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14 August 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1576

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNEASINESS SEEN OVER SOVIET BUILDUP IN EAST GERMANY

Paris LE FIGARO in French 7 Jul 78 p 2

[Article by Pierre Darcourt: "Large-scale Soviet Maneuvers in East Germany"]

[Text] The Soviet forces stationed in East Germany and certain units brought in from neighboring socialist countries are participating in major maneuvers this week on the territory of the GDR. The laconic statement published by the Soviet high command mentions "three to eight divisions" of tank troops, mechanized infantry, fighter planes (MIG 21) and fighter-bombers (SU 7). It states that these maneuvers, which began Monday, 3 July, will end on Saturday, 8 July.

These maneuvers, of which NATO was informed within the framework of the "security measures" governing East-West military relations, according to which the Western nations are informed of all unusual concentrations of troops to avoid the risk of misunderstanding or surprise attack. But unlike the usage traditional in these recent years, the USSR did not this time make the "theme" of these maneuvers known in advance, and no foreign observer was invited to watch them.

In view of the importance and the caliber of the Soviet forces and materiel stationed in the GDR, the privileged position East Germany and its army occupy within the military provisions of the Warsaw Pact, Western experts believe, however, that the rather vague and almost soothing statement published by the Soviet high command is not commensurate with the real scope of the forces involved.

The German Democratic Republic is simultaneously the advance fortress and the logistic turntable of the Soviet operational apparatus on the central European "front." This situation is based on its geographic location, but also and above all, is related to the hereditary nature of the East Germans, who are "true Prussians," efficient, disciplined and methodical. The East German regular army has 210,000 men, to which are added the security forces (80,000 men, including 48,000 frontier guards) and the workers' militia (500,000 men). The strength of the Soviet forces stationed in the GDR totals more than 400,000 men. These are impressive figures.

For a better appreciation of them it suffices to total them and translate them into percentages: 1,200,000 men-at-arms distributed over the territory of a nation the area of which equals barely a fifth of the area of French territory, i.e. a military force of 11 soldiers and armed militiamen per square kilometer!

The Soviet forces officially stationed in the GDR include five land armies and an air army (the 16th, with 12,000 planes). Since 1975, the personnel has been relieved once a year, at varying dates. An airlift of heavy transports (250 Antonovs, Il'yushin 76 and Antonov 14 planes) effects this rotation, involving some 20 divisions, in less than 2 weeks.

But for two years now, the NATO experts have noted with a certain concern that while the relief troops are unloaded openly and in full daylight at the airfields, the returning planes take off at night, and not a negligible percentage leave empty.

Another significant detail: There is no equivalent withdrawal to match each delivery of new equipment. And so it is that in the course of 1977, the Russians sent more than 800 T-72 tanks to East Germany. They were scheduled to replace the old T-54 and T-55 models, which were to be shipped back to the Soviet Union.

In fact, the replaced tanks remained in the GDR, in the hands of the German armed forces. The people's army of the GDR, moreover, purchases almost all its weaponry from Moscow. This modern, perfected weaponry is conventional, but it also includes vehicles for nuclear weapons of which the warheads remain in Russian hands. Moreover, the instruction, doctrine and structure of the units are all based on the Soviet model.

Equipped with the same materiel as the Soviet army, the East German forces could perfectly well become a part of it, merging into a homogeneous and functional combat machine. Numerous exercises carried out jointly by the two armies have fully demonstrated this.

The Soviet army, which serves as a model for all the forces of the Warsaw Pact, is above all an offensive army, equipped and trained on that basis. For example, in the course of the spring 1976 maneuvers, the Soviets used a round-trip airlift to transport over some distance, and within a period of no more than two weeks, two equipped divisions: one was transferred from Siberia to East Germany, while the other made the trip in reverse. Two months later, the same exercise was repeated in space and time, but in a directly operational situation, when heavy Soviet transports crossed the Atlantic from Havana to Konakry in a non-stop flight, to unload the equivalent of two Cuban divisions in Africa.

Underground Airports

An offensive force, the Soviet army devotes priority and constant concern to interbranch coordination and cooperation, as a determining factor in its efficiency. Improved efficiency, impeccable logistic organization, constant replacement and adaptation of equipment, training of specialized units, camouflage and protection of movements--nothing is left to chance.

In a few years, East Germany has become a colossal military depot, a country entirely prepared for war. At the point where enormous pipelines leading from the deposits in the Caucasus and Kazakhstan converge, an intermittent flow of oil is emptied into giant buried storage tanks.

For six months now, all of the airfields in East Germany have been matched by underground installations. At each of them special short runways lead to ramps which, immediately after landing, lead the planes into specially equipped tunnels (ventilation system) leading to parking areas several kilometers away.

Highly sophisticated new equipment is being put on the line: the T-72 tank, a very fast vehicle (80 kilometers per hour) equipped with a 122-milimeter gun with automatic loading, range and firing mechanisms controlled by laser telemetry; the MIL 24, the best attack helicopter in the world; SAM 9 ground-air missiles for use against planes at low altitudes, mounted on an amphibious scout vehicle; new generations of planes; the MIG 23 (all-weather interceptor and tactical assault craft), the Sukhoi 17 (tactical fighter-bomber with variable geometry).

The role of the engineering troops, responsible for ensuring the mobility of mechanized units in the event of a sudden, brutal attack is viewed by the commanders of the Red army as primary. In a conflict in the West, the Soviet forces in movement would inevitably encounter a small stream every five to ten kilometers, a river of average importance every 25 to 30 kilometers, and a river every 90 to 100 kilometers.

Therefore the 16 engineering regiments assigned to the GDR have been given new equipment for crossing: light pontoon bridges of duraluminum for airborne units, heavy engine-powered pontoon bridges of 120, 200, and 600 meters, bridges which can be extended over water (resting on telescoping legs), so as not to reveal the position of the troops and the chosen crossing point prematurely. Thousands of amphibious vehicles and tanks, hundreds of tanks for positioning bridges, and 60-ton motor ferries multiply the already considerable capacity to advance.

Forty Elite Divisions

The Soviets have also strengthened their airborne troops. The Red army maintains eight parachute divisions (its main offensive striking force) in the GDR and Czechoslovakia, supported by two regiments of combat helicopters

deployed in the Stendal and Parchim zones, ready to transport and land, ahead of the advancing units, the battalions assigned to take and hold the areas flanking key crossing points on rivers to be traversed.

Special units have been trained: there are the Reidoviki, air commandos trained for profound penetration and attack in the enemy rear; each tank or mechanized infantry division also has a company of commandos (vysotniki) made up of expert jumpers recruited from among the elite of the parachute divisions, who are assigned reconnaissance and sabotage missions.

Other special units include the 5th parachute battalion of the East German forces, the 6th Polish parachute division, and the "reserve regiment" based in Neuruppin, whose basic assignments are infiltration and subversion.

Within the framework of the maneuvers underway in the GDR, the absence of any foreign observer clearly reveals the Soviet desire to keep hidden from the view of the Western powers not only the equipment used, the structure and the relation of the forces involved, but also and above all, the nature of the goals and the purpose of the training derived from the exercises held.

The only thing of which the Western and French experts are certain where the formidable forces stationed in the GDR are concerned has to do with this terrible equation. On a secret order from Moscow, only two hours' warning would be needed for some 40 divisions to deploy across the German frontier, striking with all their force in full efficiency.

Blitzkrieg and Psychological Action

A powerful and brutal shock through the massive use of armored equipment, profound penetration and speed of execution, pursuit of victory by provoking the political collapse of the Western nations as rapidly as possible--these would be the lines of force of a future Soviet offensive. The attacking forces would thus have to achieve their main objectives before NATO had made the decision to use nuclear weapons.

The success of such an undertaking would entail a greater autonomy in fuel and ammunition for the tanks, excellent conditions for the roads and highways used, and superb camouflage--this is the work of the engineering troops. It would also require seizure of the communications media to disorganize the rear guard and the morale of the enemy--this is the work of special parachute units.

The special engineering units assigned to each army clear obstacles and guarantee the execution of camouflage plans (placement of metallic reflectors to confuse the radar and smoke screens). But their role involves first and foremost establishing mock fortifications along roads and in other positions and numerous deceptive artifices: fake vehicles and depots, batteries of guns and mannequins to mislead the enemy. Special

parachute units (5th East German battalion, 6th Polish parachute division, and Neuruppin reserve regiment) have "profound infiltration and subversion" as their mission.

The commissioned and non-commissioned officers and ranks in these units, transported by helicopter or dropped at high altitudes, are super-trained combatants and multi-disciplined technicians. Sappers, expert swimmers, marksmen or skiers, they can blow up depots, dismantle the defense of a zone, taking it from the rear and destroying its stores and communications lines. They can also sow confusion in a vast area, using all the artifices of psychological warfare.

To this end they have lists of all the printing facilities in the region and the details of the equipment. They can take over a radio or television station and broadcast prefabricated "news" filmed in advance. They know how to operate a printing press, compose and publish a real newspaper using the masthead and format of a real daily newspaper in order to publicize false information. Each of them has received suitable instruction for this purpose, and speaks and writes fluently at least two foreign languages.

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LEGITIMACY OF ROMANIAN CONTROL IN TRANSYLVANIA PROVEN

Clemenceau Supports Romanian Rights

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian Jun 7C pp 38-39

[Text] On 14/26 May 1894 the Transylvanian periodical TRIBUNA published, in translation, an article by Georges Clemenceau on the suit brought against the "memorandumists" by the Hungarian authorities.

Journalist, lawyer and statesman, Clemenceau (1841-1929) was to gain worldwide fame a few years later for the courage and intelligence with which he unmasked the odious conspiracy that had led to the trial and conviction of Captain Dreyfus.

Deputy, senator, minister, and chairman of the French Council of Ministers in 1906-1909 and 1917-1920, Clemenceau guided France's war effort with remarkable energy and skill, a merit recognized by wide circles of public opinion, which nicknamed him first the "Tiger" and then "Father Victory."

We reproduce the text published in TRIBUNA more than eight decades ago, respecting the vocabulary, method of writing, and punctuation of the Transylvanian periodical. We specify that at the time when the article was written the term "race" designated the nations and nationalities. Both the explanations given by us to certain words and the suspension points for indicating the omission of a few minor passages that repeat certain ideas already expressed in our periodical appear in brackets [changed to parentheses and omitted in cases of ellipsis].

Under this title ("A Struggle of Races") Mr Clemenceau published, under his signature, in (the newspaper) LA JUSTICE, in Paris, in its issue of 12 May,

* TRIBUNA, Yr XI, No 100, Saturday, 14/26 May 1894.

N(ew) St(yle), as a leading article, the following with regard to the monstrous case that is being tried in Cluj, a case in which the leaders of the Romanians beyond the mountains are accused of high treason:

At this moment, there is being tried in Cluj, the capital of Transylvania, a case of high treason that interests very greatly both the subjects of Emperor Franz Josef and the persons who want a better dispensation of justice among the peoples.

The whole world knows that Austria, in its geographical capacity, is prey (to the struggle) of the nationalities. Everywhere, nothing is seen but conflicts and battles. Everybody consider the vexation that is felt by a monarch whose subjects speak 17 languages! If you glance at a map drawn up in such a way that to each of the races that occupy the Hapsburg Monarchy there is assigned the part that is its due, the confusion grows with regard to the countless races scattered at random. Hungary--not to cite only it--is dotted with German groups. There are even quite large branches of Czechs. As far as is known, no one has ever proposed establishing these races in positions of separate governments.

Things are going quite differently with the Romanians in Hungary and Transylvania, who, numbering 3.5 million, have already struggled for a long time to gain the relative autonomy that is undeniably their due. Their history is one of the most interesting.

On 15 May 1848 the Romanians in Hungary, Transylvania and Banat, meeting in a grand assembly numbering more than 40,000, unanimously adopted a resolution demanding "a national administration autonomous both from a political viewpoint and from a religious one"....

The Magyars did not support in any way the so legitimate claims of the neighboring races. They demanded the incorporation of Transylvania into the Hungarian state and tried to impose on the Romanians the oppression that they were suffering, with so much impatience (displeasure), at the hands of the Austrians. They proclaimed the dethronement of the House of Austria and, far from closely connecting their cause with that of the other nationalities, claimed, by means of a proclamation of Minister Bathyani: "The supremacy of the Magyar element in this way, just as Hungary gained it nearly 1,000 years ago, with weapons in hand." This meant proclaiming the sovereignty of the force against which they had rebelled until then....

The Hungarian revolution defeated, Franz Josef was to sanction the autonomy of Transylvania.

After 1866, however, the pact sanctioning the Austro-Hungarian dualism incorporated Transylvania into Hungary and put the non-Magyar nationalities under Hungarian hegemony.

The Romanians, assembled again in Blaj, objected to this pact, concluded against their will. Nevertheless, the new regime began to satisfy a part of the national sentiment of the Romanian population.

Three basic laws guaranteed:

1. The autonomy of the Romanian church.
2. National education in the Romanian language.
3. Recognition of the Romanian language as an official language, like the Hungarian language.

And all these prerogatives are abolished today. Only the Hungarian schools are maintained at state expense. The Romanian schools are supported with funds coming from private subscriptions, and education must be done in the Hungarian language. Finally, justice is dispensed everywhere in the Hungarian language. As is evident, the laws are violated definitely.

However, the violations of laws do not stop here. By means of arbitrary provisions inserted into the election law, the Romanians have come to be deprived of any political right. The electoral qualification is 10 times higher for the Romanians in Transylvania than in the rest of Hungary. The election districts have been drawn up in such a way that the Romanian villager often has to make a day's journey in order to exercise his right as a citizen. Out of the 417 deputies who compose the chamber (in Budapest), if the proportion of the population were established, the Romanians would have a right to 75 seats. However, they do not have any. The freedom of the press is absolutely illusory. In a single year, no fewer than 19 press suits were brought against TRIBUNA, a Romanian newspaper that is published in Sibiu. Three of the editors of this newspaper were sentenced to a total of 8 years in prison. As is evident, the picture is as gloomy as can be.

In 1892, the Romanians in Transylvania met in a national conference and elected 25 of them to draft (write) a memorandum that would contain their desires. The memorandum was translated and published in many languages. The delegation commissioned to present it to the emperor saw the doors of the palace being closed on them, under the pressure of the Hungarian ministry (government). The 25 delegates, the authors of the memorandum, are now being dragged (forced to appear) before a Hungarian jury (court) for the crime of high treason. It is alleged that some phrases in the memorandum imply the preconceived idea of separation. Mr I. Ratiu and his friends can be convicted. European opinion acquitted them earlier.

What gain can the Hungarian state expect from such brazen persecution? What sentiments will the 15,000 villagers, coming to Cluj from all corners of the country to acclaim the accused, bring with them? How will they be able to prevent them from directing their looks toward Bucharest?...Hear and heed what the Romanians say...: "We have resisted for 17 centuries. Although the

barbarian hordes of Goths, Gepids, Avars, Huns, Tatars, Turks and others invaded our country with fire and sword in hand, putting (the Romanian people) through the most brutal ordeals, we were able to preserve the sweet and sonorous language of our ancestors. And today, with all the misfortunes of our painful past, when we expect to see the sun of freedom rising, today the noble and liberal Magyar nation wants to bind us in (new) chains, trying again to exterminate us as a nation."

To this direct accusation it is possible to give only one response, based on undeniable facts. The Magyars, supported on their freedom, are obliged to allow to the other nationalities the same right to life that they demanded for themselves so vigorously, defending it with complete determination against Austria.

All justice is on one side of the Romanians. This would seem trivial. However, the Magyars have lent it too great proportions. Their own history should serve as a lesson to them.

The independence of the Magyar nation will be better guaranteed by means of the peace and freedom of the neighboring races than by means of violent oppression, whose inevitable consequence is war, always perilous (dangerous). In the very interest of Hungary freedom must be given to the Romanians in Transylvania.

Dissolving Austrian Empire Recalled

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian Jun 78 pp 40-42

[Article by Marian Stefan]

[Text] Szemere Bertalan, prime minister of the Magyar revolutionary government in 1848-1849: "We did not consider that the national idea also evolved with particular force among other peoples in Hungary. We believed that what was in fact the thunder of the sky was only an artificial noise."

"The nonrecognition of political nationality caused us to rise in arms," declared the leaders of the Transylvanian revolution of 1848. "We are people of freedom. For it we have revolted, for it we have shed and are determined to shed our blood down to the last Romanian." These words were spoken by Avram Iancu, a personality whose life was identified in all respects with the very history of the Romanians beyond the mountains and whose tragedy represented a painful symbol of the bitter disappointment felt by them after the suppression of the revolution.

In an age in which the oppressed peoples, broken up by the arbitrary borders drawn by the interests of great invading empires, were rising in a struggle for national freedom and unity, in an age that history recorded in its annals under the name of "the era of nations," the desire, more than justified, of

the Romanians for their national entity to be recognized was always accompanied by the aspiration for unity with all those of the same lineage. The crowds assembled in Blaj cried, "We want to unite with the country!", a desire that found its due place in the action of the people and in the writing of their scholars.

In February 1849 a deputation led by Andrei Saguna delivered to the emperor a statement in which autonomy, the introduction of the Romanian language into the state administration, and the appointment of Romanian functionaries in proportion to their number were demanded. But another idea was present--that of union: for the moment, the union of all the Romanians within the empire into an independent province. The demand of the Romanians was reinforced by the plans of the leaders of the other oppressed nationalities (Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs and Croats) to transform the empire into a federation of "states," organized according to national criteria and united under the scepter of the Hapsburgs.

The emperor seemed to be favorably inclined toward the demands of the Romanians, but the constitution that he signed on 4 March 1849 satisfied only a small part of their desires. The existence of many provinces, including also the principality of Transylvania, was recognized. But the Romanians continued to remain separated by means of arbitrary borders into many provinces: the principality of Transylvania, Crisana and Maramures (incorporated into Hungary), Banat and Serbian Voivodina (which formed a single province), and the duchy of Bucovina. Imperial deputies were appointed to head the provinces, which received limited autonomy. The matters of foreign policy, finance, the army, the police, trade, communications, cults and higher education were under the jurisdiction of the imperial government in Vienna.

Receiving military aid from Czar Nicholas I, the emperor suppressed the revolution, revoked all the concessions made under the pressure of events, and reintroduced the regime of absolutist government. Transylvania became a province directly dependent on the government in Vienna, with a governor being appointed to head it. In accordance with the new administrative organization, military districts were created, each having a commandant in charge, and German became an official language.

However, the policy of excessive centralization caused much dissatisfaction. The struggle of the oppressed nationalities for rights and freedoms, for fair participation in economic, social and political life, created a state of general insecurity in the empire. The European depression of 1857 also affected the Hapsburg Empire seriously. The absolutist regime, despite the police measures that it had intensified in recent years, was no longer to annihilate the centrifugal tendencies of the different provinces. The Romanians and Italians under the control of the Crown were more and more strongly attracted by the efforts of their conationals outside the borders of the empire with regard to the achievement of national state unity. The union of the Romanian principalities was a strong moral support for the Romanians in the Austrian monarchy. The Viennese authorities viewed with alarm the expressions of

sympathy of the Transylvanians for Alexandru Ioan Cuza and gave orders to repress them. In vain. Over all the obstacles, the formula by means of which the Romanians were able to express their joy was found: "In many places we heard," Alexandru Roman noted, "not only scholars but also men of the people saying 'long live Uncle Ion' (that is, Al. Ioan Cuza), and the foreigners do not understand this symbol."

Failures on a foreign plane were also added to all the dissatisfaction that smoldered everywhere in the empire. The bankrupt campaign in Italy (April-July 1859) meant not only a military defeat but also a first manifestation of territorial disintegration, through the emergence of Italian territories from under the shield of the Hapsburg Crown.

The Viennese circles again became concessive, trying to gain the good will of the ruling classes in the different provinces. In March 1860 the imperial senate (composed of representatives of all the nationalities) was convened in an extraordinary session. The Romanians were represented by Andrei Saguna (Transylvania), Andrei Mocioni (Banat) and Nicolae Petrino (Bucovina). An imperial diploma that abolished the absolutism and announced the inauguration of a regime of constitutional government was issued on 20 October. The equality of the citizens before the law was proclaimed, religious freedom was guaranteed, and the abolition of internal tolls, the obligatory nature of the performance of military service for all citizens and of the payment of taxes, and so on were introduced. "The historical circumstances in which this gift was given," Marx wrote, "and the hands from which it was received lead us to see in it a stratagem rather than a sincere concession." The historical antecedents urged circumspection. The emperor, Marx said further, "again promulgated, on 4 March 1849, the general provisions of a constitution, but he did it only to ultimately suppress them during the next year, after the luck of arms returned to his side."

A new diploma (February 1861) gave autonomy to the provinces and established the composition (of representatives of all the provinces) and the competence of the central parliament in Vienna (it debated only questions of general interest: foreign policy, finance, and matters of the army). What ultimately happened with the new orientation of the imperial domestic policy? After an initial phase during which some liberal reforms were introduced, the emperor again disillusioned his subjects. Thus, in Transylvania, the formula of local civil government was revived and the Transylvanian Diet was reopened. But the new state of affairs ran into the opposition of the dissatisfied Magyar ruling classes, as Marx noted, due to "the fact that Croatia, Serbia and Transylvania were separated from Hungary and that the right to have diets of their own was given to these provinces."

Trying to use the intentions of Vienna in their own interest, the Romanian leaders, assembled in a national conference in Sibiu (January 1861), declared that they would support the tendencies of liberalization, reviving on the same occasion the programmatic points expressed in 1848 in Blaj. A joint conference was held a month later in Alba Iulia, with representatives of the

Romanians (8), the Saxons (8) and the Magyars (24). Although the proportion of their representation was unfavorable, the Romanians participated in the proceedings out of the desire to find joint solutions, equally satisfactory to all the parties. But the Magyar conservative elements, being in the majority, spoke out for the incorporation of Transylvania into Hungary, despite the diplomas of 1860 and 1861. The same tendency also manifested itself during the diet in Pesta. A little later, by means of an imperial order, it too was dissolved, as a penalty for opposition to the rules of government initiated in Vienna.

Elections for the Diet of Transylvania were held in the summer of 1863. Trying to stem the tendencies of the Magyar ruling circles toward insubordination, the election regulations issued in Vienna in April 1863 extended the right to vote to all men, beginning from the age of 24 years, who met an annual qualification of at least 8 florins or belonged to the intelligentsia (were professors, priests, lawyers, engineers and so on). The result of the vote was the following: 46 Romanian, 42 Magyar and 32 Saxon deputies. To them were added 11-12 "royalist" deputies each (appointed by the emperor) and, ultimately, there were 57 Romanian, 54 Magyar and 43 Saxon deputies.

Although the Romanians elected the most deputies, the situation did not express the true ratio between the number of them and that of the Romanian population in Transylvania. Many of the Romanians, owing to the high qualification, were not able to participate in the vote. Seeing that they did not obtain a majority, the Magyar deputies (with the exception of four "royalists") refused to participate in the proceedings and, on 22 July, made a joint declaration calling the convocation of the diet illegal.

Meeting in Sibiu, the diet discussed and adopted the law for "the equal entitlement" of the Romanian people and their religions with the other nationalities and religions in Transylvania, and another one concerning the free use of the three languages (Romanian, Hungarian and German) in public life.

However, new events were about to again change the course of political life in the empire. The ruling classes in Austria proved to be weaker and weaker in the face of the centrifugal tendencies manifested by different provinces. They realized that they could no longer maintain the integrity of the monarchy by themselves and began to seek an ally. They found it in the circles of the Magyar landowners and bourgeoisie, disposed—in exchange for dual control of the empire—to give up the independence of Hungary proclaimed by the revolution of 1848-1849. The negotiations between the two parties began in 1865 and, not much later, the Romanians bore the first consequence. By means of an imperial decree, the Diet of Sibiu was dissolved. Another one—having as a single objective "the revision of the article of law of 1848 about the union of Hungary and Transylvania"—was to meet in Cluj. Everything was done to facilitate its mission. The elections of 1865 were held on the basis of the law of 1791! Even if the participation of the "common ones" in the vote was also allowed, the annual qualification of 8 florins was a difficult barrier to overcome, especially for the Romanians—poor people in their great

majority. For the Magyar conservative circles, embarked on the course of compromise with Vienna, the majority in the future diet was to be ensured by means of the fact that the law gave the right to vote to all nobles, regardless of wealth, and the number of "royalist" deputies was not limited. So it was that of the 108 deputies declared elected, only 14 were Romanians, and of the 190 "royalist" mandates, the imperial clemency gave the Romanians only 32. Under these conditions, the diet voted without difficulty for the annexation of Transylvania to Hungary.

The year 1866 brought new moments of difficulty to the court in Vienna. Its troops were defeated by the Prussian armies and, by means of the peace treaty concluded in Prague, Austria was compelled to accept the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation, within which it had played the role of a hegemonic power. At the same time, it recognized the creation of the North German Confederation, under the aegis of Prussia. Italy, the ally of the Prussians in this war, obtained Venice.

Severely tested on a foreign plane, the circles in Vienna hastened the negotiations with the Magyar ruling classes, in order to find together the solutions for maintaining the integrity of the empire. In February 1867, Count Gyula Andrassy was named prime minister of the Magyar government. On 8 June, Franz Josef was crowned as king of Hungary (he had been dethroned by "the assembly of the country" on 14 April 1849) and sanctioned the decision of the Diet of Cluj, annulling the laws adopted by the Diet of Sibiu in 1863-1864.

The Austro-Hungarian state, divided into "Cisleitania (Austria, with the capital in Vienna) and "Transleitania" (Hungary, with the capital in Budapest), was officially created in this way. With the exception of military and financial matters and those of foreign policy, for which joint ministries were created, Hungary became an independent state, with a government and a parliament of its own. On these grounds, during the period that followed, the Magyar ruling classes conducted a policy of continual intensification of social and national exploitation in the territories that were a part of the composition of the Magyar state. Raised to the rank of a state policy, the action of forced Magyarization brutally struck the non-Magyar nationalities. The Romanians felt to the full the rigors of this policy, which they stubbornly opposed, raising the movement for national liberation and unity to a higher stage, that of political organization.

In the article that follows we will see how this came about.

Pronouncement of Romanian National Party

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian Jun 78 pp 42-47

[Article by Alex. Porteanu]

Text The struggle of the Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy for national liberation and unity experienced strong development during the period that followed the proclamation, in 1867, of the dualism--the evil coalition

of the Austrian and Hungarian ruling classes against the other nationalities as well as their own peoples. Alexandru Roman, one of the leaders of the national movement beyond the mountains, defined it graphically by means of the formula "Unio duarum nationum contra plures" (the union of two nations against many), alluding to another reactionary political act, that "Unio trium nationum" of 1437. The dualism gave a new blow to the nationalities in the Hapsburg Empire, representing an obstacle in the way of their free affirmation in all fields of economic, political, social and national life.

By sanctioning the "union" (in fact, annexation) of Transylvania with Hungary, the dualism eliminated the autonomy of this old Romanian territory and struck at the traditions of political life characteristic of its inhabitants. The Romanians objected vehemently and in various ways to this measure, culminating in that well-known Blaj Pronouncement* of 1868, a document condemning the dualism and affirming the basic rights of the Romanian nation. The legislation adopted by the new regime—especially the laws on nationalities, elections and the press and the laws on education—stipulated discrimination that seriously threatened the national being of the oppressed peoples.

This was the general climate in which the struggle of the Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy entered a new, higher stage, that of the creation of a national political party.

The Blaj-Timisoara-Miercurea Sibiului Triangle

The specific circumstances caused this organization to be set up according to provinces. The people of Banat were the ones who gave the signal. At the beginning of 1869, the leaders of the national movement in this province published an appeal, signed by Alexandru Mocioni (Mocsonyi), for the purpose of organizing a conference. Held in Timisoara on 7 February, it concluded by creating the Romanian National Party of Banat, as whose chairman Alexandru Mocioni was elected. The program adopted objected to the dualism and claimed national rights for the Romanians (freedom of language, access for them to the administrative apparatus, and so on). In the spirit of the permanent ties and of national solidarity, respect for the autonomy of Transylvania was demanded and solidarity with the struggle of the other oppressed nationalities within the monarchy was declared. The fact that a Serbian delegation also participated in the conference for setting up the party is significant.

They too concerned with matters of organization, the Transylvanian leaders organized a conference for 7-8 March 1869. George Baritiu had an important role in the preparation for it. He drew attention to the character and the precise target that the demands of the Romanians had to acquire, because they could not be asserted "against any nation" but against the Magyar and Austrian ruling strata. "Let us combat," he said, "the (official) parties and, more precisely, the aristocracy." In his turn, Visarion Roman—another Transylvanian leader—stressed the necessity of setting up "the Romanian National Party throughout Transylvania," an organization that was to exercise its role

* MAGAZIN ISTORIC, No 1, 1978.

of leader of the national struggle not only in electoral matters "but also with regard to other questions."

The 400 delegates present at the conference in Miercurea Sibiului proclaimed the founding of the Romanian National Party of Transylvania (PNR), electing a steering committee composed of 25 persons, as whose chairman Ilie Macelariu was designated.

The creation of the two political parties of the Romanians aroused the fury of the Magyar authorities. Availing himself of the provisions of the Law on Nationalities, adopted by the parliament in Pest on 7 December 1868, the governmental commissioner for Transylvania dissolved the PNR on 22 March 1869. The respective law claimed that all the inhabitants of Hungary constituted "one nation, the united and indivisible Hungarian nation and, consequently, they were obligated to perform their political activity only within the official Magyar parties, recognized by the authorities as the only representatives of the nation. Article 26 stipulated that the citizens of the non-Magyar nationalities were able to organize only cultural and economic associations, which were to operate "under the legal control of the state." From the very beginning, therefore, the party had to perform its activity under conditions of semi-illegality and even of illegality. The leaders of the national movement of the Transylvanian Romanians hastened to use the permission to organize election conferences shortly before the elections and to transform them, for a long period of time, into the main form of manifestation of the PNR in the political life of Transylvania. On the occasion of these conferences, the leadership of the party was able to popularize its programmatic points among the masses. Thus, a new stage, called in historiography "the era of national conferences," was inaugurated in the movement for liberation of the Romanians in Austria-Hungary.

In the past, factors of a sociocultural order had given a leading role in the national liberation movement to the Romanian prelates of Sibiu and Blaj. But the conditions had changed and the creation of the two parties marked the end of a process of laicization and radicalization of Romanian political life beyond the mountains, a process that had become a necessity, dictated by the very character of the national struggle, by the mass proportions that it had assumed.

During this period, the working-class movement had a remarkable contribution within the struggle for national liberation. By means of its own organizations, the proletariat conducted an intense activity for the democratization of political life and against social and national exploitation. Assembling in it workers of different nationalities, the Association of Workers in Timisoara (created in 1868)--and those in Resita, Anina, Oradea, Cluj and Sibiu created in the immediately ensuing years--militated for equality in rights between all citizens, regardless of nationality, recognizing the right of each people to a life of its own.

The Activism of the "Passivists"

The national movement led by the two parties constantly manifested--by means of programmatic provisions and actions--its united, fully unified character, despite differences of opinion that sprang from situations specific to each particular area. These nuances were brought out by the discussions held in connection with the establishment of the tactical line of the two parties.

The one in Banat spoke out for its participation in the political life of Hungary, including for the sending of deputies to the Hungarian parliament, feeling that, from its rostrum, it was possible to wage the struggle for national rights. It must be said that the people of Banat had a tradition and experience in this regard: contained for a century (1780) in the administration of Hungary, they had nearly always sent representatives to its capital. On the contrary, very little time had passed in Transylvania since the dualism had brutally eliminated the territorial-administrative autonomy, the laws and even that diet in Sibiu, which had left remarkable moments of political life in the memory of the Romanians.

This is why in Transylvania, after the establishment of the dualism, many of the leaders of the national movement opted for the adoption of political passivity, expressing by means of it not only their opposition to the new arrangements but, primarily, also their nonrecognition of the annexation of Transylvania by Hungary, their protest against the abolition of the territorial autonomy of their province. It is true that there also was a current, headed by Metropolitan Andrei Saguna, that advocated the sending of representatives to the parliament in Pest, but it was objected that this would have meant an implicit recognition of the dualism. In the final analysis, the "passivists"--whose main representatives were G. Baritiu and Ioan Ratiu--imposed their tactical line on the party. Andrei Saguna and the "activists" who supported him gradually lost their audience among the masses, more and more disappointed by the breaking of the promises made by the court in Vienna. The myth of "the darling of the emperor," from which an improvement in the situation of the oppressed Romanians had been expected, had been dispelled by the measures adopted by the dualist regime, which, under the formula of an alliance of interests between the ruling classes in Austria and those in Hungary, had given free rein to the policy of national oppression that the Hungarian government pursued.

"Passivism" (today we would say the boycotting of the parliament) was the tactical line promoted by the radical wing of the Romanian bourgeoisie, in the spirit of the program of the revolution of 1848. In the final analysis, it meant an intense activity for the repudiation of the dualism and against the inclusion of Transylvania in a foreign and hostile political organism. The general protest against the "union" of Transylvania with Hungary was one of the basic premises that permitted in 1918--when the dual monarchy collapsed and Hungary was separated from Austria--Transylvania to break away from Hungary and, by fully exercising the right of national self-determination, to unite with the mother country.

Incommoded by the new fighting tactic of the Romanians, the authorities hastened to keep up appearances, taking steps that sometimes verged on the ridiculous. For instance, they did not shrink from declaring as "elected" a deputy imposed "from above," despite the fact that only two votes had been expressed in his favor! With such diversions, the authorities did nothing but estrange the Romanians even more from the sphere of a political life highly hostile to their basic interests. In their political myopia, the authorities later forwent even that bit of a facade that kept up appearances and masked the realities. The decline of "activism" became greater as, over the years, the parliamentary failures of the Romanians in Banat became more and more numerous. The death of Saguna (June 1873) also acquired, in a way, the significance of a balance of "activism" in the last decade. Nevertheless, the role of the metropolitan of Sibiu must be viewed over his entire life and activity devoted to the Romanian cause, taking into account especially his achievements in the cultural and religious fields, fields that were an integral part of the front of the struggle for national liberation.

In the first years after its creation, the PNR's activity was concretized in statements and draft programs that, starting from the programmatic points formulated in 1848, demanded the autonomy of Transylvania, access for the Romanians to the state apparatus, the use of the Romanian language in education and public life, and so on. On the other hand, a number of meetings were held between 1870 and 1875: Turda (1870), Sibiu (1871) and Alba Iulia (1872). After many unsuccessful attempts, the leaders of the PNR organized a national conference in 1875. The participants spoke out for the maintenance of the "passivist" tactic and elected George Baritiu as chairman of the party.

"The Happiness of a State Lies in its Freedom"

Stressing the importance of the gaining of the independence of Romania as a factor for intensifying the national struggle in Transylvania, Valeriu Braniste noted in his memoirs: "The glory on the Bulgarian fields was able to electrify us so much that then in 1880 the movement for a new political union was started, with the (united) Romanian National Party being founded in 1881 and a new series of struggles being begun."

The dissemination of the slogan of gaining "Transylvanian Plevna" expressed the conviction of the Romanians that their rights were not able to be imposed except by means of a united and unified struggle. The words of sympathy and solidarity spoken by Partenie Cosma, a deputy of Beius to the parliament in Pest, must be understood in this spirit. "The happiness of a state," he declared in 1878, "does not lie in the amount of territory but in its freedom." And invoking the spirit of the times, he pointed out that "the time of the founding of the patchwork states has already passed and that only the principle of nationality now has the power to establish and abolish states."

The famous school law of 1879--an aggravating attempt at denationalization in the field of education, by increasing the number of hours devoted by the

programs to the study of the Hungarian language--was more proof that the authorities were not disposed to any kind of concessions. In the session of the Hungarian parliament on 2 May 1879, Saxon Deputy I. Hofgraff spoke out bluntly against this law: "I, honored chamber, although I am not a Hungarian but a deputy from the Saxon nationality, yet as a citizen of Hungary, cannot support this draft law, namely for the following reasons: first, because, if this law goes into effect, I regard it as harmful to the education of the people, especially of the non-Magyar nationalities."

To the concerted offensive of the government the Romanians opposed their united resistance. More and more voices spoke out for the union of the two parties, in Banat and Transylvania, and the creation of a strong organization, capable of leading the masses in the struggle under the new historical conditions. The participants in the general assembly of ASTREI [expansion unknown], organized in August 1880 in Turda, spoke out in this regard. In October of the same year, a conference, in which leaders of the two parties participated, was held in Sibiu. Those present recognized "the necessity, the utility and the possibility of joint national political action on the basis of solidarity in general and especially with regard to the upcoming elections for the Diet of Hungary." On this occasion, the creation of a single program of political action was decided upon, with the drafting of it being entrusted to a commission formed of seven members.

The national struggle of the Romanians in Transylvania and Banat took a new course. The press began a spirited campaign for the purpose of preparing for the national conference. To the same end, G. Baritiu made a visit to Bucharest, holding discussions with personalities of the political and cultural life in Romania: C. A. Rosetti, I. C. Bratianu and T. Maiorescu. The presence of the Transylvanian leader in the capital of Romania was promptly noted by Friedrich Lachmann,* found in Bucharest in those days: "Now, when independent Romania has fulfilled its boldest desires, when the general well-being has also risen considerably of late," it "will stand by its foremost intentions to also do something for the brothers that are suffering under a foreign yoke." "The Romanian people," Lachmann stated, "live with the unwavering hope of gradually forming a compact unity from a political and national viewpoint."

The New Party and Its Spirit

A joint conference of the two parties, in which 153 delegates, representing the election circles in Banat and Transylvania, participated, was held in

* During the war for the gaining of independence, in a capacity of correspondent for many newspapers and magazines, Lachmann had accompanied the Romanian troops on their campaign in Bulgaria, having words of appreciation for our soldiers. After the war, he remained in Bucharest for a while, during which time he sent many informative notes and reports to Vienna about the state of mind that prevailed in Romania and about the development of the struggle for the state and national reunification of the Romanian people--editor's note.

Sibiu between 12-14 May 1881. Among the matters discussed were: the adoption of a unified attitude toward the upcoming elections for the diet, the completion of the program of action, and the new organization of the party. As a result of the discussions, it was decided, by common consent, that the Transylvanians would maintain their "passivism" during the elections, the people of Banat would act in the spirit of "activism," and the deputies whom they were to send to parliament would make efforts to make known the situation of the Romanians. In the resolution of the conference it was specified that the representatives of the Romanian voters give "unanimously the most vigorous and grievous expression to the sad situation that the present constitution created by means of the many...very wrong and harmful laws, namely by means of the law for union, the law for nationalities, the law for public instruction, the municipal law and the election law." Starting from another idea stressed in the resolution--the union of all the Romanian political forces for the purpose "of defending the rights and interests" of the Romanian people--the delegates decided on the union of the two parties under the name of the Romanian National Party of Transylvania (PNR) and adopted the new program.

The program had as an objective nine points, of which we mention: the regaining of the autonomy of Transylvania; "the introduction ex lege of the use of the Romanian language in all areas inhabited by Romanians, both in administration and in justice"; the appointment, in zones with a Romanian population, of Romanian functionaries or of ones who know its language and customs well; the revision of the law on nationalities in the sense of recognizing the equality in rights of all the nationalities; the autonomy of the Romanian churches and denominational schools, and the supporting of them and other Romanian cultural institutions by the state; the expansion of the right to vote through the introduction of a new election law; the struggle against all the steps of denationalization taken by the state bodies; and the close collaboration of the party "with all those who will more vigorously take into account the interests and well-being of the people," that is, of all the inhabitants, regardless of nationality.

This program was the basis of all the actions that culminated in the "memorandumist" movement and oriented the activity of the PNR up to the middle of the first decade of our century.

The creation of the united national party and the growth of its influence among the masses of people led to new discriminatory measures by the authorities. On the occasion of the elections in 1881, for instance, the state bodies in Banat and the so-called "Hungarian areas" did not shrink from resorting to pressure and threats, bribery and intimidation in order to impede the penetration of the Romanians into the diet. The local authorities reported with alarm about the process of expansion of the organizations of the PNR and about the "Daco-Romanian" spirit that its activity had acquired.

On the initiative of the leadership of the PNR, in 1882 there was published a statement drafted by G. Baritiu in which the states of affairs in

Transylvania and the woes and the aspirations of the Romanian masses in this area were presented. The text was printed in the Romanian, Hungarian, German and French languages and got a strong international response. In Rome, Paris, Vienna and other big European cities, words of sympathy for the cause of the Romanians were spoken and articles in which the dualist regime was unmasked were published. In an article devoted to this document, the newspaper INNSBRUCKER NACHRICHTEN wrote: "In elegant, serious, determined and convincing language, combating the opponents precisely with their weapons, this memorandum describes the history of the sufferings that the Romanian people endured for 1,000 years."

In 1883, in the Hungarian parliament there began the debates in connection with the draft of a new school law (it provided for a rise in the number of hours spent on the study of the Hungarian language in the secondary schools of the other nationalities, with the checking of knowledge and the final examinations being done in the Hungarian language) that provoked vigorous protests by the oppressed nationalities. Under the leadership of the PNR, big protest demonstrations were held in Sibiu, Blaj, Deva and other localities. Despite the opposition of the non-Magyar deputies, the law was adopted by the parliament.

In the years that followed, the national liberation movement of the Romanians in Transylvania took on great proportions. In April 1884, there began to appear in Blaj the newspaper TRIBUNA, the most important press organ of the national movement beyond the mountains, which had Ion Slavici at its head. The group at TRIBUNA acted vigorously to initiate measures with a unified character with a view to the obtaining of political rights for the Romanians in Transylvania. The newspaper spoke out decisively for the adoption of a unified tactic of the party and for the conducting of an extensive press campaign by means of which the policy of national oppression promoted by the circles of the Magyar bourgeoisie and landowners would be unmasked.

The vigorous line promoted by the "Tribunists" gained more and more ground. In May 1887, on the occasion of the third conference of the PNR, it was decided that, in the future, the entire party (thus, also its organizations in Banat and the "Hungarian areas") would adopt the tactic of "passivism" with regard to the parliamentary elections. The decision stipulated that only in some cases, and then only with the consent of the leadership of the party, was it possible to make some exceptions. This was the first time since its creation that the PNR adopted total "passivism." As a result of this step, only a single deputy (from the Caransebes election circle) was elected to the Hungarian parliament, but he too, in accordance with the decision of the conference, published a statement by means of which he abstained from participating in the proceedings of the parliament. However, the authorities organized new elections, and the new deputy, complying with party discipline, did not participate in the debates. A third ballot was resorted to. On the occasion of this new consultation of the electorate in the Caransebes circle, the leadership of the PNR gave instructions to the Romanian voters to vote for Mocsary Lajos, a representative of the Magyar bourgeois circles with

radical views. Just a little time before (18 February 1887), he had combated, from the rostrum of the parliament, the chauvinism of the ruling classes: "The Magyarization of Hungary is a utopian idea.... This procedure gives rise to presumptions that in order to extend Magyarization everything is permitted, that the end justifies the means...."

The discriminatory laws by means of which the forced denationalization of the non-Magyar population in Hungary was pursued ran into the constant opposition of the oppressed nationalities. At the end of the ninth decade of the last century, the PNR took the initiative of conducting a vast campaign for unmasking the reactionary policy of the Magyar ruling circles. All these things paved the way for the great action in 1892-1894 known in history under the name of the "memorandumist" movement.

In this regard, we believe that a concrete analysis of the history of this party made from consistently dialectical- and historical-materialist positions refutes some theses and especially the limiting viewpoint of studies and works that regarded the PNR as a highly bourgeois party and the bourgeoisie as a highly dominant class whose interests were opposed to those of the wide masses of people. Prepared and led directly by the PNR, the "memorandumist" movement gave expression to the great revolutionary capacities of the masses of people and brought out the important role that the first national political party played at that historical moment in the whole struggle for national liberation, a struggle that evolved objectively toward the union with Romania.

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BULGARIA

HEALTH MINISTER DELIVERS CONCLUDING SPEECH

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 24 Jun 78 pp 1, 3

[Concluding speech by Academician Radoy Popivanov, minister of public health, delivered at the Fourth Plenum of the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee and Management of the Ministry of Public Health]

[Text] Unquestionably, we had an exceptionally important plenum which, I am convinced, will remain an impressive event in the life of our health care system. This is so because we discussed one of the most complex, most essential and, also one of the most difficult problems related to the standards and quality of medical services.

The role of the present highly important forum may be judged by the useful work which was done in the course of its preparations and organization and, above all, now, in the holding of the Fourth Plenum of the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee and Management of the Ministry of Public Health. The discussions on the submitted report and program, and our total unity of thought and concern proved that we have reached the proper assessments and conclusions concerning the standards of medical services and have earmarked a proper line to be followed in our further actions. The spirit of the plenum's work unquestionably emphasized, yet once again, the unity and solidarity of the aktiv of health workers united around the general line of the BCP. This is a safe guarantee of our readiness to do everything possible for the implementation of the decisions of the Eleventh Party Congress in the field of health care. The statements revealed the vital significance of the problem of standards and quality of health services in the implementation of the strategic slogan of the 75-Year Plan which called for higher quality and effectiveness. Precisely for this reason we must emphasize that the plenum took place in a creative and efficient atmosphere, in a constructive spirit, with July spirit criticism and intolerance of weaknesses and shortcomings, and sober consideration of difficulties and possibilities for surmounting them. High level competence and a feeling for the new, for the main fact, and for specific and effective work to be done for its successful solution were displayed in the discussion of the problem. In both the report and the debates new aspects of the problem were revealed. Views were enriched and ways for the successful solution of forthcoming problems were clarified.

The main thing now is to convert all this into action and practical results. However, in order to achieve this we must carry out, as has been frequently emphasized by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, a "reconstruction and modernization of thinking and action," and of our style and method of work. Unless there is an upturn in the work for the implementation of the decisions of the present plenum we shall not progress by a single centimeter and would become participants to and witnesses of even more alarming phenomena. Unless we decisively improve the style and methods of work of all administrative managers, and trade union organs and organizations, no trace will remain of our plenum. That is why every one of us must work firmly and with conviction creatively, actively, and competently. He must be able to seek and find solutions consistent with the specific nature of his activities.

The analysis made last May at the national conference on our work in the light of the strict requirements of the National Party Conference, as well as our present study on the standards and quality of health services indicate that solutions may be found for most of the problems of the organization of the health care system. Sometimes there are even several solutions. Always, however, when we look back to rate something, and ask ourselves, why is it that the expected results are not achieved, it turns out that important tasks have either not been carried out or have been carried out on a substandard basis in some units of the Ministry of Public Health, directorates of public health and social welfare, or medical institutions. We then make new decisions to implement the previous decisions. However, comrades, is it not true that someone in this hall is responsible for each assignment, someone who, in the final account, is the head of the central unit in the health care system.

Consequently, the conclusion is that we must decisively raise the standard of organizational work and of the style and method used in making and implementing decisions. A merciless struggle must be waged against the inflation of decisions, programs, and measures. This struggle must be based on the collective method of management, principled and daring criticism, selfcriticism, and intolerance of anachronism, technocracy, and bureaucracy. Without iron discipline among us, without a strict personal responsibility and active participation in the work by anyone we lead, no progress could be achieved. Along the entire health care front and within each health care collective we must develop an atmosphere of intolerance toward failure and toward those who fail to do their work, avoid responsibility, and are unwilling to make or execute decisions which could be executed.

The main and urgent task facing the management of the Ministry of Public Health now, and every director in the ministry, the okrug public health and social welfare directorates, and all secretaries of okrug committees of the health workers trade union and all administrative and public managers of health institutions throughout the country is the need for a profound and critical study of the work related to the standards and quality of health services in his area and the adoption of the type of measures which would guarantee the implementation of the tasks within the program we have discussed today and shall adopt.

The complex and comprehensive nature of the problem of the standards and quality of health services called for a comprehensive approach to its solution, an approach which we adopted here as the best. That is why the program has tasks affecting every one of us, along the entire chain of the health organization and at all levels of management of medical services. It would be sufficient to wreck only one of the main directions in the program at any given level of the health care system or of any of the basic tasks to compromise the efforts of all others and fail to achieve the expected results. In this sense we should emphasize the high trust which is voted to all administrative public managers within our health system and, at the same time, the great responsibility and conscientiousness with which the tasks contained in the program for upgrading the standards and quality of medical services must be assumed, interpreted, and executed.

Our measures must be concrete and clear. Let discussions on the various aspects of the problem continue, let new ideas develop which, later on, will certainly enable us to improve our work further. For the time being, however, all that we have clarified here, even though not fully, should be sufficient to enable us to expect specific results. This calls for efficient work without concepts or general formulations, without verbiage or written compensations for unaccomplished work. Every manager, ranging from the ministry to the individual unit of a medical institution, and from the Central Committee of the Health Workers Trade Union to the trade union group of the primary collective, must, within a short time, clarify to the last detail what is to be done to implement the program. Everyone must see his place and role in the program and, on this basis, formulate his own clear program, regardless of whether he will memorize it or put it on paper. He must know how to achieve high standards and quality in health services throughout the country, the okrug, the institution, and the unit, according to the level and direction for which he is directly responsible.

The program and the measures should not be conceived as a one-time effort and a current topic but as a permanent and lasting task involving the entire health care system and all medical collectives.

As we may see, the simple yet most accurate prescription also applies to the new approach which is discussed everywhere and which we are now accepting through the program for raising the standard and quality of medical services: "Let everyone do his job!" Furthermore, the more complex and difficult is the problem, as is the one currently discussed, the more strictly we must observe the stipulations of this "prescription."

The main and responsible duty of us, the leaders, is to mobilize the efforts of all public health workers and collectives for the implementation of the tasks related to raising the standards and quality of health services as included in the program. These tasks and decisions adopted at the plenum must be explained the way they were formulated here and considered of exceptional importance not only in terms of the successful solution of the most urgent current problems of the standard of services in medical institutions but also, in general, in terms of our work over a long period of time--the period of the comprehensive and fuller enrichment of the standards of our

health care through the reorganization of the work for enhancing the level of conscientiousness, raising the prestige of the Bulgarian health workers and health care system in accordance with the requirements of the developed socialist society.

We must carry out the type of ideological, educational, and organizational work which would support the conviction of all health workers of the great political significance of the standards and quality of his work and which will develop in everyone the need to work systematically, adamantly, and principledly for the enhancement and steady enrichment of his own prestige, the prestige of the collective, and the prestige of the profession and of the health care systems; such efforts must provide conditions for the practical and full manifestation of the moral virtues and professional qualities of all health workers. A criterion of the effect of our overall activities in this direction will be, above all, the recognition and assessment provided by our socialist society concerning the standards of health services we provide.

General formulations and decisions are no longer sufficient for the successful implementation of such tasks. Today the stipulation of maintaining high administrative skills on the part of our leading cadres in a mandatory prerequisite. On this basis we must convert from the exercise of power to the exercise of competence--from the administration of the collective to the administration of processes. It is only under such circumstances that the health care manager will gain unquestionable authority and become an effective part in our complex, responsible, and socially and politically significant work.

We are realists and we know that the overall solution of this key problem involves many difficulties of different natures and hardships. Yet, that is precisely why we are managers and we have been entrusted with the task of surmounting difficulties. This calls for the mobilization of everyone's efforts. We have the essential prerequisites for success. They are manifested, above all, in the proper health-social policy pursued by the party, the overall upsurge of the socioeconomic development of the country, the achievements of our health care system, the existence of highly skilled specialists and health managers, and the rich Bulgarian and Soviet leading experience. The atmosphere of general mobilization for the implementation of the decisions of the National Party Conference is a particularly favorable condition for the successful solution of the problems facing the Public Health Service at the present stage. The essentially new tasks related to the new strategy and new approach to the work are to us a new and an even more effective means for surmounting difficulties for insuring our further progress. The main thing now is to make rational use of all opportunities for the successful implementation of the 75-Year Plan in the field of health care and resolving the problems related to enhancing the standards, quality, and effectiveness of health care for the good of our people and the protection of the most valuable resource--the health!

I thank you for your attention!

5003
CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

REPORT ON HEALTH WORKERS PLENUM

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 24 Jun 78 p 1

[Report on proceedings at the Fourth Joint Plenum of the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee and the Leadership of the Ministry of Public Health]

[Text] As we reported in our previous issue, the Fourth Joint Plenum of the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee and the Leadership of the Ministry of Public Health was held in Sofia on 16 June. A report "For Higher Standards and Quality of Medical Services and Care for the Sick in Health Institutions" was presented by Corresponding Member Professor Doctor Gerasim Mitrov, deputy minister of public health (summary of the report published separately). Useful and meaningful statements of various aspects of the problems were presented by Professor Doctor Yuri Belov, head of the department of cardiovascular diseases at the Institute of Cardiovascular Diseases of the Medical Academy, Candidate of Medical Sciences Doctor Tsvetana Popivanova from the Institute of Hygiene and Vocational Diseases of the Medical Academy, Professor Doctor Sasho Bazhinov, head of the neurology department of the NINPN [expansion unknown] of the Medical Academy, and member of the Bureau of the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee, Zlatka Yosifova, senior midwife at the Scientific Institute of Obstetrics and Gynecology of the Medical Academy, member of the Bureau of the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Semihigher and Secondary Medical Cadres of the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee, Doctor Romil Spasov, chief of the Public Health and Social Welfare Administration of the Sofia City People's Council, Doctor Rima Tsenova, chief physician at the Vidin Okrug Hospital and chairman of the Vidin Okrug Health Workers Trade Union Council, Mariola Licheva, head nurse at the First City Hospital in Plovdiv, Doctor Kunka Vulova, chief specialist at the Public Health and Social Welfare Directorate of the Ruse Okrug People's Council, and Doctor Nikola Nenov, chief physician at the Stara Zagora Okrug Hospital.

The concluding speech (published separately) was delivered by the Minister of Public Health Academician Radoy Popivanov.

At the end of its proceedings, the plenum adopted a program for raising the standards and quality of medical services of the population and care for the sick in public health institutions.

BULGARIA

DEPUTY MINISTER EXPOSES WEAKNESSES IN MEDICAL SERVICES

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 24 Jun 78 pp 1, 3

[Summary of the speech delivered by Deputy Minister of Public Health Corresponding Member, Professor Doctor Gerasim Mitrov]

[Text] At the beginning of the speech Corresponding Member Professor Doctor Gerasim Mitrov emphasized that the noble objectives of the National Party Conference express the aspirations of all working people in our country. Now the attention of the party and of all social factors, including the creative initiatives of workers on the health front, are focused on improving the socialist organization of labor and the planned management of the economy.

The need to reorganize the entire work of the Ministry of Public Health, and the health care network, and trade union organs and organizations in the spirit of the decisions of the National Party Conference, and raise to a higher level the standards and quality of medical services and health care effectiveness was emphasized at the recent National Conference with the Health Aktiv.

This is the most important among the numerous tasks facing the health workers. It focuses within itself the political, ideological, medical, and social aspects of our contribution to the struggle for high quality and effectiveness in all realms of social activities.

The deputy minister then stressed that in the course of the preparations for the plenum, over a period of several months, a number of health institutions were specifically investigated in over 20 okrugs. Talks and discussions were held on standards of medical services involving health managements and public aktives. The newspapers TRUD and ZDRAVEN FRONT made a considerable contribution to the clarification of this problem. They carried special sections on this topic like the other newspapers and the mass information media.

I. With the July Plenum Intolerance of Weaknesses and Shortcomings of the Subjective Factor in Health Care

The achievements accomplished so far and the unquestionable contribution of the health workers to improving the health of the people should not prevent

us from seeing that we are falling behind in the standards and quality of medical services and care for patients in hospitals and that we are lagging behind the real needs and requirements of the population, Professor G. Mitrov stated.

Along with cases of callousness, formalism, and rude attitude, we are justifiably concerned with some other negative manifestations incompatible with our profession. Such manifestations are not only found, as some people think, among orderlies and nurses, but, occasionally, among their immediate superiors--the higher medical cadres. This is the reason for the development of a negative public opinion concerning the condition of health services and the critical remarks have been justified, for we have still failed to create the necessary atmosphere of social intolerance which would prevent all manifestations which harm the reputation of our health workers.

Such are precisely the reasons and considerations for facing our medical circles so urgently with the problem of raising the standard and quality of medical services.

Noting that the basic and immediate task in upgrading the standard and quality of medical services is exceptionally complex, corresponding member Professor G. Mitrov pointed out that the increased role and requirements facing the subjective factor determine the need for the study of and familiarization with the laws on which human activities and consciousness are based. Characteristic in this light is the development of a standard in all realms of social life. This is a qualitative characteristic of mature socialism. On the basis of this general trend we must state that the need to raise the standard and quality of medical services rises in absolute and relative terms. Briefly stated, the nature of the standard of medical services is reduced to insuring skilled (high quality) medical aid rendered ethically, in an aesthetic atmosphere and with optimal medical results. This is the immediate objective to which we must direct the efforts of the administrative managements and trade union organs and organizations in all health collectives.

The speaker then considered the five basic problems to be discussed by the plenum.

The First Problem

The first problem is related to the behavioral standards of the health worker in the course of his contact with the patients in providing medical services, looked at from the viewpoint of socialist morality and medical ethics, i.e., it is a problem of the professional-ethical standard of the health workers. Generally speaking, the health care personnel possess the necessary virtues based on the requirements of medicine as a vocation and a highly humane professional activity. They see in the noble work of protecting the health of the people the area in which they can manifest their high awareness, civic duty, and professional standards. We could cite a number of examples embodying the best aspects of socialist morality. We could be proud of such

captivating and prestigious members of our profession as Professor Vasil Tsonchev, Academician Aleksii Pukhlev, Academician Tasho Tashev, Professor Yuri Belov, Professor Ivan Viktorov, and many other medical workers who have been awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor, People's and Honored Health Workers, bearers of the badge Excellent Worker of the Ministry of Public Health, and others. They include many health workers and collectives who work modestly and persistently, selflessly and dedicatedly, who consider medical service standards the most important criterion in their activities. Such are Doctor Stiliyana Shtereva, chief physician in the Children's Hospital in Plovdiv; Docent Doctor Bogdan Krustev, head of the Children's Clinic of City Hospital Number one in Plovdiv; Doctor Georgi Karev, chief physician, City Hospital Number One in Plovdiv; Doctor Nikola Stanchev, chief physician at the Gabrovo Okrug Hospital; Doctor Evgeni Nazurov, deputy chief physician at the Ruse Okrug Hospital; Doctor Lyudmila Dermendzhieva, chief physician at the 24th Polyclinic in Sofia, and many others. Such have been in their activities honored nurses and midwives Vera Trendafilova, Krustina Koleva, Elena Dimitrova, Mara Staneva, and Gergana Balabanova. Such are also the chief nurse at the Oncology Institute, Stefka Mladenova; Zlatka Yosifova, senior midwife at the Institute of Obstetrics and Gynecology; Milka Aleksandrova, head nurse at the Pleven Okrug Hospital, and many other medical workers who serve dedicatedly with their hearts, minds, and knowledge.

These are the bearers of the best medical traditions who maintain the profession on the level of the art of our medical predecessors, and who make the physician's prestige a powerful means for spiritual and medical influence on the patient, and a key to the practical manifestation of high medical standards. It is to such people that the high party assessment of the work of public health workers made by Comrade T. Zhivkov at the December BCP Central Committee Plenum, according to which, "...the physician is concerned with the health of the entire people. His work is no less important than that of specialists in material production."

Given this high rating of the overall aspect of the contemporary health worker, we must submit yet once again, more firmly, with the July spirit of intolerance, to merciless criticism, the conscientiousness, formalism, and callousness displayed by some health workers. The inadequate standard maintained in the "health worker-patient" relationship is the weakest point and main reason for the discontent expressed by the citizens.

The conscientious study of specific cases of this type has indicated that such examples, inadmissible in terms of our present, are not isolated. They may be found at all levels of medical services and affect all age groups and categories of health workers. Also alarming and paradoxical is the fact that such negative phenomena are found in health institutions providing highly skilled and specialized medical aid, as confirmed by the study of complaints, petitions, reports, and suggestions submitted by citizens.

Despite the declining number of complaints in recent years, their percentage in the capital and in other big cities has been rising. Also rising has been the relative percentage of motivated complaints about the callous, rude, and bureaucratic attitude toward the patients displayed by secondary and semi-higher medical cadres.

It is a particularly alarming fact, Professor G. Mitrov went on to say, that those who commit such negative actions include newly graduated higher and semihigher medical cadres. They frequently display a consumerist activity and a preference for a scientific career, for positions in easier public care units, and unwillingness to work with patients. Equally reproachable is the behavior of the members of the older generation of nurses who are displaying low standards in their contacts with the patients as well as the tolerance of such actions by other members of the collective.

We note with a feeling of concern the frequent cases of lack of interest displayed in such negative phenomena on the part of leading cadres and, above all, of heads of wards, sectors, and units, and of head and senior nurses and midwives. The lack of general standards and socialist morality is confirmed by cases of improper relations among health workers themselves (sometimes in front of patients as well) which have a particularly adverse impact on the sociopsychological climate of medical collectives. Obviously, manifestations of callousness and formalism and the lack of professional-ethical standards are due to subjective factors. The trade union organizations and committees, despite their great possibilities to exert public influence, make insufficient efforts to change for the better the existing condition.

The Second Problem

The second problem deals with the professional-qualificational standards of health workers. Regardless of the overall good rating of the quality and skill of medical work, the study of the facts indicates that in a number of health institutions there are major omissions in various aspects and at different levels. The most frequent critical remarks addressed by the citizens pertain to shortcomings and weaknesses in outpatient-polyclinical and emergency medical aid.

The quality and standards of services in the physicians' polyclinic offices are unsatisfactory.

The independent nature of the work of the sectorial physician, his heavy load and broad range of obligations face this category of health workers with strict requirements. One of the reasons for the negative manifestations is the inadequate skill of such cadres. Patients are being unnecessarily directed to specialized offices and diagnostic laboratories, and so on, which represent time losses and insufficient effectiveness of medical care. This is also confirmed by the fact that over one third of all complaints filed in 1977 were related to such omissions.

The nature of emergency cases, and the need for prompt action are sometimes the reason for such omissions to lead to major complications, risking loss of life and resulting in the shaping of a negative public opinion.

Deputy minister G. Mitrov then discussed the major weaknesses in care for the patients in hospitals, particularly in the case of severely ill and bedridden

patients, where the problem of quality assumes a different nature. The problem of improving care for the sick through the extensive use of comprehensive differentiated care and two-level services is being resolved sluggishly. Two extremes exist in this respect: in a number of our leading medical institutions the patients are cared for in accordance with modern standards on the basis of the maximum utilization of possibilities. This is the case with the First Children's Hospital and First City Hospital in Plovdiv, and some wards of the okrug hospitals in Pazardzhik, Burgas, Ruse, Gabrovo, Stara Zagora, Turgovishte, Smolyan, and Kurdzhali. Also included in this group are the burns treatment clinics of the Pirogov RNPISMP [expansion unknown], the orthopedics and traumatology clinics of B base number two of the Medical Academy in Sofia, the Oncology Institute, the intensive care sector of the Clinic for Cardiovascular Diseases of City Hospital Number Three, some wards of City Hospital Number Two in Sofia, and others. These leading collectives embody the highest virtues of the socialist way of life and work--humanism, collectivism, and aspiration to reach the highest professional standards. The other extreme is manifested in some negative phenomena related to the quality of the treatment and care for the patients. Such cases were noted at the second internal and first surgical clinics, the Scientific Institute of Obstetrics and Gynecology and other units of the Medical Academy, some maternity and infant pediatric units, and the internal wards of the okrug hospitals in Pernik, Pleven, Yambol, and Shumen, and the rayon hospitals in Velinograd, Lom, Karlovo, and Radomir. No psychological approach is displayed toward the patients. Lack of understanding leads to an alienation of the physician from the patient. This is a phenomenon which erroneously parallels scientific and technical progress in health care. It is entirely wrong for the physician to pay ever less attention to past history and an objective examination and individual dynamic observation of the patient's condition and psychological state. The fact is ignored that the cold and brief contact and lack of daily warm care for the patients cannot be balanced by high skill.

The Third Problem

The third problem applies to the standard of the material and technical equipment of the health worker--his professional-technical standard.

In accordance with the tempestuously developing scientific and technical revolution in the field of medicine, in recent years efforts have been made to use modern and highly effective medical apparatus, equipment, methods, and technologies.

At the same time, however, major weaknesses have been allowed to occur in the field of equipping medical work with technical facilities. Funds for the purchasing of standardized and effective medical equipment, instruments, and installations are not being efficiently used. The problem of designing, manufacturing, and supplying standardized hospital furniture has remained unresolved. The scientific research institute of medical technology is not fulfilling its functions adequately in maintaining the medical equipment--services are not being provided on the necessary level. Medical equipment is being used improperly.

A number of major difficulties exist in supplying medical institutions and citizens with medicines. Reciprocal information between the treatment and pharmaceutical networks is unsatisfactory. The common fault of prescribing drugs unavailable in the pharmacies has not been eliminated.

The elimination of these and some other shortcomings and weaknesses in the material and technical facilities for medical work is an important prerequisite for enhancing the present standard and quality of medical services and the technical standards of the health care service.

The Fourth Problem

The fourth problem discussed by the speaker was that of the professional-aesthetic and sanitary-hygiene standards of health workers.

In recent years a number of new modern medical establishments, of modern architectural design and with modern equipment have been built. At the same time great efforts were made to reconstruct, modernize, and improve existing medical establishments, making them consistent with the optimal parameters of sanitary-hygienic requirements. Under the guidance of the Ministry of Public Health and the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee a mass movement was launched to improve the hygienic condition of medical institutions.

Despite the energetic measures taken and strict control provided by the Ministry of Public Health, there have been cases of an amazingly passive and irresponsible attitude on the part of health managers and public managements. Unsatisfactory and, in some areas, even poor hygiene and order were noted in a number of medical and even pharmaceutical institutions (big and small) in the capital and in some okrugs.

The poor appearance of hospital and working clothing and the sloppy appearance of the patients, their beds, and the hospital environment adversely affect medical service standards. Suitable conditions for cultural recreation of in-hospital patients are not created. The ergonomic value of the proper colors in which the interior of hospital premises are painted and the development of a more comfortable hospital environment are still underestimated.

The Fifth Problem

The fifth problem applies to the behavior of the citizens requesting medical assistance.

Some adverse phenomena may be noted against a general background of reciprocal respect and trust. It is a question of a category of citizens who have a clearly manifested consumerist attitude toward a number of social gains, including health care services. They have developed the erroneous view that the physician must always meet their wishes regardless of the fact that some of them involve violations of procedure, discipline, legality, and socialist morality.

We, Professor G. Mitrov stated, formulate adamant requirements to our public organs and organizations, asking them to assume an irreconcilable position in such cases in order to defend and protect the authority of our health worker who must be considered and protected as a national resource.

To a certain extent we, the medical workers, are also to be blamed for such an attitude displayed by some patients, for some physicians and secondary medical cadres frequently yield or display lack of principles. We do not make sufficient and consistent use of health care propaganda among the population on the way to use medical help and on the procedure in medical establishments. The social contribution of the health worker in raising the population's standard and promoting a new attitude toward individual and public health is still underestimated.

Deputy minister Professor G. Mitrov continued by indicating the most general conclusions to be drawn. It could be stated unhesitatingly, he declared, that after the Ninth Party Congress a great deal was done to raise the standard and quality of medical services and that encouraging successes were achieved in many okrugs and medical collectives.

Despite the unquestionable successes, however, a number of health care collectives allocate little time for daily efficient and concrete work aimed at upgrading the standards and quality of medical services.

The main reason for this lag in resolving the problem of the standard, quality, and effectiveness of medical services is found in the developed conflict between increased possibilities and reserves of our health care system and their inadequate utilization by the subjective factor. Despite the measures taken in this respect a number of disparities remain.

In the light of the documents adopted at the National Party Conference, the contradiction between the objective requirements of upgrading the standards of medical services and the lagging of the socialist organization of labor and planned management in the health care system has become even more emphatic.

Shortcomings in the style and method of work are being surmounted too slowly. Many management and performing cadres at all health care levels have alienated themselves from the vital problems of the standard, quality, and effectiveness of the medical service. They deal mainly with petty daily matters while postponing for months and years the solution of main problems. The role of administering is exaggerated while the collective method of management and the adoption of a political and educational approach to the solution of the problems and the implementation of the initiatives of the collectives are underestimated. The administrative and trade union organs and their medical and trade union executives should provide the most favorable possible conditions for the more operative, efficient, and competent implementation of the tasks facing the medical collectives without engaging in petty supervision.

These contradictions, weaknesses, and shortcomings related to the standard and quality of medical services and care for the sick are also closely linked to:

The unsatisfactory ideological-educational activities in schools and health care institutions and primary collectives;

The insufficient skills of some managers and performing cadres in terms of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in medicine and in the management of the health care service;

The lack of an effective system for the professional selection and guidance of young people in the field of the medical professions;

The lagging in the development and utilization of a socialist organization of labor, services, and management;

The unsatisfactory material and technical support of medical work;

The ineffective system for rating, controlling, and encouraging the activities of health workers;

The belittling of the role of the individual prestige of the health worker;

Insufficient concern for the health and domestic prosperity of the health workers;

Insufficiently effective health propaganda and influence over those needing medical services.

No real turn can take place in the struggle for high standards, quality, and effectiveness of medical services or the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress in the field of public health care without surmounting subjective and objective obstacles.

II. For a New Approach to the Development and Improvement of the Standard and Quality of Medical Services and Care for the Patients in Medical Institutions

Depicting the specific content of the future activities leading to a new upsurge in resolving the complex problem of the standards and quality of medical services, the speaker emphasized the need for the application of a new approach, a new way of thinking and acting whose meaning and content would be to give priority to the qualitative aspect of medical services as a permanent feature in the style and method of all leading organs and performing cadres at all levels of the health care organization. Furthermore, the decisions of the National Party Conference demand of us to focus our attention on the adoption of a comprehensive approach in the management and solution of complex health care problems, bearing in mind, as Comrade T. Zhivkov

emphasizes, that "the qualitatively new aspect is that now we are raising questions of the socialist organization of labor on a comprehensive basis, as the dialectical unity of the three elements of the labor process: expedient human activities or labor, labor objects, and labor tools."

The First Task

The first task is to upgrade the effectiveness of ideological-educational work among medical collectives and medical school students. The content of this work must be linked more closely with the standards and quality of medical services and care for the sick. The political nature of the problem must be explained with proper and convincing arguments to all health care collectives. The effective methods tried in Soviet practice must be used in our specific educational work, as follows:

"Young Health Care Worker's Day," which would develop a tradition related to the acceptance and adaptation of young cadres in primary health care collectives;

Sponsorship;

"Morality and Ethics Day;"

"Health Care Manager's Day;"

Movement for earning the title of "Collective with High Professional Qualification and Medical Ethics and Morality;"

Celebration of labor and professional holidays, promotion of rituals in medical institutions, and others.

The Second Task

The second task is to link the training of management and performing cadres with the problem of the standards and quality of medical services and care for the sick.

The curriculums and programs for the training and developing the skill of medical cadres must be improved. They must include on a more extensive basis problems of medical deontology, foundations of communist morality, topical problems related to the building of a socialist labor organization, theory and practice of social management, sociopsychological aspects of human contacts, and foundations of modern hospital hygiene and aesthetics.

The postgraduate training of medical cadres must also be linked with the topical problems of the standards and quality of medical services. The administrative managements and the trade union organs and organizations must bring up to date the topics in the applied methods of intra-institutional training, linking them in particular with the deontological, moral, aesthetic,

and humanitarian aspects of the profession. The council of secondary and semihigher medical cadres of the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee and within the health network must engage in even more widespread and effective work on training secondary and semihigher cadres in improving their care for the sick and their service standards.

The Third Task

The third task is related to improving the socialist organization of medical work and management on the basis of the measures adopted by the Ministry of Public Health and the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee for the implementation of the decisions of the National Party Conference. This task is now of exceptional importance to our entire health care network. The administrative managements and trade union organs and organizations must work adamantly and consistently to introduce a model socialist organization of the work within the entire network.

Socialist competition must be improved by linking even more closely its objectives, content, and methods with the standards and quality of medical services and care for the sick.

The Fourth Task

The fourth task is to improve the material and technical facilities for medical work. The directorates for the development and application of technical progress and for medical services to the population, the State Pharmaceutical Trust, the Health Construction Institute, the Capital Investments Directorate, and the Planning and Economics of Health Care Directorate must improve their planning, designing, supplying, and distribution of building facilities, medical equipment, furnishings, instruments, and installations for individual services to patients, standardized hospital furniture, medicines and medical-sanitation materials. We must convert to the supply and utilization of standardized material and technical equipment and furnishings. The NIMT [Scientific Research Institute for Medical Equipment] must insure the high quality and prompt repairs and maintenance of medical equipment.

The administrative managements of medical institutions must devote systematic concern for the procurement of instruments and equipment for individual patient services. Standard hospital furniture, based on hygienic, ergonomic and aesthetic requirements, must be introduced systematically and consistently.

The Fifth Task

The fifth task is practically to improve and steadily maintain on a high level the sanitary-hygienic condition in health care institutions. The directorates in charge of state sanitary-anti-epidemiological control and medical services to the population must firmly pursue a strict line concerning the sanitary-hygienic condition of medical institutions. The okrug

public health and social welfare directorates, the hygiene-epidemiological institutes, and the managements of all medical institutions, must intensify and maintain control over the implementation of this task.

The Ministry of Public Health and Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee, and the administrative and trade union managements at all levels must devote systematic concern and persistence in promoting the initiatives of medical collectives in the course of the National Review of the Reconstruction, Modernization, Improvement, and Sanitation of Health Establishments. Particular attention should be paid to the aesthetic appearance of hospital and work clothing. The Ministry of Public Health must set up a group in charge of successfully resolving the problem of procuring modern and aesthetic types of hospital and work clothing.

The Sixth Task

The sixth task must be to improve the system for controlling, rating, and encouraging activities related to the standards and quality of medical services.

The Ministry of Public Health and Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee must take decisive measures to improve the organization of control over the medical network in order to resolve the problem of the standards and quality of medical services and care for the patients. The same should be achieved at the other levels of the health network. A drastic change must be made in the organization and the ways, methods, and means of control by:

Increasing the preventive role of administrative and social control;

Allowing the overall management to be assumed energetically by the control group of the Ministry of Public Health together with the organs of the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee;

Elaborating a uniform method for controlling and rating all basic activities related to the standards and quality of medical services;

Actively using the councils of semihigher and secondary medical workers to exercise social-administrative control over the care for the patients in health institutions;

Having the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee and Ministry of Public Health improve their methods for encouraging the social activeness of health collectives; honorary titles and distinctions must be awarded for high standards and quality of medical services and modern care for the sick.

In conclusion, corresponding member Professor Doctor Gerasim Mitrov stressed that the implementation of the new approach is of major political, economic, social, and ideological significance, and that its application will demand the efforts of all administrative managements and trade union organs and

organizations, and collectives of medical institutions. The overall reorganization of the way of thinking and acting in the spirit of the National Party Conference is a mandatory condition for the solution of the problem.

The leadership of the Ministry of Public Health and the Bureau of the Health Workers Trade Union Central Committee believe that the program for raising the standards and quality of medical services for the population and concern for the sick in medical establishments will enable us to formulate the specific ways, means, deadlines, and performers needed for the solution of this problem. The program is a set of inter-related tasks and measures pursuing a common objective. It could be implemented only through the joint efforts, work, ability, and creative daring of the health workers.

Concluding, Deputy minister Professor G. Mitrov stated:

"Finally, allow me on your behalf, and on behalf of the health workers throughout the country, to assure the BCP Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo and, personally, Comrade T. Zhivkov, that we shall be in the leading ranks of the nationwide socialist competition for high effectiveness and quality and for high standards of medical services and care for the sick in health institutions.

"Let us work adamantly for the implementation of the strategic slogan of high effectiveness and quality and for the implementation of the decisions of the Eleventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party!"

5003

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SSR JUSTICE MINISTER ON SOCIALIST COURTS, LAY JUDGES

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 May 78 p 4

[Article by Pavel Kiraly, JUDr, Minister of Justice of the Slovak Socialist Republic]

[Text] The resolutions of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ and the Congress of the CPS [Slovak Communist Party] emphasize that strengthening the socialist state is inseparable from an intensification of socialist democracy. One of the basic conditions for this development is an intensification and widening of the active participation of people in the control and execution of the state's power. In the field of justice the basis for this condition is the institute of lay judges. The lay judges themselves are an expression of the people's control of power through the working class and other workers. Since 1949 they have helped to transform the judiciary into a people's socialist organ. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which put forth great effort even before February 1948 to have judges carry out their functions in harmony with the people's interests, was able after February to put into effect its program of gradual creation of a judiciary of the socialist type. This transformation took place mainly through systematic improvement in quality of the staff of the judicial apparatus, particularly by education and testing of the judicial functions of the worker cadres, embodying the basic judicial codex into law which clearly expressed the will of the governing class, and continuously changing the organization to insure more effectively its socialist legality and intensify socialist democracy in judges' actions.

The fact that the people are the single source of all power in the country has become a basic principle in application of the power of the state and in execution of administration of the state in a socialist society. Thus laws are not only made by their representatives but are also used as a means of executive power. In the judicial field the Constitution of 9 May established the execution of judicial matters through professional judges and lay judges who have the same powers as professional judges in making decisions. More concretely, in its 11th basic article it applies the central principle of people's democracy in the judiciary which was later put into effect by the law on lay judges. This law became a historic watershed in the development of Czechoslovak judicial affairs, and by its promulgation 30 years ago we entered the path of creating a socialist judiciary.

The significance of establishing the people's power in the judiciary was expressed by Klement Gottwald in his speech on the occasion of approving lay judges on 4 February 1950 as follows: "...our new judge, his spirit, and his organization represent a revolutionary change. This consists mainly of the fact that our judge of the people's democratic type protects the interests of the people--that is, of the overwhelming majority of the populace--and is thus a truly democratic judge and truly independent, in contrast to the bourgeois judge who protected the interests of the exploiting minority and was dependent on their desires or, more properly, their whims.

"Our new judge however is truly democratic and truly independent also because he makes decisions with your participation--you lay judges, workers, peasants, and members of the working intelligentsia. The lay judges are in constant and close contact with the people and gain their rich experience in life from the people's creative work and courage. The spirit of the true lay judiciary is a guarantee that the interests, success, and happiness of the individual will not differ from the interests and success of the people. This is how I see the nature of the revolutionary change in our judiciary."

These words have not lost their importance even today, just when the okres and kraj national committees are, in accordance with the law of the Slovak National Council, at their plenary sessions carrying out election of the lay judges of the okres and kraj courts of the SSR for a further 4-year term. In keeping with the intent of this law the deputies of the national committees have a right to take truly democratic credit for election of the executors of socialist justice in their districts, since they are the most mature representatives of the local organs of state power and administration. More than 80,000 lay judges are to be elected. They are taking care to make sure that they are politically mature citizens, conscientious, honorable, and with great experience who will have authority among the citizens because of their character, moral nature, and courage, as well as their success in their work. They take an active part in the work process and are in constant contact with the economic and political life of our country. Such people also guarantee that their participation in the execution of judicial matters will be a great contribution in the performance of these responsible functions in our socialist judiciary.

For 30 years now our lay judges have participated equally in judicial proceedings and decision-making along with the professional judges. Their contribution to our socialist judiciary is that they are close to the broad masses of workers for whom their judicial decisions are understandable, and they are not cut off from life and the problems and needs of socialist society. For just this reason the rightwing opportunists and antisocial elements in the crisis years of 1968-69 made efforts to do away with participation of the people in the execution of judicial affairs, wanting to exclude the lay judges from the decision-making of the courts and transform them into bureaucratic

organs. These hostile elements clearly wanted to set back development in our society and in the judiciary by a return to the conditions before February 1948 with liquidation of everything connected with the lay judiciary. They were unable to carry out their intentions, thanks only to the international aid given by the fraternal socialist countries in August 1968. We must keep this fact in mind, especially now when we gratefully remember the 10th anniversary of the international aid rendered our country by the USSR and the socialist countries and when hostile Western propaganda attempts to misuse this anniversary.

Besides their actions in the okres and kraj courtrooms, the lay judges perform an important function in that they can convey to their co-workers and fellow citizens the basic knowledge gained in the area of judicial law and information acquired firsthand in specific cases in the performance of their judicial functions. At the work area and in housing areas they take an active part in the activities of the organs and commissions of the national committees to insure socialist order, in commissions for children and young people, in legal commissions dealing with work matters, and so on. Also, they actively work in the field of preventive and educational activities. For example, last year they and the justice workers held more than 21,000 legal propaganda events directed at fighting criminal actions and their causes and at explaining the nature of our laws. They thus also participate in the education of citizens to support the mother country, socialism, and communism; to respect the laws and other legal regulations; to protect socialist property; to maintain work discipline; to fulfill more completely the obligations to one's family and children; and to meet in an honorable way all the obligations of our developed socialist society.

In 3 decades hundreds of lay judges have gained full recognition in the sphere of their activities, so that their fellow citizens turn to them with trust to get advice or to solve personal problems. As a result of their work, their involvement in party policies, and their exemplary personal life they have gained the citizens' respect and authority. The function of the lay judge in society as a whole is an important one and socially is an irreplaceable responsible public function. Starting from the basic resolutions of our party, the Ministry of Justice of the SSR has given a favorable evaluation to the important position of lay judges in the functioning of the courts which has been worked in departmental documents for the years 1976 to 1980. At the Slovakia-wide aktiv of lay judges at the end of 1976 and at the recent service-political aktiv of justice functionaries of the SSR, emphasis was placed on improving attention to their education and professional training, on constantly increased activization of the lay judges in judicial proceedings, and on insuring higher quality, effectiveness, culture, and dignity in those proceedings. It is necessary to raise the professional-political level of the lay judges and lead them to active participation in the legal-propaganda and corrective educational activities.

The beginning of 1979 will make 30 years of application of the law on lay judges. The anniversary of their creation as one of the direct consequences of the February victory of the working people led by the CPCZ will be used after the election of the lay judges to activate politically the entire corps of lay judges and justice workers in regard to the tasks laid on justice in the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and CPS Congress, the 11th session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, and the March session of the Central Committee of the CPS. In close cooperation with the lay judges and party, professional, and youth organizations, the justice organs will develop and intensify work initiative and political involvement for accomplishment of the goals of justice, so that they can fulfill their mission even more thoroughly, and more effectively protect the interests of the socialist society and the rights and safety of its citizens in strict consonance with our laws.

6285

CSO: 2400

HUNGARY

ILLYES DEFINES MISSION OF POET IN LIFE OF NATION

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 26 Jun 78 p 13

[Article by Harry Schleicher]

[Text] "It is the mission of the poet to concern himself with the questions of the fate of the nation without petty political considerations." Gyula Illyes, the greatest living poet of the Hungarian language, formulates his understanding of this role, which has brought him to public attention, in front of the foreign guest, without exaggerated gestures or overbearing speech.

His study, which affords a far-reaching view of the metropolis of Budapest, exudes a comfortable work atmosphere. The 75-year-old Gyula Illyes, who gave proof of his sociopolitical engagement and his close ties to the poor farm proletariat of his country in the novel "Pusztak Nepe" (People of the Pussta), published in 1936, gives a more Hungarian impression today, with a greater consciousness of nationality, after the solution of the social problems; but he has not become a national romantic.

Gyula Illyes is being discussed not only by Hungarians ever since he opened up the problematic topic at the beginning of the year of the 1.7 million Hungarians living in Romanian Transylvania. It was the first time since the war that a prominent Hungarian has touched this painful wound in the relations of the two neighboring states. Since Illyes' appearance coincided with criticisms of several important minority representatives in Romania and was picked up in foreign countries Bucharest suspected a plot. Without considering Illyes' merits regarding Romanian literature--he translated the poems of Tudor Arghezi, for example--suspicions were publicly cast against him in Romania as an enemy of Romania.

"My 'Answers to Herder and Ady' are a literary essay and not a political article," judges Gyula Illyes his essay even today, which turned into a stumbling block. There is a simple reason why Gottfried Herder haunts the sphere of thought of many Hungarian intellectuals even today. It was Herder, who--being bound to the poetry of the people--predicted the extinction of Hungarian in a sea of foreign languages. The fact that every third Hungarian lives outside Hungary today may make Herder's

fears more of a present concern, especially when one believes that one's compatriots are subject to a politics of assimilation.

Illyes believes this, at least in the case of Romania. He believes also in the Hungarian minority's strength to oppose this in Transylvania, even though he does not see the "corrupted church" on the side of the minority in this conflict. "From the intellectual perspective the Hungarian-Romanian border is one of the tightest in the world." Illyes gives the following proofs for this thesis: No book, no article, that deals with the history of Transylvania from a Hungarian perspective, can be imported into Romania. Also, nothing that documents the previous Hungarian character of Transylvania can be exported out of Romania.

"Most Hungarians in Transylvania are in a schizophrenic situation today. To secure social ascent for their children the parents would have to aid Romanization. But, whoever does this feels the contempt of his fellow Hungarians. And how is a Hungarian teacher supposed to teach Hungarian children according to Romanian textbooks," Illyes asks himself even more than his guest from the West, "that their ancestors came as barbaric intruders into the land of their fathers?" Any why is a Hungarian not allowed to stay with his relatives when he visits in Transylvania? Such things make an especially deep impression on a poet like Illyes, of whom it is said that he is developing a greater sensitivity to the problems of nationality. But the master of the Hungarian language does not at all see the problems of minorities to be exclusively Hungarian. "For quite some time we have been witnesses of a renaissance of a consciousness of nationality in Europe, even though with political progress the possibility of a solution for the problems of minorities has diminished rather than increased," Illyes formulates his central thesis.

His strong pessimism in this question is based among other things on the fact that according to his opinion--and he includes here the socialist systems--nothing has improved since the turn of the century in favor of national minorities. As the First World War was inflamed by the problems of minorities Illyes does not exclude them as a cause of a new world-wide war. "I am not a nationalist and rather fear national-chauvinistic explosions of violence." Illyes becomes very thoughtful when he asks: "Why should the biggest national minority in Europe (meaning the Hungarians in Romania) not have a right to autonomy, since it concerns two socialist neighbor countries, especially?"

The poet seems to ask political questions often without being able or wanting to answer them. To the question of a solution to the problem of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania he also has only a very general answer ready: One has to make this problematic reach the consciousness of a wide public, not least in Western Europe.

Like many politically more influential Hungarians, Illyes too is convinced that Hungarian party leaders knew the content of his essay before it appeared. Still his statement of his position did not come as a total surprise. He had already made the problem of the Hungarian minorities in foreign countries a topical one in a disguised form earlier by dealing with the Basques, the Irish, and the Bretons. In the official circles of

Budapest already then the hope that was once entertained, that Gyula Illyes could perhaps be won over as a "Communist court poet," was given up.

After the war he had greeted land reform without reservations and had celebrated the construction of the industrial city of Stalinvaros. But then the questions of the fate of the nation began to concern him more and more already in the sixties, about which he would have liked most to lead a public debate with George Lukas. The great decrease in the birth-rate, the traditionally high suicide rate--even these things undermined Illyes' sense of security as symptoms of a national crisis.

Critical intellectuals are however especially sceptical because of Illyes' almost mystical opinion of the Hungarian language, which he sometimes sees as the "language of truth" purely and simply. Hungarian Communists do not believe that Illyes' literary fanfares can contribute to the practical solution of the minority question, but even some of them feel relieved that someone in Hungary has broken through the nationality taboo and called things by their proper names.

No wonder that the name Gyula Illyes has an even better sound these days than the great poet already had. Although one had become reconciled to a great extent with the big territorial losses, it does not mean--as the case of Gyula Illyes proves--that Hungarians are totally indifferent to the fate of their compatriots living outside of Hungary.

9232

CSO: 3200

LEAGUE OF NATIONAL DEFENSE ELECTIONS, AIMS NOTED

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 19 June 1978, pages 1, 5, and Warsaw CZATA in Polish 2-9 July 1978, pages 2, 11, provide the following information on the VII Congress of the League of National Defense:

TRYBUNA LUDU reports that "on 18 June 1978, the VII Congress of the League of National Defense concluded 2 days of deliberations in Warsaw" and adds that "new officers were elected."

CZATA has published the resolution of the VII Congress of the League of National Defense [LOK] in which some of the League's more salient development problems and objectives were presented. These were: "1) the further development of the material-technical base of the organizational units, particularly those which are operating in the newly created voivodships and gminas; 2) creating the necessary material-cadre, full-time personnel and wage conditions for the local levels and components which makes possible the influx of a highly qualified cadre and specialists for training purposes and statutory activities; 3) a detailed regulation of arms and ammunition supply activities to LOK components for sport-training purposes as well as the regulation of arms storage and maintenance; 4) a study of the possibilities for introducing changes into our organization's currently binding financial system; and 5) a closer cooperation between the LOK's levels and components and the officials of all centralized institutions, local civic organization components, trade unions and economic units, education and the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth [FSZMP] for the consolidating of a uniform patriotic-defense front for the indoctrination of the society."

The same issue of CZATA also provides a listing of the newly elected LOK officers. They are as follows:

"Main Board of the League of National Defense: Div Gen [Maj Gen] Jozef Baryla, Jan Bialozyt, Col Wacław Bak, Col Tadeusz Boron, Brig Gen Jan Cieslik, Bożena Clapinska, Brig Gen Jozef Cwetsch, Jerzy Cywoniuk, Waldemar Dabrowski, Janusz Dubinski, Wiesława Famulska, Jerzy Fiutak, Col Kazimierz Gazdecki, Stanisław Gaciarz, Zdzisław Gorczyca, Mieczysław Grad, Jerzy

Gregorczyk, Zygmunt Habrat, Edmund Halamski, Div Gen Zygmunt Huszcza, Div Gen Waclaw Jagas, Edmund Janowski, Halina Jasek, Janina Jedrychowska, Zygmunt Jedrzejewski, Mirosław Jutkiewicz, Bolesław Karpowicz, Leszek Kociurski, Kazimierz Konarski, Gabriel Konopka, Col Witold Konwinski, Eugeniusz Korolczuk, Wiesław Kos, Edward Kowalczyk, Stanisław Kujda, Brig Gen Tadeusz Kusmierski, Tadeusz Laskowski, Col Albin Lason, Stefan Leoniuk, Antoni Majdzinski, Halina Malczewska, Stanisław Marcinowski, Jerzy Mardyla, Jerzy Milewski, Col Adam Monikowski, Stanisław Mroczek, Div Gen Włodzimierz Oliwa, Jadwiga Orzech, Marian Ozimek, Danuta Pietrowicz, Stanisław Podeszwa, Remigiusz Polens, Marian Rauszer, Janusz Razowski, Roman Rozycki, Danuta Rumianowska, Edmund Rut, Bogusław Ryba, Stanisław Rzepnikowski, Jan Serafin, Witold Sławski, Bronisław Słonka, Tadeusz Sobolewski, Col Wiesław Sokolowski, Brig Gen Tadeusz Sroczynski, Zygmunt Surowiec, Col Michał Syczewski, Ludwik Szczygiel, Andrzej Szubar, Stanisław Szydłowski, Jan Sledziona, Stanisław Tunski, Michał Walenta, Wiesław Weitz, Tadeusz Wesolowski, Karol Wesierski, Col Ryszard Wieczorek, Edward Wielgomas, Jan Wilner, Mieczysław Witkowski, Col Teofil Władyka, Paweł Wojas, Stanisław Wozniak, Edward Wybranski, Aleksandra Zawisza, Jerzy Ziolkowski, Romuald Zysnarski, Tadeusz Zylkowski. Candidate Members: Bolesław Baranowski, Ludomir Galazka, Edward Gora, Zygmunt Jedrychowski, Lt Col Waclaw Krawczyk, Barbara Lewicka, Piotr Lewinski, Jan Michałak, Zbigniew Michalski, Col Bolesław Oktaba, Kazimierz Poludnik, Jan Sliwinski, Jan Telaga, Adam Trzcinski, Zbigniew Zdrodowski.

"Presidium Members: President--Div Gen Waclaw Jagas; Vice Presidents--Mieczysław Grad, Bogusław Ryba, Zygmunt Surowiec; Secretary--Kazimierz Gazdecki; Treasurer--Mieczysław Witkowski; Div Gen Józef Baryla, Brig Gen Jan Cieslik, Brig Gen Józef Cwetsch, Zdzisław Gorczyca, Div Gen Zygmunt Huszcza, Edward Kowalczyk, Stanisław Kujda, Halina Malczewska, Stanisław Marcinowski, Stanisław Mroczek, Div Gen Włodzimierz Oliwa, Danuta Rumianowska, Wiesław Weitz, Paweł Wojas, Tadeusz Zylkowski.

"Main Revision Commission: Stanisław Bez, Henryk Borowiec, Marian Chmurski, Antoni Czyzewski, Wiesław Dybinski, Tadeusz Gembicki, Edward Gliwinski, Zbigniew Janiszewski, Maria Leszczyk, Stanisław Majewski, Marian Malecki, Jan Modrzyński, Mieczysław Przybylski, Henryk Sojka, Stanisław Wróbel, Włodzimierz Zajecki, Henryk Zudro, Col (Reserve) Olgierd Zukowski. Candidate Members: Witold Białkowski, Halina Kaczanowska, Mieczysław Kowynia, Kazimierz Padol, Alina Wierzbinska."

CSO: 2600

POLAND

KRAKOW INSTITUTE SPECIALIZES IN STUDYING POLISH EMIGRES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jul 78 p 4

[Article by (z1): "The Institute in Krakow Knows Everything About Polonia"]

[Text] The Institute of Polonia Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow is carrying out a useful activity. This establishment does not just borrow from literature and historical sources. Precisely during the period of the summer, when the Polonia from abroad visit Poland in massive numbers, the Institute tries to obtain information about emigrants "at first hand," from Polonia's representatives themselves.

The Institute of Polonia Studies was created on the basis of a decision by the Minister of Science, Higher Education, and Technology. The decision to locate this establishment in the Jagiellonian University was made because of the many years of experience of this school in the area of studying the emigres from Polish lands and because of the results of the several years of work of the Polonia Educational-Didactic Center and the affiliated Summer School of Polish Language and Culture (which is where lessons take place) and a Course in the Polish Language for Foreigners.

This is the first post-war institute which carries out work on the emigres from Polish lands and the Polonia communities created under their influence in the various countries of the world. A similar institute was active for only several years during the inter-war period.

The Krakow Institute of Polonia Studies is a country-wide coordinator of research on the subject of Polonia's socio-cultural transformations after World War II. The Institute puts out its own yearbook, which is published in various foreign languages, and cooperates in editing the semi-annual PRZEGLAD POLONIJNY [POLONIA REVIEW]. The establishment cooperates with many Polonia foundations and centers for ethnic studies in over 30 countries of the world.

The Krakow academic establishment closely cooperates with the Association for Liaison with the Poles Abroad, which helps it in establishing contacts with Polonia youth and Polonia academic centers around the world.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

POOR COMBAT TRAINING DISCIPLINE SCORED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 May 78 p 3

[Article by Maj Ireneusz Tulowiecki]

[Text] "Military discipline means that every soldier is to strictly conform to the rules of behavior stipulated in codes and other military regulations and to the orders and instructions issued by superiors....

"The soldier should consciously submit to military discipline in the deep conviction that to a very great extent this discipline determines the strength, cohesion, operational efficiency, and combat readiness of the military services."

In light of the above provisions of the "Regulamin Dyscyplinaryny Sił Zbrojnych PRL" [Disciplinary Code of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic] it clearly emerges that obedience to regulations, orders, and instructions should be accompanied by the conviction that this obedience determines the degree to which the missions of the armed forces will be successfully carried out. There is another very important, though not always recognized, aspect to the above problem. Namely, this is in reference to combat discipline during military training and most importantly during tactical training exercises.

It has become generally accepted to believe that when one is talking about military discipline this has to do primarily with external appearance, punctuality, neatness, the proper forms according to which subordinates are to address their superiors and vice versa, compliance with the rules of soldierly good conduct, the awarding of medals, and so on. Thus, these are matters which are very deliberately and very precisely spelled out by the appropriate entries in the military code books and which, most importantly, are understood by everyone. Consequently, deviations from these designated standards usually entail appropriate sanctions. Exemplary compliance with these rules and regulations is rewarded with honors and

distinctions, while penalties are meted out for shortcomings in this regard. And this is how it ought to be.

But at the same time these rules are often disregarded or sometimes even deliberately violated in tactical training exercises, during the course of which this same code of rules still remains in force, including the provision thereof which orders troops to conduct themselves in accordance with specific military regulations, orders, and instructions, also including therefore the rules and regulations which apply in time of war. To substantiate this claim I will cite a few examples.

The initial progress of the operation indicated that the tank company commander's intention to fight a close-quarters battle would be carried out properly and systematically. Two platoons established fire contact with the enemy, while reconnaissance reported the movement of some enemy forces in the forest on the company's left flank. These forces attacked the two "southern" platoons according to plan and, as it later turned out, also routed the third, reserve platoon along the way. This came about due to the fact that the latter platoon, instead of remaining in the rear, concealed at the edge of the forest and waiting in readiness to attack the enemy forces as they conducted their evasive maneuver, "crept out" into the clearing, thus becoming an easy target for the foe whose forces were decidedly superior in this sector.

The company commander's ingenious and, one might say, subtle plan was foiled. The enemy won the battle for what are essentially prosaic reasons. All because a few tanks did not stay where they were supposed to. They were no further than a couple of hundred or so meters away from the position they were ordered to take up. And yet these few meters cost them the battle. Actually, though, it was not just these one or two hundred meters that made the difference, rather it was the attitude of the commanders, including above all the commander of the third platoon. This is because, on the one hand, he failed to grasp the tactical nature of this situation and did not organize the actions that were necessary in this case for an ambush-type operation, while, on the other hand, he showed signs of insubordination, inasmuch as he failed to carry out the instructions issued by his superior ordering the concealment of equipment and the camouflaging of the entire operation.

Apart from a reprimand delivered during the course of post-exercise review discussion, nothing else resulted from this lack of combat discipline on the part of this commander, even though it is not hard to imagine the effects it would have had under real combat conditions. One of the most likely results would have been that the tank company, also including this unlucky platoon commander, would have been put entirely out of action.

Another example:

A battalion command position. The command staff is evaluating the commander's decision concerning the conduct of the next mission. All of a

sudden the chemical warfare alarm is sounded. Strongly enough, inasmuch as most of the staff members quickly gather up their individual anticontamination gear, several officers calmly go on working as if nothing had happened. They did not even go to the trouble of putting on their gas masks. But when they were asked why they did not respond to the danger signal, they answered by saying that the protective clothing hinders them in their exceptionally important work.

It is hard to disagree with the contention that it is hard to work in this kind of clothing. But one could say much the same thing about helmets, personal weapons, and other equipment. But at the same time it is astonishing to note that this statement betrays an underlying disregard for certain dangers. It is all the more astonishing in that, of all people, officers are most familiar with the nature and effects of chemical warfare agents. Or is it that some of them are immune to the effects of these weapons?

A great deal of work is being done in military units to train troops and improve their ability to defend themselves against the effects of mass destruction weapons, including chemical warfare weapons. This goal is being furthered, among other things, by systematic training exercises in the use and wearing of certain types of anti-contamination gear. The purpose of these exercises is to help the body adjust physically and mentally to wearing and working in protective clothing over long periods of time.

The situation described in the above example attests to the fact that this battalion is not making its best effort in the area of chemical warfare training. Even worse, it proves that the battalion commander and chief-of-staff does not expect very much from his own personnel, in addition to showing that he does not take a very serious interest in their training by the chemical warfare drill instructor.

Nor can one accept the explanation to the effect that when it is really necessary the officers and men will put on their protective clothing and work as hard as the situation requires. This is because it is well-known from experience that without instruction programs and without the verification of their results in training exercises--which are also a manifestation of combat discipline--even the best of intentions will not help matters. Even if work in progress is of the utmost importance and urgency, the rules of tactical procedure must not be broken.

One is also amazed to observe that these same officers, who are so unconcerned about protecting themselves against contamination and infection, are utterly consistent in demanding that their subordinates comply with all standards, rules, and decisions that apply in this respect.

Here is another training exercise episode:

A regimental attack staging area. The regimental sub-units are deployed in this area in complete compliance with the rules of tactical procedure. All equipment is concealed and camouflaged, vehicle tracks have been carefully obliterated, and all movement has come to a standstill on access

roads. All of this work has been done so well that the officer in charge of the exercise, while knowing the deployment position of the participating unit's command staff, still encountered serious difficulties in actually finding it. And he probably would have went on looking for a long time if he had not happened to spot a "gazik" [GAZ; a Soviet-made jeep vehicle] parked right along the side of the road in an open area. The command position had been set up nearby. It later turned out that this vehicle belonged to the commander of the unit participating in the exercise.

The above example is a typical illustration of the most frequently recurring infractions of combat discipline. One could of course cite many more such examples, even including instances where mediators and exercise command staff members openly "meander about" in otherwise perfectly camouflaged sub-unit areas which are supposed to be hidden from the view of "enemy" reconnaissance teams moving about in a similar manner for the purpose of identifying and pinpointing their positions. These kinds of violators often include liaison and command officers driving around openly in their vehicles and also technical support elements, medical teams, and so on.

Thus, while one group of people is obliged to observe certain directives, orders, and rules, another group of people seems to be above all this. The whole regiment managed to do an effective job of concealing itself in the forest, but its efforts were ruined by a single driver who did not think it was worth the trouble to hide his vehicle, instead simply parking it under the nearest tree. The tank unit troops went to a great deal of trouble in digging and perfectly camouflaging defense trenches, but the mediator, walking along from tank to tank, clearly identifies their position. And it is most likely that this mediator is convinced that the rules of combat discipline apply only to those under his supervision.

In any event, there is nothing strange about all this. In the cases described above, and in many others as well, no disciplinary measures were resorted to apart from pointing out mistakes that were made (and even this is not always done) and possibly assigning lower performance grades.

It is noteworthy that open infractions of the provisions of rules and regulations can have two different kinds of consequences, depending on the circumstances under which they occur. The failure to salute an officer or to do so in a careless manner will result in a soldier's arrest, say, by garrison military police, an investigation of the case by court made up of the soldier's peers, or even in the imposition of direct penalties by a superior officer. And no one is surprised that this is the case.

Careless wandering about in areas of troop concentrations, leaving equipment uncamouflaged and unconcealed, leaving vehicles without permission and loitering along the roadside during military convoy halts, or even the capture of territory by foot soldiers when this is supposed to be done by tanks sometimes gives rise to no controversy, surprise, or expressions of concern, and in most cases the perpetrators suffer no consequences.

Are we then confronted with two categories of military discipline? The everyday discipline of soldiers in regular training, and a different school of discipline that applies to tactical and combat training? And even though they are tied together by the same fundamental element, i.e., obedience to specific military regulations, it often happens that they are regarded as two separate matters. And yet training discipline should also be reflected in tactical discipline. A soldier's exemplary behavior in public places and his compliance with uniform and grooming codes would not seem to be worth very much if he is going to be slack and careless in carrying out orders on the field of battle.

It may be that the existence of situations similar to those described above is attributable to the fact that it is hard to find any point in the various codes, instructions, and handbooks currently in effect where the rules of combat discipline have been precisely spelled out.

There is only one kind of discipline! A soldier who does not abide by the rules of combat discipline during training exercises should be treated in the same way as an undisciplined soldier, that is, with the strictest possible application of the basic military law as represented by the provisions of the disciplinary code.

[Caption text] Are not the efforts of this tank crew in carefully camouflaging its tank during a war game rendered meaningless by the mediator walking openly from tank to tank and thereby revealing their positions to the enemy?

[Caption text] The most frequently recurring instance of the failure of troops to comply with the rules of combat discipline involves standing in open hatchways and portholes of combat vehicles and armored troop carriers moving in column formations.

11813
CSO: 2600

At the end of the war, the military discipline was fully elaborated, and all the necessary measures were taken to ensure its effective application.

POLAND

MILITARY DAILY SCORES PRC-FRG TIES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 1-2 Apr 78 p 2

[Article by Stefan Zielicz: "The Chinese Guests of the Bundeswehr."
For a Polish analysis of PRC military policies and capabilities see
Pioro article in JPRS 70175, 16 November 1977 of this series.]

[Text] The well-known West German daily DIE WELT, published by the Springer firm, in the 9 March 1978 issue served its readers a colorful account of the visit paid by a Chinese military delegation under the leadership of General Shen Shao-hsing at the barracks of one of the Bundeswehr units at Augustdorf.

The correspondent of the Springer newspaper is virtually profuse with emotion writing about the sincere greeting of the guests by the hosts. The commander of the Bundeswehr brigade, Colonel Enno Walter, boasted to the Chinese about the weapons and equipment of his brigade and invited them to put on fatigue uniforms and try out one of the famous "Leopard" tanks.

"We are always ready to learn new techniques," General Shen thanked him humbly, while his colleagues politely tried on the offered Bundeswehr black berets to pose in them for souvenir photographs.

Of particular interest to the Chinese guests was a bulletin board posted in the barrack square with a description and photographs of one of the latest Soviet tanks. They asked to have the technical-tactical data translated exactly, and this they carefully noted down.

The bucolic atmosphere was not at all marred by the language difficulties of Air Force Lieutenant Colonel Schuetz, assisting the Chinese officers, whose Sinology qualifications were obviously overestimated by his superiors. But the lieutenant colonel, as the correspondent of DIE WELT relates, "asked a question in Russian, which he learned during his 5-year stay in a prisoner-of-war camp," from which one can deduce that he comes from Hitler's Wehrmacht. Thereupon a Chinese officer immediately replied

in fluent Russian, which he surely must have learned in the first decade of the Chinese People's Republic when its army took advantage of gratuitous Soviet help in all areas.

A practically symbolic incident distinctly characterized from a moral point of view, the purpose of the Chinese military delegation's visit to the Bundeswehr barracks. The handshake exchanged between the Chinese officer and the onetime Hitler soldier requires no commentary. The tightening of relations between the Maoist leadership of the Chinese People's Republic and the reactionary forces of the Federal Republic of Germany in the military field as well, must be seen primarily from a political aspect. It would be difficult to disregard the serious implications of this occurrence.

As is evident from Hua Kuo-feng's speech at the recent session of the Chinese General Assembly of Representatives, the Peking leadership subordinated all tasks before their nation to a forced militarization, in particular to modernization of their army's material and armaments. At the same time they want to utilize to a maximum degree the technical aid of Western European nations, particularly though, the aid of the arms industry and generals of the Federal Republic of Germany.

At this time the Chinese foreign trade minister is in Brussels on an official visit, and is to sign a 5-year trade agreement with the European Common Market on 3 April. According to the agreement, China will benefit from the most favored nation clause in the countries of Western Europe. The Chinese are striving for an understanding with the NATO countries in the area of cooperation against the Soviet Union. That these endeavors are effective is proven by a well-known pronouncement by the commander-in-chief of NATO forces in Europe General Alexander Haig that in fact "China is the 16th member country in the NATO alliance."

All this points to the fact that the ruling circles of the Chinese People's Republic are attaching special importance to strengthening ties with the Federal Republic of Germany, whose arms industry could guarantee them access to the newest military technology. The political price, paid in advance by Peking for the help, is the avowed support or even inspiration of the revanchist claims of West German chauvinism, the questioning of the borders formed as a result of World War II, and outright instigation of a revision of these borders. The Chinese flirtation in this very area has already been going on for some time with the most reactionary forces of the West German right wing.

The visit of the delegation, headed by General Shen, to the Bundeswehr barracks in Augustdorf constitutes a distinct expression of the participation of military circles of both sides in this flirtation and in the building of a military alliance of Maoists and West German imperialists. The points of such an alliance must be assessed as being against us.

9192-R
CSO: 2600

PRESIDENTIAL DECREE ON APPOINTMENT, REMOVAL OF OFFICIALS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 51, 4 Jul 78 p 1

[Presidential Decree on Appointments and Removals of Officials]

[Text] The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that:

Article 1--Comrade Valeriu Pop is appointed director general of Romanian Radio and Television.

Article 2--Comrade Cornel Iuga is relieved of his position as vice chairman of the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity and appointed deputy minister of finance.

Article 3--Comrade Stan Magureanu is appointed vice chairman of the Central Council of Worker Control of Economic and Social Activity.

Article 4--Comrade Valeriu Ceoconica is appointed vice chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology.

Article 5--Comrade Aurel Duca is appointed vice chairman of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education.

Article 6--Comrade Alexandru Iliescu is appointed deputy minister of forestry economy and construction materials and chief of the department of silviculture.

Article 7--Comrade Adrian Stoica is appointed deputy minister of the chemical industry.

Article 8--Comrade Bujor Ionita is relieved of his position as deputy director general of Romanian Radio and Television.

Article 9--Comrade Nicolae Dumitru is appointed deputy director general of Romanian Radio and Television.

Article 10--Comrade Nicolae Ionescu is appointed state secretary in the National Council for Science and Technology.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 3 July 1978
NO 158

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP OF GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COMMISSIONS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 57, 13 Jul 78 p 9

[Grand National Assembly Resolution on Changes in the Composition of Some Permanent Commissions of the Grand National Assembly]

[Text] Inasmuch as some deputies, members of permanent commissions of the Grand National Assembly, have received new assignments and some positions on commissions have become vacant, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that the composition of some permanent commissions of the Grand National Assembly is changed as follows:

1. Constitutional and Legal Commission
--Deputies Stefan Bobos and Richard Winter are released.
--Deputies Olga Borda, Ernest Breitenstein, and Gheorghe Lupea are elected.
2. Commission for Agriculture, Silviculture, and Water Management
--Deputies Aldea Militaru and Marin Vasile are released.
--Deputies Maxim Berghianu, Mihai Petla, and Ion Rusinaru are elected.
3. Commission for Peoples Councils and State Administration
--Deputies Corneliu Onescu and Virgil Trofin are released.
--Deputies Vasile Potop and Alexandru Toana are elected.

This resolution was adopted unanimously by the Grand National Assembly in the session of 6 July 1978.

Chairman of the Grand National Assembly
NICOLAE GIOSAN

Bucharest, 6 July 1978
No 1

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

MINISTERIAL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Dumitru Alecu is released from his position as minister state secretary in the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and Comrade Dumitru Popa is appointed minister state secretary in the Ministry of the Chemical Industry. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 57 13 Jul 78 p 10]

PEOPLES COUNCILS' APPOINTMENTS--Inasmuch as the positions of chairman of the executive committees of the peoples councils of Gorj and Suceava counties have become vacant, on the basis of Article 72 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Gavrilesco is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Gorj County and Comrade Traian Girba is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Suceava County. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 57 13 Jul 78 p 10]

CSO: 2700

CONFLICTS BETWEEN NONALIGNED COUNTRIES DISCUSSED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jun 78 pp 21-23

[Article by Kresimir Fijacko: "Why Conflicts Among the Nonaligned?"]

[Text] Disputes, Conflicts and Unfortunately Even Wars Are Inevitable in Such a Broad Movement as Nonalignment. But the Essential Thing Is That the Crises and Conflicts Do Not Set the Tone for That Movement, But Are a Concomitant Though Undesirable Phenomenon

The statistics are rather gloomy: since the end of World War II there have been 119 military conflicts in the world involving 69 countries. For Europe this period has been most peaceful, which means that these conflicts have occurred predominantly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, on the continents, that is, whose countries represent a majority in the movement for nonalignment. In just the Arab world, where all the countries are members of the movement for nonalignment, there have been 40 military conflicts.

In the recent past particularly, when Vietnam and Cambodia or Ethiopia and Somalia went to war, one could sometimes hear in the West that the "conflicts among the nonaligned were evidence of their immaturity or quarrelsome mentality." This evades the fact that many of the nonaligned countries which have gone to war have only recently acquired their independence, which is to say that they still have not managed to set aside the burden which the "mature and civilized" colonial powers left them. Those who would like to see the "end of the movement for nonalignment" in the conflicts among the nonaligned have overlooked the fact that not a single nonaligned country has yet left the movement because of those conflicts, nor--the most essential thing--have those conflicts been a determining factor for the nonalignment movement.

Not even in the bloc groupings is there monolithic unity, though their members adhere to the same ideological postulates, the same or similar socio-economic relations and accept--more or less willingly, or against their will--the leading role of the strongest power in the bloc. It would therefore be illusory to expect that kind of unity and an absence of conflicts in a movement which brings together some 100 countries just the way they are; they don't line up in formation, and they do not put on uniforms.

The first and superficial response to the question of why the nonaligned countries become involved in conflicts and even go to war might be this: And why not, bad as it may be?

Who Is Becoming Involved in Conflicts and What Is at Issue?

1. Vietnam-Cambodia. The pretext is an unresolved border question (parrot's bill), but the border disagreements, it would seem, have been heated up by ideological disagreements. Cambodia, as is well known, charges Vietnam with hegemonistic aspirations in Indochina, while Vietnam charges Cambodia with "aggression," and makes mild references to "Chinese involvement." In any case a real war, one whose dimensions are rather unclear, is being fought on the border between the two countries.

2. Ethiopia-Somalia. Here again the pretext is the border, that is, an entire part of Ethiopia which Somalia claims as its own (Ogaden). In that conflict between two nonaligned countries a third, Cuba, has intervened with its units stationed in Africa.

3. Egypt-Libya. An ideological dispute, that is, a disagreement between Qadhafi and Sadat over the unification of the two countries, led to an armed conflict on the border between the two countries. Later, as indeed on several previous occasions, the dispute was smoothed over, but never altogether eliminated.

4. Egypt-"rejectionist front." After his pilgrimage to Jerusalem Sadat found himself almost completely isolated in the Arab world and under attack by countries making up the "rejectionist front" (rejection of his peace initiative) because of his "betrayal of Arab interests."

5. Algeria-Morocco. Conflict because of the Western Sahara.

6. Angola and Zaire. Conflict because of the presence of what are called Tshombe's gendarmes in Angola and of remnants of Roberto's pro-Western FNLA movement in Zaire.

7. Conflicts between Libya and Chad, between Uganda and Tanzaniya, and between Cuba and a number of countries opposed to its presence in Africa.

Causes of the Conflicts

The nonaligned countries adhere to different socioeconomic systems and reflect all types of contemporary ideological commitments and conflicts. Every variety of the political movements and parties which exist on both sides of the line separating socialism from capitalism are in power in the non-aligned countries: communist parties are in power in some, while in others archaic feudal structures are still dominant. It is, then, quite understandable that conflicts can occur among the nonaligned countries because of ideological commitments, although that conflict of interests has not been

manifested so very sharply because it is the very essence of nonalignment to put points of contact and common interests ahead of more narrow interests and commitments. However, as has frequently been evident, this does not do away with differing ideological commitments, nor does it preclude conflicts on that basis.

At the Algiers summit conference of the nonaligned countries in 1973 there was a conflict between Cuban premier Fidel Castro and the Libyan president Mu'ammarr Qadhafi; they spoke about certain key problems in the policy of nonalignment in today's world from diametrically opposed ideological positions. Even though Castro and Qadhafi realize that the conflict between them must be overcome by stressing the broader common interests, they nevertheless expressed quite clearly the existence of that demarcation line which is one of the basic lines of separation standing to a greater or lesser degree even between nonaligned countries. Although the effect of differing ideological commitments has not been visibly expressed in the joint action taken by the nonaligned countries, they are in any case of a lasting nature.

Political commitments are another important factor which help in elucidating the causes of conflicts between nonaligned countries. Although ideological differences between nonaligned countries are frequently and effectively overlooked in the interest of joint action, this is more difficult with political commitments, since these differences are more evident and tangible. The members of the movement for nonalignment are characterized not only by their degree of actual nonalignment in practical political action, but also by a differing degree of affinity for the policy of some particular great power or former colonial homeland.

Cuba is thus very close to the political views of the Soviet Union, while some of the ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] countries are close to the political views of the United States, and some countries of francophone Africa are involved to a great extent in the political and economic mechanisms of the former mother country. Vietnam is close to the Soviet Union, Cambodia to China, and this already gives a certain color to their conflict. Some nonaligned countries are closer to their official policy to the Soviet Union than to the United States, or vice versa, closer to China than to the USSR and the United States, or closer to Britain, France or some other country than to the great powers. There are many variations, but the essential thing is that the conflict of interests between the nonaligned countries because of better or closer relations with some particular great power has not resulted in essential divergences which might take on the dimensions of a break, nor does it now so threaten. Yet relations of this kind remain a source of antagonisms which are constantly operative, though their intensity varies as a function of the pace of development of international relations.

Economic interests and level of development are also a source of many antagonisms between nonaligned countries. Although the great majority of them are developing countries, the nonaligned also include certain countries which are at the very summit of world financial power (Kuwait, Qatar, the

United Arab Emirates). The differences are enormous; whereas in the countries we have mentioned, which are petroleum producers, per capita income is between \$10,000 and \$14,000 a year, in the some 30 nonaligned countries which are among the world's poorest (Bangladesh, Laos, Bhutan, Guinea-Bissau and others) per capita income is under \$120 a year. These differences, of course, give rise to a different approach taken by particular countries toward essential issues in international relations or in connection with joining international organizations. A particular nonaligned country's stronger or weaker economic ties with a particular great power, economic grouping or former mother country is also a possible source of difference among the non-aligned countries.

Differences over international political problems are also a very essential cause of conflicts that arise between nonaligned countries. A conflict of interests is quite openly manifested in the degree of commitment to fulfillment of the program of the movement for nonalignment and in the assessment of various crisis situations: from Vietnam, where some nonaligned countries were on the side of the Liberation Front, some others were neutral, and some showed signs of tolerating the American intervention, and then including the Middle East, where, as is well known, differences were expressed in the stance of certain Arab and African nonaligned countries toward Israel, and then to Czechoslovakia in 1968, when certain nonaligned countries condemned the armed intervention of certain countries of the Warsaw Pact, while others approved it.

Bilateral Contradictions. Since most of the nonaligned countries are in regions which for centuries were dominated by colonial powers, they have inherited a whole range of unresolved problems: inconsistently defined borders, political antagonisms and so on. This is one of the principal reasons why most of the military conflicts in recent years have been precisely among the nonaligned countries. The now almost proverbial differences among the Arab countries are also important as a cause of conflict; they have their roots in differing political orientations. There is a long list of so-called bilateral conflicts which are a combination of differing historical legacies and current political influences, but it is significant that the platform of nonalignment makes it possible for all the nonaligned countries to gather together and in this way to resolve their mutual disputes and outstanding issues. Even at a time when meetings of the Arab League were not possible because of the disagreements in the Arab world, the Arab countries achieved a certain degree of unity of action in meetings of the nonaligned.

An important place among the reasons for conflicts and causes of dilemmas in the movement for nonalignment is also taken by the desire of certain non-aligned countries to free the movement of the "ballast" of those members which are not sufficiently active or "progressive" and to reduce it to the narrowest circle of "the most committed fighters against imperialism," by contrast with the view of most of the nonaligned countries that the movement's strength lies in its breadth and openness, which has in fact been proven already.

How To Solve Disputes and Conflicts

By interfering in the conflicts of the nonaligned countries or by provoking those conflicts the great powers are creating situations which could harbor real and great dangers for the political independence of certain countries and for the unity of the movement as a whole and for its ability to act. One can therefore understand the efforts to resolve disputes peaceably, without the use of force and outside intervention, to get the belligerents to the negotiating table and possibly to provide the good offices of regional organizations (for example, the Organization of African Unity) or of the other nonaligned countries. In the recent or remote past there have been quite a few examples of delicate issues that have been resolved in exactly that way. Even from the very beginning of their joint action on the international scene, and particularly since the Belgrade Conference (1961), the nonaligned countries have concentrated above all on the resolution of crisis situations representing a direct threat to world peace and often put a burden on international relations. Thanks in good part to the efforts of the nonaligned countries in the United Nations and outside the world organization, and by the very existence and expansion of the movement of the non-aligned, as a consequence of which an increasing portion of the world has avoided bloc divisions and rivalries, there has been a certain relaxation of tension, insufficient and defective though it might be. But because of the resistance of the colonial powers liberation and anticolonial wars have become serious hotbeds for crisis situations. Though many of these crises still have not been resolved (the Middle East, Cyprus, South Africa), it is obvious that the times are gone when these problems could be resolved through secret channels or by the privileged few. Whereas the nonaligned countries have made an obvious contribution to efforts to resolve these crises and alleviate sources of crisis, it is well known that the movement for nonalignment is also able to alleviate certain conflicts among its own members.

It is an illusion--though opponents of nonalignment faithfully harbor such notions--to expect that conflicts among the nonaligned countries, even though they may involve war, can threaten the unity of the movement to any great extent. It would be equally illusory to expect complete harmony or "monolithic unity" to prevail among the some 100 member-countries of the movement for nonalignment. Disagreements and disputes do not threaten unity of action on the issues which are essential to the movement for nonalignment, but they do detract from the ability of the nonaligned countries to act and, which is very dangerous, they create space for infiltration and activity of the bloc powers. Wherever there are disputes and conflicts among the nonaligned countries, there we also find the great powers aggravating the disagreements and rushing forward with help in the form of their weapons, money and advice....

It is therefore natural for the nonaligned countries to endeavor to diminish points of friction and conflict within their ranks through broader mutual cooperation and to avoid crises. But crises and conflicts there are,

and there is no reason to regard this fact as something unusual or fatal to the movement. Perhaps that is a pity. But even at moments when the movement for nonalignment has been directly confronted with crisis situations of varying character and scope, the idea of nonalignment has proven its vitality. In spite of conflicts which some people proclaim to be signs of dissension in the movement or hints of "the beginning of the end," the idea of nonalignment is increasingly present even outside the so-called Third World.

There will in fact continue to be conflicts of ideas and interests in the ranks of the nonaligned in the future as well: in such a broad movement as nonalignment this is almost inevitable, as indeed are armed conflicts, unfortunately. Alongside the lasting interests of the movement for nonalignment--the struggle for peace, freedom, independence and equality of peoples, for economic development and social progress--contradictions which divide the nonaligned countries or even draw them into armed conflicts will unfortunately also be manifested. The thing that is essential here is the fact that it is not those crises and conflicts which set the tone of the movement for nonalignment, but rather they represent a mere concomitant phenomenon, though an undesirable one.

7045

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

DATA ON ARMED STRENGTH OF SOME NONALIGNED COUNTRIES

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jun 78 p 22

[Article by Mladen Paver: "How They Are Armed"]

[Text] We present a survey of the military potential of certain nonaligned countries which have been involved in conflicts with one another. Certainly this military potential did not come about as a function of those conflicts, but it was, unfortunately, used in those conflicts or might be used in the future.

Socialist Republic of Vietnam

Population: 46,855,000.

Army, with navy and air force, number 615,000, and territorial defense another 1.5 million soldiers or thereabout.

In the armored forces 900 tanks and other armored vehicles. The air force has 310 warplanes, 120 of them fairly old jet fighters, and 80 MiG-19 interceptors and 70 MiG-21's, and then 57 transports and about 40 helicopters.

Navy of the coastal type, has 3 escort vessels, 3 missile launches, 22 motor gunboats, 30 small patrol boats, etc.

Along with this armament of Soviet origin, there has also remained a substantial part of the arsenal of the army of the former Saigon regime, which included 550 tanks, 1,200 armored personnel carriers and 1,330 self-propelled guns, and then about 1,000 airplanes and helicopters of various types, while the naval forces included 2 frigates, 42 patrol gunboats and 80 riverboats.

The Vietnamese forces in Laos are estimated at 40,000 men (1976), the number being variable.

Cambodia

Population: 8,570,000.

Estimated gross national product: \$1.5 billion.

Armed forces of 90,000 men deployed in small units all over the country for purposes of internal security.

Equipment mixed--Soviet, Chinese and American--includes 210 armored personnel carriers, 80 airplanes and helicopters of various types and 150 patrol and riverboats.

Ethiopia

Population: 29,330,000.

Estimated gross national product (1975): \$2.9 billion; military expenditures: \$103.4 million (1976).

Armed forces about 53,500 active soldiers and 20,000 reservists, augmented by 75,000 members of the militia, have 140 tanks and 100 armored personnel carriers, 35 warplanes and 27 helicopters.

According to the figures of SIPRI [expansion unknown], during 1977 and 1978 an additional 48 warplanes (MiG-21's and MiG-23's), 280 tanks, 40 armored personnel carriers, 4 transport planes, 200 antitank missiles, 250 SAM-3 anti-aircraft missiles and 1,500 SAM-7 portable missiles and 5 helicopters, all with practically no exception of Soviet origin.

Recent Western estimates indicate 17,000 Cubans in Ethiopia, along with a few thousand Soviet advisers and technicians.

Democratic Republic of Somalia

Population: 3,335,000.

Estimated gross national product (1972): \$300 million; military expenditures: \$25 million (1976).

Total armed forces 31,500 soldiers and 12,000 members of other formations (police and militia), have 200 tanks, 350 armored personnel carriers, 55 warplanes (12 of them MiG-21's) and 11 helicopters, 3 missile boats and 4 torpedo boats.

Algeria

Population: 17,885,000.

Estimated gross national product (1976): \$14.5 billion; military expenditures: \$387 million (1977).

Armed forces 67,000 men (reserve 100,000).

Ground forces: 450 tanks and 440 armored personnel carriers. Air force: 177 warplanes (35 MiG-21 interceptors) and 30 transport planes, about 60 helicopters.

Naval forces (27 ships with 3,880 tons), ahead of its neighbors Morocco, Tunisia and Libya in the year of production and firepower of its ships. In addition to 6 attack submarines, they include 11 missile and 12 torpedo boats.

Morocco

Population: 18,200,000.

Estimated gross national product (1976): \$7.85 billion; military expenditures: \$345 million (1977).

The armed forces number about 85,000 men, 3,000 of whom intervened in Zaire in 1977 and 1978.

Ground forces include 320 tanks (French, American and Soviet) and 86 armored personnel carriers, and an additional 100 tanks and 334 other armored vehicles are on order.

The air force has 45 combat planes and about 80 helicopters, and 50 Mirage F-1C's have been ordered. The navy has 3 corvettes and 9 patrol ships, and another 5 frigates, 1 corvette and 14 patrol ships have been ordered.

According to the data of the SIPRI, purchases made in 1977 and 1978 included 6 transport planes, 100 armored personnel carriers and 1,000 TOW antiarmor rockets (all of American manufacture).

Zaire

Population: 26,310,000.

Estimated gross national product (1974): \$3.5 billion; military expenditures: \$76.8 million (1976).

The armed forces number about 64,000 men, about 20,000 of them in the rural police. Until 1976 the Italian-trained pilots, the Israeli paratroopers, the Chinese sailors, and specialists from North Korea trained the Camaniola elite division. Today the French and Belgians provide the largest number of military specialists.

The army has 60 light tanks (Chinese) and 180 armored personnel carriers, and according to the figures of SIPRI, in 1977 China delivered another 20 T-62 medium tanks.

After the recent armed conflict in Shaba Province, French legionnaires and Belgian paratroops intervened with American logistic support, and an attempt is now being made to replace them with so-called Pan-African forces from the "moderate" francophone countries.

People's Republic of Angola

Population: 6,100,000.

Military expenditures: \$98 million (1975).

The armed forces, with about 30,000 men, possess 200 tanks and 265 other armored vehicles. The air forces, which have French, American and Soviet equipment, include 33 combat and about 50 transport planes, along with 20 helicopters. The navy has 13 patrol boats and 5 landing craft.

There are 20,000 Cubans in Angola, along with several thousand Soviet advisers and technicians.

Egypt

Population: 38,880,000.

Estimated gross national product (1976): \$12.9 billion; while military expenditures (1977/1978) amount to \$4.37 billion.

Armed forces: 345,000 men.

The army has about 3,000 tanks and 2,700 other armored vehicles of Soviet origin. The same is the case with antiair defense (108 MiG-21 interceptors and 360 anti-aircraft missiles, not including those on order from France).

The air forces have 365 combat planes, all of Soviet origin, not including 38 Mirage III-E planes and 44 Mirage F-1 planes which are on order. More than half of all the helicopters (182) are of Soviet manufacture. Members of the Egyptian air forces participated in the recent intervention in Zaire.

Naval forces, with 103 vessels totaling 43,300 tons, represent a well-balanced and strong striking power: 19 missile launches, 12 submarines, 36 torpedo boats, 5 destroyers, 8 minesweepers, etc. Since the fleet of Soviet origin, the problem of spare parts is making it necessary for them to build their own missile boats and obtain weapons from the West.

The data of SIPRI indicate that in the 1976-1978 period Egyptian purchases included 6 C-130 (Lockheed) transport planes, 1,500 antitank missiles from Britain and about 600 from France, 36 helicopters (Gazelle) and 14 Mirage 5SD combat planes. The sale of 50 American F-5 fighter-bombers has been agreed on, and shipments of other weapons have been announced.

Libya

Population: 2,630,000.

Estimated gross national product (1975): \$12.2 billion; military expenditures: \$229 million (1976).

The armed forces, numbering about 30,000 men, have 1,200 tanks and 2,100 other armored vehicles. The air force has about 160 combat planes (60 MiG-23 and Mirage III-E interceptors) and about 20 transport planes, along with 45 helicopters. Antiair defense is also equipped with French and Soviet missiles. The navy consists of 1 frigate, 2 corvettes (3 being built), and 3 missile and 11 patrol vessels.

The figures of SIPRI mention that during the 1976-1978 period Libyan purchases included 22 Mirage F-1 combat planes, 132 anti-aircraft and 20 ship-to-ship missiles, and then 2 ships and 5 patrol boats from France, 1 corvette and 9 helicopters from Italy, 200 improved T-72 Soviet tanks, and 4 TU-22 long-range bombers, 24 Wasp missile boats and almost 300 ship-to-ship missiles.

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CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

MILOVAN DJILAS DISCUSSES NONALIGNED MOVEMENT IN WEST GERMAN PAPER

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 15/16 Jul 78 p 8

[Report of interview with Milovan Djilas by SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG correspondent Olaf Ihlau]

[Text] Shortly before the meeting of foreign ministers of the non-aligned nations, which will begin in Belgrade on 25 July and bring together 110 member and observer delegations, the leadership group of Yugoslavia, the host country, appeals for unity, seeking to prevent the explosion of this major conference. President Tito, last survivor of those 25 heads of government who, 17 years ago also in Belgrade, attempted to organize the Third World as a third political power, now fears for the cohesion of that movement, its possibilities for acting as an independent world factor. The hostility and military conflicts between some nonaligned countries, the latest interventions of the two major blocs in Africa as well as Moscow's exercise in ideological infiltration, caused 86-year old Marshal Tito to speak with resignation as well as some bitterness of the "danger of the nonaligned countries separating into aligned blocs."

These fears appear all too well founded to Milovan Djilas, Yugoslav writer and dissident, who was once Tito's closest colleague and deputy. The 67-year old former partisan predicts failure for the nonaligned nations, the imminent end of their role as a fairly independent and influential factor in world politics. "The process of disintegration within the non-aligned group is in full swing, the collapse of the group can no longer be avoided," said Djilas in an interview granted to the SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG. "For some of the countries involved the increasing pull of the great powers foreshadows dangerous problems. That applies very much to Yugoslavia and its complex relationship with the Soviet Union."

Priority of National Interests:

The "unity" of the nonaligned nations, claims the Belgrade writer, has long been a sham, a "fiction restricted to the adoption of high-sounding resolutions"; the internal break was merely papered over at the 1973 summit conference in Algiers. At the 1976 Colombo Congress, though, that latent antagonisms

emerged into open conflict and, ultimately, confrontation. Djilas cited as waystations in this process of disintegration the frigid relations between Libya and Egypt, the wars between Vietnam and Cambodia, Ethiopia and Somalia; the hostility between Zaire and Angola, Algeria and Morocco. In every one of these instances national interests have proven stronger than non-aligned solidarity or the obligation felt toward some abstract progressive aims.

The Yugoslav dissident rates the current situation of the nonaligned countries as follows: "They sallied forth to organize peace and now make war on one another. They set out to neutralize and isolate the blocs, now some of them call on the blocs for help. The concept of the Third World establishing a political factor has been proven unrealistic."

Nevertheless Djilas maintains that the non-aligned movement initially had both a "rationale and a practical meaning," for example by virtue of the moral and political pressure the nonaligned camp "exercised on certain Western countries" in the years of decolonization. But any further attempts to weld this group of socially and economically disparate countries into a unified force to get the better of the bloc division had been "utopian and naive." This, he said, holds true especially for the Yugoslav non-alignment conception which had suffered from fatal ideologization and, moreover, from egoism and megalomania.

To illustrate his reproach, Djilas recalls that programmatic speech given by Tito's chief theoretician, Edvard Kardelj, at the Yugoslav party's tenth congress in May 1974. At that time Kardelj lauded nonalignment as a new approach to socialism and recommended it to the West European countries as the genuinely progressive-democratic and humanist alternative "to any form of political and economic oppression and the enslavement of peoples." Djilas considers unrealistic and, in effect, disastrous these efforts by Belgrade to shape something like a new ideology. "All it achieved was further to increase confusion among the nonaligned countries, scare off those nations which were not inclined unreservedly to subscribe to the ideas of the class war and socialism and, in the final analysis, therefore, favor a trend which was bound to benefit the Soviet Union primarily."

Uncritical Inertia

Marshal Tito also likes to mention on occasion that the nonaligned nations not only represent two thirds of the world population but also "the conscience of mankind." Milovan Djilas regards such statements as "nonsense." After all, there are a lot of dictatorships in the Third World, "and regimes such as that of Idi Amin, Qadhafi or Mobutu can hardly be described as guardians of the holy grail of human rights." Moreover, in 1968, after the Soviet military intervention in Prague, even former outriders of nonalignment such as Egypt and India gave support to Moscow's actions, "because they believed such friendship to be in their national interest. In any case, the non-aligned countries tend to react with uncritical inertia to events in Eastern Europe where new types of dependence and oppression have emerged.

Djilas attributes this attitude, the creeping collapse of the nonaligned movement, to a single birth defect: Its political purblindness, overwhelming anti-imperialist orientation and therefore anti-Western bias. "The struggle against colonialism was obviously right and necessary. At the same time, though, the nonaligned countries failed to devote sufficient attention to the dangers arising from Soviet hegemony and expansionism. Here they acted like hypocrites and opportunists. The attacks of the nonaligned nations focused on the Americans as the leading power of the West. Yet the Americans were opponents who had long decided to quit the battlefield. Most of the non-aligned countries noticed too late that the chief foe is on the other side."

Belgrade's Inactivity

The former partisan leader considers the Soviet Union that "driving force" which initially works toward the splintering and, later, the complete annihilation of the nonaligned countries in order, eventually, to be able to attract to its sphere of influence as many countries as possible. In this endeavor Cuba, Vietnam, Algeria and Libya are Moscow's keenest henchmen.

Djilas expects China to be involved in this process of disintegration. "We will see competition between Moscow and Peking for influence on the Third World, while the role of the West is likely further to lose significance. By now the West would be perfectly content if it could keep the non-aligned really in a nonaligned pattern. But this amounts to wishful thinking." In the opinion of the Belgrade dissident, some of the blame must be attributed to the "uncertainty and inertness" of American leadership which should have replied to the Cuban intervention in Angola, for example, by an aerial and maritime blockade.

According to Djilas Yugoslavia must accept a great deal of responsibility for the disintegration of the nonaligned movement, because it has not resisted Soviet infiltration with sufficient resolution and even now "takes too timid a stance." The writer appraises as a typical consequence of this policy of compromise and caution vis-a-vis Moscow the fact that at present the 30th anniversary of the break with Stalin, "the climax of the Yugoslav revolution and a historic event" has been virtually ignored by Belgrade, "although on other occasions we celebrate every insignificant partisan skirmish with propagandist drum rolls."

Milovan Djilas fears that the disintegration of the nonaligned bloc will confront the multinational state of Yugoslavia with new foreign political challenges, "with increased Soviet pressure." He does not believe that his country will fail to meet the challenge or be unable to maintain its independence. Nevertheless Djilas would consider it prudent "for Yugoslavia at this moment to endeavor to achieve closer relations with Western Europe in order to give an additional dimension to its foreign policy which is now too unilaterally tied to nonalignment."

YUGOSLAVIA

LEADERS ATTEND SLOVENIAN UPRISING ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS

[Editorial Report] Slovenian government and party leaders attended various celebrations in the republic in honor of the anniversary of the Slovenian uprising, as reported on pages 1-3 of the Ljubljana Slovenian-language daily DELO of 24 July 1978.

The main celebration took place in Dramlje, where a memorial plaque to national hero Milos Zidansek was unveiled by Sergej Kraigher, President of the Slovenian Presidency. The ceremony was also attended by Lidija Sentjurc, Andrej Marinc, Franc Leskosek-Luka, Dr Joze Brilej, and Ljubo Jasnic among others. Franc Setinc, Secretary of the Presidency of the LC of Slovenia and Stane Repar, Vice-President of the Slovenian Republic Committee of the Federation of Veterans Associations, attended the main celebrations in Postojna Obcina.

Vinko Hafner, President of the Slovenian trade unions was the main speaker at the Kranj textile industry enterprise; later, he participated with Franc Setinc, Franc Leskosek-Luka, and Miha Marinko at the unveiling of a memorial plaque at Draga pri Begunjah.

Greetings in honor of Slovenian Uprising Day were sent to Sergej Kraigher, Slovenian SAWP head Mitja Ribicic, and other officials. Among the senders were Jakov Blazevic, Dobrivoje Vidic, Veljko Milatovic, Vidoe Smilevski, Ivica Gretic, Nenad Bucan, Dragoljub Petrovic, and Krste Markovski.

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END