCP Central Committee Plenum, and other party documents, and the conclusions based on them applicable to the army, as well as their implementation in army life. The task now is to upgrade the contribution of Marxist-Leninist and political training, the teaching of the social sciences in higher educational institutions, the military mass information media, the TsVKI [expansion unknown] and the people's army clubs to the advancement and enrichment of the content of the socialist way of life.

Commanders, political organs, and party and Komsomol organizations must dedicate constant efforts to intensify the national and international content of the socialist way of life in the army. In connection with the forthcoming celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution intensifying the love and respect of the personnel for the CPSU and the USSR, the heroic Soviet people and their valorous armed forces, and their universal-historical experience and contribution to the building and defense of socialism must assume a central role in our ideological and educational work. The further upgrading of the patriotic and international education of the troops calls for a steady strengthening of their feeling of national pride in and duty toward the socialist homeland, revealing more completely the unity between national and international interests and tasks.

The successful solution of the problems related to the education of the personnel call for upgrading the ability of the commanders and political organs to guide the spiritual development of the personnel and to coordinate the effect of molding factors of the socialist way of life such as the army social environment, the educational and training systems, and others. Under contemporary conditions the comprehensive approach to the all-round development of the military personality assumes particular importance. The purpose is to create, closely linked with military practice, a unified system of socio-political, labor, moral, esthetic, and other orientations, convictions, criteria, and skills. A differentiated approach must be adopted to all soldiers, making full use of the rich arsenal of different ways and means.

Today the following is of particular importance to our entire ideological front:

To explain substantively and extensively to the entire personnel the nature, scientific substantiation, and significance of the tasks set in the order issued by the comrade minister for the new school year;

To launch an even more energetic and effective struggle for the development of an atmosphere of intolerance toward violations of socialist social norms;

To mobilize the forces and creative energy of the troops and of all our collectives for a real upturn in the struggle for high effectiveness and quality in all fields of army activities.

Such are the basic problems to which we deemed necessary to draw your attention in connection with the consideration of the topic of the socialist way of life under army conditions.

5003

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BELGRADE SPEECH OF CHIEF CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 77 p 7

[Report by Dusan Rovensky on speech by Ambassador Richard Dvorak: "The CSSR Is Consistently Fulfilling the Concluding Act"]

[Text] On Wednesday, the second day of the session of the Belgrade meeting, further speeches of the chief delegates of the 35 countries that signed the Concluding Act in Helsinki in 1975 were on the agenda. The chief delegates of Bulgaria, Sweden, Yugoslavia, Finland, and other countries held forth.

The chief of the CSSR delegation, Ambassador Richard Dvorak, spoke in the afternoon. He mentioned the positive results that we have obtained in Czechoslovakia in the implementing of the conclusions of Helsinki, and also our views on the continuing process of relaxing international tension, proofs of the participation of the CSSR in the effort to diminish tension and develop the cooperation of countries with different social systems. The chief Czechoslovak delegate stated that the task of the Belgrade meeting is the exchange of views both on the implementation of the Concluding Act and of the tasks set by the Helsinki Conference and also on the improvement of mutual relations, the strengthening of security, on the development of cooperation in Europe and on the development of the process of the lessening of tension in the future. It is in the interest of all countries that the Belgrade meeting should take place in a good working atmosphere, in the "spirit of Helsinki."

Comrade Dvorak stressed that the process of the relaxation of tension was begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Anniversary of which will be commemorated in the near future by all progressive mankind. This process, which is continuing, has not been simple, and thus it is more valuable that the past two years have shown the viability of the Helsinki agreements and the fact that the decisions contained in the Concluding Act are gradually being carried out. These results could have been greater if the spirit and letter of the Concluding Act had not become the frequent target of the attacks of the enemies of the relaxation of international tension. The participants in the Belgrade meeting received with great interest that

part of the speech of the chief Czechoslovak delegate in which were noted the specific results that have been attained in the CSSR in the implementation of the Concluding Act. Our state and social organs proceed from the decision of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and the federal government in this effort. We have published the Concluding Act widely, and there is approximately one copy of it for every ten people. Political contacts have developed on a wide front, and, as Comrade Dvorak stated, since the signing of the Concluding Act more than twenty meetings on a high political level have occurred, and we have concluded more than 40 important bilateral agreements in the fields of politics, economics, and culture.

The delegations followed with considerable attention those parts of the speech in which he discussed how we approached the fulfilling of the Helsinki document in the field of economy, science and technology, and environment. Our declaration that the CSSR is willing to broaden economic contacts with all states was received with satisfaction. "At the same time we should like to emphasize," said Ambassador R. Dvorak, "that foreign trade and similarly industrial cooperation have good possibilities of further development only on the condition of the adherence to the principle of complete equality and reciprocal advantages."

Specific and convincing facts were stated in the speech, moreover, about how we are fulfilling our obligations in the area of cultural exchange, education, information, and contact between peoples. From these facts it followed that in this area we are fulfilling the Concluding Act much more consistently than the Western states. Just one of many examples is that we are importing on the average ten times as many Western newspapers and periodicals as are being exported by the press of the CSSR to those capitalist countries which signed the Concluding Act two years ago. In the conclusion of this part of the speech, Comrade Dvorak emphasized that Czechoslovakia, its government, and also the public at large are determined to continue even further in their positive effort.

He designated the halting of the feverish arms build-up, the gradual decreasing of armaments, and the attainment of disarmament, above all of nuclear disarmament, as the most immediate and pressing tasks of the present. It is necessary to seek paths to the concrete solution of these complicated problems everywhere, in all forums; and the Belgrade meeting can also contribute to this. "The CSSR together with the other countries of the Warsaw Pact was turning to the states here represented with the draft of an agreement in which they would promise each other that they would not be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other. The conclusion of such an agreement would be in the interest of all, large and also small states, those possessing atomic weapons and also the others," emphasized the chief Czechoslovak delegate.

In the concluding part of the speech he then suggested, in the name of the CSSR, further specific steps aiming at the relaxing of tension; among others,

that progress be made in the Vienna negotiations, that pan-European congresses be held on cooperation in the protection of the environment, in transportation and power, and that further necessary measures be implemented for the development of cooperation. He expressed full support for the Soviet proposals that had been set before international forums on these questions.

9105

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHARGES OF DISSIDENT PERSECUTION PRODUCT OF BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 40, 5 Oct 77 pp 14,15

[Article by Jan Pancir: "Dirty Motives"]

[Text] Jan Neruda will surely forgive us for giving this meaning to the title of one of his collections of poems by the addition of an "s." But we could not bear using the title of his collection for the latest variations of anti-Sovietism as they are appearing and being disseminated recently. Moreover, this altered meaning is quite appropriate. Because the motives of those who deal with anti-Sovietism are more akin to dirt [sprostota] than simplicity [prostota].

I

The motive of "human rights" began to resound in the noisy anti-Soviet cacophony relatively recently. Timewise, it falls in the period when the world learned that the Soviet Union was one of the first to ratify all of the international conventions on human rights. In contrast, the United States and other capitalist countries have not ratified very many of these conventions up to the present time.

The United States, where particularly heartrending cadences on violation of human rights in the Soviet Union are heard, has thus far failed to ratify 18 of the 20 international conventions on human rights. These include, among others, for example, the convention on slavery of 1926 and its amendment of 1953, the convention on preventing genocide and its punishment of 1948, the international convention on abolition of all forms of racial discrimination of 1966, the international convention on economic, social and cultural rights of 1966, the convention on waiving statutory limits for war criminals and crimes against humanity of 1968 and the international convention on the struggle against crimes related to apartheid and their punishability of 1973.

Thus the United States has not ratified these and numerous other international conventions on human rights. Perhaps it knows why:

"Black Americans are subject to racial discrimination in all aspects of life: in getting jobs, in obtaining housing, as well as in efforts to get an education," stated Carlton Doodlett, chairman of the Association of American Publishers in April 1977.

And a representative of the Allied League of Latin-American Citizens [?] fittingly added: "Millions of American citizens who come from Latin America are denied basic human rights in the United States and these citizens really have a hard time making a living. Working and living conditions are particularly intolerable for the Latin American labor force which got into the United States illegally. The situation there is basically little different from that of black slaves in the last century."

II

In the above-mentioned anti-Soviet human rights cacophony the first theme to be broadly disseminated was that Soviet authorities allegedly do not permit certain citizens to leave the USSR. Passions became enflamed to a white heat over this. The presses worked at top speed, antennas began to glow and the propaganda mills went into action.

But not for long. The Soviet Union quickly showed that just in recent years over 10,000 Soviet citizens had married foreigners and about 7000 of them had left with their spouses for more than 100 countries of the world. From the end of World War II up to June of this year, 141,600 people, including children, have emigrated from the Soviet Union. This represents 98.4 percent of all petitions submitted during the period indicated.

And when, from time to time, the capitals of certain west European countries saw gatherings of disillusioned persons who had left the Soviet Union (primarily lured by emigration to Israel) and were waiting so that they could rectify their mistakes and return to their homeland, passions cooled and the artificial smokescreen began to disperse.

III

But right away, as though on command, another theme was forced out and properly blown up--about persecution of "dissidents" or "non-conformist thinkers" and about the confinement of some of them in Soviet psychiatric clinics. These "martyrs for ideas" were specifically named.

In time this myth also burst because when they came abroad, patients of Soviet psychiatric institutions, became--as could, after all, have been expected--patients of psychiatrists in the West. These included Yuray Titov, Feinberg, Tarsis, Jakobson, Zuckerman, Tumerman and many other "Soviet dissidents." Some of them, as for example, Yelena Stroyevova, ended as suicides. And her husband, Lev Konstantinov, who came to Vienna as a "dissident" and "fighter for human rights," as he was extolled by bourgeois communications media, was declared incompetent by a Viennese court after a lengthy stay at a Viennese psychiatric institution because he is suffering from incurable schizophrenia. And all this occurred not in Moscow but in Vienna.

And so another motive was done for.

IV

Western bourgeois propaganda, however, did not relax and with lightening speed developed another trick. According to their claims some kind of "opposition" exists in the Soviet Union and Soviet authorities are countering it with methods that are irreconcilable with provisions of the Final Act signed in Helsinki and the principles of international conventions on human rights. At the same time they are constantly emphasizing either directly or by innuendo that people are being prosecuted "for their convictions," for the fact that they have "differing opinions." In listings of "martyrs for legal rights and they show specifically what they were convinced of" they always cite with the diligence worthy of a better thing, those who have been convicted and are serving their sentences or those whose offenses are being investigated. In the first case they completely ignore verdicts where legal rights prevailed and show specifically what the offenders were sentenced for. In the second case they defend persons of whose activities their "defender" know nothing at all.

These persons, however, were judged or investigated not at all for their "divergent thoughts" but for their criminal activity which bears upon Soviet laws by which the Soviet state protects its security, just as every other state protects itself.

The internal legislation of every country contains several acts that prescribe various kinds of restrictions and their violation is punishable. It suffices to cite only some of them, particularly from countries where the above-mentioned anti-Soviet campaign is most vociferous.

Thus, for example, in Section 18 of the U.S. Code of Law, paragraph 953 states: "Any citizen of the United States--no matter where he may be--who, without permission of the United States, directly or indirectly initiates or maintains correspondence or contact with any foreign government, its officials or representatives, for the purpose of influencing measures or actions of such a foreign government, its officials or representatives, which concern a controversy or dispute with the United States, or for the purpose of thwarting measures effected by the United States, will be punished by a fine of up to \$500, imprisonment up to 3 years, or both penalties at the same time."

Or let us take a quotation from paragraph 100a (Dissemination of false information of a treasonable nature) from the penal code of the FRG (in the 2 January 1975 edition): "Whoever makes accessible to others or publicly disseminates knowingly spurious or falsified materials, reports about them or false allegations of a factual nature which in case of credibility or truthfulness would be significant to the external security or relations of the Federal Republic of Germany with foreign powers and thereby seriously damage the external security or relations of the Federal Republic of Germany with foreign states will be punished by imprisonment for a term of 6 months to 5 years."

And the United States, the FRG and other states whose penal code has similar paragraphs, nevertheless also signed the international convention in which Article 19 speaks of the right of everyone to express freely his opinions. Based on this, they subscribed to the fact that there does not exist and cannot exist absolute, completely unrestricted liberty.

Thus there is no doubt that even this allegation, like the other anti-Soviet "bubbles," has the same ephemeral life as real soap bubbles.

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CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

GDR-MEXICO RELATIONS DISCUSSED BY AMBASSADOR

Mexico City EL DIA in Spanish 6 Oct 1977 p 12

[Report of interview with Peter Lorf, GDR ambassador to Mexico, by correspondent Alfonso Yanez: "The GDR, Among the Ten Most Industrialized Nations in the World"]

[Text] International solidarity, respect for human rights and the constant struggle for the welfare of the German people are the principle aims renewed daily by the GDR, which is now approaching its 28th anniversary. In order to recognize the more prominent aspects of political, cultural and economic life of the GDR, EL DIA interviewed Ambassador Peter Lorf who, with great assurance and vehemence, provided answers to a group of questioners.

Human Rights

Is ideological and political plurality permitted in the GDR?

"We have a state law wherein power is vested in the state organs and it is not a question of prohibiting an ideology. Naturally, the aim is to promote the development of society and guarantee each citizen his human rights."

How many political parties are there in the GDR?

"In our People's Chamber, we have representatives of four parties: the Christian Democratic Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Democratic Peasants Party and the National Democratic Party. There is also the SED."

Results of Potsdam

Calling to mind the founding of the new German State, the reporter asked the ambassador about concrete results of the Treaty of Potsdam. The reply follows: "In my country, the Potsdam accords amounted to the total and absolute destruction of all roots of fascism and imperialism, and this allowed us to build a new society, one permitting all workers and peasants to participate in power. On 7 October, the GDR will commemorate its 28th anniversary. The first socialist state on German soil has witnessed transformations

such as have never occurred in Germany's history. Today, the GDR ranks among the ten most industrialized nations in the world. It is building a socialist society and it is praised and recognized on an international scale. Also, it maintains diplomatic relations with 120 countries."

The Struggle for Peace

Ambassador Peter Lorf points out: "I would like to concentrate upon certain questions of international politics and the struggle for peace in the GDR, because the consolidation of peace is the key question of our time. My country is an inseparable part of the socialist community. We consider friendship and close collaboration with the USSR and other socialist sister states as an inexhaustible fountain of energy for the accomplishment of the great tasks in the building of socialism and communism.

"The GDR occupies a respected place in CEMA. Its economy is closely tied to the national economies of the socialist community. On its 28th anniversary, our country celebrates it [the 28th anniversary] whenever it says that detente is making progress and redoubles its struggle for peace and detente. Nowadays, disarmament is a key consideration for the development of humanity."

Suspension of Armaments

"My country," the German ambassador continues to inform us, "supports the suspension of the arms race and lauds all measures for securing peace. At all levels of German society, there is a marked interest in the special assembly on disarmament which, in the framework of the United Nations, could be an important step toward international understanding." With regard to the Warsaw Pact and NATO, the ambassador informs us that the people of the GDR are struggling not only for detente in the military domain but also in the political domain.

"An important initiative resulted from the meeting of the Warsaw Pact countries in November 1976, in Bucharest. Their proposal to produce an accord in which the participant states at the Helsinki Conference promise not to be the first to resort to nuclear arms, is a matter of great importance. Unfortunately, these and other socialist countries' activities have, to date, not elicited any positive reactions from the NATO nations.

"Contrary to signed agreements, there is a policy of systematic and open intervention in the internal affairs of socialist countries. The principles of European security, respect for sovereignty, and the inviolability of the state borders are thereby violated and I would like to stress that, as regards the demand for honoring these basic principles in the relations among states, we are in accord with Mexico."

International Solidarity

Solidarity with all nations struggling for their national and social liberation is the basic premise of GDR policy. According to Ambassador Peter Lorf's

opinion, it is in this vein that the GDR, with the high spirit of proletarian internationalism, supports the progressive and revolutionary forces of the world.

"The GDR consistently finds itself on the side of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Our country acts in unconstrained solidarity with the communists and the democratic, the anti-imperialist forces of Chile, Uruguay and the rest of Latin America."

Relations with Mexico

Concerning the covenants which the GDR has signed with Mexico, our interviewee informs us that diplomatic relations were initiated in 1973 and several important agreements have been signed. Commercial, scientific collaboration, industrial-technical, cultural covenants and a consular agreements have been signed.

In the four years of relations there have been visits and exchanges of delegations, economic technicians, high government officials and distinguished representatives of culture and the arts.

"In important matters relating to the struggle for peace and other international problems, the GDR and Mexico are in accord with one another and act together in international organizations."

Trade with Mexico

The value of the trade which has been established between Mexico and the GDR is approximately \$10 million. In this connection, the ambassador tells us that in the present sexennium the volume of imports and exports is expected to increase three- or fourfold and he stresses that trade between both countries is not established for speculative ends, but with consideration and a striving for the same level in its trade balance. Mexico's exports are: bees' honey, textiles and certain agricultural products. Its imports are comprised of tools, photographic articles and other products.

With regard to fellowships for the study of various specialties, Ambassador Peter Lorf indicates to us that according to the agreement signed with the secretary for public education, the latter selects and proposes the candidates.

Festive Week

In order to celebrate the GDR's 28th anniversary in a dignified fashion a week of festivities, begun last Sunday and continuing until the 10th of this month, has been organized with the participation of German youths visiting our country. Concerning this aspect, the ambassador gives us a program in which 3 days have been dedicated as follows: to Solidarity; GDR Day; 11th Youth for Peace and Friendship Festival Preparation Day, which shall take place in Havana.

In the festivities program, on the 11th of this month at 8:30 p.m., an exposition of German craftsmanship will be opened in the Museum of Cultures. This exposition, which takes place based upon a cultural agreement with Mexico, contains 170 of the finest works of German folklore. Finally, Ambassador Lorf asks us to publish in the pages of EL DIA, a greeting of solidarity and affection to the Mexican people and government.

CSO: 3010

HUNGARY

BIOGRAPHIC DATA ON HUNGARIAN PERSONALITIES

Jozsef Balint

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Apr 77 p 5

[Text] State Secretary Jozsef Balint was born in 1930. Following the liberation he worked as a laborer in the oil processing industry and then, between 1948 and 1953, earned his diploma at the economic sciences university in Leningrad. For 20 years he worked in the party center, as an official, later as deputy department chief and, from 1967 to 1973, he headed the economic policy department of MSZMP Central Committee. He has been a member of the MSZMP Central Committee since 1970. He was appointed chairman of the Central Statistics Office in 1973.

Dr Miklos Breinich

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Aug 77 p 5

[Text] Dr Miklos Breinich was born in 1924. He is a graduate engineer. He has worked in the area of water affairs since 1948. He participated in construction of the Tiszaok Canal and the Eastern Main Canal. In 1960 he became chief of the water construction industry main department of the National Water Affairs Office. He has been deputy chairman of the office since 1962.

Dr Bela Csikos Nagy

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Aug 77 p 5

[Text] Dr Bela Csikos Nagy was born in 1915. He is a graduate economist. After the liberation he started work at the Chief Economic Council. Following this he filled leading positions in several ministries and economic chief authorities. He has been leader of the National Materials and Price Office since it was formed. He is president of the Hungarian Economists' Association and a member of the executive committee of the International Economics Association. He is the author of several scientific and technical books.

Mrs Lajos Duschek

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Apr 77 p 5

[Text] Mrs Lajos Duschek, secretary of the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions], was born in 1929. Beginning in 1943 she worked at the Csepel Iron and Metal Works. From 1953 to 1971 she was active as a party worker. She has been secretary of the SZOT since 1971. Her work area is social policy and women's policy. She is a trained planner and statistician. She was elected a member of the Central Committee at the 11th Congress of the MSZMP.

Dr Rudolf Gyurky

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Jul 77 p 5

[Text] Dr Rudolf Gyurky was born in 1918 in Pesterzsébet. He earned the title of doctor in 1941 at the law school of the Peter Pazmany Science University and then worked in the ministry of commerce and transportation. Between 1962 and 1968 he headed the administrative main department of the Ministry of Internal Trade and then he became deputy chairman of the KISOSZ [National Free Organization of Retailers]. He was elected chairman at the 1975 General Assembly. He was elected to the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front in 1976.

Dr Laszlo Kapolyi

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Jul 77 p 5

[Text] Dr Laszlo Kapolyi was born in 1932. He is a mining engineer and an economist. He is a doctor of technical sciences and an honorary lecturer at the mining and metallurgy university in Krakow. His scientific areas are rock mechanics, systems analysis connected with mining and research directed at complex mineral management. He worked at the Tatabánya coal mines from 1951, most recently as chief engineer for development. He has been deputy minister of heavy industry since April 1976.

Bela Kelen

Budapest IFJUKOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 2, 1977 pp 2-3

[Text] "I grew up in Angyalföld, in 'the 13 houses.' I lived the life of the young workers. When I got my pay I enjoyed the slight opportunities offered by the age. I swam, played sports, went dancing. One evening--it was 1937--somebody stopped me at the corner of Váci Ut and Dráva Utca: 'There is a swimming competition at Godó, won't you come?' I went. We swam 3 kilometers, and I won. I would have gone home but they begged us--the Újpest boys had challenged the Angyalföld boys to a handball match. I entered this too. Later some food showed up from somewhere. This was the 'kolkaja.' I made

excuses when they offered it and they said: 'If one can give, one can accept.' In the evening we sang the 'Bunkocska' beside a campfire and someone recited 'To Dream of Poverty.' And I stayed. Not only for an evening but forever."

Bela Kelen, editor-in-chief of ESTI HIRLAP, is recalling the past, the time when he got to know the youth movement.

"Now there are more communist youth in one little factory than there were in all of Angyalfold in the 30's. And the struggle of this minority was very difficult. The KIMSZ, the Federation of Young Communist Workers, directed the movement from underground. They could rely on the legal youth groups including among others the National Youth Committee established as the organization of the Social Democrat Party.

"The youth movement of the trade unions was a 'cover organization' too. The goal was to exploit every legal and illegal opportunity. The anti-fascist cooperation which began in the middle 30's suited us. The earlier confining, strongly conspiratorial work was replaced by trying for a united front, the principle of winning broader masses.

"Various movements and demonstrations came one after another. There was a big demonstration in Huvosvolgy on the first of May 1938. On 20 August Arpad Szakasits gave a speech at the Godi Center. A demonstration began afterwards. We shouted: 'Down with Hitler, Mussolini, Franco!' These actions gave us a lot of work. We organized and mobilized. Avoid provocations, this was the task. I sometimes smile today when I hear that young people have no place where they can get together. This was the least problem then! We provided such things ourselves; we could not wait for help."

With the approach of war the party aktivs worked even more strongly. In three demonstrations one after another they called attention to themselves. The first was on 6 October 1941 at the Batthyany memorial. The youth had taken upon themselves the revolutionary heritage of the Hungarian people.

"The second, with several thousand participants, was on 1 November at the Kossuth mausoleum. It was here that the worker, peasant and intellectual youth laid a wreath together for the first time. And on 15 March 1942 we marched to the Petofi statue. This great demonstration was followed by a gigantic wave of arrests and the party and the youth movement could only continue their work under ever more severe conditions of illegality."

In these months Bela Kelen was already one of the leaders of the youth federation, secretary of the northern parts of the capital.

"Persecution was greater than ever before so we had to change the tactical methods. I too, was caught in 1944. When I was set free I took up where I had left off. We distributed leaflets and we wrote placards; indeed, we rewrote them. There was a poster that showed a devil's claw over the Carpathians, signifying the Soviet troops approaching from the East. We repainted these posters all over town, making a rising sun out of the claw."

The youth of Angyalfold carried out even more dangerous tasks. They were there on 10 September 1944, before the prison on the day Laszlo Rajk was set free, to ensure with weapons the free passage of the communist leader. The members of one of the most active resistance groups, the Sagvar guard, came from among them. They blew up German batteries. The blowing up of the Arrow Cross headquarters on Petnehazy Utca was their "work."

"We worked under different circumstances than the youth of today, and with different tools. We organized the movement and defended the ideal. It was an age in which no one could know what tomorrow would bring. Many of the youth of today see only what was romantic in the deeds of that time. And they long for something similar. But what is needed is not to cry over the past but rather to find today. The revolutionary of our age is the one who masters the fundamental laws of movement of his age and acts by renewing himself again and again."

Dezso Kiss

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Jun 77 p 5

[Text] Dezso Kiss was born in Kispest in 1920. He began work in 1935 as a toolman in the Office Supply Factory where he joined the labor movement. He was active in sports for many years beginning in 1939. After the liberation he was for a long time a full time party functionary in the Csepel Iron and Metal Works. From 1959 to 1963 he was secretary of the Budapest Party Committee. Since 1963 he has been deputy minister in charge of auto transportation and highways in the Ministry of Transportation and Postal Affairs.

Major General Lajos Kiss

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Jun 77 p 5

[Text] Major General Lajos Kiss joined the People's Army as a young man at the request of the party as a functionary in the youth movement. He continued his military studies at the officers' school and then at Hungarian and Soviet academies. He has served in the People's Army--primarily as a political worker--in various assignments and has done military diplomatic work. He is a member of the People's Army Committee of the MSZMP and of national leading bodies of several social organs. Since the fall of 1969 he has been first secretary of the Hungarian Home Defense Federation.

Jozsef Molnar

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Jul 77 p 5

[Text] Jozsef Molnar was born in 1926 in Torokszentmiklos. His original occupation was motor assembly machinist. He was an official in the youth movement after the liberation and then worked in an armed service, the trade

union and then as secretary of the executive committee of the Capital XVI District Council. Most recently he was a sub-department chief in the Budapest Committee of the MSZMP. In December 1975 the Seventh National Delegate Assembly of the KIOSZ [National Organization of Artisans] elected him national chairman. He is a member of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front.

Imre Nagy

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 31 Jul 77 p 5

[Text] Imre Nagy was born in Foldes in 1924. He was a physical laborer for 3 years before and following the liberation. Since 1948, he has worked in the area of labor affairs. He began as an enterprise official and in 1951 went into the labor affairs main department of the Ministry of Heavy Industry. In 1964 he was transferred to the Ministry of Labor Affairs where he has been active as deputy minister since 1966.

Dr Mrs Lajos Seimeczi

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Aug 77 p 5

[Text] Dr Mrs Lajos Seimeczi was born in 1930 in Tiszafured of poor peasant parents. In 1954 she graduated from the Karl Marx Economic Sciences University. Until the end of 1955 she worked at the KOZERT [? consumer sales] Enterprise. From here she went to the economics main department of the Ministry of Internal Trade. She was full-time secretary of the ministry's party committee from 1972 until her appointment as deputy minister.

Dr Janos Szabo

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Jul 77 p 5

[Text] Dr Janos Szabo was born in Budapest in 1920. He earned his engineering degree at the Technical University in 1943; as his first task he participated in designing the Arpad Bridge. He has been active since 1950 in various areas of state administration. He was appointed deputy minister of construction affairs in 1961, in 1968 he became first deputy to the minister and since 1973 he has been state secretary for the Ministry of Construction Affairs and Urban Development. He has taught at colleges and universities for nearly 3 decades; he received a candidates degree in 1956 and the title of doctor of sciences in 1964. He has been a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 1970.

Jozsef Szakali

Budapest IFJUKOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 2, 1977 p 3

[Text] Jozsef Szakali, first secretary of the District X Party Committee [now chairman, Central People's Control Committee (KNEB)], is talking about the years after the liberation when he became a youth leader.

"When the various parties were formed after World War II they naturally immediately saw to the creation of their own youth organizations. The Hungarian Communist Party was among the first to organize its youth organization, the Federation of Hungarian Democratic Youth, MADISZ."

But the coalition parties were not inactive either. They organized the Social Democrat Youth Movement (SZIM), the youth organization of the Independent Small Holders Party (FISZ), and the Popular Youth Federation (NISZ) of the National Peasant Party. And openly reactionary, even fascist, groups were formed also.

"From the first moment the MKP and the MADISZ saw it as their task to create a united youth organization. In the spirit of the alliance policy we worked to win over all those leftist forces which voted for the new life. We united against the right wingers and as a result there came into being the SZIT, the Trade Union Young Workers and Apprentice Movement, which became the united organization of worker youth."

At the same time, they had a strong influence on several progressive movements including, for example, the NEKOSZ [National Association of People's Colleges] which united several thousand young people. With the uniting of the leftist groups there came into being the MIOT, the National Council of Hungarian Youth, which became more and more the key organ of the movements.

"Of course, a youth of today might say, all this was a game, a game with letters. But at that time the different letters covered most serious differences of opinion. We, the members of the MADISZ, tried to provide a program which every youth of good feeling would have to accept."

Common work and a common goal. This was what the Communist youth proclaimed while the country went cold and hungry. The MADISZ youth organized work in the mines and participated in cleaning up the ruins and distributing food. The common work, the common efforts, brought together young people with different political views.

"There were great theoretical debates about the future, even about the slogan, 'The country is ours, let us build for ourselves.' The year 1948 brought a decisive change, the question of power was decided, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the worker-peasant power was established. A new age began in the youth movement, the conditions for the birth of a united youth organization ripened and the MINSZ, the Popular Federation of Hungarian Youth, was formed."

There were different organizations in the MINSZ for worker youth, peasant youth, the university students and the secondary school students and the various strata were separated from one another. After a debate which lasted for 2 years, they succeeded in organizing the Federation of Working Youth, the DISZ.

"We had more rather than fewer tasks when the DISZ was formed. The goals had been accomplished and the unification was mobilized to achieve the goals worked out by the party and government. The young people were there at every station in the great country building work. They participated in carrying out the first 3-year plan and the following 5-year plan. Industrialization and the development of the cooperative movement could not have been realized without them. The building of Sztalinvaros, Kazincharcika and Komlo, the patronage assumed over air defense, the mobilization for seasonal agricultural work all ensured the momentum of the DISZ and the enthusiasm of its members."

Jozsef Szakali was first secretary of the DISZ beginning in 1953.

"The youth organization did marvelous work at that time too. The momentum which carried people with it, its ardor and incredible strength made possible the carrying out of great tasks. But, naturally, the distortions appearing in the policy of the party had an effect here too. Despite this, in the fall of 1956, the best of the DISZ members participated in the defeat of the counterrevolution and they were there in the spring of 1957 when the banner of the KISZ was unfurled."

The youth of today, just as in the past, are there in the front rank; the building of socialism would be unimaginable without them. The consistent policy of our party guarantees that tranquil atmosphere in which one can work, in which it is worth while to live.

Janos Szentagothai

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 May 77 p 5

[Text] Janos Szentagothai was born in Budapest on 31 October 1912. He completed his university studies in the capital and in 1942 became an honorary lecturer on the medical sciences faculty of the Budapest university. Since 1963 he has headed the Number 1 Anatomy Institute of the Budapest Medical Sciences University. He was awarded the Kossuth Prize in 1950 for his research on the functioning of the sense of balance organ and he was awarded the State Prize, first class, in 1970 for his new theories pertaining to the functioning of the nervous system. He received the Order of Labor, gold degree, in 1972. He has done broad activity in teaching and in organizing science, is the author of several textbooks and is co-author of an anatomical atlas which has gone into 50 editions.

He has been a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA) since 1948. He was elected a regular member in 1967. Shortly thereafter

he was entrusted with leadership of the biological sciences department of the MTA and he was twice elected vice-president of the MTA. Since November of last year he has been acting [megbizott] president of the Academy. He has been elected member of several domestic and foreign scientific associations and academies--including the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union--for his outstanding scientific achievements.

Jozsef Timmer

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Jun 77 p 5

[Text] Jozsef Timmer was born in 1922 in Tatabanya in a miner's family. His original occupation was tool maker. He established contact with the labor movement in 1942 and since then has been a member of a trade union. He has held various offices since 1945. He was the Komarom Megye secretary of the MADISZ, then party secretary of the Tatabanya Machine Factory and Komarom Megye secretary of the iron workers' trade union. From 1955 to 1969 he was deputy editor of NEPSZAVA and thereafter was editor-in-chief. Since 1969 he has been a secretary of the SZOT.

Dr Ferenc Trethon

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 May 77 p 5

[Text] Dr Ferenc Trethon was born in 1923. His first place of work was with the Komlo Coal Mines and he then worked in the Mining and Energy Affairs Ministry and then in the Ministry of Coal Mining. From 1957 to 1974 he was a main department chief in the Ministry of Heavy Industry. Since 1974 he has been deputy minister of financial affairs. He is a member of the industrial economics and organization sciences committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Pal Vallus

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 May 77 p 5

[Text] For more than 30 years Pal Vallus has dealt with price questions. He has been deputy chairman of the National Materials and Price Office since it was formed in 1957. He guides supervision of material and technical supply in the office.

Dr Miklos Villanyi

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 May 77 p 5

[Text] Dr Miklos Villanyi was born in 1931 in the town of Gyuru in Zala Megye. He graduated from the Karl Marx Economic Sciences University in 1953 and has worked since then in the Ministry of Financial Affairs. Earlier he

was chief of the agricultural and foodstuffs industry main department. Since 15 March 1974 he has been deputy minister. His sphere of authority includes agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, council financial affairs, taxation of the populace, supervision of budget organs, the State Insurance Company and the OTP [National Savings Bank].

Imre Zavodi

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 7 Aug 77 p 4

[Text] For 10 years he was an instrument maker at Gamma. For 20 years he worked at the Danube Iron Works. He started as a technician and worked his way up to the post of director general. In the meantime he earned a degree as mechanical engineer.

It was 4 years in May since he was elected chairman of the Fejer Megye Council.

"I spent 30 years in industry, where one can 'give orders.' It was not easy to convert to heading an elected body," Imre Zavodi said.

"What do you do Saturday and Sunday?"

The question shocked him. He is not used to having anyone interested in his private life.

"Well, the first thing is I try to rest up from the fatigue of the week," he said. "I get up later than usual. I idle around a bit. Then it's 'do it yourself.' I do things around the house. I fix the vacuum cleaner, the lamp, the iron or other household machines and equipment. My wife assigns me the tasks. Then she inspects the quality of the work, of the repairs. She can do it, she also was an assistant instrument maker at Gamma."

"In the afternoon?"

"Nature walks are the favorite pastime of both of us. We go to the megye villages 'incognito,' we visit Trans-Danubia. We see the sights and meet people. I do not have a weekend house. I could have but it would tie us down too much and then we could not move around so much."

It turned out that his free time program included meeting with relatives.

"I have six siblings and my wife has six too. There are many nieces and nephews. We visit them or they visit us. Saturday evening we watch television; sometimes we play canasta with friends or we talk."

"Sunday?"

"Rest, if possible. But it rarely works out. There is always some 'official' program. Thanks to our development I must often dedicate some public institution."

"What are your hobbies?"

"The fact is that I have no special hobbies. What really interests me are technical questions."

Imre Zavodi is modestly silent about the fact that in his little free time he worries his head over technical inventions. Many Sunday afternoons were spent on finding a solution to modernizing bread deliveries. With his ingenious technical innovation fresh bread is now delivered in Szekesfehervar and Dunaujvaros without damage and without being touched by human hands. He designed a building for the children's camp in Bodajk which can be converted into a grain storehouse in fall and winter without any special effort. Now he is working on how fruits and vegetables purchased from house hold plots and fresh produce from large producers can be gotten from the producers to the consumers without damage or quality deterioration. The first models of the transportation devices have been prepared and are being tested by ZOLDERT.

8984

CSO: 2500

WORK OF JOINT COMMISSION ON EMPLOYMENT DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 77 pp 3-6

[Article by Irena Dryll: "Work of Party-Government Groups: Employment, a Matter of 17 Million"]

[Text] Point of departure: Fourth Central Committee Plenum, September 1976. Five party-government groups are created by virtue of a resolution. Purpose: to gather opinions from all sides, to conduct analyses, and to prepare recommendations on the most important problems of the country's socioeconomic development under current conditions.

Comrade Edward Gierek said at the Fourth Party Plenum: "We think that the groups should work intensively but carefully, solidly, and without any pressing haste." At the Fifth Party Plenum: "We are attaching great importance to these projects, and we are counting on their results." The development of a savings program in the economy was entrusted to Group IV. Deputy Premier Jan Szydlak, member of the PZPR Central Committee's Politburo, is directing the work.

The group has held six general meetings. Each of the seven subgroups has met several times. Many conclusions have already been reached as the result of the work done already, but we cannot put the proverbial "dot on the i" on any of them yet. The group and subgroups are still working.

Here is the "schedule of activities": Subgroup I -- rational improvement of the management of labor resources. Subgroup II -- rational improvement of the consumption of the elements of production. Subgroup III -- directions for improving state finance policy. Subgroup IV -- improvement in investment policy and activity. Subgroup V -- improvement of the organizational structures of management and administration of the national economy. Subgroup VI -- development of immediate and long-range measures to help improve Poland's balance of payments. Subgroup VII -- activation of ideological upbringing efforts directed at improving a sense of thriftiness and saving in the society.

As we can see from this example, the scope of the problems and work being undertaken and continued by Group IV is very broad, almost a cross-section. The first reflex: the name of the group, group on matters of a savings program in the economy, falls short of fully portraying the rich content of its work.

The group's subject, savings, is more commonly associated with a "belt-tightening" policy than with improving management, more with the "blue pencil" than with the effectiveness of development. Meanwhile, the "center of gravity" of the interests of the group, generally speaking, concentrates on the very problems of effectiveness. The following opinion predominates in the group:

"We must deepen the effectiveness of management, because the requirement for improved effectiveness is stricter today than half a year ago..."

Overcoming developmental barriers by improving the effectiveness of management is a major condition to accomplishing the social goals from which we refuse to depart.

We can put it this way: the savings program which Group IV is working on arises from the basis of the search for the most rational and effective means of operation throughout the economy. Savings are a derivative, result, and effect of them. By operating more effectively we achieve greater savings.

How should this be understood?

Economic effectiveness means efficiency, the ability of an economic unit to produce in a given time a certain amount of goods and services to provide for the satisfaction of the customer's needs, with the aid of certain means and resources: people, machinery, and raw materials.

The concept of effectiveness therefore includes at the same time the speed and suitability of action. Speed is expressed in different ways in economic operations. In a plant, it means productivity. In the whole national economy, it means the per capita rate of growth of the national economy. The suitability of a plant's activity is proved by how easy it is to sell the production created in the plant. Among other things, in the national economy the suitability is proved by the structural adaptation of production to fit the needs of the consumer, producer, and investor.

Hence the subject which Group IV is working on is difficult for many reasons. Difficult not only for the journalist who in wishing even to a small extent to convey the atmosphere of group work must select from among issues which are all important and must penetrate the mechanism of the economy "from the wings" as it were. It is difficult above all for the members of the group, the party and economic activists, the experts, scientists, and specialists. It is easier to program development in a situation of relative

plenty than when the basic requirement is effectiveness and savings. It is also difficult inasmuch as it concerns really the whole economy on both the macro- and micro-scales. And this is why it is tremendously important.

Effectiveness and systems and organizational solutions. It would seem that it is just these things which are the point of reference for all the work, analysis, and discussion undertaken in Group IV. To simplify matters the question is: Does what we are doing or what we are planning to do meet the requirements of effectiveness and favor efficiency, speed, and purposeful action in a given area?

Answers to this question have been sought in analyzing many areas of the economy. Let us take for example the management of labor resources. The choice is not a coincidence: economic effectiveness means, as I recall, the ability to create within a given time, using certain strengths and resources, that is, people, machinery, and raw materials, a certain amount of goods and services. Hence, we can say that people are primary. Effectiveness depends first of all on people. The choice is not a coincidence. The subject of the work of Subgroup I is the very improvement of the management of labor resources. I have in front of me the subgroup's work plan, the materials and notes from successive sessions, and an analysis which sums up past activity.

In keeping with the assumptions of the work plan, the subgroup has set the following goal for itself:

"To draft ad hoc and long-range means to help improve employment from the viewpoint of accomplishing the country's strategic socioeconomic tasks."

This is no simple task. Why?

Improving employment means the distribution of employment to fit the requirements of a developing national economy and at the same time the socially beneficial use of their qualifications and vocational experience, proper utilization of work time, and proper activation of labor, and along with this, most importantly of all it also means full employment.

How can we reconcile all these factors involved in making an improvement? How do we put them to work for the strategic goals of the development of the country?

Before there was born within Subgroup I a specific concept, which by no means pretends to the name of a final, unshakable one, before the creation of the document entitled "Directions and Methods of Improving the Policy of Employment in Poland in 1978-1980 and Beyond," every suggestion and proposals was analyzed at successive sessions of the subgroup and at the fifth general meeting of the group (on 7 March of this year), at which, among other things, this problem was discussed.

Among other things, there was a discussion as to whether "rational employment" meant "full employment."

In the opinion of Prof Alojzy Melich, chairman of Subgroup I, there is not always a proper understanding of the rationalization of employment.

Prof Melich said: "It is therefore worth mentioning that there can be no choice between full employment and rational employment under socialism, because what is rational is a relative concept. It can be understood only in relation to the value system which is commonly accepted in a given society. For example, rational management is not the same thing under capitalism that it is under socialism, because under our regime a higher degree of rationality is being achieved on the basis of the social criteria of management effectiveness, not individual criteria."

Full employment, the achievement of which is one of the goals of socialism, is in and of itself a component part of rational employment. There can be no rationalization of employment without provision for full employment at the same time.

The whole difficulty consists of how to make full employment rational at the same time, because while this first principle, full employment, has become deeply rooted in the public mind, the latter, the principle of rational employment, which enjoys completely theoretical acceptance, is meeting great resistance in practice.

Many times I have had the opportunity to become convinced of how efficiently, humanitarily, and in a civilized manner people act in enterprises and plants with regard to people who have to be shifted to other plants for organizational and technical reasons. It is with inventiveness worthy of respect and wonder that new jobs are sought for them, that they are helped to become qualified in other areas, and so on. It is the plant's duty, as a regulation specifies, but it is usually done not through force but out of deep conviction.

The situation is just the reverse when it becomes necessary to eliminate so-called overgrowth in employment. This usually happens as the result of pressures "from above," and in exceptional cases it is the result of the enterprise's own initiative. The level of employment declines without conviction, or rather with a deep conviction that there is no need to reduce the size of employment but only the extent of increases in it. Why? This question was asked more than once during the course of the discussion.

Once the whole tremendously complex issue is simplified, the line of thinking is as follows: because each person has a right to a job, each institution, plant, and economic unit has the right to employ a person, or should be able to employ as many people as it wants or as many as it feels that it needs. It should, even when this is contrary to the principle of rational employment, because many people assess rational employment first of all

through the prism of their own needs, their department, factory, branch, or region, and only later according to the general national, social needs. The shirt is closer to the body. The rational thing is what makes life easier for me. Because it is easier to resolve a host of intricate economic problems by increasing employment than, for example, by improving the organization of work or increasing productivity, an increase in employment is the method people are inclined to use.

This is why, as it was put during a discussion at a meeting of the group, employment is one of the issues which inspire the most squabbles.

Bargaining on the size of employment takes place at various levels. The size agreed upon is usually far greater than actually needed. Both sides know this.

One of the parties to the discussion stated that the need is large enough to leave something even if there is a reduction.

"Plant X 'needed' an additional 1,400 employees for this year. Meanwhile the plan for January and February was accomplished and even exceeded, despite the fact that the plant did not obtain these employees. The demands of the plants, sectors, and ministries are undoubtedly higher than the level of actual personnel needs. We all know this," said the first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee in Belsko-Biala, Jozef Buzinski. But do we always know to the end where this comes from and how to counteract this phenomenon? What should the methods of discipline be like? The questions of from where and how were considered at successive meetings of the subgroup and at the meeting of the group.

Everyone agreed on the fact that the great increase in employment during the 1970's (nearly 3.5 million people went to work for the first time in 1971-1976) was the success of our social policy, but at the same time it shaped certain methods of running things with a large labor supply and created certain habits and attitudes among management in places of employment. As one director said, "We have become accustomed to resolving too many economic problems by increasing employment."

Among other things, the members of Subgroup I formulated the following conclusion:

"The accelerated increase in employment played an important, active role in making economic development more dynamic in our country. The effects of the rapid increase in employment were nonetheless reduced because of excessively protracted progress in the area of work productivity and organization, large losses of work time, a breakdown in work discipline, and the maintenance of substantial employment reserves in the places of employment."

But this assessment, which coincides with public sentiment, does not explain the sources of the phenomenon. Therefore, let us return to the discussion prior to the development of an analysis summing up the subgroup's record of achievement, the discussion from which I quoted the conclusion. The

question, for example, of the origin of the employment reserves in the plants still remains an open one.

One of the members of the group, Doc Mieczyslaw Kabaj (Institute of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs), expressed the following opinion, among others:

"The plants' tendency to increase employment to an extent exceeding the rise in labor resources is not an accidental phenomenon. There are a number of important factors which create a system of incentives to resolve production problems to an excessive extent through an increase in employment.

Here are examples cited in various discussions:

For economic units an increase in employment is still the cheapest factor in a production increase, because these units do not consider in their economic reckoning the full social costs of reproduction of the labor force. It is for this very reason that wages and social insurance are not an adequate full "price" of so-called human labor, that is, people's work. A substantial share of the costs of reproduction of the labor force (for example, the costs of training staff) is covered by the state budget. It is not reflected in the economic units' costs.

This is also why wages' share of total industrial production costs is relatively small (we should say, only statistically small). The average in industry is about 16 percent. Broken down, the average is 6.9 percent in the food industry, 12.8 percent in the chemical industry, 19.7 percent in the electronics industry, and 26.4 percent in the fuel and power industry. From the viewpoint of wage costs as a share of total costs, no situation has yet been created which is adequately favorable to rational employment management or the replacement (substitution) of human labor with technical and organizational progress. (Modified economic solutions recently introduced will gradually change this situation for the better -- author's note).

It is still easier to add an employee than to replace human labor with modern equipment, tools, and machinery. It is a question of the so-called availability of production factors permitting an optimal mix of human and machine work. The national economy is still employing a substantial number of people who could be successfully replaced with relatively simple machinery and equipment. One employee out of every seven in the national economy performs simple unmechanized tasks. It is estimated, for example, that in domestic transport and in loading and unloading work we employ about 600,000 people whose work can be replaced by a corresponding dose of technology. (On the other hand, there are instances in which there are tools, there is equipment, and there is modern machinery, but there still are increases to excess in employment -- author's note).

There is still almost no risk attached to an increase in employment, contrary to the situation related to organizational and technical changes. Modernization, technical progress, innovations, and improvements all involve a great

risk, often requiring, for example, that production be halted and that management and the workers make a tremendous effort, with the results coming only sometime later.

All these factors, the relative "cheapness" of labor, for example, as the result of an imprecise calculation of costs, difficulties in buying equipment, risk, time, and the effort needed to replace human labor, give the advantage to the employment factors of economic growth. For this reason Subgroup I issued the following suggestion:

"In order to modernize employment policy, it is necessary to create a new system of incentives and thrifty administration of employment, a system which will incline work establishments to eliminate employment overgrowth... and create institutional conditions favorable to the implementation of this policy. In order to implement this policy effectively, it is necessary to get away from piecemeal, sporadic, administrative solutions, which still prevail, in favor of long-range overall solutions based on an incentive system which encourages employees to do better more productive work and inspires places of employment to make better use of human energy, initiative, and commitment."

It is easy to write this. It is harder to inculcate it.

"The background" of this suggestion is the following opinion of group members: "We are looking for a new formula for upgrading the administration of labor resources. We are starting with the assumption that the central issue is the integration of efforts, goals, and incentives at all echelons of management of the economy, but the effectiveness of the processes of rationalized employment depends upon the work establishments."

Therefore this can be said: the system of incentives to incline employees to do better, more productive work and the plants to eliminate employment overgrowth is the key to the whole matter of rationalization, because it is on this very level that the issue is decided.

There is no formula for an ideal incentive system for now and forever, because this concept encompasses everything which inspires a person, influences his attitudes, and has an effect on his work and actions. Hence it is not enough to say to ourselves: "We will take so much from administrative methods and so much from economic methods, change the wage system, norms, and fee schedules this way and that, and add nonmaterial incentives and a modified promotion model," and expect that a wonderful incentive system will come of it. The matter is very complicated, and no expert will say, "If we do this and that, the effect will be so and so." Any expert will add "perhaps," "probably," and the like.

Where we are dealing with the problem of labor resources and employment, where we are dealing with people, we are involved in a tremendously complicated group of phenomena and social, economic, and psychological conditioning factors. Very many very complicated factors are decisive with

regard to people, behavior, and motivation. There is no way to anticipate them all or to program them all, but on the basis of what we know about people and from experience in running the economy we can formulate certain directions of action. The further suggestions which Subgroup I has made concerning the system of incentives have just this nature.

For example, let us take the following suggestion:

"We should strive for an optimal combination of economic and administrative methods of steering employment. The effectiveness of employment policy depends upon whether the combination of these means is optimal in nature and whether there are conflicts between the economic and administrative instruments. These conflicts can occur in the case of a departure from the accepted "rules of the game," the application of sporadic employment freezes, and changes in the plan in the course of its implementation."

In order for us to understand what we are talking about I will use, for example, the so-called freeze on employment. Among other things this subject was a topic of discussion in Subgroup I. Owing to a situation of the economy's excessive inclination to increase employment and the pressures on the labor market, in 1973 various sorts of restrictions began to be introduced. One was a freeze on employment. From 1973 to 1975 employment was blocked eight times in various ways, from a prohibition against hiring, to a freeze in the employment level as of a certain day, to corrections in the annual employment plan in the course of carrying out the production plan. The timeframe of the established "rules of the game" was reduced in this way to 3-4 months.

It is worth emphasizing that this was dictated by an objective need, and the prohibitions did not apply to all plants and sectors. Despite certain restrictions, the most needy actually had a free hand. The freezes were used with a feeling that the method was imperfect, based on the assumption that a lesser evil was being selected, lesser in comparison to the pressures on the labor market and the unplanned "escape" of the payroll fund, because every economic activists is aware that great frequency and activity of freezes create an atmosphere of uncertainty and a loss of the minimal stability necessary to conduct employment policy in the work establishments.

The following arguments were mentioned, for example, in the discussion prior to the formulation of the above-mentioned conclusion:

The freeze applies both to the enterprises which have already "eaten up" their employment reserves long ago, have a tight plan, and are managing properly and to those in which the reserves need not be "detected," because they are visible to the naked eye.

The freeze does not always take into account the concrete production and staff situations which exist in a given plant. It sometimes happens that a prohibition against hiring a dozen and some people creates harm which is difficult to repair, in the form of restricting needed market production.

A freeze on employment for a certain period of time leads to full "use" of all slots, regardless of present needs. The principle in effect is that any warm body is better than none.

As a result, freezes extend the system of creating employment reserves and bolster a definite psychological mechanism which favors the "hoarding of employees," just as plants hoard materials and spare parts. And this in turn makes it necessary to apply administrative instruments.

From the analysis adopted by Group IV in summing up the work of Subgroup I we read:

"The chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers and the Minister of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs and Minister of Finance should be required to make corresponding changes in past planning methods to produce stability in the annual fund, for example, for wages and employment and to provide for adherence to the 'rules of the game' in the course of carrying out the plan."

The thing is not to discourage freezes, prohibitions, and orders once and for all but to see here that there is optimal association with administrative and economic methods of steering employment. Getting back on the other hand to the basic issue of a new incentive system, the search for optimal methods of steering employment should at the same time serve as a basis for creating this system. This is the first thing. The second is how, and the suggestion reads as follows:

"The development and upgrading of the incentive system should encompass the whole gestalt of material and moral factors which shape employee attitudes."

This statement covers a very great deal. For example, I will mention merely some of the problems brought up in the course of the discussion and included in the form of so-called directional suggestions in the above-mentioned analysis:

"There is an urgent need to improve the personnel policy system including the principles and regulations for selection, evaluation, and promotion of employees."

"The wage system should consider to a greater extent the quality and effectiveness of work...Wage system should be constructed for simplicity and ease of understanding and should provide advancement opportunities in a given job, so-called parallel advancement, without the need to take a job higher up in the hierarchy."

"In cooperation with the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs should be charged with developing stable principles making it possible to use part or all of the payroll fund saved by a plant through reductions in employment for increases in earnings for the other employees..."

"Methods of setting rates and judging the quality of work should be established in a more uniform manner for the whole economy. In the qualification range schedules consideration should be given not only to formal education and tenure but also to required effectiveness and knowledge of the job."

"Work standards should start being successively drafted on the basis of sector working time standards corresponding to the current level of the technical equipment supplied for the work."

There are 17 directional conclusions and suggestions, in addition to specific proposals concerning a certain area of employment policy. Each came into being as the result of clashing views, controversies prior to the final draft, and a straightforward analysis of the existing state of affairs.

For example: consideration given to effectiveness and knowledge of the job...

"When we use the concept of qualifications, we have in mind a school or college diploma. We speak rather about qualifications for a specific job, about vocational effectiveness. Given our present obsession with diplomas, there are people with diplomas who are vocationally less effective and the reverse: effective employees have not always been able or wanted to get a degree. I prefer the employee without a diploma who is effective and has skills to somebody with two diplomas and no skills. Let us not underestimate the diploma, but let us not make a fetish out of it either." (Dr Jan Glowczyk)

"A degree is a great deal, but it is not everything. One engineer is not necessarily equal to another." (Jozef Buzinski)

"There should be a review of the number of permanent positions throughout the economy in terms of needs (do we need so many positions here when there are so few there?) and in terms of the vocational effectiveness of the persons holding certain positions. But it is not this easy, for various reasons." (Prof Sylwester Kaliski)

"Why? During the first employment review in 1974, 100,000 unnecessary people were discovered in a given place of work 'with the naked eye'..." (deputy labor minister Janusz Obodowski)

For example: allocate the payroll fund saved, for increases in earnings...

"This posulate may be concisely worded as: lower employment, higher productivity, higher earnings. Within the framework of a given payroll fund there should be an effort to employ a smaller number of people who are better paid, because they are more effective and productive." (Docent Mieczyslaw Kabaj)

"And what are we going to do with the less effective ones? Every transfer and lay-off is a problem. There have already been such attempts, and

few directors turned out to have the nerve to let some employees go while adding to the earnings of others." (Stanislaw Bajur, Central Committee department of light industry and trade)

"Comparisons of employment sizes in our country and abroad in certain sectors and divisions of industry show the tremendous employment reserves in Polish industry. We must keep this in mind." (Minister Eugeniusz Szyr)

For example: begin to draft work standards...

Behind this suggestion is the following opinion of the group:

"The modified economic solutions presently being introduced should help to bring about the further rationalization of employment. This is directly related to the need to develop a system of work standards and staffing norms... The drafting of such a system along with proper organization of worker positions is becoming an objective necessity today."

Why is this such an important problem? In the quantitative sense, the rationalization of employment depends mainly on proper work standards. The technical and technological conditions of work are changing drastically: more than one-third of production assets throughout the economy and just about one-half in industry are new, less than 6 years old, but it is rare that an enterprise adapts the norms to this situation.

As has already been mentioned, at various levels there are still tugs-of-war over the size of employment, because frankly speaking we do not have completely objective, exact criteria to define the rational size of employment in each concrete case. Such relatively objective criteria cannot be obtained until employment norms are drafted on the basis of properly established work standards.

One of the excerpts of the discussion concerned the employment sizes for the next few years as requested by the various ministries and included in the materials of Subgroup I. They are assessed as "wishful thinking." The chairman of the group recommended that the materials be cleansed of these pipe dreams, that straightforward employment norms be drafted, and that these norms be imposed on the employment demands stated, "because we must hold fast to the realities of the situation on the labor market and in employment forecasts."

Here is one of the final suggestions:

"Ministers of the economic ministries and directors of the industrial associations and large enterprises should be required to draft programs which will make it possible to maintain the planned development dynamics under the conditions of the employment barrier."

What is at issue is programs and actions which keep a firm grip on reality.

The current five-year period is one of lesser increase in labor resources than previous ones. During the coming years this process will become worse. We have spoken of the demographic rise. We will speak about a deep decline. The increase in labor resources estimated at 1.1 million persons for this five-year period will decline to 450,000 persons in 1981-1985, and to only 160,000 by the next five-year period.

This will be less than a tenth of the increase during the past five-year period, 1971-1975, when the increase amounted to 1.77 million persons. It is less given the simultaneous increase in the socioeconomic tasks implied in the fact that we want to develop as a country and society at a more rapid rate and more successfully. Whether anyone likes it or not, the demographic situation simply forces us to a rational employment policy. Either we will learn to use labor resources more thriftily or the employment barrier will become a development barrier.

This is one of the reasons for the significance of the subject of rationalizing the use of labor resources. It is a question of not letting matters reach this point. Even now employment policy is at a turning point. Even now the goals, methods, and means of this policy must be expanded. Even now we need a strategy for using labor resources which is different from our previous strategy.

The question affects 17 million Poles actively on the job.

This is the way our labor market is, enormous. It is a rare country that cannot be proud to have such a high index of active employment, and it is very difficult to handle such a situation. We are living with -- and we will continue to do so -- far-reaching shifts in the labor force from one sector and branch of the national economy to another. We are "slowing down" the drain from agriculture. We are increasing to a negligible extent employment in industry and to a substantial degree in service industry. We are reducing it in construction. We are modernizing plants and shifting whole staffs from old installations to new ones. We are building Katowice steel mill and Belchatow. We are creating a new Ursus plant, and also new apartments, and poultry farms too, and also pig farms. We are teaching. We are training. We are retraining with new qualifications. Everything at once. Hence, the labor market is enormous, and enormously difficult. There are a thousand problems, and the labor market is terribly valuable. It is valuable capital in that there are opportunities and possibilities in each of the 17 million.

At the Seventh Party Congress, Edward Gierek said: "In every plant and institution we must create conditions so that the potential capabilities of every employee can be fully developed and optimally used, so that work is effective and productive... We must increase responsibility for proper use of the working time of people, machinery, and equipment, for thrifty use of power and fuel, raw materials and other materials, and we must combat wastefulness and all carelessness. Subordinate to these targets should be the criteria for evaluating individual employees and groups of

people, and bonuses should be awarded consistently for high quality of work. This is an indispensable condition to effective use of the production potential created with no little effort and to liberating the untapped reserves available in human activity and initiative."

Group IV is undertaking the drafting of a savings program throughout the economy. A thrift program, that is, an effective, employment policy is one of the many things which have been or will be drafted: "Effectiveness of the investment processes," "Optimization of production and consumption of raw materials and other materials," "Directions for improving state financial policy." These are a few of them.

I started with the sphere of using labor resources, because what is happening in this sector to a great extent influences others, the way employment matters are separated from investment issues, for example. We cannot talk about management effectiveness without talking about employment policy, the policy towards working people. "In every plant and institution we must create conditions so that the potential capabilities of every employee can be fully developed..." the First Secretary said at the congress.

Such conditions should be created by a new incentive system, which Group IV is working on. If they are created, and this is after all why the group was appointed, operating effectiveness will increase in many sectors. Let us repeat once again: "Effectiveness depends upon people, first of all, on people who depend on it."

10790
CSO: 2600

PRESENT, FUTURE PRC MILITARY POLICY EXAMINED

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 11 Oct 77 pp 3, 4

[Article by Tadeusz Pioro: "China Changes Military Course."]

[Text] It is not easy to write about the military problems of a state where for years no information was published either on resources allocated to national defense or the status of its armed forces. In 1960--the last year for which official statistics are available--it was made known that the Chinese spent 5.8 billion yuans on military purposes, which was equivalent to 2.2 billion dollars. At present, various experts in Western research centers estimate China's military expenditure at 12 to 20 billion dollars annually, although the very divergence of these figures raises doubts as to the validity of these estimates.

A decisive majority of Western sources report PRC's annual defense expenditure to be 8-10 percent of its national income, hypothetically estimated at 170 to 220 billion dollars. Considering that the United States spends 6 percent of its national income on armaments, while the FRG spends 5 percent, China's exertion in this area must be regarded as exceptionally taxing.

The shifts that followed Mao Tse-tung's death stimulated speculation on the prospects of China's military developments, while a number of specific clues indicate that no stagnation should be expected in this area. This view is essentially supported by the pronouncements of PRC leaders on the 50th Anniversary of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (created on 1 Aug 27). The speech of Yeh Chien-ying, PRC minister of defense and deputy party chairman, delivered in Peking on 29 Jul 77 in the presence of 2,000 persons at a grand banquet given in honor of the army, was to some extent a programmatic manifesto on what is to happen in the next decades. It was rich in appeals for expansion of the arms industry and quickened "revolutionizing" and modernization of the armed forces. "We have to accelerate defense-oriented scientific and technical research, increase the output of defense industry, and work hard so that by the end of this century China can be transformed into a great, powerful and modern country...."

His declarations were reiterated a month later on a more representative forum, the 11th Congress of China's Communist Party (concluded during the last days of August). "Maintain combat readiness, advance the preparations for a war, "reinforce the people's militia, "improve the level of the army's materiel" were prominent among the tasks with which the Congress confronted the army and paramilitary organizations. As to the justification for this line of action, it still is the "threat to China" posed by the Soviet Union, a specter liberally used by the former leadership as well.

The above-mentioned facts are foremost among the indications of expected changes. They had been preceded by some personal reshuffling--probably barely initiated at this stage--whose significance primarily lies in the reintroduction to party and administrative authorities of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, pragmatist and technocrat, Chou En-lai's anticipated successor in 1975 and executor of the deceased premier's grand plan of "four modernizations:" of agriculture, industry, science, and the country's military system.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing fell victim (not for the first time, as a matter of fact) of a purge in late 1975 precisely owing to, as it is surmised, his decisions on army matters, contradicting the Maoist dogma of the primacy of mind over matter. At this time he is regarded as second only to Mao's successor, Hua Kuo-feng, while being the party's deputy chairman, vice-premier (Hua performs the premier's duties), and chief of general staff of the Chinese armed forces. Assuming that Teng's activity will continue for a length of time, he can reduce the Chinese army, politicized beyond measure, to its proper professional functions.

Many comments have been provoked by the fact that the newly elected Politbureau of the PRC is composed in one-half of military men. However, it seems that the significance given to this fact is out of proportion with the realities of the actual balance of power.

There are many indications that the military exerted a major influence on the developments in China, following Mao's death, and that Hua Kuo-feng was able to get rid of the "gang of four" only with the help of army men. Now it is time to repay their services. However, among the 12 marshals and generals who sit in the 13-person strong Bureau, a decisive majority represent a military gerontocracy, rather than technocracy, as they are 70 years old or older. They can hardly be expected to provide a political impetus and energetic activity at long range.

Questioning the concept of "people's war" as basic to China's defense system, along with the slogan on "an ocean of guerilla fighting" which would "drown every invader" is regarded as a forewarning of reorientation in the PRC's military doctrine. The emphasis on improved technology and training of regular army units is seen by Western experts as diminishing the importance of the popular militia, representing to this day the "fighting nation," an organization that militarizes nearly every stratum of the Chinese society.

Guided by the militia members, dignified elders as well as high school youths and 7-10 year old "red guards" are trained in the use of arms.

Yet I do not think that a fundamental change of this sort can soon occur in China's military doctrine, since transforming her armed forces into an army resembling the European models would call for an extended period of time. Although China does have her own armaments industry producing ships, airplanes, tanks, and artillery pieces, this equipment is for the most part obsolete as soon as it leaves the assembly line. Present-day China lacks the technical resources to enable it to add to its by far unsatisfactory number of tanks, military carriers, and automobiles in its 3-million strong army.

In effect, modernization will become a troublesome and rather irregular process, its pace depending perhaps even on meteorological conditions, which at times bring whole regions of China to the brink of starvation.

China's military advancement, just as its economic development, entails the necessity of resorting to foreign technology. For the Western suppliers of arms this would mean a new, absorptive market; for the Chinese leadership --if it decides to take this route--it would be equivalent with a fairly radical political reorientation; while for the society it would bring further curbing and deceleration of the rate of growth in those branches that serve to meet the population's everyday needs.

Against this background, observers of China's internal situation report a division in the new leadership between the supporters of a pragmatic line and reforms (apparently favored by most of the military men) and the advocates of orthodoxy who fear far-reaching changes. Considering that the restructuring of the armed forces is expected to continue until the end of this century--many things can happen during this time and the course plotted by the current minister of PRC defense can undergo drastic deformations.

Undoubtedly, both the Chinese military doctrine and the direction of the armed forces' expansion have their origin in the specific situation that ensued in China during the last dozen years of Maoist rule. The internal administrative and economic chaos coupled with the unceasing activity fomenting anti-Soviet attitudes have exerted an unmistakable influence on the formulation of Chinese military policy. A power that wages incessant war against a genuine and potential opposition must be based on an organized force, supplied by the army.

What is the current status of the military potential of PRC, the country that commands the greatest human reserve in the world? How can the military possibilities be estimated in case of a country whose industry, the source of present-day military power, only now enters the modern era?

In order to answer the question whether China can be considered a military power a principal problem must be resolved: which determines the strength

of an army, technology or human reserves? This problem is simple when both of them are available. However, in the case of China, those who maintained that she is a military power as well as those who doubt it should be considered right.

In fact, China has at its disposal an enormous mass of people, but its technological potential is far below the level represented by modern superpowers. The activities of armed forces these days require a suitable industrial base without which even the most clamorous army loses its combat value. Ideology is a powerful weapon if the masses can be persuaded by it. But in a war, in regular armed force conflicts, it is the material realities that count and decide about the success of military operations.

Although the Chinese air and naval forces can be numerically imposing (nearly 4,000 airplanes and 1,400 naval units according to Western sources), their weaponry and equipment is outmoded. The land forces represent more or less the level of motorized infantry of World War II with a somewhat greater number of tanks, but lacking (due to a limited number of mechanized vehicles) the so-called strategic mobility, considered from the military point of view as a major shortcoming of the Chinese divisions. The land army's offensive strength is--for a superpower--rather slight.

The development of nuclear weapons in China, while raising serious concern about the future, up until now has not effected a change in the world's military balance of power. The Chinese keep putting so much effort into the production of nuclear and rocket weapons perhaps because of their hopes to manifest in this manner their superpower status. The Peking government in Peking can hardly be counting on the nuclear arsenal at its disposal to be an instrument of pressure on the nuclear powers. China's possession of nuclear weapons, coupled with the low level of electronics, control systems, and other technical fields that determine their combat value, continues to have psychological, rather than military, importance.

The greatest advantage of the Chinese military system is still its armed people's militia (5-6 million strong according to varying estimates), organized in regular units, whose numbers can be increased by general mobilization to tens of millions of persons. This advantage is by no means trivial. Accordingly, the Chinese military system undoubtedly represents a considerable force in the case of operations conducted on its own territory.

The period of "cultural revolution" probably did not have a beneficial influence on the condition of China's military potential both in technical and purely military terms. Continual engagement of military units in political and--put it this way--social functions could not have left their combat value unaffected.

What position the army will take in the near future, what role it will play in the internal contests which are unlikely to end soon--these questions will remain to be answered only after some time.