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29 August 1977

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1438

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WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES' WEAPON SALES TO AFRICA

Rome LISTY in Czech No 3-4, Jul 77 pp 25-26

[Article: "The 'Socialist' Armament Trade"]

[Text] Much is being said about aid to developing countries. A person could be under the impression that turnkey installations, tractors, irrigation equipment, and cases of powdered milk are flowing from the industrially developed countries into the Third World. Loud propaganda keeps discreetly silent about the fact that a far greater portion belongs to military "aid."

The United States and the USSR control three-fourths of the world armament trade; the United States takes part in 45 percent of it and the Soviet Union, so far, in 30 percent. Their dominant position allows both to assert their influence as "superpowers" in foreign policy. There is no stinting on military credits, on tanks, planes, and machine guns. Spheres of influence are demarcated by deliveries of weapons. Young states, which have scarcely extricated themselves from colonial bondage, are in no time again tied down by "treaties of friendship and aid," which guarantee to the newly established regimes generous supplies of weapons--and to the generous suppliers a decisive influence over the politics of these regimes.

Contemporary Africa offers us an eloquent example. On the restless African continent, we find states whose armies and police were armed predominantly by western countries (Libya, Morocco, Kenya, Zaire, Niger, Chad, Ghana, Mauritania and others), though there are also not a few of those countries whose armament is predominantly Soviet (Algeria, Egypt, Mali, Somalia, the two Guineas, Angola, Mozambique, and others).

The motive for the lively Soviet export of arms to Africa is far from being --as the official propaganda tries to persuade the public--a support for "progressive forces"; rather, primarily power interests are decisive for Moscow: the effort to obtain a new key position or compensate for a lost position on the African chessboard, when some "perfidious ally" suddenly--as, for example, Egypt did--turns elsewhere for aid. Various political turnabouts have led to a situation in which an entire series of African countries

is supplied with weapons, roughly half from the capitalist countries and half from the socialist ones (Sudan, Nigeria, Benin, the Congo People's Republic, Zambia, Uganda, and others). It should not surprise anyone that at the beginning of this year, Ethiopia, until now armed with Western weapons, out of the clear blue obtained several dozens of T 34 tanks, anti-aircraft guns, and military helicopters from the Soviet Union. Even the most skillful propaganda cannot contrive to explain "ideologically," of course, why the Soviet Union supplied Morocco with 12 MiG 17's, and so TASS is silent about it.

Soviet, Czechoslovak, Bulgarian, East German, and Polish representatives operate without scruple even on the unofficial market the turnover of which is estimated at about 10 percent of the global weapons' trade. Here none of them even attempts an ideological justification. The only yardstick for them is a contract with a solvent customer or dealer, who is not queried what political belief he ascribes to and for what purpose he needs the weapons, but rather only whether he is capable of paying. At stake are millions--millions of dollars, naturally--because dollars are the only currency in which even the socialist weapons' salesmen have trust.

Hard rules, proportionate to the risk, are in force on the unofficial market. Western and Eastern suppliers operate according to the same norms. First of all, they request their client, even before the signing of the contract, to deposit a 30-percent downpayment in some Swiss, Liechtensteinian, or Bahamian bank and to open in the same bank a credit account for the remaining 70 percent. The credit account is not recallable, and as soon as the bank confirms it, the customer for the weapons' delivery can no longer have it at his disposal. The supplier is, in contrast, guaranteed that the bank will pay him the proper portion of it as soon as he presents a formal invoice and proof that the weapons have been loaded for transportation. Whether the delivery gets to the place specified is not decisive because the transport is exclusively the concern of the customer. The contract is signed and the supplier begins expediting of the "goods" only when all these formalities are taken care of.

The armaments' dealers very gladly cooperate with the enterprises of the socialist countries because they are allowed to do things at which the strict controlling organs of the capitalist states would not so easily close their eyes. Socialist states worry precious little about whether the weapons will in fact be delivered to the alleged final customer, i.e., the end-use. Business will go on without trouble, even when the Soviet espionage service well knows that the Kalashnikov A 47 rifles, which were bought in Prague allegedly for a friendly country, will in reality be delivered to the Republic of South Africa or to Rhodesia, where experienced "anti-communist" units are using them to suppress liberation movements armed, after all, with the same weapons.

The Czechoslovaks are considered outstanding weapons' producers and fearsome businessmen. Not long ago in LE MONDE one of the well-known weapons' dealers

praised cooperation with the Czechoslovak monopoly firm for the export of weapons OMNIPOL. In his opinion it is allegedly a shame to supply the Africans with technically complicated automatic weapons. They are unnecessarily expensive weapons; Africans shoot from them needlessly in salvoes; they don't know how to use them economically. Sturdy old German Mausers would be much more suitable for them. OMNIPOL acquitted itself of the task with high marks, says the dealer, and he adds in these words: "I saw with my own eyes how honest Czech gunsmiths etched swastikas on the breeches of completely new old Mauser so that they could be sold as surplus from the last World War." Other socialist countries pull such tricks also. The Hungarians, for example, manufacture Belgian revolvers on demand, so that they confuse any traces if, by chance, they would be discovered somewhere where weapons of socialist manufacture would raise eyebrows.

A Bulgarian company pulled off a bold caper in 1975 by supplying Pinochet with Russian T 54 and T55 tanks in the amount of \$674,750 (contract number 1199-K/S/S of 11 January 1975). In the same year, the Bulgarians supplied the Lebanese Falangists with bazookas, which were used against the Palestinians, armed, for a change, with Czechoslovak weapons.

An incident from the time of the struggles over Biafra is worth remembering. An eyewitness who came to Prague in order to transport weapons from there to the struggling Biafrans said that while one group of Czechoslovak soldiers loaded weapons and ammunition into his DC 4, another group of Czechoslovak soldiers loaded the same kind of weapons and ammunition into a Super Constellation sent to Prague by the Lagos government that was slaughtering the Biafrans.

Airplanes that are to take weapons and ammunition out of Prague must land at Ruzyně civil airport and may therefore fly into Prague only at night. They have to depart before daybreak so that their sovereign insignia would not arouse the curiosity of travelers on normal airlines. Czechoslovak military authorities reserve air corridors for the planes and give them a special code for radio contact. Soldiers take care of the loading; the cases are marked with innocent designations, such as, perhaps, "agricultural machines" or "spare parts for tractors." It depends on the client which designation is chosen. The Czechoslovak suppliers receive a formal confirmation of the end-use and their dollars, and that is enough for them. When by chance it happens that the airplane with the delivery of weapons is found at another place than was officially announced, a cry goes up that they were deceived.... "And it is quite possible," the eyewitness concludes his account, "that there are people who will believe them."

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIAN SUPPORT FOR ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, Jul 77 pp 40-44

/Article by Janos Fazekas, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Party Central Committee, vice prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania: "Position of the Hungarian Progressives Vis-a-vis Romania's War of Independence in 1877-1878"

/Text/ In an atmosphere of great progress and creative activity, the whole country celebrated the centennial of the proclamation of the independence of the Romanian state, an event of overwhelming importance in the history of the Romanian people. The series of scientific, cultural, artistic and political demonstrations organized on this occasion culminated in the joint ceremonial session of the Party Central Committee, the Grand National Assembly and the main party and state activists on 9 May 1977, where Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, made a penetrating analysis of the age-old roots, preparation, proclamation, confirmation and historical significance of the Romanian state's independence. As Nicolae Ceausescu said on this occasion, "Romania's independence, a direct and natural result of the Unification of the Principalities and the formation of the Romanian national state, opened up a new era in the age-old history of the Romanian people, emphatically asserting before all mankind their will and resolve to live as free masters of their fate in their land."

The party secretary general then referred to the Hungarian reaction to Romania's independence, pointing out that the Hungarians expressed their sympathy and supported the fight for independence, some even offering to enlist in the Romanian units and Red Cross services, and that they fought alongside the Romanian troops and bled for their friendship and solidarity in the common battle for a common future as free men in these lands.

I wish to bring out below some less familiar aspects of this reaction, aspects with many very specific manifestations of cooperation and solidarity.

The position taken a century ago by the Hungarian progressives in regard to this crucial event and the attitude of some leaders of the Hungarian Pasoptist emigration indicate that some of them primarily saw in the Romanian people's

fight for independence the achievement of a legitimate and progressive aspiration. In noting this characteristic of the respective historical facts, I wish to contribute once more to knowledge of the reality, namely that at critical points the Hungarians and Romanians always fought together against the common enemy, and that the unity and friendship between the Romanian people and the Hungarian minority in Romania that characterizes our socialist present has deep historical roots. It is very important for the young generation in particular to know this unquestionable historical reality and all the facts of friendly collaboration and mutual understanding in the common past, for they contribute to the workers' patriotic and internationalist education.

Hungarian public opinion, in Transylvania especially, took a lively interest in the events in Romania on the eve and at the time of the proclamation of independence and the war of independence. The progressive Hungarian publications of the time, such as KOLOZSVARI KOZLONY (Cluj Herald), MAGYAR POLGAR (Hungarian Citizen) in Cluj, SZABADSAG (Liberty), VASARNAPI UJSAG (Sunday News), EBREDES (Awakening) in Oradea, ALFOLD (The Plain) in Arad, ERDELYI HIRADO (Transylvanian Herald) in Tirgu Mures, UDVARHELYI HIRADO (Odorhei Herald) in Odorheiul Secuiesc and many others, presented the events both objectively and very sympathetically. They paid great attention to the Romanian army, which was preparing to confront the enemy heroically, to permanently expel the Ottoman domination of centuries and to fulfill the people's sacred aspiration. They pointed out that the founding of the modern Romanian army was the work of the Unification in 1859 and of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, who "was among those who raised the flag of freedom of the principalities in 1848."

In the same connection Lajos Kossuth, leader of the Hungarian revolution of 1848 who as long as he lived accepted neither the Habsburg rule nor the dualist Austro-Hungarian pact, showed a profound consideration for the Romanian people in reference to the election of Cuza and the Unification, writing that "Such a spirit is needed by a people to build their nation or to regain it if lost." The daily GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, headed by Gheorghe Baritiu, warmly received Lajos Kossuth's declaration in which he also pointed out "the legitimate and correct attitude of Romania, which could not proceed differently than it did," when it rejected the Porte's declaration whereby Romania was integrated in the system of the Ottoman state as "a province of the empire."

Although the English government of the time supported the Porte's view and the maintenance of Ottoman rule in southeastern Europe, Kossuth, who had emigrated to England, supported Romania's right to state independence in reply to some British politicians who wanted to know his opinions on the Romanian-Turkish diplomatic conflict in January 1877, flatly stating, "I consider Romania in the position of an independent state like Belgium, under a European guarantee. This is a very important and very essential starting point!" Note that all this happened in January 1877, before the proclamation of the Romanian state's independence, when the great powers of Europe categorically refused to recognize Romania's just cause and supported the Ottoman Porte in the intention to maintain its rule over Romania.

Of course Kossuth's stand strongly influenced Hungarian progressive opinion in its sympathy for Romania and its support of greater Hungarian-Romanian unity.

The Arad daily ALFOLD, in this spirit, published an Appeal for Hungarian-Romanian Unity on 28 August 1877 to the effect that "Hungarians and Romanians must be sincere friends in any circumstance" on grounds of historical experience. They must reject "the bad policy of Vienna, which has contrived to divide the two peoples."

On 17 August 1877 the same daily proclaimed, "Only together can the Hungarians and Romanians have a future" and therefore "We must shake hands. Then we can face many dangers without fear." Some of the Hungarian publications went even further, to the effect that the Hungarian-Romanian alliance and understanding should become the guidelines of the Austro-Hungarian government's official policy toward Romania and that Vienna's Turkophile policy must be abandoned. "We must realize that we do not have to live in enmity with Romania. In this part of Europe Hungarians and Romanians must become allies." Romanian public opinion in Transylvania and especially GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, through the pen of the eminent Romanian politician and scholar Gheorghe Baritiu, warmly received this viewpoint.

It is significant that the Hungarian publications in Transylvania started regular columns on the subject of Romania and its war of independence. The radical Cluj daily MAGYAR POLGAR, managed by the famous journalist Miklos K. Papp who steadfastly militated for the cause of Hungarian-Romanian friendship, started a column entitled "The People, Institutions and Army of Romania" describing, on the eve of the war of independence, Romania's notable economic, social and political progress. On 24 January 1877, the date of the Unification, it said, "Romania can be considered independent. The executive power is under the prince, and the legislating is done in two parliamentary bodies." The same daily said that Romania had its own army, had concluded trade agreements with a number of European states, and had representatives in all the large cities of Europe, while the European powers maintained representatives in Bucharest. In this modern country, it said, the Romanian legislature had passed a law to coin Romanian money while "The press is free, education is free and gratis as well as compulsory wherever there are schools, and all religions are freely practiced."

Sympathetically describing the young Romanian army, which was to go into battle, the same MAGYAR POLGAR said in an article, "Upon the Unification of the Principalities in 1859, the army became better organized. The Moldavian and Wallachian troupes were welded into a united Romanian army, and military service took on a great importance... The Romanian army has achieved an impressive level of preparation, has an outstanding officer corps and is excellently armed... The artillery is the best organized part of the Romanian army."

Concerning the patriotic spirit that prevailed in the Romanian army, the Cluj daily KELET (Orient) wrote in its turn, "The army's morale is one of the best. The troops show their resolve to do their duty under any circumstances, ... displaying no sign of hesitation to go where duty calls them. The reservists were asked if they were glad to be called up or, in case of war, to march into the line of fire, and the response was amazing. As one said on behalf of all, 'When the nation calls us we are happy to go anywhere!'" KELET said, "For Romanians independence is a splendid goal," and the paper Vasarnapi Ujsag noted

that Romanian youth was enthusiastically applying for enlistment in the army because "The war is very popular here."

The Hungarian progressive press sympathetically reported the historic declaration of independence on 9 May 1877, a crucial point in the Romanian people's history. KELET said, "The proclamation of independence is the natural result of a long evolution and can be considered, in particular, as an achievement of the political goals persistently pursued by Romanians." MAGYAR POLGAR reported the historic event at length and appealed to the great European powers to recognize the Romanian state's independence as soon as possible. "It would be well for the powers to jointly guarantee Romania's independence." Under the heading "Proclamation of Independence in Parliament," the progressive Hungarian press in Transylvania published in its entirety or in its essential parts the declaration of Mihail Kogalniceanu, Romania's minister of foreign affairs, wherein Romanian independence received political and legislative confirmation.

As for Romanian-Russian military cooperation in the war against the Ottoman Empire, the progressive Hungarian press noted that Romania collaborated under conditions of equal treatment. For example MAGYAR POLGAR said, "The Romanian army will operate as an independent unit alongside the Russian army and will remain subject to its own regulations. The two armies act in agreement, and the Russian generals will have no right to interfere in the command or the actions of the Romanian army."

Under the headings "Plevna," "The Battles at Plevna," "News from Plevna" etc. the Hungarian papers ALFOLD, SZABADSAG, NAGYVARAD, MAGYAR POLGAR and others published full accounts of the Romanian army's battles on the Balkan front, eulogizing the Romanian army's heroism, skill and victories. Such comments as "The Romanians performed brilliantly in the assault upon the redoubt at Grivita," "The Romanian army acquitted itself honorably in the lead of the battles," and "The Romanian infantry and especially the artillery merit praise" often appeared in the Hungarian press, reflecting the solidarity of Hungarian progressive public opinion. In reference to the Romanian army's decisive role in taking Plevna, KELET said, "Without the Romanian army's collaboration the attack upon Plevna could not have been launched and would not have taken place. The courage and dedication of the Romanian army and the great sacrifices of the people bear witness to the nation's vitality." "Upon conclusion of the peace Romania will emerge from this war as an independent state with a well-defined political position." In addition to full reports of the battles, MAGYAR POLGAR said that after participating in this armed conflict Romania was entitled to "final confirmation of its independence and declaration of the autonomy of its territory."

A veritable chronicle of the war of independence and the Romanian army's battles appeared throughout the year in the weekly UDVARHELYI HIRADO. The Szekler public was informed of the Romanian people's great efforts and the enthusiasm that reigned in Bucharest and the other cities, and of the masses' firm resolve to hasten the "decisive moment" of independence as much as possible. The public gazette reported on the European great powers' position, disapproving the English government's hostile attitude toward Romania in supporting the Ottoman Porte. UDVARHELYI HIRADO extensively reported Romania's efforts to induce

the European great powers to recognize its absolute independence. In the weekly's opinion, these efforts cleared "the way for forming the independent Romanian state." Associating the war of independence closely with the Balkan peoples' struggle to throw off the Turkish yoke, the weekly pointed out the inevitability of the Ottoman Empire's collapse and the historical necessity of forming the independent national states, an objective necessity that could no longer be postponed.

The solidarity of the Hungarian progressives in Transylvania with Romanian independence was also manifested by the Hungarians' active participation in the subscriptions raised by the Transylvanian Romanians to support the military campaign, to aid the wounded in the Romanian army etc. Artisans, physicians, authors, artists, clergymen, shopkeepers and even some of the Hungarian officials contributed. Thousands of Hungarian tradesmen in Cluj, Turda, Aiud, Arad, Oradea, Timisoara, Tirgu Mures, Odorheiul Secuiesc, Sfintu Gheorghe, Cristuru Secuiesc, Gheorgheni, Tirgu Secuiesc, Brasov, Beclean, Fagaras and other communities were named on the lists of donors. The donors also included such figures as the Pasoptist general Sandor Teleki, adjutant of the Hungarian revolutionary army in 1848 commanded by the revolutionary general Jozsef Bem. Sandor Teleki persevered in his ideas of Hungarian-Romanian collaboration. He had fought in Garibaldi's army for the freedom and independence of Italy and was one of the first to contribute to the Romanian army as soon as the war of independence broke out, as a token of his hatred for any foreign domination. Ferenc Lehar, the Hungarian composer of European reknown, then conductor of the imperial military band in Cluj, contributed along with local Hungarian clergymen, Reformed and Unitarian, to the subscription raised by Maria Ilies in support of the Romanian army, regardless of the consequences his action could have in the Imperial Ministry of War. Despite the threats of the Austro-Hungarian officials, many of the donors entered significant comments on the subscription list, such as "gladly," "a friend of the Romanians," or "an honorable Catholic priest." The mayor of Cluj himself, Elek Simon, a political figure with progressive views, came to the defense of Maria Ilies when the Austro-Hungarian officials ordered the subscription to be stopped and her organization to be placed under surveillance.

As we know, in the 18th century intensive colonies of Hungarians and Szeklers especially were formed in various cities of Wallachia but particularly in Bucharest. For example the documents mention large segments of the troops of Ferenc Rakoczi II that had to emigrate after the anti-Habsburg revolt was put down. At the end of the 18th century and in the first half of the 19th many Hungarian tradesmen left Transylvania to work in Wallachia. The Hungarian colonies grew after the suppression of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848-1849. The Habsburg absolutism established in Transylvania introduced a true reign of terror, and many who had fought the imperial troops during the revolution had to emigrate. A large number of these, welcomed by the Romanian population, settled in Bucharest, Braila, Galati, Ploiesti, Craiova, Buzau, Giurgiu, Tirgoviste, Cimpulung, Turnu Severin, Iasi, Bacau, Husi, Roman and other urban and rural communities. In an extensive study of the social, economic and political development of Romania entitled "La Roumanie economie" and published in Paris, the well-known scientist Dr Mihail Obedenaru, a member of the Romanian Academy, said that over 36,000 Hungarians were living in Wallachia and Oltenia, including more than 12,000 in Bucharest, according to the 1860 census.

The Hungarian colonies continued to develop under Alexandru Ioan Cuza's reign, when Romania made particularly good economic, social and political progress. In a number of such cities as Bucharest, Braila, Galati, Ploiesti, Craiova et al., schools were founded and the existing ones were given new and more spacious buildings. For instance through the tireless efforts of the Reformed vicar Ferenc Koos, who was most active in consolidating Hungarian-Romanian friendship, a new building was erected in 1856 for the Hungarian school in Bucharest, with many classrooms, living quarters and houses for the teachers. In 1860 he also founded the first Hungarian language periodical in Bucharest, BUKARESTI MAGYAR KOZLONY (Hungarian Herald in Bucharest), and in 1869 he published a work on Romania in Pest. Alexandru Ioan Cuza and his wife Elena Cuza supported this activity and the construction of churches and schools for the Hungarian colonies in Bucharest and other cities. The Hungarians' house of culture was also founded in Bucharest at that time.

The great majority of the Hungarians in Bucharest and other Romanian cities were tradesmen, but they also included many physicians, pharmacists, engineers, agronomists, college professors, painters and other intellectuals. The tradesmen (blacksmiths, locksmiths, wheelwrights, cartwrights, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, tinsmiths, butchers etc.) helped to supply the army before and during the war. For example the locksmith Albert Szabo was one of the major suppliers of the Romanian army, making ironwork in his shop employing dozens of Hungarian tradesmen. Other such suppliers were Jozsef Darvas, Jozsef Sandor, Andras Benko, Gergely Tamas, Antal Lakatos, et al. The Romanian army was supplied with wheels and carts by Jozsef Tana, who came to Bucharest from Ozun, Jozsef Kovacs, Antal Takacs, Ferenc Pataki, Karoly Benko, while the tailor Gyorgy Deh made great quantities of clothing at the order of the Romanian army. In June 1877 the Hungarian tradesmen were organized by Reformed and Catholic vicars in Bucharest and by such educators as Albert Gyarfas, Felician Bernhard, Aron Elekes, Samuel Teleki, Josefina Feher, Maria Csiszer and Karoly Sandor, and they formed a committee to aid the Romanian army headed by the locksmith Albert Szabo, the blacksmith Jozsef Sandor and the wheelwright Istvan Nagy. The committee charter, submitted to the Romanian authorities, said, "We consider it our duty to declare herewith that we, the Hungarian tradesmen, have formed a committee and soon will send our modest offerings to help the wounded Romanian soldiers to the designated place." The committee collected large sums and the subscription list including the names of over 200 Hungarian tradesmen in Bucharest.

The Romanian press of the time very warmly received this action of the Hungarian tradesmen, which "was repeated several times." Moreover TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, listing the names of the larger contributors, said, "A great many Hungarian shopkeepers and tradesmen in Bucharest have contributed to the subscriptions raised for the benefit of the army." BUKARESTI SZEMLE (Bucharest Review) reprinted the declaration of the Hungarian tradesmen in Bucharest, saying, "We shall lose no opportunity to show our love for Romania. Our gifts to the Romanian army's wounded prove this once again. Here in Bucharest we are happy to find not even an indication of hostility. The Hungarians and Romanians are bothers."

Among the Hungarians settled in Romania after the suppression of the revolution of 1848, as we have mentioned, there were a number of physicians,

engineers, pharmacists, college professors, painters etc., some of them famous figures, who played an important part in the war of independence.

For example the painter Karoly Szathmary Papp, long settled in Romania, went out to the Balkan front with the Romanian painters Nicolae Grigorescu, Gheorghe Demetrescu and Sava Hentia to immortalize the heroism of the Romanian soldier. Many of Szathmary's dozens of sketches and pictures were published in the press of the time, especially in the big illustrated journals in London, Paris, Budapest and other capitals. He was accordingly one of the first publicizers of the fierce battles fought by the Romanian army and its victories on the Balkan front.

The noted oculist Lajos Fialla, who settled in Bucharest after the suppression of the 1848 revolution in Hungary, approached the eminent patriot Dr Carol Davila, the organizer of the medical corps, and asked to be admitted to this service. Fialla wrote Carol Davila, "In Romania's serious circumstances please avail yourself of my science and person whenever and wherever you need them." Lajos Fialla was appointed to Turnu-Magurele, where the hospital of the "Independence" campaign was founded, and from then on he directed it throughout the war. Dr Lajos Fialla's work was greatly appreciated by contemporaries, and in his book "Reminiscences of the Romanian-Russian-Turkish War of 1877" he made the following statement: "Happy is every one to whom fate gave a role however small in the gigantic evolution of the life of the Romanian people. I am proud that I did all I could. I gladly contributed to Romanian independence and I worked hard to alleviate the Romanian soldiers' sufferings."

The letter of the Hungarian surgeon Kelemen Stand of Cluj, who offered the Romanian Red Cross his services on 9 October 1877, is also significant. He said he spoke Romanian well and could accordingly help the medical corps of the Romanian army more readily.

An important part in the war of independence was also played by Eng Sandor Veress, who also had to emigrate because of the Habsburg persecutions and terror, being a former officer in the Hungarian revolutionary army of 1848. Settled in Romania upon completing his higher education, Sandor Veress joined the national cartographic program, highly important from the military and strategic standpoints, and wrote a number of studies of Romania and the history of the Romanian people, constantly militating for Hungarian-Romanian friendship. During the war he dispatched many articles to the Hungarian progressive press in Transylvania and Hungary about the Romanian army, the Romanian people's dedication and the heroism of the Romanian soldier in the fierce battles. He publicized the Hungarians' contribution to the war of independence and wrote about Dr Fialla, the Hungarian tradesmen who worked for the army, the subscription they raised in Bucharest, and the extensive activity of Ferenc Koos the Reformed vicar in Bucharest. Along with his brother Ferenc, Sandor Veress also worked to supply the Romanian army. We note here that Sandor Veress was awarded the nation's highest decoration for his great work during the preparation and conduct of the war.

The documents of the time also record the reception of the Hungarian deputation in Bucharest, in the first years after the successful conclusion of the war,

by King Carol I at his coronation. Among others the deputation included the Reformed vicar Albert Gyarfas, Dr Lajos Fialla, Eng Sandor Veress, the journalist Lajos Vandory. On behalf of the Hungarians settled in Bucharest they told the king that they shared "with satisfaction in the Romanian people's great happiness" and that they would make every effort to further strengthen "the feelings of mutual brotherly good will between the two peoples." King Carol replied, "The sympathy of our neighbor people for us will ever more consolidate and deepen the present friendly relations between us." He went on to say to the delegation of Hungarians in Bucharest, "I wish this Hungarian colony in Bucharest to live among us forever in peace and to enjoy the freedoms that constitute a source of strength for the Romanian people."

The demonstrations of solidarity of the Hungarians in Bucharest were not unique. The Hungarians in other cities like Ploiesti, Braila, Galati, Iasi and Craiova also contributed to subscriptions. In Ploiesti for example the subscription was raised among Hungarians by the vicar and educator Samuel Cseh, in Braila by the Catholic priest Lajos Kiss and the educator Adam Nagy, and in Iasi by the college professor Samuel Konya, with the support of Catholic and Reformed clergymen in the city.

Prof Samuel Konya, a native of Brasov, was very active at first in Bucharest as a pharmacist and later in Iasi as a college professor. As a well-known chemist, he educated whole generations of scientists there, analyzed the therapeutic effects of the mineral springs (at Slanic, Breaza etc.) and published an excellent work on the subject. Samuel Konya, along with his brother Karoly Konya, sent regular donations of drugs to the Romanian army during the war of independence, and their names often appeared on the lists of donors.

The documents often refer to the hundreds of Szekler teamsters who provided haulage for the embattled Romanian army. An episode in this Szekler participation was fully described by the Romanian press of the time. The winter was very severe at the beginning of December 1877. A column of Szekler carts carrying food for the Romanian army was blocked by snowfalls on the road from Bucharest to Svistov, so that 12 of the Szekler teamsters perished and only one of them escaped with his life.

Besides facts like the foregoing we also know the names of some Hungarians who directly participated and fell heroically on the battlefields for the cause of Romanian independence. We note here only a few names among those mentioned by the documents of the Romanian army commands, such as Istvan Bartos, Peter Keresztes, Janos Mozes, Antal Imre, Marton Gyorgy, Ferenc Molnar, Ferenc Arva, Istvan M. Szilagyi, Andras Tamas, Istvan Izsak, Mihaly Beres, Janos Kovacs, Antal Gyorgy, Gyula Janos Farkas, Mihaly Antal Gyorgy, Janos Szakacs, Andras Istok and Ambrus Szoke. They all sacrificed their lives in the bitter battles fought by the Romanian army at Plevna in the fall of 1877.

We should also mention here the favorable attitude of the Szekler masses toward Romania's war of independence, which came to the fore on the occasion of a diversion initiated by the English government with the tacit approval of the government in Vienna.

As we know England took a hostile attitude from the start toward the Romanian people's struggle for the independence of their state. It supported the political and diplomatic actions of the Porte designed to maintain Ottoman rule in the Balkans and Romania. At the outbreak of the Russian-Turkish conflict the English government banked on the Szekler hostility to Czarism, which had suppressed the revolution of 1848-1849 in Hungary and Transylvania, and tried to raise regiments among them to attack the Russian army in the rear. But neither money nor intensive propaganda had the effect upon the Szekler that the English government expected. The Szekler realized that the intention was to draw them into a diversion to the detriment of the Romanian people, allied with Russia in the war with the Porte, and they accordingly refused to join this venture, as was made abundantly clear by the account of Lajos Vandory, editor of the Hungarian periodical BUKARESTI SZEMLE. Upon the Romanian government's request, Vandory visited the Szekler and on the basis of his findings published a full report on 18 October 1877 in the Tirgu Mures periodical ERDELYI HIRADO, wherein he said, "I have been traveling continuously since 26 September through the Szekler country. I have been in Treiscaune, in Ciucul de Jos and de Sus, and in Gheorgheni as far as the customs in Tulghes and Bicaz. I have been in the capital Odorhei and I am now in the beautiful former Szekler capital Mures, at Tirgu Mures... And so I was not satisfied to scan just the whole Szekler country alone, but I convinced myself that from Tirgu Secuiesc to Sfintu Gheorghe or to Miercurea Ciuc the poor people know nothing about this whole matter." Vandory pointed out that the Szeklers "do not want to listen to anything of the kind."

The documents of the time prove that even before the diplomatic conflict between the governments in Petersburg and Vienna the action initiated by England failed miserably because the Szekler masses refused to take part in the diversion that was indirectly against Romania, which refusal forced the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna to deny that it had had anything to do with such an action.

The attitude of some politicians in Transylvania at the time of the trial of the six Romanian youths from Fagaras who crossed the mountains to volunteer for the Romanian army also attested the solidarity of Hungarian public opinion. By order of the Austro-Hungarian government the trial was held in Brasov, where these youths should have been convicted, but the prefect of Brasov County, Istvan Szentivanyi, known as a Romanian sympathizer because he had himself contributed to the Romanian army, as well as the prosecutor Zoltan Kenyeres, displayed a profound understanding of the youths' Romanian sentiments and their attitude greatly contributed to the acquittal of these youths. Moreover even before the trial began GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI said, "The Brasov prosecutor, Kenyeres, of whom we can only speak well, is a guarantee that no one will be deprived of his rights, ... and in this regard we also have the utmost confidence in the new prefect Szentivanyi."

Note also that the war and Romania's independence were objectively and favorably presented by a number of Hungarian historians in the last century. For example, Sandor Marki, a progressive historian and university professor in Cluj who wrote an extensive monograph on the peasant war led by Gyorgy Dozsa and published excellent works on the history and culture of the Romanians in Transylvania, pointed out in his world history the close connection between the

independence of Romania and the latter's economic, social and political progress in the second half of the 19th century. He said that independence was the natural result of the Unification in 1859 and the formation of the Romanian national state under Alexandru Ioan Cuza. The liberal historian Henrik Marcza-li, in his work "State and Social Achievements of Our Era," regarded the Unification in 1859 and the acquisition of independence in 1877 as great achievement in modern world history. He indicated his sympathy for the Romanian army fighting for independence and brought out its notable role. Another Cluj historian, Gyorgy Balanyi, devoted a special work to the history of the Balkan peoples after 1858 wherein he pointed out the overwhelming importance of Romania's independence to the entire development and modernization of the nation. Balanyi said that the Romanian army under its own and independent command essentially contributed to the capture of Plevna and consequently to the success of the whole Russian-Romanian-Turkish War. Lajos Lakos, an Oradea historian who published a monograph on the events of 1875-1877 that was translated into Romanian and published in Bucharest by the close of the last century, brought out the masses' decisive actions at the time of the proclamation of independence and the conduct of the war, stating that "the initiative was taken by the people" on the eve of Romania's entry into the war. He made a point of Romania's participation in the war as a cobelligerent, or as an independent state. In his speech to a popular assembly on 5 August 1878 the famous Cluj historian and journalist Laszlo Sami said that Romania's independence was no one's gift but was won by the Romanian nation, and therefore a nation that can achieve such a victory by a struggle "has every right to take an optimistic view of its future."

In pointing out the exceptional importance of Romania's war of independence to the Romanian people's history, as well as the qualification of the proclamation of its independence as one of the great events of European history, the above-mentioned Hungarian historians also noted the participation of the Csango of Moldavia in this war. As they said, the Csango supported the war both by enlisting in the Romanian army and by contributing as citizens to the subscriptions raised to carry on the war. Also note that Romanian scientists have also written about the Csango. For instance, Dr Mihail Obedenaru wrote about the Csango in his above-mentioned work published on the eve of the war of independence that "There are about 50,000 Szeklers known to Romanians as Csango. They are settled in Moldavia, especially in the areas of Roman, Bacau and Iasi (in Rachiteni, Valeni, Cleja, Prajesti, Valea Seaca, Cotnari and other communes). They fled Transylvania in various periods to escape the tyranny of their masters." GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI also pointed this out in its series of articles published in 1875.

As faithful and loyal citizens the Csango of Moldavia directly participated in the armed conflict for the independence of Romania. They were enlisted in the fifth regiment of the infantry of the line or the Calarasi regiment, famous for Plevna, and also in the 14th and 15th Doboranti regiments. The Csango fought courageously in these units of the Romanian army, especially at Plevna, capturing enemy banners and sacrificing their lives in accordance with the daily orders received from the commands of the combat units on the front.

While a number of Csango were engaged in the wars, in their villages the Catholic priests and the local leaders raised subscriptions to support the Romanian

army. Accordingly the documents of the time often contain the name of Balint Szilagyi, a clergyman of Tamaseni, who took the initiative to send various aids to the Romanian army on the front and to the Red Cross. Miklos Kitsi of Grozesti, Istvan Mesterke of Cleja, Jozsef Laszlo and Jozsef Kantona of Pustiana, Istvan Kosa or Trotus, Peter Szabo of Faraoani, Andras Tsurarka of Valea Mare, Ignac Szentes of Calugareni and others raised subscriptions in the Csango communes.

In conclusion I should like to say that from the historical perspective of our era, when the assertion of the nations and of state independence is one of the distinctive features of modern development, the exceptional importance of the historic achievement of the Romanian people a century ago is even more clear to us. This magnificent accomplishment conformed from the beginning to the standards of the evolution of mankind, which standards do not entirely prevail throughout the whole world even in our time.

A century has passed since the Romanian people placed a new state, namely Romania, on the political map of the world among the independent states. In 1877 there were only 44 independent states in the whole world. But the irreversible process of formation of independent states could not be stopped either by the colonial wars at the turn of the last century or by World War I started by the great imperialist powers in order to redivide the world. On the contrary the result conflicted with the aims of the great powers. It was in this period that the peoples' right to self-determination was forcefully confirmed, a right that was brilliantly substantiated on theoretical grounds in V. I. Lenin's works written on the eve of and during World War I. The Great October Socialist Revolution and the experience of the peoples' struggle for national liberation fully confirmed Lenin's theoretical generalization. For instance in 1945, at the end of World War II, there already were 76 independent and sovereign states. But as a matter of fact it may be said that the generalization of the right to self-determination and formation of independent states took place after World War II, when over 100 states took the path of independence and sovereignty thanks to the overthrow of the colonial system. During the great economic, social, political and national changes in the middle and second half of our century, a period in which we are living today, the peoples in the former colonies beginning with Indonesia, India, Algeria, Tunisia, Bangladesh, Angola and many others refused to accept foreign domination and have been forming independent states. The foreign oppression and domination of centuries have become so intolerable that the nations, however small, are making any sacrifice for the right to self-determination in accordance with their own aspirations. Independent states like Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, with populations below 30,000, are not peculiar to Europe but have been forming even in our time on other continents as well. The most recent example is the former colony of French Somalia, the capital of which is Djibouti, with a territory of 22,000 square kilometers and a population of about 99,000, chiefly Danakli and Somali. On 27 June 1977 it became an independent state, bringing the number of independent states up to 157.

We are witnessing the liquidation of the last remnants of the colonial system, which was believed to be perpetual a century ago when Romania won its independence. The irreversible trend of history and the process of the peoples'

self-assertion and formation in sovereign and independent states are taking a broad course. This great and regular flow of history was also marked by the great event in the history of the Romanian people 100 years ago.

Once again this indicates the outstanding political significance and historical importance of the acquisition of the independence of the Romanian state.

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CSO: 2700

ALBANIA

HOXHA WORK DISCUSSES PARTY GROUPS IN MILITARY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Jun 77 p 2

[Article by Nasip Ibrahimi: "The Party Organization in the Army Must Be a Steel Nucleus"]

[Text] Volume 24 of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, both for all our working masses and for us soldiers, is another treasure of very great value for ideotheoretical betterment, education and annealing as revolutionary fighters loyal to the party line. In this volume, an important place, alongside of other problems, is occupied especially by problems concerning the strengthening of the party's leading role in the army. The party, thereby, attests once more its continual great care and concern and those of Comrade Enver for the party's organizations in the army, for their further revolutionization, for the ideological education of the communists, the cadres and the whole force. These teachings and orders have been and are of great importance. On the one hand, at the time when those documents were written, the people and, together with them, our People's Army--led with wisdom and courage by the party--were passing through a very difficult period, but a glorious one, successfully breaking the fierce economic blockade and the all-around imperialist-revisionist pressures. On the other hand, they are timely even today and for the future in the performance, with honor, of the historic mission of the People's Army for the defense of our socialist fatherland.

Under these conditions, the party and Comrade Enver have directed that the party's leading role in the army shall be strengthened and that ideopolitical work be intensified so as to make ever more conscious all the communists, the working masses and the soldiers in the fight to perform the tasks not only in the production field but also in that of defense, for the strengthening of discipline, order and revolutionary vigilance. The party has aimed at a thorough understanding by all communists--particularly the soldiers--of the danger from American imperialism and Soviet revisionism and of a constant sharpening of political and ideological vigilance toward external and internal enemies, in order to raise the level of military training and preparedness and to enhance the party's leading role in the army in all respects. Therefore, Comrade Enver, in the extensive material of this

volume, but particularly in the speech delivered to the annual meeting of the cadres of the People's Army on 5 February 1963, enjoined: "A duty of colossal importance for all of us is to work incessantly to strengthen the party in the army. The party guides every sector among us; it is the heart that gives life to every sector..."

All activity in the army, as in every other sector, is organized, directed and guided by the party. The base organizations and the directing organs of the party guide all work for the understanding and execution of the party line, its principles and norms and for the ideological and political education of the communists, the cadres and the whole force: in assimilating and applying our military art of popular warfare as well as possible; in mastering the weapons and combat technology; in steeling proletarian discipline and so forth. The results in assimilating Marxist-Leninist theory, the party's ideology and Comrade Enver's teachings; in mastering our military art of popular warfare and combat science and technology; in strengthening the defensive ability and raising combat preparedness to its peak; in strengthening order and discipline and so forth have been achieved under the leadership of the party organizations and organs. Therefore, Comrade Enver enjoins: "We must keep this nucleus clean; we must have it organizationally strong." (Volume 24, p 206).

Our party's leadership in popular warfare is an objective factor with permanent and irreplaceable effect with regard to its importance in insuring victory over the enemy. Hence, the strengthening of the party and its leading role in the army and in the organization and direction of popular warfare is the decisive factor in winning the victory over any enemy that might dare attack our country.

It is no accident that the enemies of the party and our people have at all times directed the brunt of their fight primarily against the party, in order to weaken it and then liquidate it, since, in this way, they would be able to attain their counterrevolutionary aims. The putschist group in the army--with Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Cako, which the party exposed and defeated in recent years--has concentrated their main blow upon weakening the party's leading role in the army and upon weakening the base organizations of the party by violating its principles and norms, in order to convert them into formal, amorphous organisms and create grounds favorable to the rise and spread of the dangerous diseases of bourgeois-revisionist ideology. Through this hostile work, this group sought to bring it about that the gun would command the party, not the party the gun, and it would be easier, consequently, to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and establish a bourgeois-revisionist dictatorship.

But, being ever vigilant and unflinching, the party and Comrade Enver, fanatically applying the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, have not tolerated and will not tolerate any breaches in our ranks nor the sprouting of the seeds of degeneration in our party's ranks. They have continually taught and educated us to surmount and spurn the evils and dangers that menace

the party in the army as well. Pointing out the ways to strengthen the party's leading role, Comrade Enver teaches us that there must, above all, "be unity of thought and action in its ranks..." (Volume 24, p 206) This must be the chief duty of every communist, because the base organization is strengthened thereby and, consequently, the army too.

The duty of the communists, the cadres and the whole mass of soldiers is to steel the leading role of the party base organizations constantly, since we, thereby, strengthen the leading role of the party in the army. And to achieve this, it is necessary for us to fight with maturity, revolutionary determination and consistency and purge away every alien manifestation and concept, every distortion and deformation that affects--however little--the leading role of the party organizations; and so we must strive to carry out fanatically and rigorously what the party says, namely, that the Leninist norms shall be respected in the base organizations and that criticism and self-criticism shall be made with a pure heart and with communist consciousness, on the basis of the rules prescribed by the Central Committee.

Comrade Enver teaches us that "everything must be explained to you and must be understood in the light of Marxism-Leninism...This also relates, then, to the question of weapons, as these must be viewed not only from one side, as a technical matter, just to know how far a shot from this or that weapon will reach, but from the standpoint of the purpose of its use, since a weapon has its own morals and its own political and ideological purpose." (Volume 24, p 207) Hence, it is the duty of the base organizations to treat ideopolitical and military education as an indivisible unit. If one separates the party's politicoeducation work from military training, this means depriving it of its main object in the army, whereas, if one separates military work from political training of the army, this means depriving it of its spirit. The successful performance of the party's directives depends greatly upon the degree of correct understanding of the link between political and military work, the relationship between them. It is precisely these teachings of Comrade Enver's that have made the communists, the cadres and the whole of our armed forces aware of their duties and responsibility for the further unceasing revolutionization of life in the army, for the enhancement of the party's leading role, for deepening its popular character and for all the other tasks in the field of defense.

But in order that this work may be performed ever better, Comrade Enver teaches us that "ideological work in the army must not be carried on in a stereotyped manner..." (Volume 24, p 207) The fight against stereotypy still remains timely today and is one of the main directions for raising the quality of ideopolitical work and its penetrating, clarifying and persuasive force. This teaching of Comrade Enver's requires that the party's base organizations carry on all-around, comprehensive ideopolitical work, developing it in the most concrete, individualized and differentiated manner possible. Not to be forgotten here is the fight against the tendency to stick more to organizational forms and sides than to the effort to maintain and raise the level of ideopolitical work. Hence, in this respect

much remains to be done in the future, especially in making perfectly clear to every cadre, soldier, volunteer and pupil the content of popular military art, its requirements and basic regulations.

Our People's Army, led by the party and Comrade Enver, has, from the very beginning of its organization, had a thoroughly popular character. It has insured this under the leadership of the party, which has taken special care to conserve and continually deepen the popular character of our army.

In the materials in this volume, Comrade Enver Hoxha draws attention also to the fight that the party organs and organizations must wage in order that the army "may live a life bound to the people, not detached from them and from all the important events in their lives." (Volume 24, p 208) The party has continually emphasized that the army is a part of the people, their armed force, and, as such, it cannot be shut up in itself and detached from the great problems of the country, from the life and work of the workers. Therefore, in view of these teachings, the army units today, wherever they are, are making a valuable contribution to every economic, local and national campaign. Today, every unit and detachment, through ideopolitical work, is acquainted with the political, economic, cultural and educational problems and is familiar with the life of the workers, being close to them not only during military exercises, but continually. It is inconceivable that a soldier should not know the district in which he is doing his military service and should not know about its past, present and future. The army is a part of the people and has issued from the people; as such, it lives with the country's great problems, ever close to the people; it lives with their struggle and labor and sees itself closely bound to everything that is produced, built, taught or defended in our country under the party's leadership. Therefore, Comrade Enver has directed that the communists, base organizations and commissars "must inform the soldiers of the good things and successes, of the troubles and difficulties of the people. The lad from Tropoja, whom you have as a soldier in the unit you command, has his mind on his family, his mother and father in the Malesi e Madhe (Great Mountains) when he sees heavy rain falling; so to put him at ease, you must tell him how much rain has fallen, what measures the government has taken, what food and other things the government has sent, and so forth. You must intervene to see to it that letters from the soldiers' families reach them as soon as possible. Only thus will he see in his officers the care shown by a mother, father or elder brother and see in the collective of the unit the counterpart of his own family."

Our soldiers, under the guidance of the party's base organizations and organs, like all of our working masses, are studying the materials of the 24th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works and are delving ever deeper into the demands which they present because of their timeliness and importance and because of the necessity of strengthening the party's leading role, in order to further revolutionize the army, eliminate shortcomings and weaknesses in their work and combat more persistently every alien concept and manifestation.

The materials in this volume and the lessons that we draw from it, seen as closely tied to the tasks set by the Seventh Party Congress and to the plenums of the Central Committee in recent years, are a great program of work and struggle to revolutionize all party work in the army and strengthen the leading role of the party base organizations. Ever timely, therefore, is the appeal made by Comrade Enver in this volume: "Let us work and strengthen the party in the army, keep it strong and pure, see to it that there is always a firm ideological, political and organizational unity in the party and preserve it as the apple of our eye. Let the party in the army be ever strong as the heart in a sound body. Only so will we always have a strong and sound army, just as we have today."
(Volume 24, pp 211-212)

10002

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

VILLAGE NAME CHANGE--On the basis of Article 2 of Decision No 201 of 1 July 1969 "On Names," the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania resolves that Moglice village in Korce District will be named "1 May" village. This decision goes into effect immediately. [Excerpts] [Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 3, 18 Jun 77 p 99]

CSO: 2100

REGULATIONS ON MILITARY ORDER, DISCIPLINE EXPLAINED

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 7, Jul 77 pp 62-66

[Text] Duties and Rights of Army Personnel

NVA personnel has the basic rights and basic duties of other citizens according to the constitution of the GDR; they are exercised in agreement with the requirements of socialist national defense. The resultant rights and duties are spelled out in the laws and military regulations on military service.

According to these provisions, the serviceman is obligated:

To comply with the laws and resolutions of the People's Chamber, the edicts and resolutions of the Council of State, the resolutions and orders of the National Defense Council, the decrees and resolutions of the Council of Ministers, as well as the orders, service regulations, and other military regulations of the Minister of National Defense and the other military superiors and to carry them out with creative initiative;

To serve honorably and conscientiously, faithful to the oath on the flag, to perfect his political, military, special-technical, and general education as well as his practical skills, to know and carry out his duties, to have a mastery of the combat equipment and weapons entrusted to him, and to maintain and care for them in accordance with regulations, and constantly to assure and increase military discipline and combat readiness;

Steadfastly to bear all burdens and hardships of military service, to be comradely, to support his fellow soldiers with word and deed, to keep them away from unworthy actions and to assist them in case of danger, without sparing his own life;

To continue to consolidate arms comradeship with the armies of the socialist countries and always to act in line with socialist internationalism;

To develop in depth the bonds between the NVA and the working class, the cooperative farmers, and the other workers and ceaselessly to consolidate the close, brotherly relations with the members of the other armed components and cooperation with them;

To handle state property carefully and to protect it;

To live according to the basic principles of socialist ethics and morality, constantly to consolidate socialist relations among army personnel, to set an example on duty and off duty, to preserve the honor and dignity of the NVA and his unit, to show respect for rank, and to act loyal to the traditions of the revolutionary German worker movement;

To know his subordinates well, to care for them, to educate them in loyalty and devotion to the worker-and-peasant government and the government leadership and to enable them in an all-around fashion to accomplish their assignments, to preserve their honor and dignity at all times, and to unfold and equalize their creative initiative;

During and after military service, to preserve military and state secrets and to be constantly on the alert;

To wear the prescribed uniforms and insignia of rank.

The most important rights of NVA personnel consist in the right:

To vote and to run for office;

Pay, free quarters in the barracks, rations, clothing and equipment, as well as medical and cultural care;

Leave in accordance with DV [Service Regulation] 010/0/007;

To complain in writing or orally in matters concerning himself to his superiors;

To contact government agencies and NVA duty stations with correspondence (proposals, hints, criticisms, and other matters).

Vigilance and Security

The accomplishment of the military class mission adopted by the Ninth Congress of the SED presupposes that every serviceman at all times preserves government and military secrets. Constant vigilance is closely connected with the effort to strive for a further increase in fighting strength and combat readiness.

Guaranteeing the required degree of security means that every serviceman:

Must obey all military regulations on vigilance and security;

Maintain strictest secrecy toward anyone on any matters which have a security classification on them and which were made known to him during his military service, also after separation from the NVA;

To support and implement security through his personal example and in an educational fashion;

Immediately to report to his superior whenever he finds out about any invitations to engage in actions which are directed against the law or the military regulations.

The requirements for vigilance and security also include a series of concrete prohibitions which are described in detail in DV 010/0/003 (internal duty).

Internal Duty

Service is organized in the major and minor units on the basis of a daily duty schedule. The day begins with reveille and ends with taps.

The following items are included in the daily duty schedule: 8 hours of sleep (as a rule from 2200-0600), morning calisthenics, making up bunks and policing up the area, formations, training sessions, duty preparation of instructors, mealtimes, at least one hour for weapons and equipment maintenance, as well as clothing, gear, reporting for orders, social, cultural, and sports activities, as well as individual advanced education and recreation time, barracks inspection, and taps. DV 010/0/003 contains the following additional provisions: intervals between meals should not exceed 7 hours. After lunch, it is necessary to plan for a break of at least 30 minutes. For the sake of effective military training, the times for outpatient medical treatment, for showers, for administrative functions, for business hours in the various headquarters, and reporting to commanding officers are so arranged that they will not interfere with routine duty performance and participation in training. The same applied to the opening times for restaurants and sales stores of the military trading system as well as barber shops. Meetings, conferences, motion picture, cultural, and other events basically must not go beyond taps; in justified special cases--for example, to receive longer-lasting PV programs--the company CO is authorized to postpone taps. Before Sundays and holidays, taps can come later than usual; that applies equally to reveille on Sundays and holidays.

The NCO on duty will awaken the men in the morning by means of a whistle signal and corresponding commands. Calisthenics is followed by morning wash-up and room cleaning. Beds must be made up, breakfast must be consumed, and preparations for morning formation and duty must be made by the time morning formation comes around. Personnel requiring medical assistance will report to the duty NCO immediately after being awakened; the duty NCO will enter such men in the sick call register and will take them to the medical facility. Military training commences after morning formation. Consuming meals at breakfast time, lunch, and supper is considered duty; nobody has the right on his own to skip meals. Units are marched to the mess hall in formation. All personnel will wear standard and clean uniforms. The consumption of meals is prepared by the KPs--they receive the food, they set the tables, they clear the tables and they clean the tables.

Army personnel will retire for the night prior to the evening squadroom inspection; only the comrade who is detailed as squadroom orderly will stay up. Personnel retiring for the night will hang their cleaned uniforms in

the locker; underwear will be placed in an orderly fashion on the stool and polished footwear will be placed under it. After squadroom inspection and taps, lights must be turned out. It is not permitted to stay up beyond taps. Personnel returning from pass after taps must not disturb the sleep of the others.

Squadrooms are equipped in accordance with military, social, and cultural-educational requirements and on the basis of furnishing standards. The men in the squadroom may additionally supplement the furnishings with flowers, tablecloths, curtains, pictures, and other wall decorations but this must not clash with the character of the squadroom as military quarters. With the approval of the company CO, one radio, each, may be placed in the squadroom; no special permission is required for this in the NCO rooms. The unit commander may allow career NCOs to put TV sets into their rooms. The unit commander will determine the regulations for the squadrooms and NCO rooms in a uniform fashion. A squadroom senior enlisted man will be detailed for every squadroom and he is responsible to the immediate superior--in other words, mostly the squad leader--for military discipline and order as well as for the cleanliness of the squadroom. The other comrades in the squadroom must follow his directives on these matters. The senior squadroom enlisted man will make the squadroom duty assignments and will supervise the work being done; he will straighten out those comrades who violate the squadroom regulations, he will stop noise and fighting, he will see to it that the necessary cleaning equipment and cleaning materials are available, he will immediately report repair requirements to the first sergeant, he will report to the immediate superior on events in the squadroom and he will make the required military report when a superior enters the squadroom. Of course, he will particularly help the young soldiers meet the requirements of the squadroom regulations, to make up their bunks according to military regulations, and to arrange their lockers properly.

Bunks will be made up uniformly. A nameplate will be attached to the bunks.

The locker regulations determine what is to be placed into the locker and where. This facilitates the practical placement (photo on page 62 [of original]) of all clothing and equipment items issued to the EM and belonging into the locker. The lockers will bear nameplates. Every locker and the pertinent safe are to be provided with and are to be locked with a safety lock; the owner retains the first key and the second key is kept by the first sergeant. It is basically not permitted to keep jewelry or valuables, larger amounts of money, securities, or valuable collections with an individual value of more than M300 in the barracks for a longer period of time; objects of this kind should be deposited in a place to be designated by the superior.

If locker inspections should become necessary, they will basically be conducted in the presence of the locker owner. Here it may be ordered that the particular EM show the content of the locker of the containers found in the locker. If it should be unavoidable to perform a locker inspection in the locker owner's absence, such action requires an order from the superior, from

the rank of company CO and equivalent commander on up. The locker inspection must be witnessed by at least two witnesses. A report is to be prepared on the opening, inspection, or content of the locker and the items [containers] found therein and said report is to be signed by the inspecting individual and the witnesses. This record is to be confirmed and filed by the superior who ordered the locker inspection.

Duty Performance in Company

Every company has a duty NCO and an assistant duty NCO. NCOs and squad leaders or EM are detailed to such duties. The duty NCO is responsible for the internal order in the company area, for precise compliance with the daily duty schedule, for the orderly issue and return of weapons (provided he has been so instructed), and for perfect duty performance of his assistant. The assistant duty NCO is subordinate to the duty NCO and must carry out the latter's orders; he performs the duties of the duty NCO in the latter's absence.

The squadroom orderly is assigned for a period of 24 hours by the senior squadroom enlisted man. The orderly cleans the squadroom until morning formation, during the lunch break, and prior to squadroom inspection; during the winter heating period he makes sure that there is enough material for burning and he runs the furnace [stove]; before barracks inspection, he removes the glowing material and the ash from the stove [furnace], when coming out he checks that everything is in order in the squadroom, and, during the squadroom inspection, he reports the number of men present in the squadroom and the discharge of his own duties to the duty NCO. The barracks are scrubbed down once a week, usually on Saturday. Windows must be cleaned, locker and room doors as well as stools must be washed; this also includes scrubbing and mopping the floor. This "GI party" must always be taken care of by the entire group and through comradesly assistance.

Each squadroom or each squad is responsible for the cleanliness of a particular part of the company area (shower room, hallway, etc.). Depending upon the volume of work, all personnel or only individual EM are detailed for this purpose. The enlisted man on duty in the particular part of the area will daily report his duty performance to the squad leader.

Superiors and Subordinates

Army personnel are differentiated according to rank in terms of superior and subordinates.

A superior is an individual to whom other servicemen are constantly or temporarily subordinated on the basis of orders or they are individuals who, in extraordinary cases, declare themselves to be such. A superior relationship is established by the individual's appointment as commander or individual leader, by appointment as the superior's deputy, by the assignment of daily duties (operational duty officer, duty officer, duty NCO, and so forth), on the basis of an order on the temporary establishment of a superior relationship for the duration of the accomplishment of certain assignments (for example,

special detachments and work details), as well as through the individual's own decision. The latter applies in extraordinary situations, for example, in case of disaster, in emergencies and danger situations, or in case of interruption of the designated chain of command. In these situations--in which a superior cannot perform his duties and rights toward his subordinates--the senior individual present is obligated and entitled, on his own decision, to declare himself to be a superior. This superior relationship however exists only for the duration of the extraordinary situation and must be terminated by a corresponding order.

The Order

The order is the highest military determination. It forms the basis for the strict leadership and direction of army personnel and units. The order is addressed to a precisely determined group of servicemen; it contains the clear determination of tasks, it specifically spells out duties and corresponding authorities, and it must be carried out unconditionally. Orders can be issued in writing, orally, by technical means or by specified signals or signs.

Orders are given only by superiors. They must be issued in brief, clear words, in a manner understandable for the recipient; from the order he must be able to recognize the assignment, the scope of its accomplishment, the place of accomplishment, the time available to him, and the duty to report the execution of orders. An oral command is to be carried out with the response: "At your command" [yes, sir] and the wording of the order must be repeated; afterward the order must be carried out immediately. This must be done with deliberation, in the manner in which the order can be best and most quickly carried out. Order execution means thinking, individual initiative, and personal responsibility. In armed combat, the timely issue of orders, complete in terms of content, will decide on victory or defeat, over life or death.

The Report

This is a truthful, militarily exact, brief report. Reports [messages] are transmitted personally, in writing, by technical means, or through specified signals and signs.

When on interior duty, the serviceman will report to his immediate superior after accepting or passing on a duty position, after promotion or appointment to a particular rank, after award of a government decoration, after praise or punishment by higher-ranking superiors (to the extent that the immediate superior was not present on the occasion), before starting out on official trips, when going on detached service and when going on leave, as well as after return therefrom and after reprimands or entries on the pass card or on the leave record. The same applies whenever anyone has noted violations against military discipline and order or has committed them himself or whenever such violations have become known to him. Reports must likewise be made when superiors visit a unit. Anyone who is summoned to a superior or who wishes to speak to him on personal matters will report orally. This is done roughly in the following manner: "Comrade Lieutenant! Pvt Mueller reporting as ordered."

The Military Salute

In rendering military honors, we express mutual respect and solidarity among servicemen. The lower-ranking individual will first salute the higher-ranking individual. Comrades of equal rank will salute each other.

NVA personnel will render military honors to the secretary general of the SED Central Committee and the Chairman of the GDR National Defense Council, the Chairman of the Council of State and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers GDR, the President of the People's Chamber, monuments to the fallen heroes of the Soviet Army and national memorials to antifascist resistance fighters, to the ceremonial sentries, guards, and duties, to unit flags, to service flags when boarding and leaving ships and boats, government and duty flags during flag parades, when national anthems are played, during funeral processions and during wreath-layings, as well as when entering and leaving the official premises of government agencies, restaurants, and similar facilities.

Military honors are furthermore rendered to personnel of the other armed components of the GDR as well as comrades in arms from the other socialist armies. This is done by placing the right hand against the headgear and by looking in the direction of the person saluted; an uncovered individual will pass by with straight bearing, turning his eyes to look at the person saluted, hands to the sides. When standing, the individual will stand at attention, facing the higher-ranking individual. Honors will be rendered while passing to the ceremonial sentry at memorials (for example, the memorial to the victims of fascism and militarism in Berlin at Unter den Linden). Persons entering a memorial will come to attention, salute, and thereupon remove their headgear; when leaving the memorial, the individual will not come to attention and will not salute. No salutes furthermore will be rendered in demonstration processions, while singing worker fighting songs, in public transportation, at party and FDJ meetings or during festive and cultural events (except when national anthems are played), likewise there will be no saluting by persons riding motor cycles and bicycles while in motion and in sanitary facilities. Military salutes by members of the armies of capitalist states will be returned.

Rules of Behavior for Army Personnel

Behavior among servicemen, between superiors and subordinates, and toward civilians is based on mutual respect, comradely assistance, and politeness.

On duty, individuals will address themselves with "Sie" [the formal address]. Superiors as well as higher-ranking individuals will be addressed with "comrade" plus the rank (for example: "Comrade NCO!"). Subordinates and lower-ranking individuals will be addressed by rank and name or as "comrade" plus the rank (example: "PFC Schulz!" or "Comrade PFC!"). Lieutenant commanders and commanders as well as naval captains in the People's Navy are uniformly addressed as "Comrade Captain!" Major generals and lieutenant

generals are addressed "Comrade General!"; rear admirals and vice admirals as well as admirals are addressed as "Comrade Admiral!" and colonels-general and army generals are addressed "Comrade Colonel-General!" or "Comrade Army General!" The minister of national defense is addressed as "Comrade Minister!" If it is necessary to address a comrade in the presence of superiors or higher-ranking individuals, one must first ask permission to do so of the superior or the higher-ranking individual. Superiors and higher-ranking individuals are escorted on the left; they must be given precedence without being asked to do so. If, due to lack of space, it is impossible to pass by them, they must be asked for permission to do so (example: "Comrade Lieutenant! Would you allow me to pass?"). In public short-haul transportation, servicemen will offer their seats to superiors or higher-ranking individuals if no other seats are available. Servicemen wearing uniforms are not allowed to keep their hands in their pockets, to sit down or to smoke in the presence of superiors or higher-ranking individuals (except in restaurants), and visibly to carry or play in public portable radios or tape recorders.

Male army personnel must always be clean shaved and must have a short haircut. The hair styles illustrated (see photos [page 65 of original]) are possible.

Uniforms will be worn also upon termination of duty [off-duty]. Career officers, ensigns, career NCOs, as well as extended-service EM and NCOs, as of the fourth year of service, and female army personnel, may, when on pass, or on leave, wear civilian clothes without special permission and may accordingly also keep their civilian clothes in the barracks; that does not apply to officer candidates and NCO candidates.

All other military personnel require a civilian clothing permit when going on leave. On national holidays and on the Day of the National People's Army, all army personnel will basically wear a uniform. Superiors and higher-ranking individuals are authorized to check documents of army personnel; if they are in civilian clothing at the time, they will show their service ID card. In public, it is basically required to follow orders given by members of other armed components, especially the People's Police, or the customs administration of the GDR, which are issued in exercise of their duties. When the above-mentioned agencies conduct checks, army personnel must identify themselves by showing their ID cards or their pass, leave certificate, or official orders; in case of traffic checks, the driver's licence and the motor vehicle registration must also be shown.

Soldiers in basic training as well as soldiers, NCOs and ensigns, on reserve tours, are forbidden to bring along private vehicles to their duty station and to use them--except when on leave. Private still and motion picture cameras of military personnel housed in barracks will be collected and kept at a central place. They may be issued only when going out on pass or on leave. Likewise, no private tape recorders may be operated in the barracks.

Army personnel housed in barracks are permitted to receive visitors at the times determined by the unit commander. Special visitors' rooms have been set up for that purpose. The visit must be terminated at least one hour before taps. Individuals wishing to visit patients in medical facilities of the NVA may come only on visiting days and may only go to the rooms designated for this purpose.

(This report was prepared on the basis of DV 010/0/003--Internal Duty-- as well as the "Basic Military Handbook.")

5058

CS0:2300

HUNGARY

MOUNTAIN COMBAT TRAINING DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Jun 77 p 4

[Article by Capt Franciszek Seweryn]

[Text] This is a special military unit not only because it prepares soldiers for combat in a mountain region. Its distinction is also emphasized by the fact that it is possible to meet here soldiers who indeed have already acquired high military skills. After all, before being sent to the mountain base, they served in mechanized, tank, artillery and signal units. Here, they are enriching their knowledge and acquiring their next specialty.

Today's training program is quite varied. From early morning hours intensive training is carried out in small specialized groups. Some are shooting from various types of weapons at the mountain firing range, the road to which is not at all easily accessible. Before reaching their firing positions they had to overcome a sizable pass and then walk a little, about one kilometer, downward through a winding path amid the forest. This group was training under Sgt Laszlo Nagy, an outstanding noncommissioned officer, active member of the MSZMP and activist of the KISZ.

In the opposite direction, the road leads to another training point, namely, to the so-called climbing wall. Here, for a proper performance of a task, ingenuity, precision and will power alone will not do; strong muscles are needed, too.

To the steep wall, about 40 meters high, came Pvt Zoltan Kerek, who was a tank gun-layer in his former unit. In the beginning he climbed up quite fast, holding with his hands to the rope and supporting the weight of his body with his feet propped here and there against the uneven rocky surface. Later his movements gradually slowed up and he almost reached his goal when suddenly he started to slide down. He needed only a few more meters, i.e., his strength simply did not hold out to the end.

"I designated Pvt Kerek to go first," says Cpl Ferenc Stefanics, "because he has been with us for a short time and still commits some errors. It is

necessary to always remember the harmony of movements; besides, watch it once again." The noncommissioned officer approached the wall, held on to the rope and in steady movements climbed up. The next soldiers, including the former tankman, did likewise.

Nearby a group is training under the command of Staff Sgt Karoly Redly, known also as the chief of the subunit which for the third time won the title of outstanding unit in the competition on a unit level. This noncommissioned officer is a member of the party committee and youth activist.

I approached the group of soldiers not only in order to see how they train, but also to see with my own eyes if indeed the rope bridge was separated from the surface of the river by a distance of nearly 50 meters.

They ran across the swinging bridge one after another, with weapons in their hands ready to shoot, and upon reaching the other bank they deployed in formation as if in pursuit of an enemy.

In conversation with the sergeant I learned that there were several soldiers in the unit who somehow could not overcome the feeling of fear. "They shot well," he explained, "climbed expeditiously up the wall, but the hanging bridge was for them something they could not overcome.

I also learned that one of the career noncommissioned officers drove across this bridge on a motorbike, wanting no doubt to cut short his way home from the barracks. The weak ones cannot hold out here and they return to their former units or are discharged. For this is a kind of training and service intended only for the brave ones.

We walked for 2 full hours to the spot where a rope crossing was extended from one mountain top to another. They were separated by a distance of 400 meters, as I reckon, perhaps a little less. However, in the middle of the crossing the distance between the rope and the looming spruce forest down below was no less than 200 meters. From this height a splendid view opens of course to the surrounding area, of which I had the opportunity to convince myself, but the group training here surely did not come for sightseeing purposes. They have been training here for a long time and nonetheless Cpl Sandor Nagy, who is in charge of the training, had some reservations as to the manner in which assignments were carried out by some of his subordinates.

The individual groups came back from their training points before 1300 hours, for dinner time was approaching. Earlier, however, as if for relaxation, the soldiers went to the obstacle course situated near the barracks buildings. They performed here various exercises which in comparison with those done earlier were perhaps a kind of recreational game. Just as sportsmen after a tiring effort full of tension, they do some easy exercises for relaxing and balancing their strength.

For the next part of the day the program is also rich and varied in content. Youth activists are holding an administrative session, at which they intend to carry out a periodic evaluation of the fulfillment of the tasks arising from the program of the 11th MSZMP Congress and the Ninth KISZ Congress. Maj Laszlo Kovacs, a representative of the unit's party committee, will take part in the session.

Today, members of the council of culture will be completing the training program for Sunday since soldiers have submitted several new proposals. It is necessary to think everything through, organize and assign tasks because, should anything not succeed, words of criticism will be pouring in at the next meeting, or someone will smear the council in the news sheet.

One of the ordinary days was drawing to a close in the mountain unit as I left the barracks here. On my way home I glanced at the unit's entrance gate and a reflection crossed my mind, namely, that, if at the entrance to this barracks there was to be an inscription informing a new arrival of whom he was to meet here, it could read: "Here serve only the brave ones!"

9099

CSO: 2600

ROAD CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM OUTLINED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 23 Jul 77 p 13

[Article by Dr Istvan Kozari, assistant director of UVATERV (Road and Railroad Planning Enterprise): "Tomorrow's Road Network on the Planning Board"]

[Excerpts] In our country, the Road and Railroad Planning Enterprise plans the overwhelming majority of the roads and superhighways. Our planners endeavor to provide increasingly better traffic safety, and to prevent accidents through research, technological developments and the use of experience from abroad.

At the present time 1.6 million vehicles including 660,000 passenger cars) use our roads. While the total passenger and freight traffic increased by 40 percent, the ratio of public road traffic as a part of the total passenger traffic increased from 35 to 70 percent, and the ratio of freight increased from 8 to 25 percent. The major part of foreign tourism is also carried by the public roads. In 1961, 40,000 motor vehicles crossed the country's borders, and 2.15 million in 1975. Traffic on the nation's network of public roads increased 3.5 times.

During this time, 86 kilometers of superhighway and 21 kilometers of semi-superhighway were built between Budapest and Zamardi, and 25 kilometers of semi-superhighway were completed between Tatabanya and Komarom. We have spent 0.9 billion forints between 1961 and 1965 in major investment for the superhighway (semi-superhighway); 1.6 billion between 1966-1970; 2.9 billion between 1971-1975.

The dynamic growth of traffic on public roads will continue in the future. In 1980 the number of motor vehicles on public roads is expected to reach 2 million. Traffic on public roads will be about 60-80 percent higher.

The program of highway construction was discussed by the government in the middle of last year within the framework of the national public road network development. The [plan for] the construction of 168 kilometers of superhighway and 31 kilometers of semi-superhighway with a budget projection of 13.5 billion forints was accepted. It is entitled Phase I of the Intercity Superhighway Network. The program fills out completely the present Fifth Five-Year Plan's time period with a budget of 6.5 billion

forints, and contains the superhighway construction projects stretching from the Fourth Five-Year Plan to the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Construction which will begin during the Sixth Five-Year Plan will be contained in the next program.

According to the plans, the following sections will be turned over to traffic between 1975-1980:

Name of section	Year of release to traffic	Length of superhighway section, km	semi-su- perhighway section, km
M1 Torokbalint-Biatorbagy	1979	--	4
M1 Bicske-Tatabanya	1980	21	--
M1 Komarom-Gyor	1977	--	31
M3 Budapest-Godollo	1978	24	--
M3 Godollo-Hatvan	1980	21	--
Total		66	35

According to the decisions made in the interim, and the investment programs completed and awaiting acceptance, a total of 147 kilometers of superhighway and 42 kilometers of semi-superhighway will be built during the Fifth Five-Year Plan on the M1, M3 and M5 highways. This is more than the total of the superhighways and semi-superhighways completed between 1961 and 1975.

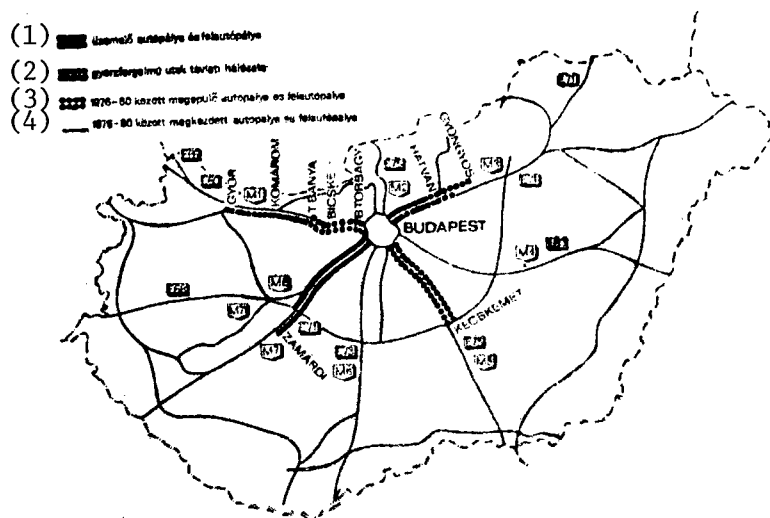
Expansion of the section of M1 between Torokbalint-Biatorbagy to superhighway, and the release of the superhighway sections of M1 between Hatvan-Gyongyos, on the M5 between Budapest-Kecskemet, and on the M1 between Biatorbagy-Bicske to traffic will be postponed to the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

The resolution of the Council of Ministers also dealt with road construction in the capital, connecting to the M3 and M5 superhighways. The approach roads to the two superhighways will be built during the Fifth and Sixth Five-Year Plans as municipal main roads, with a 2.2 billion forints budgetary projection. The municipal road system will connect to the M3 superhighway to be opened in 1978, with temporary solutions.

Our further task is the planning of the superhighway investments to be implemented during the Sixth Five-Year Plan, and the preparation of plan documentations establishing the location of other superhighways. We are also working on the preparation of the plans for a superhighway ring around the capital, the MO. Bridging the Danube causes particular problems. According

to preliminary ideas, the superhighway would have 2-3 lanes and would allow a 100 kilometer [per hour] speed limit.

The advantages of a superhighway compared to a road with mixed traffic are many. In spite of the higher speed of the traffic, it eliminates several causes of accidents: there is no cross-traffic, passing is safer, the vegetation of the so-called green lane prevents the headlights of the oncoming vehicle from blinding the driver. Modern planning principles also decrease the chance for accidents: today it is generally accepted practice that instead of the tiring, monotonous, straight road sections, interconnecting stretched curves are built, so that the driver remains alert.



Map legend: 1. superhighway and semi-superhighway in service
2. long-distance network of high-speed roads
3. superhighways and semi-superhighways to be built between 1976-1980.
4. superhighways and semi-superhighways to be started between 1976-1980.

The roughness of the surface is important in increasing safety. According to statistics, 20-25 percent of the accidents are caused by the vehicle's skidding. In the construction of new roads as well as in the maintenance of existing ones, the permanent roughness of the pavement surface receives more and more emphasis. One widely used method is to steamroller crushed stone into the surface of the asphalt cover.

Our planners mostly prescribe construction of "hot rolled" rough sand-asphalt pavements. Our high-traffic volume superhighways (M1, M3) are being built with successfully proven rough pavement surfaces.

PROSPECTS, ISSUES BEFORE U.S., PRC EXAMINED

Warsaw LITERATURA in Polish No 30, 28 Jul 77 p 2

[Article by Jozef Winiewicz: "Chinese Zig-Zags"]

[Text] In the Shanghai communique, signed in 1972 at the end of the stay in the People's Republic of China by Nixon, the president of the United States at that time, both sides obligated themselves to the reciprocal exchange of visits by highly placed personages. The American government carried out its obligation with dividends. Not only top personages of the administration in Washington made pilgrimages to Peking. Delegations from Congress and its individual members also travelled there. There was, of course, no lack of excursions by representatives of big industry and by financiers. This is without counting newspapermen and private persons.

The Chinese, on the other hand, have remained inordinately reserved. No spectacular trip to the U.S. by any of the top figures of Chinese national life has ever occurred. One cannot consider as an official visit to the States the visits of the Chinese delegations going to New York for the annual sessions of the United Nations. True, ping pong players and artists of the Chinese circus were in the United States, and some scholars travelled there. Peking did not, however, repay Washington either for the visits of the presidents to the PRC, or of the foreign affairs ministers [in original], or of other personages. One gets the impression that the United States is futilely knocking at doors which it would like to have opened for political purposes of its own.

Now, in August, Secretary of State Vance is again to go to Peking. As if Washington was getting impatient because to date the Chinese-American rapprochement has not brought about the expected results. The announcement of this trip is all the more surprising, since Vance, in one of his last speeches, already warned that "the progress of the discussions will not be easy, nor immediately clear."

What is at issue here? I suppose that Washington must now want a rapid normalization of diplomatic relations and an exchange of ambassadors. It

considers, in all likelihood, that five years of contacts which were limited in their significance is already a bit long, in view of all the American advances made to the PRC during that period. Peking, in turn, clearly aims at a conclusive settlement of the Taiwan issue.

In regard to both problems the views of China and the States diverge very clearly. There is even a convincing logic in this. The more heatedly and persistently the American side manifests desire for a further rapprochement, the more firmly Chinese politicians will want to hold out for recognition of the sovereign rights of their country to the island which they do not cease to regard--quite justifiably, after all--as their own. Patience and restraint are Chinese characteristics. They have time, so they will wait. It is hard to assume that they are in a great hurry to take the island into de facto, immediate possession. They waited until the death of the leader of the Kuomintang. Now they calmly observe the ferment among his successors. They probably believe that the fruit will ripen of its own accord.

The American position, however, is becoming increasingly complicated. It is awkward for Washington to take any decisive steps vis-a-vis Taiwan. On the one hand, it does not want to expose itself to the accusation that it is deserting in time of need its ally to date, as was "Formosa" for many years under Chiang Kaishek, and now under his son. Let us note here, parenthetically, that the name "Formosa" has disappeared, like an ephemera, from the columns of the press and from government statements.

On the other hand, Washington should remember that Tokyo remains an opponent of recognition of Chinese rights to the island, since it has there its own sphere of influence, its own interests, and the tradition of Taiwan's once having belonged to Japan. In one and the other case, any concession by the United States to China would undermine to a certain degree the credibility and authority of American policy in the eyes of all the countries of the Far East, especially Japan. Can this great power permit itself to do this after its political catastrophe in Vietnam?

Undoubtedly many Far East experts are racking their brains in the capital of the U.S. about what kind of briefing file to prepare for Vance. The NEW YORK TIMES suggests two steps. The first would depend upon the withdrawal from Taiwan of 1400 officers and soldiers--thus the whole of the remainder of the American garrison there: "Their removal would be a gesture," writes the aforementioned paper, "of symbolic importance for the Peking government." Beyond that, both parties would abide with the "one China" formula worked out by Nixon and Chou En-lai.

The second step would be to propose to Peking an agreement on mutual financial accounting. The States would unfreeze the Chinese accounts which they have blocked. On the other hand, the PRC would regulate the amounts due to American companies and citizens for their nationalized properties in China. Yes! But on the balance this reckoning would close with the

Chinese having to pay about \$120 million to the Americans. One cannot expect this from the Chinese leadership, which is not yet fully stabilized after the death of Mao and is naturally cautious about possible accusations of squandering his inheritance.

I do not, besides, want to talk about the domestic situation of the PRC. I am interested in the implication, in terms of world opinion, of exactly this inference of American policy. It can only arouse suspicion when Washington strives with such heat and stubbornness for cooperation with a government about which Moscow's PRAVDA recently wrote as follows (I quote): "The Chinese leadership stubbornly opposes the extension of political detente to military issues, the slowing down of the arms race, disarmament.... Peking is also attempting to hinder the normal development of relations among the nuclear powers, especially between the USSR and the U.S."

There are all the more grounds for suspicion, since the young co-workers of President Carter--if one believes the weekly NEWSWEEK--urge an agreement with Peking, giving as a reason for this step the need for "maintaining a balance in (U.S.) relations with Moscow." The English text which I am using here, uses the expression "balancing" and, of course, involuntarily recalls the Dulles period of "balancing at the edge of the brink." That was not the best of times. At that time American policy rejected any thought of cooperation with China, which was then proclaiming the 5 principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different systems, and not, as today, destructive slogans and summonses which hinder detente. The American position vis-a-vis China, therefore, is not very consistent.

One can talk about the dangerous zig-zigs of American policy vis-a-vis China. The entire foreign policy of the new administration of the USA seems to be moving along a similar broken line. It frequently declares its fidelity to the principles of peaceful cooperation and its readiness to strive for understandings, only suddenly to surprise the world with actions revealing directly contrary intentions. Thus it is with American armaments policy, which we considered here a week ago.

For these reasons, the wider intentions of Washington in its relations with China are not clear. We should, of course, greet with approval every effort leading to the elimination of misunderstanding between states. After all, the sum total of good bilateral relations will always serve the peaceful purpose of the positive and peaceful evolution of the international situation. Every understanding and every action, however, which is directed against a third party and is inimical to it, can only poison the international atmosphere.

I think that we have arrived at the formulation--not a new one, after all--of the criterion for judging diplomatic initiatives according to their utility for shaping the further peaceful fate of the international community. We will see with what Secretary Cyrus Vance returns from Peking. At that time, the continuation of these considerations may be helpful.

POLAND

JOURNAL COMMENTS ON BREAKDOWN OF AFRICAN CONSENSUS

Warsaw LITERATURA in Polish No 31, 4 Aug 77 p 2

[Article by Kazimierz Dziewanowski: "Old, Gloomy Questions"]

[Text] The African bush in July smells like our own countryside during haymaking time. Herds of cattle, which it is easy to mistake for herds of antelope, graze in grass as high as a man. Besides, the wild and domestic herds frequently mix. In the evenings, bonfires burn, smoke floats in the air, and one can hear the rapid rhythm of drums relaying news.

Now the rhythm of the drums is certainly still faster and more importunate. The drums relay bad news.

Africa is poor, wretched, and hungry. Africa is driven to despair, because its dreamed-for freedom did not bring improvements in the human situation and did not fulfill expectations. Africa is just preparing itself for adult life and is, therefore, sometimes childish; its people sometimes take desires for reality and break down when reality mocks their dreams. Still, for the last dozen or more years, Africa was able to retain an astonishing doze of healthy reason, to guard itself against the worst, and managed in the name of the future to accept astonishing situations and to reconcile itself to the most amazing paradoxes.

Africa silently accepted two assumptions, without which peace--and life--would become simply impossible on this continent. The first of these was general agreement to abide by existing boundaries, although these boundaries are frequently devoid of logic, historical and ethnic grounds, or simple common sense. But they are the existing boundaries, hence any attempt to change them has to turn the entire continent into a bloody shambles.

The second assumption was that the members of the Organization of African Unity should not and cannot fight among themselves. Whenever some inter-African conflict broke out, therefore, all hurried in to mediate and exerted such strong pressure on the combatants that they generally succeeded in stamping out the conflict before it flared up for good.

Today all this has succumbed to change and the situation has worsened in an unprecedented manner. Today we have to deal with not just one conflict, but with a whole series of them. We have to deal with armed actions between neighboring states. And we have to deal with active attempts to change existing boundaries as well. Let us enumerate in turn the flashpoints: Egyptian-Libyan battles; Ethiopian-Somali battles, with the active participation of the Sudan; the prolonged war in the Sahara, with the participation of Morocco and Mauritania on one side and Algeria on the other; the continuing battles in Angola, in which the Republic of South Africa (RSA) is involved; the rebellion in Shaba province in Zaire, recently ended but still productive of numerous consequences. Add to this the state of tension in Uganda and on its borders. Add finally the major abscess poisoning the entire continent: the matter of Rhodesia.

Let us leave out of our considerations the matters of Rhodesia and the RSA, because, although this is the major African conflict, the most dangerous conflict, still the sides in it are drawn fairly distinctly, the matter is comparatively clear and does not cause division among the African countries. On the other hand, the remaining altercations, although--with the possible exception of the one in Ethiopia--superficially less dangerous, nevertheless might have longer-lasting and more sinister consequences. For they represent violation of those two African principles which we discussed at the beginning.

It turns out that wars between African countries are possible, that attempts to change borders are possible, that interference in the internal affairs of neighbors is possible. All this became a reality, because Africa has succumbed in the end to the action of that curse of other continents: ideological differences, which are proving stronger than the idea of African unity. And also because Africa has become the battleground for a furious fight between influences originating externally.

The spilled blood, the violations of hitherto observed principles, the mistrust born of this--all this might have fatal results. For it might change Africa into the same kind of region as others--a region of blocs and divisions, torn by internal hatred, a region of unceasing guerilla wars, from time to time flaring into open war. Europe lived through such a period for many centuries, and only recently did a psychological chance to restrain this fatal phenomenon emerge. Asia continues to live through such a period. It looks like that period, despite efforts, is coming to Africa also. With only this difference: that Africa is still more wretched, still more dependent on external help, and for the same reason more susceptible to external manipulation.

This is a prospect so terrible that it is difficult to view it calmly. Is the course of human history on all continents encumbered by the same ominous necessity? Must men on all continents murder one another?

The course of events in Africa places before us once again these old and gloomy questions.

PEKING SAID TO BE MOTIVATED BY 'FEAR OF PEACE'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 186, 9 Aug 77 p 2

[Article by Janusz Slupecki]

[Text] In following Peking's propaganda, it is easy to perceive a certain regularity. After every event which favors detente and peace, word comes from Peking that it is in conflict with the objective of peace. Simultaneously, every constructive activity of the USSR and the entire socialist community in favor of solving the important problems of the present day, such as the strengthening of peace or achieving closer relations between nations, elicits from the capital of the PRC a flood of anti-Soviet slander.

These individual reactions in the last dozen or so years have already created a characteristic and unequivocal picture of the policy of the Chinese leaders: the growth of the power and international standing of the USSR and the other countries of our community, the increase of the efficacy of our policy of peace, and the resulting decrease in the danger of global armed conflict are accompanied by a sharpening of the anti-Soviet and antisocialist policy and propaganda of Peking and by an intensification of calls--addressed to the West, of course--for military preparation.

Already in the second half of the 1950's, setting himself in opposition to the joint program of the socialist countries and the international communist and workers movement, a program aimed at the elimination of war from human life, Mao Tse-tung presented his own concepts. These amounted to an acknowledgment of war as a basic means of settling the contradictions of the contemporary world.

This view was rejected by the international communist and workers movement. Nevertheless, it became the program of action of the Chinese leaders, who see in a global military conflict a chance of transforming China into a great power.

From that time on, Maoist theses pertaining to judgments of the international situation were frequently revised--to the point of accepting previous foes as allies. But the thesis about the inevitability of war remains unchanged, because this assumption has become the basis for the whole foreign, and for part of the domestic, policy of the PRC.

It is for this reason that all steps which favor peace, which drive away the specter of war, find decided opposition in Peking. And since the primary force for peace and the security of nations in today's world is the Soviet Union, its policy has become practically the exclusive object of attack by the leaders of the PRC.

These same reasons defined the second trend in Peking's policy, which is based on the political rapprochement between the PRC and certain capitalist countries, especially forces having a fixed antidetente and anticommunist stance. Presently, although several Western governments do not decline to exploit the "Chinese card" (as it is called in the bourgeois press), they are not so inclined to take seriously Peking's anti-Soviet obsession (also a term used by the bourgeois press). The views expressed in the capital of the PRC are not of a kind which will be accepted by the realistically thinking circles which rule in the West, concerning which the Chinese could have become convinced during the Peking visits of the leaders of various countries.

In such circumstances, the leaders of the PRC are forced to look for sympathizers elsewhere, and they find them in the rightwing groups of the West German Christian Democratic Party, in the party of the British conservatives, in the Chilean junta, in reactionary Arab circles, or among the advocates of neocolonial solutions in Africa. The position represented by Peking has gone so far that the racist government of the Republic of South Africa sees the leaders of the PRC as its potential partners. The TRANSVALER, a paper close to the government, declared itself, during the Angolan war, to be in favor of the conclusion of an alliance agreement with the PRC; according to the information of the RAND DAILY MAIL, the government of the Republic of South Africa had nothing against beginning negotiations in this matter, since such a dialog "could bring great benefit" for the Republic of South Africa.

Sometimes these alliances take surprising forms. Their foundations are also different. But generally one criterion is decisive: anti-Sovietism and anticommunism. For the leaders in Peking this is sufficient, because in this way they strengthen their front of sabotage against peace.

The limited scope of Chinese diplomacy is the reason why, in dealing with global problems, it has primary recourse precisely to sabotage and delaying tactics, as it does in the UN, where the PRC delegation obstinately opposes numerous constructive proposals, for instance, on the question of disarmament. The position taken by the PRC in this matter is one of the major obstacles against the efforts of the UN on behalf of disarmament, especially in achieving agreements banning nuclear weapons tests or eliminating these weapons from state arsenals. This stand is an incentive and stimulus for those countries which do not hide their desire to possess nuclear weapons.

For us Poles, there is all the more reason for not being indifferent, because the antidisarmament position of the PRC favors the vengeful, militaristic forces in the FRG, where--let us recall--Peking singles out as its

closest allies the revanchist and Poland-haters under the standard of Strass, that man who is at the same time an advocate of the militarization of the FRG.

This one example alone reveals that the policy of the leaders of the PRC, regardless of the slogans masking it, especially the slogan of an anti-Soviet "stamp," is dictated by egoistic, narrowly conceived goals, which disregard the interests of peace. For this reason, this policy is aimed at all nations, including the Chinese, and threatens to violate their most important right, which is the right to life under conditions of freedom, peace, and security.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

TEACHERS REQUIRE IMPROVED IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 8 May 77 pp 1, 4-5

[Unattributed article: "Plenum of the Main Administration of the Polish Teachers' Union (ZG ZNP)--On the Further Intensification of the Agitprop Work of the ZNP"]

[Text] The entire history and liberal tradition of the ZNP to date demonstrate that the members of our professional organization have always led the way in the struggle for the Polish character and the progressive and democratic character of the schools. So it was in the years of national bondage, and these attitudes and views predominated in the period between the world wars. The rich secret instruction sheets--written with courage, dedication and silent heroism--are the incontestable confirmation of the high level of patriotism of Polish teachers.

In the first years of the people's rule--in the period of the restoration of the destroyed school system, of the battle against illiteracy--the Polish teacher carried out his tasks with self-sacrifice and civic devotion.

From the perspective of past years of implementation of party policy in education and upbringing, we can state, without imputation of professional megalomania, that the teachers and pupils were always in the front line of the effort and the struggle to transform Poland into a country of enlightened people.

Particularly constructive and activating conditions for socioeducational activity arose, thanks to the post-December leadership policy of the party and the state. From this historical turn, there ensued years of intense work on the part of the working class and the entire nation aimed at increasing the achievements and power of the socialist fatherland and at realizing the program of the Sixth Congress of the PZDR.

This period was marked by the great involvement of teachers and other workers in the teaching field, as expressed, among other things, by their universal participation in the debate on the Report on the State of ...

Education, by the modernization of education in the countryside and by the new shape of the programs and organization of the school system.

The seventh congress delineated a vision of the further socioeconomic and cultural development of Poland in all its aspects. The members of the ZNP adopted this program, which is important for the future of the fatherland, with appreciation and approval, and they are participating actively in its implementation.

In defining the prospects of the building of a full-scale socialist society, the party accentuates the special role of upbringing and education. This view was expressed at the third and seventh plenums of the Central Committee of the PZPR, where a program was formulated to strengthen the moral and political unity of the Polish people and where a thesis was evolved concerning the special, decisive significance of unity as the main factor in the strength of our state and the efficiency of our actions.

At today's meeting of the Main Administration, we intend, then, to concentrate on an attempt at an evaluation of our agitprop and political activity to date and on the presentation of the tasks of the ZNP resulting from the present phase of socioeconomic development, the class struggle and ideological struggle, and the educational tasks of education and instruction. We also want to emphasize the responsibility which we bear to the nation, the party, and the state for the quality of didactic-educational work. The teacher fulfills a particularly important role in the upbringing process, which Comrade Edward Gierek emphasized in Krakow at the meeting before the Sejm elections, saying: "Among all investments, the most important and the most fruitful are those which expand man's intellectual and ideological horizons. It is for that reason that we place such great importance on the development of the whole system of national education and upbringing of the young generation. This is a national matter: Its pioneers, its leading, unfailing strength are the teachers; but all of--the state authorities, political and social organizations, the entire nation--must support their efforts."

The realization of an educational policy, and especially the fulfillment of educational functions, are certainly difficult and complex tasks. For the school has ceased to be the exclusive factor in the process of educating the children and youth.

The experiences of the building of socialism, the ideological struggle which is intensifying under circumstances of peaceful coexistence, the subversive action of enemy propaganda--they all cause the young generation and educators, too, to be subject to various influences which run counter to each other and which, occasionally, include ideologically and morally alien influences, a situation which is difficult to avoid.

The awareness of these phenomena and their recent intensity have become the main motive inspiring our party to undertake a repeated and comprehensive analysis of this problem at the seventh plenum of the Central Committee.

The resolution of the Central Committee defines the principles of patriotic reinforcement of the unity of the nation and of internationalist education as well; it constitutes an interpretation of the tasks and obligations of the agitprop front in the present phase of peaceful coexistence and in the battle with bourgeois propaganda, which is depreciating the achievements of socialism.

We are aware that defined conditions exist for the expansion of the activities of the antisocialist forces, among whom the hopes have been growing to use the processes of detente before the meeting in Belgrade to erode the socialist structure.

Our temporary economic difficulties are being used to this end, as shown by tests of the organization of political opposition which have been inspired from the outside. It is well known that single individuals or small groups of individuals known for their hostility towards Poland and its socialist character are not in a position to change our structure, but, by distorting the facts, they are disorienting public opinion, and they are also making attempts to use some workers in the teaching and education fields for these aims. The repercussions of these activities are reaching our youth.

What follows from this is the conclusion--a fundamental one for us--concerning the need to have continual ideological improvement, to intensify the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of schoolteachers and university teachers and to assure them of prompt and objective information: for the knowledge and understanding of the regularity and dialectic of socioeconomic processes insures the just evaluation and interpretation of different negative sociopolitical phenomena. The schoolteacher and the university teacher cannot wait for guidelines, instructions, etc., they must "define" and clear up problems from the start, sometimes during changing events. This need requires the already intensified political, social and philosophical preparation of teaching candidates.

The schoolteacher and the university teacher are always at the center of our activities as the subject and one of the basic creative forces of socialist education. The awareness of this truth was brought to mind with full force by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee who said: "The teacher is the first builder of the authority of the state in the consciousness of children and youth, the main educator in the spirit of the ideals actuating our society."

The formation among teachers and educators of a feeling of tremendous responsibility for the education of the young generations and the propagation of models of socialist upbringing--this is the basic direction of the ideopolitical and organizational activity of the ZNP, which we carry out in close cooperation with party units and education authorities and also in collaboration with social and youth organizations, especially with the Polish Scout Union.

Guided ideopedagogical self-education has been conducted for years by means of a universal form of political action.

For the coming school year we plan to raise the following problems, among others: the achievements and prospects of the development of the Soviet system of education and upbringing; the tasks of education and upbringing in the light of the seventh plenum of the PZPR Central Committee; the tasks of scouting in the educational program of the schools; the role of the teacher in shaping the personality of the young generation in the well-developed socialist society; the agitprop tasks of the ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union] in factory-plant schools and postgraduate schools.

Union journals, and especially GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, are supporting this mass activity. Such problem articles as "The Ideological Struggle under Conditions of Peaceful Coexistence," "The Well-Developed Socialist Society and Upbringing," "The Educational Aspect of Civil Rights and Obligations," among others, were published in its columns in 1976. Union journals including NZUCZYCIEL I WYCHOWANIE, RUCH PEDAGOGICZNY, SZKOLA ZAWODOWA, as well as agency periodicals, and especially NOWA SZKOLA, WYCHOWANIE OBYWATELSKIE, OSWIATA I WYCHOWANIE, ZYCIE SZKOLY WYZSZEJ publish articles pointing out the achievements of education and upbringing and the functions of the teacher and the school.

The program of collaboration of the ZNP with the Polish People's Army [LWP] serves to intensify the patriotic upbringing of youth as well as the ideological work carried out by schoolteachers and university teachers. It assumes the integration of the military environment and teachers in joint ideological action on youth and in the development of interests in the defense policy of Poland and in universal self-defense action.

It should be emphasized appreciatively that the collaboration of the ZNP with the LWP, which has been carried on for years and has been enriched with new initiatives and undertakings, represents a good and specific example of the implementation of party policy in the area of civic and patriotic upbringing. It is favorable bilateral collaboration, which is marked by great educational and sociopolitical accomplishments.

Within the two-level structure of union units, the basic link in union activity is the factory council, which fulfills the function of coorganizer of the work process, advocate of social interests, representative and educator.

Organizationally, the ZNP is quite spread out and has a decided preponderance of numerically small collectives. We have as many as 62.3 percent of labor union locals rallying up to 100 members, and 29.8 percent of those associating up to 500 members. This situation causes a number of difficulties, but it also has its values. For it allows good familiarity with the problems of living and working experienced by particular members; it creates better possibilities of granting them more complete assistance, and

it provides an opportunity to conduct intensified agitprop activity. Such is the case in the majority of labor union locals of the ZNP, in which the whole of agitprop and cultural-athletic activity, as well as the concern for the improvement of working and living conditions, are grounded fully in the social activity of the most active members. It is the duty of the Main Administration to stimulate the work of these members and to aid in the implementation of the tasks adopted by the councils.

We certify that this assistance on our part is not always sufficient. This fact is manifested, among other things, in the slow flow of union information, in the not-always-even rhythm of our work and, again and again, in the lack of consistency in enforcing the adopted resolutions.

Conscious of these shortcomings, to which attention also was called at the Twelfth Congress of the ZNP, we have worked out and implemented new forms of aid for the factory councils. Among other things, we worked out a comprehensive program of instruction for the most active members of the union; we publish a bulletin entitled "Information for the Factory Councils"; we introduced the permanent column "Tips for the Councils" in GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI; we voted for new regulations covering the union sections, and we defined the scope of work and the principles of action of the factory council board. We want to disseminate the principle of the direct link of the Main Administration members with the factory councils and to increase the frequency of contacts with them on the part of the most active members. We propose the development of the collaboration and cooperation of the municipal factory councils; what is at stake here especially is the aid which they can give to the factory councils in the rural communes.

Among the issues and tasks requiring even greater activity on the part of the factory councils and the centers, we include the problem of strengthening the socialist attitudes of teachers and educators of the entire ZNP membership, as well as the problem of forming appropriate attitudes within the teacher collectives. A climate of good work, friendliness and friendly assistance predominates in the overwhelming majority of collectives. However, it is impossible for us not to perceive and to pass over in silence the facts attesting to the existing tensions and conflicts in defined environments. An atmosphere of solid, well-organized and disciplined work is indispensable for us, for only this type of atmosphere brings the anticipated didactic-educational results and inner satisfaction.

We have to counteract in time--and this is the duty of the most active members of the factory councils--all situations which lead, in effect, to misunderstandings, cause stresses and tensions and lie like a shadow over our professional environment. The factory councils, in cooperation with the party organizations and the administration, can still do a lot more to improve the organization of educational-upbringing work and scientific-research work as well as the collaboration and coexistence of employees.

Hence, the basic conclusions resulting from the seventh plenum of the PZPR Central Committee for our union are: the need for the strengthening of the

ability for self-government and of constructive criticism, the use of collective leadership, the observation of the principle of making great demands on oneself and one's fellow workers, the taking responsibility for adopted decisions and the enforcement of legitimate social powers. We should constantly reinforce and propagandize these principles in all union and educational centers.

Conducted on a broad scale, continuing education and professional improvement serve to deepen sociopolitical, philosophical and economics knowledge. Much has been done in recent years to promote this view. Nearly 80,000 teachers taking correspondence courses, several tens of thousands of participants in subject-method studies, and wide circles of people availing themselves of NURT [expansion unknown] lectures are not only gaining subject qualifications but also are expanding their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, economics and sociology and are updating and broadening their pedagogical and psychological knowledge.

This intensive process of continuing education and improvement has a fundamental influence on attitudes and creates a new, better prepared cadre of teachers. An active attitude towards continuing education and improvement represents the best gage of the value of teaching cadres. At the same time, it confirms the teachers' deep understanding of the thesis that one can assure oneself a higher quality of life by means of better qualifications and a higher quality of work.

The results achieved to date by the teachers taking correspondence courses demonstrate tremendous effort and industry. Although quite a lot has been done to organize and create conditions for teachers continuing their education, there are still quite a few difficult issues requiring the more efficient assistance of the education authorities.

Among the many positive elements accompanying the fulfillment of this difficult task, the good climate which has been created in the schools and in institutions of higher learning also deserves special emphasis. There has been a further rapprochement and mutual understanding, as well as the intensification of links, between schoolteachers and university teachers. A great merit of the universities' factory councils in this regard has been the effect of the example given from the outset by experienced university teachers. The industry and obstinacy shown by teachers continuing their education in overcoming deficiencies have insured a good atmosphere for demands and one of friendly assistance as well.

Complex and difficult problems of a politicoeducational nature arise also among workers in the teaching field and university teachers. To be sure, the overwhelming majority of people in the teaching field are identified with state policy, but there are a few cases of individuals identifying with elements hostile to Poland. In such circumstances, the ZNP members--committed workers in the teaching field--should resolutely brand attitudes which are alien to and unworthy of the people's Poland.

The factory councils in the universities and scientific research posts should be concerned more than they have been to date with the creation of a proper political atmosphere, should feel jointly responsible for the agitprop situation in their own environments and should increase the responsibility of university teachers for the socialist upbringing of young people in the schools.

We have been emphasizing that in our agitprop work we attach particular importance to the reinforcement of the new values of the socialist structure which is inherent in teachers' attitudes towards patriotism and internationalism. The celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution will serve to intensify internationalist upbringing. We consider it our obligation as teachers to take part in the broad range of activities aimed at enlightening youth and adults and at transmitting to them the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The content of the organized celebrations, ceremonies, popular-scientific sessions and symposia will serve to enrich and intensify the internationalist and fraternal links of the Polish people with the peoples of the land of the soviets.

Patriotic involvement in pedagogical work is an everlasting value of our profession, for modern Polish patriotism links tradition indissolubly with the new values formed by socialism; it is the binding material of the moral and political unity of the nation. In stressing content connected with daily life and work, with the new aims and aspirations of the nation and with its historical perspective we are linking them in our educational operations and actions with love for the fatherland, with attachment to its culture, with pride from the heroic past and with the contribution of the Poles to the development of general human civilization.

Let us try, then, to promote among educators, and through their work to form in the young generation, the universal and lasting values of the patriotism that is connected inseparably with the socialist structure. We are instilling in our youth a deep respect for human work and a concern for its high quality, mindfulness of the interests of the people's state and of conscientious fulfillment of civic obligations. Let us implant a feeling of responsibility for the realization of our program. Let us instruct them in leadership in life and work and in activity of a general social interest.

There is no lack of shortcomings in our ranks in such areas as the organization and use of work time and didactic resources, the application of modern pedagogical methods and of marital partners' attitudes in the process of raising youth and the links of the school with the home. That is why the watchword encouraging people to aspire to the best--which is expressed in the consistent implementation of programs of work development and improvement prepared in the schools, institutes and institutions of higher learning--has to be the daily concern of all collectives. A special task in this area falls to the union organizations.

Aside from many other qualities, the capacity to face our difficulties and, at the same time, to make an objective evaluation of the situation ought

to be an inherent feature of the consciousness of the entire nation, and primarily of the intelligentsia, among whom teachers and other workers in the teaching field constitute an appreciable group. This is all the more necessary, since we do not operate in a vacuum but, after all, live in a world in which there is an unceasing class struggle and daily ideological confrontation. But it is not an easy and simple task.

Our knowledge of the complex problems of economic development and our understanding of the strategy of accelerated development and the shortcomings which occur continue to be incomplete. In order to supplement teachers' and educators' knowledge of economics, we have raised these problems in the course of this year's theoretical-pedagogical conferences, and we will continue to consider them in the process of the union's self-education. We are treating this form of our activity as one of the paths to a deeper knowledge of the strategy of socioeconomic development and of the essence of the economic maneuver adopted at the fifth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.

Making intensified political information widely accessible to teachers is a condition of the actual involvement of ZNP members in the elucidation of these matters and of debates on socioeconomic subjects, for it should be conceded that situations arise in which we do not always manage to interpret complicated socioeconomic phenomena. Hence, there is a need for knowledge of the essence and mechanisms of Poland's economic development, of planning principles, of Poland's economic ties and, also, of the objective and subjective difficulties occurring in social and economic life. Educating ZNP members on matters of economics should be combined with recognition of the aims of socialist development and of the theoretical premises of the building of a developed socialist society, as well as with trends in development which are occurring in world economics.

We should also take stock of the continually increasing tasks in the area of civic education, which should lead to thinking in terms of the state as well as to the placement of social interest above personal interest. Broad training in the scholastic work of the pedagogical directives of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Constitution, and, on the other hand, fuller use of the educational accomplishments of the ZNP statute in union organizational work also are indispensable.

Our agitprop tasks have a decidedly long-range character. We have a suitable work program, but we must be assisted in its implementation by greater consistency and responsibility for the totality of the adopted tasks.

We believe that a worthy civic and patriotic attitude and complete involvement in the socialist upbringing of youth have been, are and will be the fundamental criteria and determinants of the pedagogical work of school-teachers and university teachers.

Believing this, we turn to all our male and female colleagues, to all the members of the ZNP to fulfill the educational tasks aggressively and consistently as well as to increase the force of ideological action on the young generation.

In the paper which we have presented, we have not exhausted all of the agitprop and political problems raised by the ZNP. We have tried to emphasize only the most important issues. Primarily, we wanted to express the widespread feeling among teachers and the most active union members concerning the need to intensify our educational activity in accordance with the party guidelines delineated at the seventh plenum, especially in the area of intensifying the socialist awareness of the ZNP members and their patriotic civic attitude.

The seventh plenum presented a comprehensive agitprop program; it defined the main goals leading to the reinforcement of unity and to the formation of socialist civic attitudes. We represent the view that a partial component of this program should be the mass educational activity of our organization: the formation of ideological, political and moral attitudes among workers in the field of education and teaching, which are given concrete expression in the daily professional work in which they are involved and in heightened pedagogical action on the young generation.

We are eager to increase our action on the consciousness, views, and attitudes of the ZNP members, for we are convinced that the quicker the heartbeat of ideological life in our environments is, the more effective the process of the socialist upbringing of children and youth will be. By the same token, we will be serving the ZNP's most important issue more fully, that is, the advancement of the rank and position of the teacher in the people's Poland.

We represent the conviction that the self-sacrificing and completely devoted service of the teachers to date constitutes a guaranty of further committed work aimed at shaping the views and attitudes of youth, winning their hearts and minds and strengthening their patriotic awareness, their civic attitudes and their behavior. It is thus that we comprehend and intend to implement the tasks set before the schools and the teachers by the seventh plenum of the CC PZPR.

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CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

CP CHAIRMAN SAARINEN MEETS CEAUSESCU

Helsinki KANSAN UUTISET in Finnish 15 Jul 77 p 3

[Text] Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu of the Romanian Communist Party met with Chairman Aarne Saarinen of the Finnish Communist Party in Bucharest on Wednesday afternoon. Saarinen is visiting Romania at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

The discussions were also joined by Stefan Andrei, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party Central Committee.

During the discussions Chairman Aarne Saarinen expressed his gratitude to Nicolae Ceausescu for the invitation to visit Romania and the opportunity to get acquainted with the achievements of the Romanian people in constructing a socialist, diversely developed society. At the same time he relayed the warm regards from the leadership of the Finnish Communist Party and all Finnish communists to the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian people, and their sincere good wishes to the development of the work of socialism in Romania.

In his thank you notes Nicolae Ceausescu sent his warm regards and best wishes for success in the struggle for the vital interests of the Finnish people to the leadership of the Finnish Communist Party and all Finnish communists.

During the conversation information was exchanged concerning party activities, the political and economic situation, opinions concerning current international issues and issues facing the communist workers movement.

Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Aarne Saarinen expressed their appreciation of the good relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Finnish Communist Party, and expressed their desire to deepen these relations and increase cooperation between the two parties, for the relations between Finland and Romania, for peace, security and social progress in Europe and the entire world.

Saarinen extended an invitation to a Romanian Communist Party delegation to Finland in the fall. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

In discussing the issues of the international communist and workers movement they stressed the importance of respect for each party's independent right to determine its political line, revolutionary strategy and tactics without outside interference, and in this manner to strengthen unity among communist parties on the basis of equal rights and mutual respect.

During the exchange the two party leaders also discussed the deep revolutionary and social changes that have taken place in the world, the changes in the international power relationships, as a result of which changes nations have increasingly strongly expressed their will to put an end to imperialist and colonial politics and to develop their countries freely and independently and to decide on their own fate.

In this connection they expressed their appreciation of the efforts made by communist parties and workers parties in capitalist countries, taking into consideration the diverse circumstances that prevail in various countries, in order to find solutions to the problems that have their origin in the concrete circumstances of each nation, and in order to develop cooperation and understanding between socialist, people's democratic and other progressive forces in order to secure in this manner the democratic development of their societies and to further the development of the basic interests of working people which serves the interests of the people of these countries and of peace and socialism.

During the conversation the importance of exchanging opinions between communist parties in an atmosphere of mutual respect was emphasized. When different opinions emerge it is important to bring out what is common, in this way strengthening the mutual solidarity and cooperation between communist and workers parties, as well as the solidarity of all progressive forces in the struggle for securing peace and disarmament, for the elimination of underdevelopment, and in order to achieve a new international economic order in the world, for relaxing tensions in Europe and the entire world, for the victory of democracy and socialism.

Both parties stressed the significance of the Belgrade meeting, whose purpose is to speed up the implementation of the Helsinki accord and to act so that a development whose purpose is to create an atmosphere of trust and cooperation on our continent is encouraged, as well as to achieve concrete measures in the area of disarmament and decrease of arms, which is the basic prerequisite for bringing about peace and security in Europe and the entire world.

The discussion took place in an atmosphere of comradely and warm friendship.

8200

CSO: 3107

BREADTH, DYNAMISM OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, Jul 77 pp 31-34

[Article by Stefan Zaides: "Scope and Effectiveness of Our Foreign Relations"]

[Text] Inseparable as it is from domestic policy, devoted to the successful construction of socialism and the further progress and prosperity of the nation, Romania's foreign policy derives its strength from the socialist character itself of our system, from the aims and goals of the RCP Program for Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism, ratified by the 11th Party Congress. Moreover our party's and state's preparation and promotion of our foreign policy are based upon the fact that great revolutionary, social and national changes are taking place in the world, as well as radical changes in the world balance of power, generally characterized by the increasingly firm assertion of the peoples' will to be complete masters of their fate, to abolish the old imperialist policy of force and dictation, and to establish new, profoundly democratic and just relations among all states of the world.

Accordingly Romania's international policies are based upon the need of securing external conditions favorable to the fruitful and unrestricted performance of the great task of peaceful construction in which the Romanian people are engaged today and upon socialist Romania's firm resolve to militate tirelessly for the triumph of the ideals of national independence and freedom, peace and collaboration, and the progress and prosperity of all mankind. Meanwhile our advance on the path of socialism is constantly enhancing the contribution of Romania and the RCP to the consolidation of the forces of socialism and progress and to the cause of worldwide collaboration and peace.

The foreign policy of Romania, a sovereign, independent socialist state that has permanently abandoned any relations of inequality or subordination to other states, faithfully serves the basic national interests of the Romanian people and their aspirations to peace and all-around progress, asserting itself meanwhile as a policy in full accord with the major requirements of modern social development and of the general cause of peace and progress. All this is indicative of the high sense of responsibility with which the RCP closely coordinates its national and international tasks in its entire activity, successfully meeting its obligations to its own people and to the world forces of socialism and peace.

As prepared by the RCP, Romania's foreign policy is profoundly scientific and based on a careful and creative Marxist approach to the many problems of development of the modern world. Accordingly Romania consistently promotes an active and dynamic foreign policy of peace, good will and collaboration with all nations of the world regardless of their social order. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "To be sure we give priority to development of relations with the socialist countries, but we are also collaborating extensively with the less developed countries /LDC's/ and expanding our relations with the developed capitalist nations and all states regardless of social order. We feel the world of today requires reinforcement of collaboration and the peoples' struggle for democratization of international affairs, for the new international economic and political order, for the solution of all problems by negotiation, and for the exclusion of force or the threat of force from international affairs."

Thanks to the domestic and foreign policies consistently promoted by our party, socialist Romania's international relations have developed (especially in the period of the Ninth, 10th and 11th party congresses) at an unprecedented rate, reaching a new and higher level. Romania is maintaining political and diplomatic relations today with 129 states, compared with 124 in 1975, 67 in 1965 and only 25 in 1947. Romania also maintains economic relations with over 140 countries, actively participates in the world exchange of material values, and is widely developing cultural, technical-scientific and other relations with more and more states of the world.

In this period exchanges of visits and contacts, especially on the part of chiefs of states, were increasingly intensified. In 1976 and the first half of 1977 alone Nicolae Ceausescu made official visits to 17 countries of Europe and other continents, while 14 chiefs of states visited Romania. As we know, during the meetings and conversations at the summit in 1976 and the first half of 1977 28 joint political communiques and declarations were signed, as well as a great many economic, technical-scientific and cultural agreements that consolidated relations between Romania and the respective countries, greatly contributing to the cause of peace and international collaboration and to the promotion of the new principles of relations among states.

In the preparation and implementation of Romania's foreign policy and in the rapid and comprehensive development of Romania's relations with the other countries of the world an essential contribution is made by Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, the nation's president, whose tireless efforts to promote new relations and a new policy in the world as well as the cause of peace, freedom and progress for all mankind have considerably enhanced Romania's contribution to the discussion and solution of the great problems of the modern world and Romania's prestige in world public opinion.

Full Development of Relations with All Socialist Countries

Further consolidation of friendship and mutual collaboration is a vital factor for the development of Romania and all the socialist countries. As we know the triumph of the revolutionary struggle and the incipient construction of the new order in a series of countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America has made socialism a mighty force in the last few decades. More and more peoples, especially

in the LDC's, are manifesting their will to take the path of building the new social order in various ways. Socialist ideas are increasingly influencing modern social development and the whole course of international affairs.

In view of these considerations Romania is intensively and comprehensively developing mutual collaboration and cooperation and exchange of experience in constructing the new order with all socialist countries. It is making a consistent effort to strengthen friendship and solidarity among the socialist countries and to overcome the disagreements that still exist between some of them, in the interests of each socialist country as well as the general cause of socialism, peace and international collaboration. Further intensification of these relations (on the basis of full equality of rights, respect for national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, solidarity and friendly reciprocal aid) is expected to help promote a new and better kind of international relations diametrically opposed to those of inequality, domination and dictation generated by the old order based on exploitation and oppression.

In the spirit of these principles, Romania is now successfully developing good relations of friendship, collaboration and international solidarity with all the socialist countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America. Nicolae Ceausescu's meetings and conversations with these countries' party and state leaders on his visits as well as on Romanian soil have been highly important in this regard. This fruitful activity, which has been even further intensified in the years since the 11th Party Congress, lent new proportions to solidarity and cooperation and intensified and diversified Romania's political, economic, technical-scientific and other relations with the other socialist countries. The intensified exchanges of visits, contacts and conversations at the summit and various other levels between Romania and the socialist countries are particularly important for strengthening collaboration and friendship between our parties, countries and peoples.

Romania's experience proves that close friendship, collaboration and solidarity can be developed among all socialist countries if they always accept what unites them, namely their community of social order, ideology and basic aims. The RCP feels that the differences of opinion that can arise about a given problem should in no way affect the socialist countries' collaboration or unity. These differences must be approached solely in a friendly, principled way between parties and between administrations in an atmosphere of mutual respect and confidence, with observance of each party's independence and its right to develop its own political policy and revolutionary strategy and tactics according to the particular circumstances under which it acts. This meets the requirements of greater solidarity, cohesion and unity and more intensive assertion of the power and influence of socialism in the world. The fact that good will and friendly cooperation, openmindedness and mutual respect produce good results and contribute to greater unity and promotion of the noble aims of detente and world peace was proved once more at the last conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states in Bucharest in November 1976.

Our party and state attach great importance to strengthened economic cooperation and collaboration with all socialist countries, as indicated by the long-term

economic accords concluded with many of them, the greatly intensified reciprocal trade exchanges, and the intensified industrial and technical-scientific cooperation. These extensive economic relations are well illustrated by the fact that the socialist countries' present share in our foreign trade is about 45 percent.

As a CEMA country, Romania has been contributing to that organization's activity and to the implementation of the General Program. Meanwhile it is militating for intensified bilateral and multilateral collaboration with the other CEMA countries. This activity will be developed in many ways in the future, on the principle of full equality of rights and in the interests of the faster progress and prosperity of each member country's economy, equation of their developmental levels, and general consolidation of the forces of socialism. Firmly convinced that consolidation of the socialist countries' economic power is vital to modern social development and the cause of world peace and detente, Romania is constantly expanding its multilateral economic cooperation with all other socialist states.

A member of the Warsaw Pact, Romania is constantly trying to strengthen its defensive capacity while developing collaboration with the armies of the other Warsaw Pact countries and those of all socialist states and other friendly nations.

Romania is successfully collaborating with the other socialist states in international affairs, in the United Nations and other organizations and bodies, and in the struggle for lasting peace and security in Europe and the whole world, for international collaboration and good will, and for the solution of mankind's major problems today in the peoples' interest.

Consolidation of friendship, solidarity and collaboration with all countries building the new order serves the interests of every socialist country, their unity and the greater influence of socialism in the world. Romania is accordingly resolved to take consistent action in the future to further expand, diversify and intensify its exchanges, to strengthen political, economic, technical-scientific, cultural and other cooperation, and to develop exchange of experience with all socialist countries in building the new order, for the sake of mutual benefit, the unity and strength of socialism, and the victorious battle for freedom, social progress, peace and international collaboration.

Widespread Collaboration with the LDC's

After the 11th Party Congress Romania steadily expanded its relations of friendship, collaboration and solidarity with all countries that have won their independence and taken the course of free and independent development, with the LDC's and with the unaligned countries. The successful development of these relations is based upon the common aspirations to progress and prosperity and the resolve to abolish the old imperialist policy and establish new and fair relations of true equality among all nations.

The new sovereign states and the LDC's are an important force for freedom and progress in the modern world, a force actively engaged in the struggle to

establish new international relations and to resolve international problems justly and equitably. In view of the role and increasing influence of the LDC's in the world, our party and state feel that strengthened cooperation and solidarity with these countries are vital to the consolidation of all peoples' national sovereignty and independence, to the success of the general struggle with imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, and to the establishment of a new world economic and political system.

The fact that 90 of the 129 states with diplomatic relations with Romania are LDC's is significant for the further development of Romania's relations with the latter. We should mention here the great importance of Nicolae Ceausescu's visits in recent years to many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America in connection with the intensification of Romania's relations with these countries, as well as that of the visits of chiefs of states and governments from these countries to Romania, the meetings and conversations during these visits, and the documents signed.

In developing its relations with the LDC's Romania emphasizes expansion of economic and technical-scientific collaboration, to guarantee every nation's rapid progress, independent economic and political development, and growing self-assertion in international affairs. It is convincing in this regard that the share of the LDC's in all of Romania's economic relations amounted to 21.3 percent at the start of this year and will reach at least 25 percent in 1980. In the last few years alone Romania concluded over 70 accords and agreements for economic collaboration on the governmental level with LDC's.

Romania, both a socialist and a developing country, consistently militates for the elimination of underdevelopment and a new international economic order that will stimulate the socioeconomic development of the LDC's, do away with the old policy of exploitation, oppression, domination and force, and provide for a correct ratio between the prices of raw materials and those of agricultural and industrial products, extensive access of the LDC's to advanced technologies and all the advances of modern science and civilization, and every country's permanent sovereignty over its national resources. This principle of Romania's has been manifested in many constructive proposals and suggestions, including the one in the well-known document on the new international economic order submitted by Romania to the United Nations.

It should be noted here that Romania actively aids the countries consolidating their economic and political independence both through development of truly equitable economic relations and, as far as possible, through technical assistance and help in training the specialists so essential to young nations in constructing a modern economy. The facts speak for themselves: In 1976, for example, nearly 17,000 Romanian engineers, physicians, professors, economists, technicians and workers were active in the LDC's, and now 10,000 youths from these countries are pursuing full university studies or various specialized studies in Romania. All this evidences the spirit of close friendship, collaboration and solidarity that constantly inspires Romania's relations with the LDC's.

Romania's participation in the activity of the "Group of 77" is a striking example of its growing cooperation with the LDC's. Romania is also developing

its collaboration with the unaligned countries (largely LDC's) in pursuance of our party's and state's policy of strengthening solidarity with all progressive forces in order to consolidate the positive processes, the new course of international affairs, to overcome the military blocs and the bloc policy, and to reinforce world peace. The inclusion of Romania in the unaligned states' activities according to the decision of their fifth high-level conference in Colombo in 1976 strikingly reflects the correctness of this policy and demonstrates once more the validity of the principles promoted by Romania in the international arena.

Romania militates actively for the closer collaboration of the developing and unaligned countries in solving the problems of their expedited socioeconomic progress and establishing a new world economic order, and it accordingly favors a conference of the LDC's, possibly in collaboration with the unaligned countries, in view of their need to consolidate their solidarity.

Since remnants of colonialism still persist in some regions of the world and some countries are still pursuing a racist or apartheid policy, Romania is taking decisive action, in the spirit of our people's traditional solidarity with all exploited and oppressed peoples, to completely and finally eliminate all vestiges of the colonial system of imperialism and any policy of domination or oppression of other nations.

In pursuance of the decisions of the 11th Party Congress, Romania will consistently promote the policy of intensifying and diversifying its relations of collaboration and solidarity with the LDC's, with the countries fighting for an independent existence, and with the unaligned countries. It will go on actively supporting the struggle of all peoples and their national liberation movements against foreign domination and for freedom, independence and social progress.

Collaboration with All Countries of the World

The facts of the modern world and the existence of states with different social systems (socialist countries, LDC's, developed capitalist countries) make it objectively necessary to widely develop collaboration and good will among all states regardless of social order for the sake of peace, security, detente and the progress of all mankind. In view of the closer contacts between states the complex problems of the modern world can be viably resolved only through the active cooperation of all states of the world, without distinction and in a new democratic spirit of full equality and respect for every people's right to self-determination.

These objective requirements are met by Romania's policy of broad receptiveness in international affairs, a policy of active participation in the international division of labor and in the worldwide exchange of material and cultural values, and of unrestricted collaboration among all peoples. In implementing this policy Romania has steadily expanded its economic, technical-scientific and other relations with all nations of the world including the developed capitalist ones.

In recent years, especially because of Nicolae Ceausescu's visits to a number of European, Asian and American countries and the conversations and agreements

during these visits and during the visits of heads of states and governments from the developed capitalist countries to Romania, our relations with these countries have been intensified. The consistent promotion of this policy is also specifically indicated by the large share of the developed capitalist nations in the volume of Romania's foreign trade.

Romania's relations with all states of the world are firmly based on principles that are more and more accepted in international affairs, namely respect for national sovereignty and independence, full equality of rights, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, and abstention from the use or threat of force. These principles are universally valid and the same for all states regardless of their size, potential or social order. Their strict observance by all states prevents conflicts and discord and guarantees collaboration, detente, world peace and security, and a true democratization of international affairs.

Consistent promotion of the new principles of international relations and intensive efforts toward their duration in all international affairs are primary aims of Romania's foreign policy. The treaties of friendship and collaboration and the joint declarations signed by Romania at the highest level with many countries on all continents (quite clearly defining these principles and also recording the signers' commitment to observe them both in their mutual relations and in those with third countries) are specific and essential contributions of socialist Romania and the RCP to their generalization in relations among all states and to their consistent promotion and application in international affairs.

A high sense of responsibility for the future of peace, security and international cooperation and the desire to cooperate with all states of the world run like a red thread through the foreign policy actions of our party and state and through Romania's entire international activity. These major constants of Romanian foreign policy are also reflected in our intensive activity in the United Nations and its organizations as well as in the 80 odd governmental international organizations and the 600 and more nongovernmental ones to which Romania belongs.

The extensive development of multilateral relations with the other states of the world and the major progress made in this direction demonstrate the entire correctness of our party's and state's policy of collaboration and friendship with all peoples for mutual benefit and for the sake of international security and peace. Consistently implementing the 11th Party Congress' directives on the subject of international policy, Romania will continue to take resolute action to expand its political, economic, technical-scientific and other relations with all states of the world regardless of social order, convinced that this serves the interests of the steady economic progress of its own and other peoples as well as the cause of good will and collaboration among all nations of the world.

On these principles Romania is taking an active part in the discussion and solution of mankind's present problems and in the consolidation of world peace and detente. As a European nation, Romania is concentrating its efforts on developing collaboration and building a lasting security on our continent by observing all the provisions of the Final Act of Helsinki, which constitute a single whole. Romania is militating for the unrestricted development of economic, technical-scientific, cultural and other collaboration and particularly for the decisive

adoption of effective measures for disarmament and military disengagement, without which there can be no real security or peace. The Belgrade meeting is expected to lend a new and powerful impulse to the implementation of the documents on all these subjects adopted at Helsinki.

Since the armaments race has assumed even more menacing proportions recently, burdening the peoples more heavily and aggravating the danger of new wars, Romania is resolutely militating to stop this race and to bring about general disarmament and especially nuclear disarmament. The adoption and implementation of the specific proposals to this effect that Romania has submitted to the United Nations and other international forums would unquestionably inspire confidence among states and mitigate the danger of a new war.

Understanding the necessities of the modern world, Romania is striving tirelessly for peaceful elimination of the hotbeds of conflict and tension in various parts of the world and militating for the democratization of the United Nations and its greater effectiveness, as evidenced by many proposals and suggestions.

Romania is resolved to go on making every effort to resolve all these problems and to make an increasingly active contribution to the consolidation of security and peace throughout the world, to the construction of a new world economic and political order wherein every nation can develop freely as it wishes, and to the creation of a better and more just world.

5186
CSO: 2700

CENSUS FIGURES INTERPRETED BY SALAPA

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 13, Jul 77 pp 20-25

/Article by Ilie Salapa, secretary of the Central Commission for the Census of the Population and Housing: "Census Results Illustrate Revolutionary National Changes"/

/Text/ As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We feel that the approach to the population problem must be based on the fact that the individual is the decisive factor in socioeconomic progress, so that the supreme goals of all social organization and the states' general policy should be men's welfare and happiness, assurance of the freedom and dignity of the individual, development of his personality, and participation of the masses in the determination of their own history."

The sum of the great achievements of the last decade reflects the profoundly humanistic innovations in the activity and structure of our society thanks to consistent application of the party and state policy fully serving the individual and his needs.

In a brief period in the Romanian people's age-long history the working class, in alliance with the cooperative farmers and other categories of workers and under the leadership of the RCP, has succeeded in building a modern, dynamic and prosperous economy based upon socialist industrialization and upon modernization and intensive development of agriculture and all branches of the national economy, an economy that can make full use of the nation's material and manpower resources to meet the immediate and long-range requirements of society. In the context of the balanced and harmonious development of the economy, thanks to consistent application of the policy of rational distribution of productive forces throughout the nation, the economic potential of all the counties has been increased, and especially that of the counties that used to be known as inadequately industrialized.

Accelerated modernization of industrial production through promotion of technical and scientific progress, especially in the main branches of industry, led to the steady growth of social labor productivity and consequent gains in workers' incomes and in the material and cultural living standard of the whole population. Based upon the accelerated evolution of material production, science and culture have flourished while social-cultural activities have been amplified and diversified.

The figures of the census of the population and housing in 1977, recently published by the Central Commission, will supplement this vast and very convincing picture of the revolutionary changes and historic progress made by our people under the party's wise guidance in order to achieve the basic aim of the program adopted by the 11th Party Congress, namely the construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

Numerical Evolution of the Population

The individual is the decisive factor in any country's socioeconomic progress. As A. D. Xenopol rightly noted in his works, the wealth of a nation is neither gold nor silver but the people's labor. A healthy demographic policy providing for the dynamism of the population and the balance between age groups is one of the best ways of preserving a nation's youthfulness, vitality and creative power.

As the most striking reflection of the party's and state's demographic measures in the last decade and of their efforts to protect public health, stimulate the birth rate and strengthen the family (as part of the general policy dedicated to the entire people's welfare), the census figures show that between March 1966 and January 1977 Romania's population increased from 19,103,163 to 21,559,416 inhabitants, or a gain of 2,456,253. This increase, at an average annual rate of 1.1 percent, places Romania among the first countries of Europe from the standpoint of demographic evolution.

A retrospective view going back to the acquisition of the Romanian state's independence indicates that our population increased by 2.5 times in the course of a century. While in the first 71 years (between 1877 and 1948) the nation's population increased by 7.1 million inhabitants, in the last 29 years (1948-1977) there was a gain of nearly 5.7 million (see Table 1).

Table 1

Census figures	Population	In % of	
		1877	Previous census
1 January 1877*	8,750,000	100.0	100.0
12 February 1891*	10,000,000	114.3	114.3
31 December 1900*	11,168,000	127.6	111.7
31 December 1912*	12,898,000	147.4	115.5
29 December 1930	14,280,729	163.2	110.7
6 April 1941	16,126,063	184.3	112.9
25 January 1948	15,872,624	181.4	98.4
21 February 1956	17,489,450	199.9	110.2
15 March 1966	19,103,163	218.3	109.2
5 January 1977	21,559,416	246.4	112.9

*Estimated figures

Of course the fluctuations in the numerical growth of the population reflect the economic, political and social conditions of each stage. For instance, between the years 1877 and 1912, which were marked by frequent social upheavals culminating in the peasant uprising of 1907, Romania's population showed a rising evolution, but with a relatively moderate increase. The population increased in this period largely because of a high birth rate fluctuating around 40 per 1,000 in Oltenia and Wallachia and 35 per 1,000 in Transylvania. After 1913, when Romania entered the Balkan War, and after World War I Romania's population showed (up to 1920) a deficit of about 480,000 persons (-3.7 percent) because of the losses at the front, the epidemics, the low number of births, and the emigrations from Transylvania to other countries, especially America. But due to the higher birth rate in the postwar years (1920-1941) the population increased at an average annual rate of 1.3 percent. The period of World War II, with its effects in the following years, was marked demographically speaking by a population deficit of nearly 2 percent between 1941 and 1948.

The census figures as of 5 January 1977 show good results from the party measures in the last decade to stimulate the growth rate, to improve living conditions and protect public health, and to aid and strengthen the family. The birth rate was directly affected by the expanded network of maternity homes and creches, greater cash allowances for children, and development of the kindergarten system and other forms of aid to families with many children. It is significant that in the last decade the number of accommodations in creches has been increased by nearly 8 times, and the capacity of the kindergartens now exceeds 800,000 accommodations, or 2.3 times more than in 1966. The state outlays for allowances and aid to families with children came to 7.5 billion lei last year, or 2.7 times the 1966 figure.

Further improvement of the medical care system and living and working conditions for purposes of public health protection is one of the main concerns of the state. Socialism has added an average of 28 years to the longevity of Romanian citizens. In the prewar period the average lifetime was about 42 years, whereas today it has reached nearly 70 years (72 for women and 67 for men).

The healthy evolution and demographic prospects of our society are also reflected by the figures on formation and consolidation of families. The number of marriages per 1,000 inhabitants has increased, and divorces have declined. At the same time the ages of spouses have decreased, favoring demographic dynamism as well as development and education of the new generations.

The rising birth rate on the basis of a steadily increasing longevity is reflected in the changes that have taken place in the age structure of the population. The calculations show that in 1976 the average age of the population was between 34 and 35, 25.4 percent was 14 and under, 43.9 percent was between 15 and 44, 16.6 percent was between 45 and 59, and 14.1 percent was 60 and over, providing for a harmonious balance between generations and for the vigor and vitality of our people.

Population growth, as a phenomenon of social evolution, cannot be considered apart from economic progress. Analysis of demographic phenomena in a broader context, integrated with the demoeconomic background, is becoming increasingly widespread today.

As compared with economic development, Romania's population has increased at a relatively rapid rate but the development of productive forces and the economic growth indices are far in advance of it (see Table 2).

Table 2

	In %	
	1976 from 1965	Advance indices
Population	112.9	100.0
Number of jobs	152	134.6
Investments	308	272.8
Fixed assets	264	233.8
Industrial output	359	318.0
Agricultural output	176	155.9
Total national income	273	241.8
Per capita national income	242	214.4

The advance of the indices of industrial output, agricultural output and national income over the population growth rate shows that the population had more foodstuffs and industrial products in 1966-1976. The evolution of the national income permitted an uninterrupted series of measures to increase the population's incomes and the social consumption outlays for the benefit of all categories of workers.

Under the policy of industrialization and modernization of the whole national economy, the rapid expansion of the technical base of production (expressed in Table 2 by the evolution of fixed assets) helped to create new jobs and to attract the surplus labor force from agriculture to the branches of industry and the other highly effective economic branches.

Changes in the Social Structure

The period between the last two censuses was marked by a considerable numerical, but especially qualitative growth of the working class, a leading class of our socialist society. The number of workers employed in the economy increased from 3.1 million in 1965 to 5.2 million at the start of 1977, that is by 1.7 times. The increase took place primarily in the leading branches of industry.

Intensified modernization of industrial production through promotion of technical and scientific progress, especially in the basic branches (machine building, chemistry, electric power, electrical engineering, the industry of measurement and control devices and precision machinery, the industry of automation means for production processes, etc.), as well as expansion and development of professional and specialized technical education led to diversification of occupations and trades and served to broaden the workers' cultural and specialized technical backgrounds. While the number of workers in all industry increased by about 1.8 times, the number in the chemical and machine building industries increased by 2.4-2.6 times.

The working class consolidated its leadership throughout the nation. Industrial development increased the number of workers more in the formerly underdeveloped counties, by 2.2 times in Dimbovita, Buzau and Olt counties, by 2.1 times in Salaj County, and by 2 times in Vilcea, Botosani and Gorj counties.

The workers are in the majority of the total employed population today in 19 counties, but only in three counties in 1966.

The numerical growth was accompanied by radical changes in the social-occupational structure of the working class, thanks to the intensive occupational mobility brought about by the application of the latest scientific-technical advances to production. New occupations and trades appeared that require a broader technical-scientific, cultural and specialized background, and the number of unskilled or less skilled occupations was diminished. This required changes in the very system of school training. In 1966-1976 the trade schools, the secondary specialized schools and the specialized postgraduate schools graduated nearly 1.4 million workers compared with about 600,000 in the 11 preceding years (see Table 3).

The figures graphically illustrate the qualitative changes in the workers' qualifications due to the new demands of the economy and the development of professional and specialized technical education. With the mechanization and automation of the production processes the role of the working class in management and organization of production was enhanced, increasing the proportion of workers' occupations in the performance of which intellectual activity is increasingly important to the solution of production problems.

Accelerated modernization of the productive forces in agriculture as well as mechanization, chemization and specialization of agricultural production made considerable changes in the structure and educational level of the cooperative farmers, who still play a critical part in supplying the agricultural food products needed to feed the population and to provide industry with raw materials of vegetal and animal origin. The growing inventory of tractors and other agricultural machines, along with the introduction of new types of machines with better technical-economic characteristics, the rapid expansion of the irrigated areas, and the application of industrial methods, especially in zootechnology, are not only gradually transforming agricultural labor into a variant of industrial labor but also involve the training of an adequate number of highly qualified specialists who can use the modern technical equipment and processes to the best advantage. The constantly rising standard of occupational instruction and training is characteristic of the cooperative farmers of today.

The intelligentsia, coming largely from the ranks of the working class and the cooperative farmers, has grown numerically. This is especially true of the technical intelligentsia in production or research and planning (engineers, architects, subengineers and technicians) and the intelligentsia in education, culture, literature and the arts (see Table 4).

Under the technical-scientific revolution and the conversion of science into a powerful force for physical production, the intelligentsia are making an increasingly active contribution to the output of goods and services, to scientific

(1) TABELUL NR. 3

(2) STRUCTURA DUPĂ FORMA DE ÎNVĂȚĂMÎNT ABSOLVITĂ
A MUNCITORILOR NOU ANGAJAȚI

	1966—1976		1955—1965	
	(3) mii persoane	%	(3) mii persoane	%
(4) Sporul numărului de muncitori din care absolvenți ai:	2 091,9	100,0	1 226,2	100,0
— învățămîntului profesional	1 042,4	49,8	426,4	34,8
— învățămîntului mediu de specialitate	197,0	9,4	96,3	7,9
— școlilor de specializare postliceală	130,8	6,3	51,0	4,2
— altor forme de pregătire	721,7	34,5	652,5	53,1

Key:

1. Table 3
2. Structure According to Education of Newly Hired Workers
3. Thousands of persons
4. Increase in number of workers
Including graduates of:
 - Trade schools
 - Secondary specialized schools
 - Postgraduate specialized schools
 - Other forms of training

(1) TABELUL NR. 4

(2) NUMĂRUL ABSOLVENȚILOR ÎNVĂȚĂMÎNTULUI SUPERIOR

	1966—1976 — mii — (3)	1955—1965 — mii — (3)	Perioada 1966—1976 (4) față de perioada 1955—1965 — procente —
Total absolvenți ai învățămîntului superior din care: (5)	301,1	132,0	228,1
— tehnic și economic	145,9	60,4	241,6
— universitar-pedagogic	113,3	47,1	240,6
— medico-farmaceutic	18,1	14,1	128,4

Key:

1. Table 4
2. Number of graduates of higher education
3. Thousands
4. 1966-1976 from 1955-1965 in %
5. Total graduates of higher education
Including:
 - Technical and economic
 - University-pedagogic
 - Medical-pharmaceutical

research, education, and the entire people's cultural development. The fact that nearly all the intelligentsia graduated during the years of socialism is profoundly significant.

The development of our socialist society between the two censuses was essentially characterized by intensified social leveling through gradual attenuation of social and class distinctions and continuing equation of all working and living conditions, levels of professional, cultural and political knowledge, and modes of thought.

Population Structure According to Nationalities

According to the Decree of the State Council on the Census of the Population and Housing every Romanian citizen has the right to freely declare his nationality, as provided in the Constitution and the laws of the land. The census commissions and personnel have made it possible for every person to declare his nationality in complete liberty.

Consistent application of the party and state policy has encouraged the development of all nationalities in Romania. According to the census, 19,001,721 of the 21,559,416 registered inhabitants, or 88.1 percent of the total population, declared Romanian nationality, while 2,557,695, or 11.9 percent, declared other nationalities.

The results of the population census convincingly attest the solution of the nationalities problem in the form of full equality of rights for all workers regardless of nationality and provision for all citizens' active participation in socioeconomic activity and management of the various sectors of activity and of society as a whole, and for education in their mother tongue and the right to free use of the latter.

The Urbanization Process

Continuous industrialization of all counties, the socialist reform of agriculture, and proper use of investments to modernize the national economic structure have made a decisive contribution to urbanization. In the period between the two censuses the existing municipalities and cities were developed economically and from the standpoint of town planning. New communities, by virtue of their general socioeconomic development, qualified as urban settlements, and the number of municipalities and cities rose from 142 in 1930 to 171 in 1956, 183 in 1966 and 236 in 1977. As of 5 January 1977 the urban population was 10,236,846, or 47.5 percent of the total population compared with 7,305,714, or 38.2 percent, in the 1966 census. These figures show that between the two censuses the urban population increased by 2,931,132 persons, or more than the total increase in the national population. It follows that urban development took up the entire natural increase in the population plus about 475,000 persons from the villages.

The population of the large and medium cities increased particularly. Undergoing an intensive economic, cultural and municipal development, these cities became true centers of attraction for population, logging annual gains from

migration. As a result the number of municipalities over 100,000 rose from 13 in 1966 to 18 in 1977. Today seven municipalities are over 200,000, while in 1966 Bucharest was the only one that exceeded this number (see Table 5).

(1) TABELUL NR. 5

(2) GRUPAREA MUNICIPIILOR ȘI ORAȘELOR
DUPĂ NUMĂRUL POPULAȚIEI
LA RECENSĂMINTELE DIN ANII 1977 ȘI 1966

(5) Locuitori	(3) 5 ianuarie 1977		(4) 15 martie 1966	
	Numărul municipiilor și orașelor (6)	Numărul populației (7)	Numărul municipiilor și orașelor (6)	Numărul populației (7)
Total (8)	236	9 393 897	183	6 220 089
Municipiul București (9)	1	1 807 044	1	1 366 684
200 000—299 999	7	1 771 883	—	—
100 000—199 999	10	1 472 642	12	1 778 446
50 000— 99 999	18	1 192 231	8	532 104
20 000— 49 999	56	1 671 177	43	1 273 398
10 000— 19 999	70	970 473	59	859 554
5 000— 9 999	60	456 142	48	366 986
Sub 5 000 (10)	14	52 305	12	42 917

Key:

1. Table 5
2. Grouping of Municipalities and Cities According to Size of Population in the Censuses of 1977 and 1966
3. 5 January 1977
4. 15 March 1966
5. Inhabitants
6. Number of municipalities and cities
7. Population
8. Total
9. Bucharest municipality
10. Below 5,000

The population of some municipalities and cities that underwent intensive socio-economic development in the last decade increased at remarkable rates: Balan by 2.6 times, Slobozia and Rimnicu-Vilcea by 2.4 times, Motru, Slatina, Vaslui and Plopieni by 2.2 times, and Mangalia, Zalau, Tirgoviste, Pitesti and Miercurea Ciuc by 2-2.1 times.

Not counting the suburban communes, Bucharest now has 1,807,044 inhabitants and gained 440,360 in 1966-1976. Including the suburban communes, Bucharest had almost 2 million inhabitants as of 5 January 1977.

The national urbanization process was accompanied by an extensive process of economic, cultural and municipal transformation of rural communities. The changes in the social-occupational structure of the farmers made by modernization of socialist agriculture, intensified social division of agricultural labor, introduction of labor elements in the countryside, and the impact of urbanization upon town planning programs for rural communities brought about reforms in the

villages as well as their economic, social and cultural development. As regards the changes in village life it is significant that today over 40 percent of the workers in industry, construction and other nonagricultural branches have families in rural areas, so that at least one out of three families living in these areas is a family of employees or a mixed one of employees and farmers.

All these changes have diminished the differences between villages and cities and expedited the demographic and economic leveling of the population in various areas of Romania.

The balanced and rapid progress of the economy and the increased labor productivity brought about by the party and state policy of national socioeconomic development contributed every year to the population's material and cultural living standard.

In step with the progress made in all branches of social labor the real salaries of personnel in the physical production branches went up, as well as the farmers' incomes from work in the agricultural cooperatives and on private farms. The rapid growth of workers' incomes in the last decade especially made major structural changes in the outlays and consumption of the population, which could use its cash surpluses more and more to buy consumer durables for household use and cultural purposes. The consumption of food products better meets the requirements of a superior consumption richer in proteins, vitamins and calories of animal origin. The growing proportion of outlays for nonalimentary products and services, especially services related to use of spare time, recreation and cultural improvement, is convincingly indicated by the following figures on the average structure of workers' family budgets:

Table 6

	In %			1976 from 1966
	1956	1966	1976	
Total outlays for consumption	100.0	100.0	100.0	128.2
- Food products	52.8	46.7	43.0	118.9
- Nonalimentary products	33.0	39.0	41.0	133.6
- Services	14.2	14.3	16.0	143.9

As the technical-material base of the economy was expanded, the population's working conditions continued to improve. The general hygienic working conditions were improved, and the technical base of the treatment stations and tourist service units was developed to afford greater opportunities for restoring the workers' physical and mental strength.

It is clearly inadequate to use only the evolution of cash incomes or consumption of certain products as a basis of comparison for expressing the living conditions of a people. To all these we must add the accumulated material values that meet the workers' necessities of life and comfort, including housing conditions as a major factor in the living standard.

In the last decade development of housing construction, as an integral part of the process of urbanization and improvement of the population's living standard, has been the object of major efforts under the state's general policy. The effort to improve the population's housing conditions meets some vital socio-economic needs, since housing considerably affects the individual's physical and mental development, working capacity and health. The allocations for housing construction have increased annually with the growth of the nation's economic potential. The state has built a large number of apartments for workers and has also aided the public with loans, materials and other means for building privately owned dwellings (see Table 7).

(1) TABELUL NR. 7
(2) INVESTIȚIILE REALIZATE PENTRU CONSTRUIREA DE LOCUINȚE
ÎN PERIOADA 1956—1976

	(3) — în milioane lei —		
	1966—1976	1956—1965	Perioada 1966—1976 față de 1956—1965 (4) — în % —
Investiții — total	95 718	38 722	247,2
din care: (5) din fondurile statului și ale organizațiilor cooperatiste și obștești (inclusiv creditele acor- date populației)	66 271	17 480	379,1

Key:

1. Table 7
2. Investments in Housing Construction in 1956-1976
3. In millions of lei
4. 1966-1976 from 1956-1965 (in %)
5. Total investments
Including:
Those out of state funds and funds of cooperative and public
organizations (including loans to the public)

The sum of 95.7 billion lei was invested in housing construction in 1966-1976, of which the state and the other socialist organizations contributed 66.3 billion lei (including the loans to the public). This considerable investment added nearly 1 million dwellings to the housing reserve.

The qualitative gains in this important part of our people's national wealth are far more significant. The dwellings made available in 1966-1976 were more spacious, contributing to the structural improvement of the total housing reserve in regard to the number and size of the rooms. In 1977 there is an average of 2.2 rooms per dwelling, with an area of 29.5 square meters, compared with two rooms with an area of 27.6 square meters in 1966.

The fact is especially important that the housing reserve developed far ahead of the population increase in all counties, a clear indication of the improvement in the workers' housing conditions. While the total population increased

by 12.9 percent the housing space increased by 26.7 percent and by much more in some counties. In Hunedoara County the population and the housing space increased by 8.4 and 35.4 percent respectively, in Olt County by 8.9 and 31.8 percent, in Teleorman County by 0.3 and 21 percent, in Ialomita County by 2.7 and 23.4 percent, in Neamt County by 13.2 and 28.5 percent, in Salaj County by 0.5 and 19.4 percent, in Cluj County by 13.6 and 34.3 percent, and in Bucharest municipality by 33.2 and 56.2 percent.

Table 8 shows the grouping of the counties according to the index of advance of the increase in housing space over the population growth.

Table 8

Indices of advance of the increase in housing space over the population growth (in %)	Number of counties
120 and over	4
115-119.9	7
110-114.9	11
105-109.9	14
Below 105	4

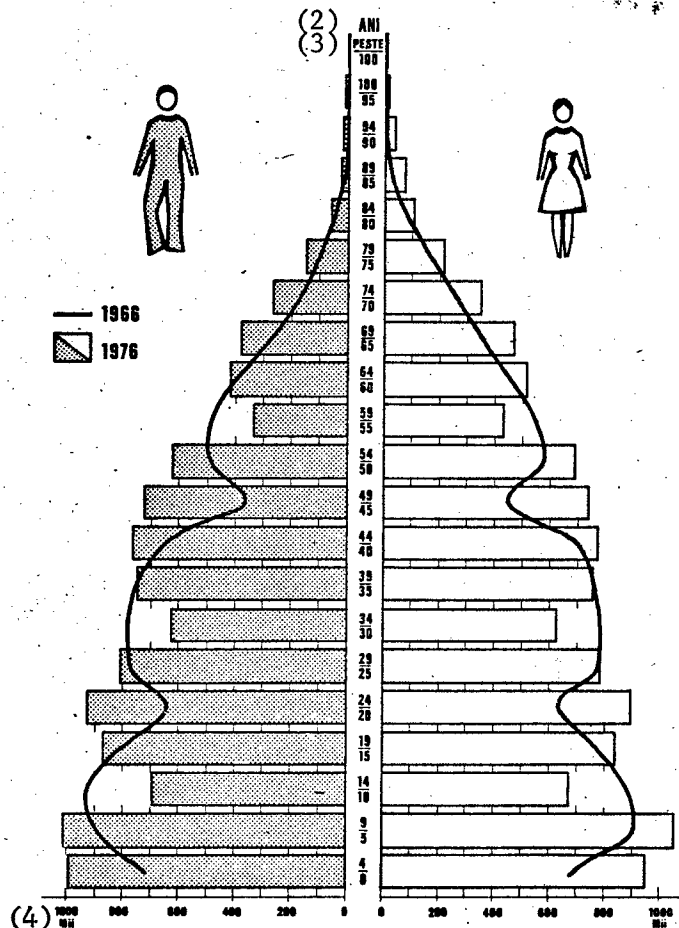
While the national index of advance of the increase in housing space over the population growth was 112.2 percent, it exceeded 120 percent in four counties and was between 115 and 120 percent in seven counties.

The improvement in housing conditions is demonstrated by the increase in the average per capita housing space. The census figures show that in 1977 the housing reserve offers 1 square meter more space per person than in 1966. To appreciate the importance of this we must realize that 1 square meter per person means 21.5 million square meters for the entire population, which equals the housing reserves of Bucharest, Timisoara and Hunedoara municipalities all together.

The large number of dwellings built in cities and the heavy investments in equipment of the older ones considerably enhanced the comfort of the housing reserve. The cities in counties that underwent an intensive economic development in this period (Alba, Covasna, Gorj, Harghita, Maramures, Salaj, Vaslui, Vrancea and other counties) especially benefited by major increases.

The number of social-cultural capacities increased along with housing construction, while education, cultural activities and the health network were developed. Schools for general, secondary, occupational and technical instruction were built throughout Romania in 1966-1976, containing 29,892 classrooms and 1,127,866 accommodations. In the same period 130,369 accommodations were made available in kindergartens and 93,226 in creches, in addition to 27,446 accommodations in houses of culture and 33,418 beds in hospitals. A great many of these social-cultural capacities were located in rural areas. At the same time it should be remembered that the social-cultural capacities (schools, hospitals etc.) located in municipalities and cities benefit both their population and that of the communes.

(1) Populația pe grupe de vârste și sexe



Key:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Population by age groups and sexes | 3. Over 100 |
| 2. Years | 4. Thousands |

Over 2 billion lei were invested in village electrification in 1966-1976, and over three fourths of the rural dwellings are connected to the electric network, so that the village population's use of radio and television sets and other household electric appliances has been expanded. At the close of 1976 the rural population had more than 1.9 million radio sets and about 1.3 million television sets, representing an increase by over 2 times and by 16.7 times respectively compared with the end of 1965.

The road system, which connects all Romanian communities, was improved. Between 1966 and 1976 the length of the modernized roads was increased by nearly 50 per cent, and the length of the roads covered with light asphalt facing was

increased by 37 times. The expansion and improvement of the public roads system permit better and easier circulation of the rural population and faster connections with the urban centers.

All these features, characteristic of the extensive process of equalizing cities and villages, reflect the consistent application of our party's and state's policy of general improvement of the entire people's living conditions, in cities or villages and regardless of nationality.

The picture of the progress made in this last decade of advance and prosperity is most graphically drawn by the results of the census of the population and housing as of 5 January 1977, a political action of great importance to the implementation of the historic provisions of the Program for the Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism.

5186

CSO: 2700

POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF BELIEVERS URGED AT RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE

Zagreb VUS in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jun 77 pp 12-13

[Article by Mirko Galic: "The Door Is Closed to No One"]

[Text] "The political uplifting of man above religion separates the shortcomings from the advantages of political uplifting in general." Around the middle of last century, Karl Marx, in the well-known work dealing with and transcending the Jewish question, almost prophetically foresaw how man's tendencies to lift himself "above religion" and overcome religious consciousness will also largely depend on social, political and other conditions in society.

All those who believed before or after Marx that religion can simply be abolished (certain "modern" variants would say: forbidden) are contradicting his dialectical position: "Religion is only an illusory sun which revolves around man until such time as he begins to revolve around himself."

Clericalism and Sectarianism

Thus, that most famous of atheists, who lowered god from heaven to earth and who transformed the critique of heaven into a critique of earth, granted religion a right to exist as long as the human condition and need for "illusory happiness" exist.

Copernicus' reach into the heaven of gods--which changed the religious thesis that god created man into its opposite, that man created god (and religion)--represents the foundation of the atheist house, whose inheritor is our socialist society as well. This is all the more true because the ideal architecture of our society is Marxist (LCY's program), and its religious problem and the people professing some sort of religion are not treated unilaterally, in a sectarian fashion. Starting from the point of view that socialism only creates the conditions for overcoming all alienations, including religious ones, for overcoming all dependencies, including religious dependence on god, our social and political documents, headed by the constitution, have granted the believers the freedom to express their religious views and equality with other citizens.

Any objective analysis of the legal position of the believers in our society would bring to the forefront the conclusion that there is a high degree of tolerance for religious freedoms.

Of course, there have been attempts to gain more through pressures, but those were attempts on the part of religious organizations, not believers, and they were for the most part intended to enlarge the political activity spheres of such organizations. Rejecting such attempts, as well as any attempts to politicize the church, the self-managing society has striven to broaden the democratic conditions for the citizen-believers' political activity: not as political partners, nor as another political bloc, least of all an opposing one, but as completely equal partners in the building of the new society.

Were that side of the coin to be placed under an analytic magnifying glass, the only possible conclusion would be the one reached at the beginning of the week during the two-day-long meeting of the Yugoslav Council of Religion held in Zagreb: The citizen-believers are insufficiently represented in political life. Conditioned for the most part to seek the reasons on the secular side (even though warnings have been voiced that religious propaganda, for the most part abroad, calls on the believers not to cooperate with atheists in the building of socialism because, by so doing, they are digging the grave for their religions), many prominent theoreticians and practitioners (politicians) have agreed that our most widespread organization, the Socialist Alliance, "is not sufficiently active in attracting the believers and the priests." (Todo Kurtovic) The president of the Yugoslav Commission for Cooperation with Religious Societies, Milan Vukasovic, maintains that "the Socialist Alliance grudgingly includes religious citizens in its activities," which sometimes causes "the church to gather the citizens around itself, as a political opposition to society."

Thus, sectarianism on the secular side strengthens clericalism on the part of the church and the believers and leads them to the unacceptable attempt to establish religion as a political cause, as a reason for assembly and activity. (The opposite is true as well: Sectarianism sometimes manifests itself as an answer, albeit the worst possible answer, to the appearance of clericalism.)

The Party Cannot Be Religious

Lenin's view that the Communist Party, which was at that time the Socialist-Democratic Party, cannot be religious was repeated several times during the meeting as an authoritative argument in favor of the stand that there cannot be any ideological rapprochement between Marxism and religion and that the believers cannot seek the opportunity for political expression in the party, which is based on Marxist (meaning atheist) principles. The program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia also draws the line there, stating that party membership is incompatible with the profession of belief, i.e. religion.

Outside of the League of Communists and primarily, though not exclusively, in the Socialist Alliance, there still remains a great deal of room for the political mobilization of all citizens who are in favor of socialism, self-management, equality of nationalities and their unity and nonalignment. The category of "believer" is frequently understood to be a homogeneous one, as if they did not have their political differences just as the atheists do. (This is true, among other things, of their relationship to their faith: According to Dr Vuko Pavicevic, some celebrate the Patron Saint's day and light candles from pure tradition, while others believe it is due to momentary emotional reasons.) Todor Kurtovic calls those theories harmful which seek to explain one's devotion to socialism in terms of belonging or not to a religion. He states that this is sectarianism not only toward the believers but also toward socialist self-management and revolution.

Propaganda Built on Excesses

Clericalism and sectarianism are the two extremes as far as the believers are concerned, says Mitja Ribicic: The former conflicts with the spirit of the self-managing democracy, while the latter conflicts with the spirit of equality in our society. To abolish clericalism means, among other things, to separate the citizens-believers from the (reactionary) attempts to misuse faith for political, or worse, demagogic, ends. On the other hand, it means to aim for the affirmation of the constitutional rights of the believers and their political mobilization. We cannot casually disown the citizen-believer or place before him the following ultimatum: "You may participate in the political activities if you disown your faith and become an atheist." (Josip Vrhovec)

As much as clericalism, whether in the cloth or not, is an obstacle to the greater political mobilization of the believers and priests (it is said that these days there is not a single priest even in the Red Cross, let alone the sociopolitical organizations), a sectarian, dogmatic stance toward religion, faith and the believers renders communication more difficult. Several examples testify to the fact that the basis for such (and any other) sectarianism is to be found in ideopolitical inability and ignorance, even though it may occasionally be a justified attitude: A zealous, evidently immature youth functionary in Apatin, at one time launched the thesis that a believer cannot be any good at self-management! Or, take the Slovenian example: A conference of the Socialist Alliance takes the stand that no one practicing religious duties may be a delegate to the local commune. In addition to these--as it were, examples from the pulpit--here is a voice from the background: A clerk in Zagreb practically refused to issue a document to a priest!

This is foolishness, one is tempted to say. Indeed, this is a question of human foolishness, not the system's. However, when these examples are presented as being part of the system, for purely propaganda reasons, then it is possible to reach the ominous conclusion that the believers are second-class citizens. Taken in this light, sectarianism, while virtually insignificant from a percentage viewpoint, still--with its instances of forbidding

religious ceremonies and the erection of church buildings as well as occasional discrimination in employment--represents, according to Kurtovic, a phenomenon which cannot be neglected. This is because the loud propaganda of intolerance, lack of freedom, martyrdom, etc. is built on just such small, individual, insignificant (but sometimes significant) instances.

The Broadening of the Political Base

Mountains can be made out of molehills. It is safer, however, to remove the molehill than to try to prove that it is not a mountain. It is not always most expedient to wave about the principles and to utter generalities about religious freedom and the legal equality of citizens-believers, when one instance of violating these principles can lead certain people to doubt everything, including the unequivocal position of believers in the society. "Even though," says Ribicic, "sectarianism has been practiced, there is not a single instance where we punished anyone for it. It follows that, in practice, sectarianism is permitted."

To be sure, it is not permitted, but certain individuals, usually of a bureaucratic turn of mind, allow themselves to rise above the constitution, to deny certificates, forbid religious functions, or, like the youth in Apatin, to disqualify people on the basis of their religious affiliation. There are those among the believers who are against socialism (we know this from practice), but not all atheists are equally in the forefront of the struggle for socialism.

There will be less intolerance in proportion to the broadening of the political base of society, when more citizens, among them the believers, are ready and able to participate in the building of the socialist society by being politically active. There will always be ideological purists, unhappy because the neighbor participating in the local commune has parents who, perhaps, lit a candle in their home.

The political mobilization of the believers is a question of the mobilization of the Socialist Alliance as an "all people's, mass organization of socialist democracy...in which self-managing interested pluralism can express itself." This means, as the organizers of the council have pointed out, that the Socialist Alliance must affirm itself in the society as "a front whose door is closed only to the enemy while remaining open to all the other citizens, regardless of how they believe or in whom they believe"!

9110

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

HEAD OF ISLAMIC COMMUNITY NOTES PROGRESS, PROBLEMS OF MOSLEMS

Sarajevo PREPOROD in Serbo-Croatian No 9, 1-15 May 77 p 2

[Interview with H. Naim ef Hadziabdic, head of Islamic community]

[Text] [Question] Reports of the leaders, which will be reviewed by the assemblies, will deal with the problems of religious life. In this connection we would like you to give us at least a summary review of the development of the Islamic community in Yugoslavia after World War II.

[Answer] Following the liberation the Islamic community, as did the rest of society, found itself in the middle of ruins and devastation wrought by four years of war, during which over 700 places of worship had been destroyed.

It was necessary to begin from scratch. The material base of religious life, as well as personnel, had been almost totally destroyed by war.

Moreover, profound social changes and the building of new socialist relationships necessarily demanded new approaches and adaptation of religious life to the newly created reality.

These were very real and substantial difficulties which had to be overcome and mastered. In this, it is necessary to keep in mind that members of the Islamic community had to spend all their efforts to secure the vital necessities of physical survival. In the beginning, it was difficult to think of building a mosque before the people had a roof over their heads. It was difficult to think and reflect on higher spiritual needs before at least the minimal material conditions had been secured.

When, in connection with the current sessions of the Republic Assembly and the Supreme Assembly, we consider the reports, discussions and conclusions and evaluate our achievements and accomplishments in the area of religious life, we cannot disregard in retrospect the rudimentary nature of the circumstances from which we started.

Reviewing these achievements, I do not wish to say that they could not or need not have been greater. It would, however, be wrong to negate and underestimate them by failing to state that they have, nevertheless, been important because they undoubtedly exceed all expectations.

I shall quote some facts which present the best picture of the results we achieved.

The material base, which is a prerequisite and the most important element of religious life, can certainly be declared as sound. I shall not miss the mark by stating that the material situation of the religious personnel has never been better. All imams have health insurance and pension plans. A large number of very attractive new mosques has been constructed. Their number exceeds 500. A considerable number of these have domes, and there are some with several minarets and serefs. Today, our imams live, praised be Allah, in very attractive and comfortable apartments. Many of them own automobiles.

Concerning the problem of staffing, the results while good have not been entirely satisfactory. We are not satisfied with the existing levels of qualification of religious personnel. Conditions, however, have been created to accelerate the solution of this question. We have two religious institutions with over 500 students. Soon the third will open in Skopje as well as a department for women in Sarajevo. The Islamic faculty of theology will begin to operate next year. Organizational administrative measures are under way to improve and correct the conduct of personnel policy. In the first place, centralization of material resources, regionalization and categorization of religious communities, as well as systematization of positions should be mentioned.

The publishing activity is becoming increasingly more intensive. The Islamic community publishes GLASNIK, PREPOROD, TAKVIM, EDUKATE ISLAMI, ZEMZEM, NUR and other works from the area of Islamic literature. It is true that we have not yet reached a level with which we could be satisfied with regard to both the quantity as well as quality. I feel that it is very effective to raise the level of writing in our Islamic literature to a higher level. Contemporary language must also be used in religious writing.

Religious instruction is proceeding without impediments. We cannot be satisfied with the number of those who attend. I believe that this is primarily because of parental indifference, neglect, and irresponsible attitude toward this important obligation. The various explanations and excuses that are offered in this connection cannot always be accepted. Pressures on the part of educational workers are often quoted. In some republics, unfortunately, there was, also, some of that coming from the authorities. However, these were only isolated excesses, which were readily removed upon intervention of the representatives of the Islamic community. This kind of interference is often quoted as an excuse for people's own laxity and neglect.

I maintain that religious instruction is a matter which should be primarily the concern of parents, students, deacons and its organizers.

The situation is different with the religious institutions of learning. Here strong pressure is evident, so that medresses cannot accept even 50 percent

of the applicants. Every year the administrations face the difficult problem of enrollment selection. It is not easy to explain to parents that their children cannot be accommodated.

General Integration of Moslems

[Question] It would be of particular interest if you could explain what conditioned these positive and successful results in the development of the Islamic community.

[Answer] This is certainly an appropriate question. It is necessary to present clearly the position of the Islamic community in the new reality and to point out the basic elements of its development. The more so since one still occasionally encounters misinformation on the position of the Islamic community. At a recent visit to Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates, I came across a few instances of such misinformation, which consisted of quite crude fabrications. One of these, brought up at a lecture in Qatar, insinuated that some 5,000 people were massacred in a town in Bosnia in connection with the abolition of the practice of wearing a veil. Another spoke of a mufti who, with great difficulty, escaped from the communist ogre and is now living in Cairo. By chance we were lucky to meet the authors of each of these fabrications in Dubai. In the case of the mufti, we established that the reference was to Dr Mehmed Maslic, who lives in Cairo but is not a refugee, nor did he escape from Yugoslavia. He very often returns for a visit. We found that the author of these stories simply believed the lies he was told and that he bore us no ill will, since he very readily and with particular pleasure grasped the truth about the Moslems in Yugoslavia. The fact, which I must point out in speaking about the conditions of development of the Islamic community in Yugoslavia, is that its members have achieved the opportunity of full equality and social affirmation in our new reality, which was not the case before. I am not evaluating the situation of a Moslem believer with reference only to his achievements in his religious life. This is only a part of his opportunities. Another, much greater part constitutes his achievements in the social, cultural and political arenas. And he has indeed accomplished a great deal. We cannot and must not withhold recognition and acknowledgment of this fact. Moslems of Slavic origin have achieved their own identity and attained the status of a separate Moslem nationality. This is an achievement of extraordinary importance which presents every possible opportunity for further development.

The Islam community's members of Albanian nationality in Kosovo, of whom there are more than a million, achieved great opportunities of universal development. Today the University of Pristina has an enrollment of 30,000 students, which is 3 times higher than the total population of Pristina before the war.

Members of the Islamic community in the socialist republics of Macedonia and Montenegro are likewise enjoying an equal opportunity to benefit from the universal development.

The development of religious life should be viewed and evaluated against the background of these opportunities. The great changes in all walks of life could not but exert influence on changes in the area of religious life.

A literate and educated believer needs a correspondingly educated imam, press and literature. Believers who are physicians, teachers, engineers and so on demand much more than can be offered by an imam with only an intermediate level professional preparation. A believer--whose standard of living has undergone a complete change and who now lives in a very comfortable house or apartment, owns an automobile and so on--is not prepared to put up with the old, modest and decrepit mosque. If his house has electricity, running water and a good road, why could the mosque not have the same things?

The general development experienced by the believers obviously had a direct as well as indirect influence on the development of religious life. The improvement of the believers' economic condition and the heightening of their cultural awareness made possible the construction of many new mosques, improvement of the situation of imams, establishment of the faculty of Islamic theology--which required enormous expenditures, over 5 million old dinars--and so on.

Here one should mention yet another important factor which facilitated development of the Islamic community and its overcoming of the very substantial difficulties it had to face during the process of restoration and adaptation to changed circumstances.

The good relationship the Islamic community established at the beginning with the social community created an atmosphere of mutual trust, which certainly made possible uninterrupted development of religious life. In this, the Islamic community made full use of the religious freedoms which are guaranteed by the constitution and other affirmative legislation, in particular the Law on the Legal Status of Religious Communities. I must say, that no particular difficulties were encountered in achieving the religious rights and freedoms. Nevertheless, one could remark that occasionally local authorities are unnecessarily slow in issuing building permits for places of worship. I shall mention the case of Vitomirica and Bradas mosques and Pec and Podujevo, respectively. Although I have no doubts that the building permits will eventually be issued, I feel that those delays were unnecessary. This is a matter of established and unabridgeable constitutional rights which the citizens want to exercise.

Obstacles Within Ourselves

[Question] Do you think that more could have been achieved, and, if so, why it has not been achieved? What kind of obstacles stood in the way toward the achievement of this goal?

[Answer] As I have already mentioned, I feel that more could and should have been achieved. There was every opportunity for that. However, there was one

obstacle within ourselves which I want to point out at this time so that attention may be drawn to it by special emphasis. It is, in fact, a burden which all of us are sharing equally and from which it is difficult to break free. We are still feeling the residual effects of the erroneous idea that others should take care of us. The belief that each man's destiny as well as the destiny of each community are in their own hands has not yet become fully recognized. People attempt to blame others for their own shortcomings, while they always tend to vindicate themselves. Credit for accomplishments is readily claimed, while failures are blamed on others.

The new generations are becoming liberated from this burden. They have a better attitude toward life. They want to be neither passive observers nor dependent on the good will of others. They want to take an active part in everything that is going on. They are aware that they have every right and opportunity to become actively engaged. Likewise they realize that right and opportunity are one thing, while the exercise of these rights and use of opportunities are another. Nothing happens by itself. Everything must be conquered. Life offers everything but gives nothing without exacting sacrifice.

All this is also true in the domain of religious life. Those who are not aware of their religious rights and are not willing to make the supreme effort for the achievement of these rights cannot blame the responsibility for their failure on others.

I believe that awareness of the rights on one hand and the opportunity for their realization on the other are particularly important.

Accordingly, in viewing the overall development of our Islamic community in the entire post-war period--and especially in the recent time--I feel that we, as well as our religious followers, imams, and other functionaries, can be satisfied and at the same time willing to increase our efforts, so that all the rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution and our laws may be achieved.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BELGRADE RADIO REPORTS ON ADRIATIC COASTAL ARTILLERY

Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Aug 77 AU

[Interview with Miodrag Djuric, a commanding officer of a coastal artillery unit by Mijusko Tomio]

[Excerpts] The following is a reportage by Mijusko Tomio from a coastal artillery unit in connection with the Yugoslav Navy's forthcoming jubilee celebration of the 35th anniversary of its formation on 10 September.

In the afternoon we visited a unit of the coastal artillery. We asked Miodrag Djuric, commanding officer of this unit, to acquaint us with the electronic instruments, the eyes and ears of our Adriatic coast.

[Answer] This is an instrument which is used by us to direct the fire of the coastal artillery. It is called the coastal distance measure with the vertical changeable opening [obalski daljinomer s vertikalno promenljuje badje]. It is a modern instrument, an electronic instrument and can also be used as a computer. Its optical vision is guaranteed but under bad weather conditions and under night conditions it operates electronically. This distance measure has been designed by our designers and manufactured in our factories and all coastal artillery units are equipped with this system.

[Question] Does this mean that every foot of the sea and every foot of the coast is covered and observed thanks to this extraordinary modern instrument?

[Answer] I think that in our Adriatic there is no place which is not protected by (? this equipment) of our coastal artillery. It can be used for distances of several tens of kilometers and thus, depending on the optical vision, as I have said, it is possible to increase this distance to somewhere in excess of 50 kilometers. In addition to its observation capability, this instrument is also synchronized with all guns in the unit and, determining the target, its task is to immediately automatically transmit all the data necessary for fire.

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END