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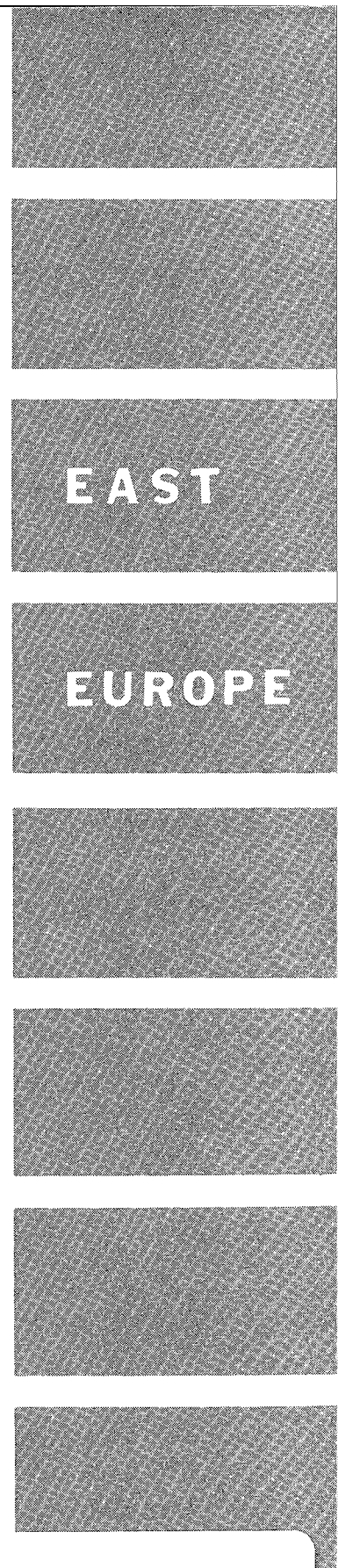
TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1309



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ALBANIA

PARTY UNITS BLAMED FOR LAGS IN STATE PLANNING COMMISSION

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Aug 76 p 2

[Article by Pavllo Gjidede: "Scientific Planning and Supervision of Its Fulfillment Are an Ideological Problem"]

[Text] A special role in seeing to it that there is careful, realistic and scientific planning from the localities up to the center belongs to the State Planning Commission. Precisely for this reason the party organization of this government department, some days ago and right after the Ninth Plenum of the party Central Committee, in the general meeting of communists on rendering accounts and the elections, concentrated its attention on raising to a higher degree its leading role in combating bureaucratic, technocratic and liberal concepts, methods and practices so as to revolutionize further the whole activity of the apparatus.

Both the report and the discussions showed that the local party organizations have grounded their all-around work on the materials of the recent plenums of the Central Committee. The analyses and the ideological debate, getting down to concrete realities and discussing with a high sense of responsibility what principles and norms have been violated and what are the causes, the consequences and the means for correcting them and preventing them from recurring, have led to the formation of deeper and more sound convictions about the defense of the party line. As a result, self-action and the capacity for conclusive performance have increased. The rotation and bringing of workers and cadres from the localities to the department have also contributed to this. There are also improvements in the method and style of work. The opinion of the masses has been solicited more fully on every problem, and better reporting has been done to them on the approved tasks. So there has been a year of intensive work. And this has been evident in the cooperation and coordination of work between the planning organs as a whole.

But in spite of all the achievements, it was pointed out both in the report and in the discussions, much remains to be done in the future. The non-fulfillment of the tasks of the last five-year plan in particular branches and sectors is also due to shortcomings and weaknesses, to bureaucratic, technocratic and liberal manifestations even in the work of the State

Planning Commission itself, the local organizations, and every communist in particular. Similarly, the shortcomings in the planning field, as, for instance, in the restricted use of the balancing method, in the failure to extend the advanced averages to all quarters, in the poor coordination between production and distribution, in the deficiencies in the presentation of plans, and so forth, indicate shallow work by communists in the various directorates. These weaknesses and shortcomings, too, were formerly sought in others, outside the party organization and the apparatus of the Planning Commission, and the point was reached where responsibility was lowered, work with the localities was shirked, no efforts were made to study and resolve with them the tasks stemming from the party's orientations and directives. Therefore, in order to eliminate these concepts and practices, it was stated at the meetings, it is necessary to vitalize the internal life of the local party organizations more and more in the future, just as they have begun to do of late.

The struggle and effort for scientific planning and fulfillment of the plans are primarily a political and ideological problem and only secondarily an economic and technical one. Things cannot go forward without a constant and continual fight against liberalism, bureaucratism, technocratism and intellectualism, and these must also be combated within the party organization. It is a matter of overcoming the practices and methods whose time has passed, and to stamp out distorted concepts, to prevail over the individual petty-bourgeois conscience, the inclination to be content with little. "It is too bad," said Llambro Strakosho in his discussion, speaking of the work sector which he covers, "but the fulfillment of the plan is still not followed step-by-step as it should be. The overall viewing of problems is still not understood and evaluated to an adequate degree. The notion that 'statistical work ends with a few groups of figures and some remarks' is alien and, as such, has to be combated."

Viewing things with this critical eye, it was stressed in the meeting, it is necessary to further develop criticism and self-criticism so that communists everywhere may hold a class attitude, the attitude of the party. What Berdo Kulluri said in his discussion, namely that the level of parallel criticism and of criticism from bottom to top has been weak, and that it has not been directed to any specific address, but to a group, should concern the local party organizations because this attitude has also raised its head here in the general meeting of communists on the rendering of accounts and elections. The designation of shortcomings and the statement of them in narrow groups of comrades rather than in meetings, as has been done heretofore, was criticized vigorously as a negative tendency.

Daily life confirms that the analysis and understanding of the party's orientations and directives from the theoretical side are only one aspect. The other side is the method and style of work, the revolutionary activity of the party organization and the apparatus to put them into practice. True, it was pointed out at the general meeting of communists that a large volume of work has been faced since the Seventh Plenum of the party Central

Committee. Many important tasks have been resolved or are in process of resolution. But the demands upon the person of each one ought to have been stronger. We, too, it was said there, should bear carefully in mind the criticism made by Comrade Enver that there are still many comrades who are not among those who lose any sleep when things do not go right. It is up to the party organization to enhance its leadership role. It is up to the apparatus to perform its function. Every communist has the duty to be a specialist of the first rank on party affairs in the sector which he directs, since his method and style of work in the Planning Commission influence the localities for better or for worse. The question of method and style is a matter of world outlook, but also one of organization. This is why it is necessary--in order to make their structure as good and as responsive as possible--to listen in an organized manner to the opinion of the masses, their comments and suggestions, and to draw conclusions on that basis.

Better work has been done in drafting the 1976 plan and the draft plan for the Sixth Five-Year Plan, it was said in the meeting. And this was accomplished as a result of broader collaboration with the localities, with the executive committees of the district people's councils and with the government departments. This purpose has also been served by a number of studies, such as the revision of the construction plan, that on eliminating surpluses, on improving the wage system and the narrowing of the differences between town and country; and so on.

But it was rightly stressed both in the report and in the discussions that empirical work is again noted in some cases. The mechanical gathering and arranging of some data without subjecting them to a concrete analysis and without extrapolating the causes, the ways of recognizing the tasks, show that the work of the communists does not always respond properly to the scale and demands of the times. From this standpoint, according to the party's orientations, we have the duty to process the data through analyses, studies and a thorough and intimate knowledge of the situation with regard to both the present and the prospective problems. On the basis of a generalization of advanced experience, a more revolutionary aspect has to be found. With regard to the method of work and the planning methodology, said Petro Dode in his discussion, we must aim to introduce balancing methods and improve them, to prepare studies and draw clear and profound conclusions about the planned development and scientific management of the economy, to issue alerts in time, and to penetrate more and more deeply, in accordance with Comrade Enver's admonitions, into the internal processes of expanded socialist reproduction. At every step of our work we must be guided by partisan thinking, by a principled stand and combative spirit, and must strive continually to assimilate as well as possible the party's directives and Comrade Enver's teachings.

The general meeting of the communists of the State Planning Commission, through analysis, deduced tasks for the future.

BULGARIA

LEADERS SEND THANKS TO SOVIET COUNTERPARTS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Sep 76 p 1 AU

[Bulgarian party-state message to CPSU-USSR leaders expressing gratitude for congratulations sent on the 32nd Bulgarian national holiday]

[Text] To Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Nikolay Viktorovich Podgorny, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Comrade Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Moscow.

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, and on behalf of the Bulgarian people, we express to you, and through you to the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers and the entire Soviet people our most cordial and deep gratitude for your warm congratulations and wishes on the occasion of our national holiday--the 32nd anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

The historic victory of the people, won with the decisive contribution of the Soviet army, turned 9 September--the birthday of socialist Bulgaria--into the brightest holiday of our people. Bright proof of the permanent importance of the cause of the September revolution are the successes in the construction of our socialist society and the increasing international authority of Bulgaria, achieved under the leadership of the BCP.

Your high evaluation of the achievements of the Bulgarian workers in the socialist construction, of the active participation of the Bulgarian People's Republic in implementing the peaceful Leninist policy of the fraternal socialist countries and of the BCP's constant struggle for the strengthening of the unity and the cohesion of the international communist and workers movement, evokes in us a feeling of deep satisfaction and just pride.

Simultaneously, we would like to point out that we cannot imagine achieving the overall success without the invaluable and selfless assistance and constant support of the great country of the Soviets and without the Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, a constantly stimulating factor for the progress of our country. We

are deeply convinced that the total unity of action and thought existing between our two parties, based on Marxism-Leninism, brightly confirmed by the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and the 25th CPSU Congress, are increasingly deepening the process of multi-sided collaboration and coming together of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR in all areas of life, reaching new heights of socialist internationalism in action. Our two peoples will further march in united ranks and race toward the bright communist future.

The Bulgarian People's Republic will work actively and consistently for the constant strengthening of the socialist community, the Warsaw Pact organization and CEMA. Together with the CPSU and the Soviet state and the other fraternal parties and countries, the BCP and the Bulgarian People's Republic will continue to contribute to the realization of the program for a further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of the peoples, for strict application of the principles of the final document of the Helsinki Conference and for the realization of the goals set by the Berlin Conference of the European communist and workers parties.

We take this opportunity to cordially wish you, dear Comrades, and through you the entire Soviet people new great successes in implementing of the glorious program of the 25th CPSU Congress and in strengthening the power and the influence of the great USSR--the vanguard in support of the world socialist community, the world progressive forces, and peace, international security and the cooperation of all peoples.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

SOVIET DEFENSE MINISTER CONGRATULATES DZHUROV

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Sep 76 p 1 AU

[Text] To the minister of people's defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Army General Comrade Dobri Dzhurov, Sofia. Esteemed Comrade Minister, on behalf of the Soviet armed forces and on my own behalf, I most cordially congratulate you and all the soldiers of the Bulgarian people's army on the occasion of the national holiday, the 32nd anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

The Soviet soldiers, as well as the entire Soviet people sincerely rejoice at the achievements of the fraternal Bulgarian people in implementation of the tasks set by the 11th congress of the BCP and in construction of the developed socialist society.

On the day of the national holiday of the Bulgarian People's Republic we send our Bulgarian comrades in arms warm greetings and wishes for further successes in the combat and political preparation, in strengthening the defensive capability of their homeland and all other countries, members of the Warsaw Pact. With communist greeting, Dmitriy Ustinov, marshal of the USSR, minister of defense of the USSR. 7 September 1976 Moscow

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

YAKUBOVSKIY CONGRATULATES DZHUROV ON NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Sep 76 AU

[Text] To the minister of People's Defense of the Bulgarian People's Republic, army general, Comrade Dobri Dzhurov. Esteemed Comrade Minister, please accept my most cordial congratulations on the occasion of the national holiday-the Bulgarian people's Day of Freedom. With all my heart, I wish you, Comrade Minister, further successes in your responsible activity in increasing the defensive capability of the Bulgarian People's Republic and strengthening the undestructably fraternal friendship between the peoples and the armies of our states, members of the Warsaw Pact, as well as good health and personal well being. With deep esteem, Ivan Yakubovskiy Marshal of the USSR, commander in chief of the joined armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member states. 7 September 1976. [Editorial note: The same source notes that congratulatory telegrams were received from the ministers of defense of Czechoslovakia and Hungary.]

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

NEW SHIP FOR USSR--A new 1,500-ton bunker ship "dnieper," within the series of ships destined for the Soviet Union, has been launched by the Ivan Dimitrov Shipbuilding Plant in Ruse. This ship will supply fuel to the ships in the Murmansk Port area. Today the Soviet flag was hoisted on the ship and it was delivered to the crew. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 25 Sep 76 AU]

TSOLDV ACTIVITIES--Tano Tsolov, Politburo member of the PCP Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, is visiting Shumen Okrug. Accompanied by Grigor Stoichkov, minister of building and architecture and by local party and economic officials, he visited a plant for the assembling of spare parts for automobiles made by the CSSR firm "Skoda". He also discussed difficulties in using modern equipment and visited the building site of the new nonferrous metallurgy plant, where he was briefed on the building work. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 16 Sep 76 AU]

VULCHEVA ACTIVITIES--Today a session of the harvest staff in Plovdiv Okrug was held, attended by Drazha Vulcheva, candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Plovdiv Okrug Party Committee, as well as by members of the national harvest staff. Various shortcomings and laggings of individual agro-industrial complexes were discussed. It was decided to enroll another 14,000 voluntary brigade members in harvest work, as well as to intensify even more the work of equipment, tractors, freight trucks and workers. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 16 Sep 76 AU]

RADIO SATELLITE STATION--The first radio electrometric [elektrometricheska] station, expected to be commissioned by the end of 1976, will be built at the Stara Zagora Yuriy Gagarin Observatory attached to the central laboratory for space research at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. With the assistance with equipment delivered by the Soviet Union, the GDR, the CSSR and by Bulgarian plants, scientific data from the earth satellites will be received for the first time in Bulgaria. The building of the first Bulgarian radio electrometric station near Stara Zagora is further proof of the fraternal cooperation among the countries participating in the Intercosmos program. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 22 Sep 76 AU]

CSO: 2200

EAST GERMANY

GOODS, SERVICES HARD TO GET; PEOPLE POLITICALLY CAUTIOUS, APATHETIC

Bonn DIE WELT in German 18/19 Sep 76 p 17

[Franz Wauschkuhn article: "Everyday Life in the 'GDR:' Connections Are Half of Life"]

[Text] "The hunt belongs to the people," says the plaque above the slightly moth-eaten stuffed wild boar. Diagonally across in the entrance hall of the museum in Altenburg Castle hangs the photograph of the founder of the kreis organization for socialist hunting. Some hunting weapons, spears and knives are also on show. For the group of visitors from the FRG the guide describes the development of hunting up to the current social achievements of the GDR. In the next room ideological indoctrination is further accented: Knightly armor, French helmets, machine guns and uniforms of the National People's Army illustrate the progress from feudalism to socialism. A few steps on is the hall of fame, glorifying KPD comrades from Altenburg and vicinity who, in their time, struggled against capitalism and fascism.

Two native visitors squeeze past the official guide: "We may as well save ourselves the trouble." They prefer to look at the antique skat [German card game] cards which are the pride of Altenburg and its museum.

The same scene is repeated in the Leipzig Museum of the Battle of Leipzig: The natives are interested only in the old exhibits and quickly slip by the state guides: "You know, it is exactly the same in all our museums. The slogans are the same everywhere," says a Leipzig citizen to ward off any questions.

State propaganda is less obtrusive during Fair week. Leipzig citizens themselves believe that they feel something of international flair and openness, and the visitor from the West is shown, with some local pride, the few restored places of interest: The restored market, Katharine Street, and the modern Saxony Square. Nobody fails to mention the opera or the "giant university."

Yet Fair week with its preponderance of Western cars on the road, with Scandinavians, French and Federal German citizens circulating, is the exceptional situation. "After the Fair you cannot buy a thing here," derides

a 14-year old girl. "That's why all of Leipzig and the surrounding bezirk storms the department stores in that one week, just to get something useful for once." And not only GDR citizens elbow one another for the sparse assortment of goods available, tourists from the fraternal countries CSSR and Poland also consider the trip to the "Konsument" or "Centrum" department stores the highlights of their visit to the city.

"Of Course Everything Is Much Better in Berlin"

Food and clothing are available in plenty, what is lacking is selection and quality. The fashion show, organized on the occasion of the Fair in the windows of the "Centrum" department store, was greeted by the crowd with scorn and jeers. The gap between the clothes shown and those actually on sale in the stores is much too wide.

In the words of one Leipzig woman: "You need either luck or connections here. That begins with better quality pantyhose and ranges through automobiles." Unless he settles for cheap plastic substitutes, the prospective furniture buyer must wait up to 2 years for the furniture of his choice. Twice or three times as long is the waiting time for the new "Wartburg," the currently most popular GDR family car. At the same time the purchase of a car is not only a matter of money and patience. A much more serious consideration is the question whether the buyer has the special contacts necessary to get quick repairs and replacement parts. "It is quite possible for a car needing repairs to stand around unused for half a year, because neither mechanics nor spare parts are available," says a long suffering Skoda owner. His wife agrees. "You have to run around endlessly. Of course in Berlin everything is much better. Even wages are higher. But then the Berliners have always been spoiled..."

People are overjoyed to get an apartment in a new building. Though tiny, new apartments offer greater comforts than those in older buildings. "It is virtually impossible to get a repairman, and if someone in an old building is unable to help himself, things can get really bad. Worst off are old people. Every tenant community, therefore, is also an emergency and ad hoc community."

The Fear of the Ever-Present Police

"A lot is done for young people here," is the constant refrain. But it is doubtful whether that is a fact, or whether youth is appropriately grateful to the regime. Earsplitting rock and beat music resounds everywhere, and Telly Savalas' face is as well known here as in the Federal Republic. At the huge monument to the Battle of Leipzig leather-clad youths gather on clattering "Simson" mopeds and motor cycles. The height of elegance is a crash helmet decorated with the Stars and Stripes. "I have been looking for an apprenticeship place for a year. My father has talked to all kinds of people and agencies. Nothing." The father explains: "Of course we lack manpower. But all the jobs available are for the unskilled, and none have any future."

Many young people complain of the difficulty, often the downright impossibility, of getting trained in the profession of their choice and later practicing it. Even good grades at school are not much help when it comes to the award of training places. "The only thing that helps is having connections," says a 14-year old girl.

As in all totalitarian countries the outcome is a network of personal contacts amounting to "you scratch me, I scratch you," and accompanied by an informal information system. The self-immolation of the Evangelic minister Bruesewitz on the market place of Zeitz was common knowledge in Leipzig the next day, at a time when the official GDR version was still in preparation. "Ministers sure don't have it easy here," is the significant comment of GDR citizens. And everyone, however removed from the Church, knows of some event involving a minister: One looks after NVA [National People's Army] draftees, another gets into trouble with the local party because he runs a youth group...

Another case which immediately became public knowledge was that of the physician Karl-Heinz Nitschke, author of a "Petition for the Achievement for Human Rights," addressed to Erich Honecker and signed by 67 other GDR citizens. Although no news item to that effect appeared in the press, it was widely known that Nitschke had been arrested by six state security agents on 1 September, around 06.00 hours, and that the informer for the state security service was a taxi driver living on the same block.

This exchange of news proceeds with extreme caution and only among people who trust one another--due to the fear of possible state repression. Among intimates in the plant or the housing community, however, discussions are frank and the language used very uninhibited indeed. For obvious reasons such unofficial exchanges of opinions are much franker in the industrial conurbations than in small towns and rural areas.

The all too often schizophrenic behavior of GDR citizens--subservience toward all government officials and the ever-present police--is reminiscent of the old-fashioned bourgeois of the early 19th Century: The ordinary citizen withdraws to the entirely private circle of family and close friends in order to keep the greatest possible distance from the state and politics which can be neither influenced nor accepted. This withdrawal is most significantly expressed in GDR literature and movies such as "The Sorrows of Young W," or the "Story of Paul and Paula."

The Helsinki protocols and the promise to introduce a certain measure of liberalism aroused some hope among the intellectuals. The man in the street, however, says resignedly: "The top bosses will never let that happen." Nowadays he spells out his desire to emigrate to the West in words such as these: "I would simply love to travel to Hamburg or take a vacation in the Black Forest. Just 2 weeks, and then of course I would go back."

Because they are politically impotent, they avoid any philosophizing about politics. Intense shame is felt about the participation of the National People's Army in the occupation of Czechoslovakia. GDR tourists, caught in the CSSR by the invasion of the Warsaw Pact Armies, still recount with horror the hatred of the Czechs which broke over their heads.

At the evening round of drinks with Hungarians, Poles and one Slovak at the time of the Fair, a Leipzig foundry worker says: "Of course we are much better off than people in the other CEMA countries. But what relation is there between our efforts, the daily stress, and what we get for it?" The same morning, full of resentment, he had mocked the long line in the Intershops: "Our money is not worth anything there, and the same goes for the people here..."

11698
CSC: 2300

EAST GERMANY

'DIE WELT' CORRESPONDENT DESCRIBES DRESDEN CITIZENS' COMPLAINTS

Bonn DIE WELT in German 8 Sep 76 p 3

[Article by Horst Halangk: "Why There Will Soon Be no More Genuine Christmas Stollen in Dresden"]

[Text] During the performance of "The Magic Flute" in Dresden's State Theater the Western visitor is startled. At one of the most lyrical moments, when Papageno tinkles his magic bell, a dull, thunderous rumble penetrates the walls and closed doors.

The noise, unfamiliar to Western ears, is an everyday one in Dresden, just as the lines in front of the grocery stores and the ice cream parlors. It roars over the promenades of the Koenigsufer and it rolls through the newly constructed quarter at the Schandauer Strasse.

To blame for this is an innovation with which Dresden's traffic planners want to help the totally rundown streetcar system of the city on the Elbe to provide safer and faster service. They sank the worn tracks into a supposedly indestructible concrete foundation. This foundation of plates, which meanwhile have come up and also cracked, does not creak, it rumbles as soon as one of the newly acquired heavy streetcar trains from Czechoslovakia nears.

"Compared to these roaring monsters the good old jalopy on Line 4 ran as if on velvet paws," an old man in the New Town said. His window looks out on the Rothenburger Strasse and he is awakened each morning at 0430 by the first monster.

The story is symptomatic of the mood with which many GDR citizens receive the achievements of their country. A baker tells with equanimity why there soon will not be any more genuine Dresden Christmas Stollen: "There are only 200 of us bakers still left in Dresden, and every year more Stollen come from the factory than from the bakeries. Anybody can copy those."

The advances of the Ninth SED Congress in the area of trades came 10 years too late and are furthermore unfair. "First, we weren't allowed to train apprentices, and now, when they want to entice us to do it again, we are to

give up the apprentice to industry for half a year and even continue to pay his wages. Development aid for the VEB enterprises? We aren't all crazy."

The more than 70-year old man still struggles on in order to keep the business for his son. When the help from the neighborhood takes vacation he is in the bakery from 2 am to 5 pm .

In the trades there are constant shortages everywhere. A young instrument maker had to change companies "because there are no pianos being built in Dresden any more." A glazier recounts that many an order goes unfilled, "because there is no more window glass."

Resources are held in great respect. In many cases these are still the materials of the old "capitalist" Reich, broken up in 1945.

A mill near Dresden, in which tanks were built at the end of the war, was almost totally dismantled in 1946. In some supply barracks new work has started, and nearly the entire production takes place there even today. Except for a factory shop, no new buildings have been constructed. "In spite of that, we are one of the five largest enterprises of this kind in the GDR," a young technician declares.

Improvisation is everything. In the New Town, someone threw a stone through a plate glass door. Since there was no transparent glass, and since it was not desired to glaze the double door with different glasses, both pieces were simply replaced by ground glass sheets.

In another instance, glass was replaced by sheet metal. A laundry room roof which had broken because playing children had jumped on it, is being replaced by a metal plate which was obtained by roundabout means. The tenants make repairs themselves; waiting for a repairman turns into waiting until the 31st of February.

In the best years, the population has become more indifferent and more placid as regards many grievances and more ingenious in overcoming them. But people register these things and do not let themselves be numbed by the constant noise of propaganda. "In reality we get to know nothing," the cab driver, who brings me from Mickten to downtown, says, just as a squadron of 9 heavy military aircraft roars across the sky. The man at the wheel would like to know what is the meaning of the gloomy demonstration in the sky over the city which was shattered by irreparable wounds by the aerial war. "It was the same last week when they had police checks on all the Elbe bridges. They were looking for some people. You can't read it in the newspaper."

Bitterness over the innumerable absurdities constantly surfaces even in the most well-balanced people. "Thirty years of Asia has not yet put our minds to sleep," a young teacher says dryly.

There are for example the "blockheads" who are bred by the system. Industries such as the data-processing enterprise Robotron VEB or DDR Aircraft

Construction, which after short periods of operation had to close down or alter production on Moscow's directive, "because we are not allowed to build such things in the GDR," in the young woman's opinion.

Or the eternal shortages in supply, the lack of toilet tissue in railway station restrooms, the lack of apples at times when there perhaps are bananas for once or the perpetual "second choice" of all foods for the consumer, because the "first choice" goes to restaurants or is exported, according to the slogan: The Good Ones in the Capitalist Pot, the Bad Ones in the Socialist Belly."

A dentist says: "To those in Berlin we are all second choice. We are the second choice Germans."

11949

CSO: 2300

SIXTH PPF CONGRESS RESOLUTION

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 22 Sep 76 pp 1, 2

[Resolution: "The Standpoint Adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Patriotic People's Front"]

[Text] The 11th MSZMP Congress analyzed the development of our society and defined our task: the building of an advanced socialist society. The 6th PPF Congress concurs with this national program of great importance and considers its duty, under the leadership of the party and with its participation, to strengthen the Hungarian people's socialist national unity for this great task, by rallying the nation's creative forces.

The PPF movement's activity will be enriched parallel with socialist development and will contribute to the formulation and realization of policy. Therefore we appeal to every Hungarian citizen to work, to the best of his knowledge and ability, for the creation of an advanced socialist society, for all the objectives that serve to enrich and fulfill the life of the entire country and the personal life of every individual.

I. 1. Working in the spirit of the standpoint adopted by its 5th congress, the Patriotic People's Front achieved significant results, contributed toward the strengthening of national unity, the reinforcement of the worker-peasant alliance, and the development of socialist democracy. The movement has become a constant and integral part of the development of society and of public life.

The citizens' interest in public affairs increased. The population's participation has become systematic and plan-conforming in the elaboration of national tasks and in the enactment of legislation, and also in the elaboration and realization of local plans and local policy. Voluntary social work during leisure time added several billion forints to national wealth. Progress has been achieved in educational-policy and cultural-policy work; the activity of parent-teacher associations has become more meaningful, and the "For a Reading People" and "Know Your Fatherland and Its History" movements have become widespread. Environmental protection committees have been formed and are functioning successfully.

With our international relations we are participating in the realization of our country's foreign-policy objectives.

2. The Patriotic People's Front is striving to make the citizens of our country realize that the present and future of our fatherland demand of each of us more-purposeful participation in building socialism. Everyone can find within our movement the occupation in which he can work for an advanced socialist society to the best of his conviction, abilities and circle of interests.

II. 1. The Patriotic People's Front is the most comprehensive framework of the MSZMP's policy of alliance. Conscious cooperation of Hungarian society's classes and strata is realized within it. As one of the basic conditions for our progress, the policy of alliance plays a decisive role throughout the entire historical stage of building socialism. In the spirit of this policy and within the framework of our movement it is our task to rally the nation's creative forces--party members and nonmembers, materialists and believers, people with different world outlooks--for conscious participation in the formulation and realization of policy.

2. Socialism expresses the everyday and long-range interests of the working class, peasantry, intellectuals, of all workers, of the entire people. The realization of socialism is equally in the interest of society's every class and stratum. Within this fundamental national community of interests, the particular interests of the various social strata are organically interconnected, and therefore the attainment of their objectives will be to everyone's benefit.

With its entire activity, the PPF movement must contribute toward strengthening the power of the working class. Our elected organs must avail themselves of the opportunity provided by the fact that ever-more blue-collar workers are willing to work in the movement; let them include industrial workers in our management, in the elaboration of our plans, and in organizing the plans' implementation. Let us devote attention to the problems of industrial production, let us participate in improving the blue-collar workers' living conditions, and let concern for the problems of commuters be our everyday task.

3. The worker-peasant alliance led by the working class guarantees the coordinated development of town and country, mutually supplementing and reinforcing joint work.

The predominance of socialist production conditions in agriculture has enriched the worker-peasant alliance with new features and opportunities. With the plan-conforming application of science, of modern engineering and technology, many agricultural work processes have become industrial in their nature. Our entire people participated in the transformation of the village and in creating the prerequisites that enable agriculture to supply the population and processing industry with more farm products of better quality. The movement must strengthen the existing organizational forms, help the spreading of methods that enhance and accelerate progress, and assume an initiative role in the socialist development of the rural way of life.

4. Social progress makes possible and presupposes an increase in the intelligentsia's initiative role in the elaboration and realization of our plans.

To this end the movement must provide opportunities for expanding the social relations of intellectual workers, and for the admission of the technical, agricultural and classical intelligentsia to every public forum, so that they may contribute their knowledge and talents to the solution of the common social tasks.

5. Small-scale commodity production that supplements state and cooperative production activity, and broadens the assortment of goods and services, is indispensable also during building an advanced socialist society. Small-scale producers and private merchants are respected members of our society, and the socialist system offers them a secure livelihood. We are striving to actively include in public life, in the realization of our national objectives, those small-scale producers and private merchants who accept our objectives and are also willing to work for their realization.

6. The movement must devote special attention to the problems of families, of the elderly, of women and youths.

We must help reinforce the socialist features of the basic human collective, the family. Our objective is that our citizens live in harmony and democratically in family collectives that are of decisive importance to entire society. We must reinforce in everyone attachment to his family, the parents' sense of responsibility for their children, and the children's love and respect for their parents. We must cooperate in perfecting our system of care for mother and child.

It is the personal and fundamental responsibility of every citizen to care for the elderly members of his family, and for his parents in particular. The pension earned through hard work during one's lifetime, and the related state subsidies help alleviate the life of the elder generation. Our society is doing much, and must do even more, for the peaceful old age of the people. The PPF must organize the relations of the elderly with the social strata, must include them in the solution of all the tasks confronting us, so that they may feel that they, their education and training, work and experience are needed.

Equal rights for women are in entire society's interest and simultaneously also a standard for measuring socialist society's level of development. Our movement must support the inclusion of women in the social work process and in public life. With its proposals and influence, our movement must support every effort to ensure the necessary prerequisites. It must fight for the liquidation of the backward views regarding the position of women in society and in the family.

The movement must strengthen the sense of responsibility for youth, and youth's responsibility for society and itself. Let us help youth prepare for life and to successfully achieve its aspirations during its lifetime.

7. In the service of the policy of alliance, the PPF must perfect its working relations with the trade unions, with the youth organizations, councils, cooperative organs, and with other social movements and organizations. On

questions that affect or interest wide strata of society, the PPF must submit proposals, initiate joint actions and participate in the political, economic and cultural programs planned or started by social organizations and movements.

8. Let us help the nationality federations in their work among the nationalities or in their behalf. We must see to it that the nationalities--while preserving and developing further their national traditions, language and customs--learn to know their country: Hungary's past, present, and its plans for the future. In this way the good relations that already exist between the nationalities and Hungarians, based on the principle of equality, can be further reinforced.

III. 1. Socialist democracy is the essence of government by the people. One of the most important conditions for the fulfillment of our social system is the intensification of socialist democracy in every area of life. It is an important duty of the PPF to increase its contribution toward the strengthening of socialist democracy--primarily at the places of residence, the basic area of PPF activity--and to aid with its political means the development of society's democratic atmosphere, the unfolding public activity of the masses.

2. Let us enrich and make more close the relations between the organs of government and the citizens. Let us expand the opportunities for the presentation of opinions and views reflecting the population's interests. Let us signal the needs and problems of the citizens and of individual strata. Let us support realistic proposals that are in the public interest, and let us aid the assertion of central decisions. Let us provide opportunities that will enable the widest possible circle of workers to participate in the preparation and adoption of decisions, and in their implementation and control.

3. The movement must help the National Assembly and the councils in the performance of their tasks. It is the duty of the PPF to prepare and conduct the national and local elections, and to organize exchanges of views between elected officials and their constituents. Our organs must help representatives to the National Assembly and council members in the performance of their duties and, in cooperation with the state organs, must ensure the democratic functioning of the elected representative organs. They must encourage representatives and council members to establish closer relations with their constituents, with the collectives of the plants and workplaces, to take part in local public life, to fulfill their constituents' mandate, with due consideration for the public interest.

4. The movement must participate in strengthening the autonomy and popular representation of the councils. It is the population's fundamental interest that cooperation between the councils and the PPF develop and serve the expansion of socialist democracy. As the supporter of the councils' administrative work, the PPF must oppose all bureaucratic phenomena; it must initiate the modernization of work and the simplification of administration. It is essential to achieve that the citizens obtain information on all important questions, and that on this basis they aid with proposals the formulation of local policy, and the elaboration and realization of regional development plans.

The PPF committees must organize voluntary public work so that more and more people may participate, commensurately with their training and special skills, in the development of their places of residence. To this end the PPF committees must expand their relations with the industrial plants and farms in the settlements, with the enterprises and institutions, and with members of the socialist brigades.

The managing organs of the PPF must provide the initiative to ensure that voluntary work and the persons performing it receive suitable appreciation from the managing organs and from public opinion.

5. The PPF must help the joint assertion of socialist democracy and social discipline. The performance of duties, creative and disciplined work must become general practice. This is a prerequisite for civil rights. Work is the supporting pillar of society, the source of all our successes. Therefore everyone must be taught to respect work and the conscientiously working individual.

IV. 1. The PPF must continue its efforts to develop socialist patriotism, and socialist historical and national awareness, and to strengthen international friendship. It must convince ever-wider strata that socialist patriotism is an integral unity of tradition and of the present, of the national and international, and finds its expression in work for the country, for the prosperity of our people. The source of our results, the guaranty of our national advancement is our socialist system, the creative activity of the Hungarian working masses, and their fraternal solidarity with the Soviet Union and with the peoples that have chosen the socialist road.

2. We deem it important to foster the progressive heritage of our national history and our revolutionary traditions. Let us explore the centuries-old struggle for national advancement by the Hungarian working class and the working people. Let us demonstrate comprehensively the interrelations of the progressive past and of the socialist future. Let us intensify love of our fatherland and of our place of residence. First of all, let us devote attention to intensifying love for the Hungarian people, and justiable national awareness nourished by this love.

3. Our movement must disseminate the results and prospects of our friendship and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and with the Soviet Union in particular, and also the creative work and life of these nations. The PPF must reinforce anti-imperialist solidarity and must encourage the defense of peace.

The movement must contribute toward the practical realization of the peaceful coexistence of countries that have different social systems, toward the consolidation of European peace, security and cooperation, toward making the process of international detente permanent and irreversible. Let us increase our solidarity with the peoples fighting for social justice, liberation and independence, and let us give them, political, moral and material support.

4. Through its international relations the PPF movement must help the growth of the forces of socialism, progress and peace, and the strengthening of the socialist countries' fraternal community. It must develop cooperation with the fraternal movements and organizations in the socialist countries and must foster relations with the progressive organizations and movements in capitalist countries and with movements fighting for national liberation. It must participate in forming a unified front against imperialist aggression and neocolonial efforts.

V. 1. Hungary's economic policy is characterized by unchanged economic principles, clearly defined objectives, and realistic plans. In the interest of entire society, the Sixth PPF Congress finds the continuation of this proven economic policy as necessary and wants to participate in its realization.

Our immediate objective is the realization of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. We regard the development of our economy and the expansion of our material wealth as a fundamental task, because a strong and vigorously developing economy is a guaranty of our socialist future.

2. Fulfillment of our plans is an important prerequisite for our country's development. Our work of construction has solid foundations: in addition to our own resources, our cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the socialist countries belonging to the CEMA community.

3. Advanced socialism means a better life and greater security for everyone. Therefore its construction requires more, better, better-planned and better-organized work in every area. To this end the socialist brigades' program of working, thinking and living in the socialist way must become general. Let us appreciate, popularize and develop socialist man's moral traits, the socialist way of life. Let us combat the phenomena hampering our development: laziness, indifference, and selfishness. Let there be a public opinion that regards work well done a civic duty and isolates the still existing bad.

4. The PPF movement undertakes to participate with its social instruments in the formulation, realization and control of national-economic, regional, and local-council plans.

It is our task to continue the voluntary work for the development of settlements, and to uncover the still existing ample reserves. We wish to achieve that voluntary work become an essential supplementary part of the local-council plans.

In our settlement-policy work we will devote attention to the relationship between large cities and their peripheries; to cities and their areas of attraction; to investigating the social situation of the residents of affiliated villages, small settlements and farmsteads, and to improving their essential services.

We wish to achieve an approach that takes also the questions of production into consideration when investigating the situation of settlements. We support and will follow closely the location of industries in the provinces, and we will aid activity related to changing the structure of the economy.

5. We believe it is our duty to aid the solution of production-related problems through explanatory work so as to make it widely understood that the development of industrial and agricultural production affects the life of every citizen. First of all everyone must realize that the rate of rise in the standard of living depends on the quantity and quality of production in industry and agriculture. A growing volume of industrial and agricultural products of good quality is an objective to whose realization most workplaces can contribute directly, while the others can do so only indirectly: through services, well-organized medical care, child care, and better supply of merchandise.

We will support socialist labor competitions also in the future and will aid them through our special means. We will coordinate with the trade unions and the youth movement our tasks related to labor competitions: our work of enlightenment, the exchange of experience, the popularization of good results, and the ensuring of the outstanding workers' social appreciation.

We attach great importance to the cooperation between the PPF and the cooperative movement, and we intend to develop this cooperation further in the future. Through our social means we will support large-scale farm production, and the agricultural production-policy programs. We will aid farming on household plots and in family gardens, particularly livestock production and vegetable production.

The PPF movement will closely monitor fulfillment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan and of the local plans. When necessary, on the basis of the population's experience and comments, the PPF movement will submit proposals for the improvement of managing and production work.

6. The PPF movement regards the questions of environmental protection and environmental development as an important social cause. In such questions it deems necessary joint action by social and state organizations. In this area we wish to provide initiative, cooperation and support in the future.

Through extensive social drives we wish to promote that the environmental-protection approach permeate the thinking of not only managers but of all citizens as well, so that environmental protection will become a self-understood part of the future generations' conduct.

7. The PPF movement wishes to participate with initiative in the realization of the objectives of our policy on population growth. Primarily by providing through voluntary work the material conditions for the expansion of child-care facilities: day nurseries, kindergartens, general schools, daytime homes, sportfields, playgrounds, and vacation camps for children.

8. Under the Fifth Five-Year Plan the role of entire society will increase in the elaboration and implementation of plans and programs. This also necessitates that the citizens' participation in control become general. Social control of regional development, services, and public education supplements and aids the activity of the state organs, because it not only makes findings but also offers proposals and provides initiative for the

performance of a proportion of the tasks through voluntary work. Within the PPF we must assert social control in this sense.

9. One of our important duties is to keep the population continuously informed about our economic-policy tasks, presenting both our successes and our problems. Let us use knowledge of the actual situation as a force to encourage active participation.

VI. 1. The PPF movement will participate with initiative in the spreading of socialist culture, in educating public-spirited citizens, in the freer all-round development of the individual. We are convinced that modern culture, based on formal education, can be achieved through active, voluntary and continuously organized adult education.

Social support of the resolutions on education policy is an important task. Let us aid parents in that every child complete general school by the age of 14. Let us support every initiative to ensure equal opportunity in education. Let us mobilize the resources of society for developing the instruction and education activity of the general schools, daytime homes, schools for the training of skilled workers, and kindergartens.

The PPF movement will continue in its efforts to coordinate education in the school and in the home, and to develop society's educational influence. We must help the schools in training the children for life, and we must encourage adults to support the teachers also within the schools. Let us reinforce the parents' responsibility for education, and the teachers' social responsibility. Let us broaden the propagation of socialist education among parents. The greatest task in this respect will fall on the parent-teacher associations.

2. Culture is an integral part of educational work. The PPF movement must help acquaint the working masses with as many progressive and socialist cultural works as possible, from the past and present of our people and of mankind. It must support general acceptance of socialist taste, lifestyle, conduct, and meaningful human life.

The PPF will coordinate its cultural work with the state and social organs. At the same time it must feel a special responsibility for the expansion of cultural opportunities at the workers' places of residence and in the villages that are undergoing transformation.

The movement must regard as its duty to arouse interest in study, further study and in reading, and to satisfy the demand for culture as fully as possible. It must reinforce the development of socialist historical awareness also through its cultural activity.

3. The individual can find only in collectives the opportunities for the all-round development of his abilities. Collective culture is feasible and necessary not only at workplaces but increasingly also at the places of residence. The PPF's amateur cultural collectives must be forums for self-improvement and for the development of social relations; through their voluntary

work they must broaden the cultural opportunities, and they must become the framework for the cultural activity of the PPF.

4. The movement must encourage good health, a healthy way of life, and knowledge and love of works of art, nature, and of the beauty of our cities and regions.

VII. The 6th PPF Congress is confident that the movement will fulfill its duties. It expresses appreciation and gratitude to the members of the PPF committees and to the tens and thousands of activists, for their work to date. It requests them to continue to aid the movement, to work so that everything in our program may be realized. Let us serve loyally our country, socialist Hungary!

1014

CSO: 2500

HUNGARY

AIR FORCE DEVELOPMENTS IN RECENT YEARS

Budapest REPULES/URREPULES in Hungarian No 8, Aug 76; No 9, Sep 76

[Article by Gyula Sarhidai: "A Quarter Century in the Development of Our Air Force"]

[No 8, Aug 76, p 14]

[Excerpt] On 14 May 1955 the Hungarian People's Republic became a member of the Warsaw Pact organization and thus the development of the air forces also entered a qualitatively new, third stage characterized by re-organization and the appearance of more modern planes. In 1955 the previously existing Air Force Command and National Air Defense Command were combined under the name National Air Defense and Air Force Command [Orszagos Legvedelmi es Legiero Parancsnoksag]. Beginning with 1954 a large number of American stratospheric reconnaissance balloons flew into the air space of Hungary and a number of air border violations took place. These were opposed by the MIG-15 and, beginning in 1955, the more modern MIG-17 F and PF interceptors which shot down many balloons. The radar equipped MIG-17 PF was the first plane of our Air Force which was suitable for deployment at all times in the fighter area and so it was used for domestic fighter protection.

In order to develop the assault troop capability of transport aircraft we received in 1955 the first MI-4 medium helicopters. It was in these that Hungarian pilots first independently flew aircraft in the vertical take-off category. The 1956 counter-revolution halted and interrupted the period of reorganization and re-arming. Some of the earlier schools and organizations were disbanded or abolished. The National Air Defense Command was formed anew in the fall of 1957 and it guided the work of modernization.

The successor to the abolished MRSZ [Hungarian Flying Federation], the MHS [Hungarian Home Defense Sport Federation] and later the MHSZ [Hungarian Home Defense Federation] continued the pre-flight training of youth and in the fall of 1960 the Gyorgy Kilian Flying Technical Officers' School was again set up in Szolnok, and later raised to the rank of Technical Academy.

In 1959 one of our fighter units was equipped with MIG-19 PF all weather interceptors with which Hungarian pilots in that year exceeded the speed of sound for the first time. The plane with on-board radar carried four air-to-air rockets and achieved a maximum speed of 1,450 kilometers per hour. After their withdrawal from service in 1974 the last two examples were exhibited in the Military History Museum in Budapest and in the museum courtyard of the Szolnok school.

In 1960 the government organs decided on a qualitative development of the armed forces supplying them with modern technology taking into consideration the uniform system of the Warsaw Pact. This began the fourth phase in the development of the Air Force which continues today. Immediately prior to this, in 1959-1960, we received the light MI-1 helicopter for courier service and several IL-14 cargo planes. In the 1960's the MIG-21 F13 supersonic interceptor became standard equipment which represented the first generation of the MIG-21 family here. These appeared in public for the first time at the 4 April 1962 review. It was about 1960 when Hungarian pilots flew for the first time at M-2 speeds in the relatively light planes carrying two air rockets, one 37 millimeter machine cannon and one reserve tank.

At the same time, to ensure modern training, the training units received the L-29 Delfin trainer of Czechoslovak manufacture which is standard equipment in several Warsaw Pact states. Technical development accelerated in the 1960's and scrapping due to obsolescence was repeated almost annually.

[No 9, Sep 76, p 15]

[Excerpt] In 1966 we retired the IL-28 planes and in 1968 we retired the MI-4 helicopters, the MIG-17 variations, and the last of the Jak-11 and Jak-18 planes. In 1968 we put in service two AN-24 transports and the first group of MI-8 helicopters which even today constitute the bulk of our transport helicopter park. Shortly thereafter they were used during the great Tisza flood of 1970 carrying many thousands of people from the inundated areas.

In 1966-1968 we put in service the two seat MIG-21 UTI trainer and a second more developed version of the MIG-21 fighter which are still in service. In the course of changing models the KA-26 was put in service in 1970 to carry out light helicopter tasks; many of these are used by our agricultural flyers also. The camouflaged MIG-15 bis planes (which they used to call the Jaguar) appeared at the MHSZ Danube water parade held annually on 20 August; these planes are suitable for support of ground troops. The green-brown-yellow camouflage fits well into the summer colors of the landscape and facilitates the hiding of the planes. Some of the L-29 Delfin trainers can be seen in similar colors.

The year 1974 brought the most recent technology when the transport units retired the last LI-2 and IL-14 planes and received modern AN-26 planes.

At the jubilee parade in 1975 our Air Force displayed a cross section of its present equipment with 21 MIG-21 planes, 12 L-29 planes, 9 AN-26 planes, and 12 each of the KA-26, MI-1 and MI-8 helicopters. Flying at that time were MIG-21 fighters of the third generation which have five suspension points and can carry four air-to-air rockets.

This sums up the quarter century of our Air Force in a nutshell, which began dominated by the Jak and was then dominated by the MIG planes. The road was difficult and full of sacrifice and its memory is preserved by inscriptions in stone and marble.

[Note by editors of REPULES/URREPULES] Our readers interested in the theme in detail can find additional material in: "Magyar Repules Tortenete" [History of Hungarian Aviation], second edition (appearing at the end of 1976) by Csanadi, Nagyvaradi and Winkler; Kalman Pasztor's "Twenty-five Years of Hungarian Flight Officer Training," in issue No 4, 1975 of HADITECHNIKAI SZEMLE; William Green's "Magyar Air Cover," in issues No 9 and 10, 1969 of FLYING REVIEW; and in issue No 11, 1973 of INTERAVIA.

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TRADE UNIONS TO PROMOTE SOCIALIST VALUES AMONG INTELLIGENTSIA

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 29 Aug 76 p 3

[Article by Gyula Virizlay, secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions: "The Intelligentsia and the Trade Unions"]

[Text] One-third of the trade union members have intellectual occupations-- intelligentsia or white collar workers. The majority of them are concentrated in the intellectual or white collar trade unions but there is no branch of industry trade unions which does not have members who have intellectual occupations.

Even before the liberation many of them participated in the movement; they joined the movement out of political conviction opposed to the Horthy system and many as a result of the interest defending, organizing and educating work of the trade unions. They cooperated in leading the glee clubs, in guiding the theater groups, in library work, in organizing various actions and in guidance of the trade unions too. Social aspirations expressing the interests of the worker class and giving form to its goals had an attractive influence for many physicians, lawyers, teachers, technical workers, artists and scientists.

In the course of building socialism in our contemporary society, naturally, the link between intellectual workers and the trade unions has changed fundamentally; intellectual workers living from wages and salaries are convinced members of the trade union movement. This is a natural concomitant to that great social transformation in the course of which the majority of today's intellectual workers have come from the workers and peasants who have continued their studies, from the children of worker, peasant and intellectual families. An intellectual, white collar stratum with a new face has developed which adopts as its own the goals of the worker class and actively participates in the building of socialism.

There is no area of our life which does not require the work of the intelligentsia. The modern development of our economy requires great intellectual work; similarly, the further training of the workers has a connection with the decreasing differences between physical and intellectual work. The rapid technical development brings with it a more intensive transformation of the humanization of work and a fuller development of environment protection. The healthy development and intellectual training of society has demanded and still

demands great efforts from physicians and teachers. Greater activity is required from the representatives and cultivators of literature and the arts in the general increase in the culture of the populace.

The question naturally arises for the trade unions: How can we deal even more rationally with the intellectual and white collar workers while keeping in mind the interests of society as a whole? Is what has been done thus far sufficient? How and in what must our activity be improved?

The answer to these questions was formulated, barely 1 year ago, by the congresses of the trade unions when they evaluated the results achieved in the interest of the intellectual workers and the work done among them.

The congress of the Teachers' Trade Union, for example, emphasized that the more than 2 decades of work by the trade union had contributed to shorter working hours and to a partial moderation in the weekly obligatory hours. In order to relieve the over-burdening of the teachers and make their obligations more proportionate, the trade union took the initiative in writing a job description for the teachers and worked out standard guiding principles. Preparations were introduced for a system of definite appointment times for the leaders of lower and middle level educational institutions. Great attention was turned to introducing a system of definite employment times for lecturers and assistant teachers in institutions of higher education. At their initiative, ministerial guiding principles for the universities, while preserving healthy cadre exchanges, also provided for the security of those doing effective educational work.

At the congress of the Public Employees' Trade Union it was said that in the interest of an organized and planned provision of new state administrative experts for the local councils they supported the introduction of a state administrative intern system. Realistically evaluating the wage, income and social policy conditions of the membership they took action to end the wage disproportions between public service and the other areas of the economy and within public service, too. They tried to develop labor affairs regulations which better expressed the peculiar aspects of public service.

The Trade Union of Medical and Health Workers maintained continuous and substantive contact with thousands of health affairs workers via the megye and national professional groups. Among medical workers 23,000 physicians shared in an average 21.4 percent wage increase. Average wages for physicians in council institutions rose by 21.2 percent while those in central institutions rose by 23.5 percent. Decreased average working times were introduced in the last year of the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

Activity among engineers, technicians and economists carrying out important tasks constituted an organic part of the work of the Iron Workers' Trade Union.

It is not possible to list everything which is done daily by the many thousand trade union organs in the interest of representing intellectual workers, taking their interests into account, improving their living and working conditions and cultural opportunities, realizing their rights and obligations and bringing them into trade union work. Naturally, all this is not something separate from the activity of the trade unions as a whole, it is an organic part of it, the easily seen and felt everyday practice of the stratum activity of the trade unions.

But for the various groups of those with intellectual occupations problems appear for the most part in different forms and sometimes with different weight. The stratum policy work of the trade unions must adjust to these peculiarities.

For example, a frequent problem in everyday work is the material and moral recognition of those with intellectual occupations. I feel that the material and moral rewards of the intelligentsia and of white collar workers are in general in proportion to our social possibilities, to the ability of the economy to bear the burden. But the situation of some groups does reflect disproportions. I am thinking of the teachers, some of the health affairs workers and others. We must and will solve these problems in accordance with the growth of our possibilities. The resolutions of the trade unions also contain this intention.

The trade unions have great opportunities in a differentiated judgment of the work of intellectual workers and thus in improving material incentive.

The opportunities are no smaller in increasing moral rewards. I am thinking not only of honors but of what public opinion and social recognition mean in a larger sense.

The realization of on-the-job democracy and cooperation with the intellectual workers also have great significance in preparing decisions and solving tasks. On-the-job democracy ensures for them the same possibilities and rights as it does for the workers.

In our activities of political significance, for example, we must promote a correct appreciation and respect for physical work. But increasing the respect for physical work should never result in disrespect for intellectual work. Among the reasons for this is rapid technical development which brings with it an increasing intellectual expenditure in physical work, too.

Just as it is true that dealing with intellectual workers is an everyday activity of the trade unions, so it is necessary that the trade unions treat intellectual workers as a unique stratum, dealing also with certain groups of intellectual workers therein, and have well-founded programs for solving their justified and rank-ordered problems in accordance with the possibilities. At the same time, the trade unions must make efforts with all their strength to create the conditions for solutions.

It follows from the situation of intellectual workers and from the character of their work that progress demands more from them than heretofore in proportion to the increase in the tasks standing before our homeland. In what respect? We might answer briefly that the social demands on their work are higher in general. And, as in every area, what is primarily involved here is the quality and effectiveness of work, consistency and discipline. In general, the effect of their activity extends beyond their immediate environment and has a favorable or unfavorable effect on smaller or larger groups of the workers, of the working people.

The quality of the work of the technical intelligentsia working in production can be traced in the level of work organization, the development of working and living conditions, the exploitation of local opportunities for technical development, labor discipline, and so forth.

The same thing characterizes the representatives of literary and artistic life because their creations, directly but especially in an indirect manner, reflect, well or badly, the fundamental aspects of our contemporary life, the development of the socialist way of life, all those aspirations toward which we want to develop our life.

Of no less significance is the work of the teachers because they are preparing the youth for socialist life; or that of those working in the state apparatus when they strive for a consistent application of laws, decrees and regulations in the spirit of our policy.

The question frequently arises, especially in the professions employing the larger part of the intellectuals: Is the socialist brigade movement necessary among intellectual workers? In some places of work they think they should have a brigade movement and in others they think it is not necessary. In judging this question we can start from the position that we want to develop the activity, thinking and lifestyle of the workers at a quicker pace in the socialist direction. In this respect there is definitely something to be done among the intellectuals and white collar workers, too. Among them also there is a struggle for strengthening socialist human values, for forcing back petit-bourgeois behavior and thinking. Among them there still live or are being recreated such petit-bourgeois customs as egoism, political indifference and the pursuit of money. Whether or not we solve this task within the socialist brigade form must be decided locally, but the task must be solved just as it must among the physical workers. The chief question is not one of form but of content, that we deal in an organized and consistent manner with the strengthening of socialist human values among intellectual workers also.

Life also demands more from the intellectual workers in the area of cultural development because increasing their own professional further training and political culture is inseparable from the fulfillment of the tasks awaiting them and is inseparable from their honorable role of transmitting ever more from the knowledge and socialist human values of the other strata of the workers.

One can speak only in a positive sense of the feeling with which the intellectual workers relate to the goals of socialist building work, of the trust they have for the policy of our party. It is the office of the trade unions to pay attention to those problems and demands which arise from the individual and stratum interests in their spheres. Answering them and solving them in their own work must be kept on the agenda.

With every tool at its disposal the trade union movement aids a further increase in social respect for intellectual workers and counts ever more on the creative participation of the intelligentsia and of white-collar workers in every area of life.

8984

CSO: 2500

CANDID EXCHANGE POINTS UP FAULTS OF 'WORLD-VIEW' TEACHING

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Aug 76 p 17

[Article by Laszlo Sarkadi: "Unruly Philosophers, a Meditation on World-View Education"]

[Text] In general, the same objectives are set for every school year, but in every school year there are also a few special goals. World-view education falls into the latter category. In the past few years the formation of a world-view profile by the youth has always had an outstanding place in the opening instructions as one of the most important tasks of public education. This ever-returning paragraph of the instructions refers to the fact that something still needs to be improved, especially in regard to the methods of world-view education.

There was a time when it seemed simple to lay the foundations of a world-view because at that time everything fell into a simple order in the lectures and seminars expounding the theses of Marxism-Leninism. Brochures of a few pages, little catechisms divided into points, contained all the ideological information in an easy-to-grasp form and what could be easier than to take an examination after reading 30 or 40 pages.

There was a time, the above paragraph began. And today?

"Roadside" Exchanges of Ideas

The roadside designation can be taken literally, too, because the participants in the conversation, whose words and fragmentary thoughts I would like to quote below, were students in a construction camp near the Balaton. The haphazard conversation really did take place on the roadside between a large sunflower field and an orchard. A few of them were fresh university citizens with university notices of a successful admissions exam entitling them to win a diploma in their pockets along with their secondary school certificates.

I wanted to exchange ideas with them about work, about their summer earnings, but they dismissed this theme with a wave of the hand, with "One needs tobacco" and similar observations by which they gave me clearly to understand that it would be a shame to waste words on such obvious matters. Then we turned to the questions customary in all such haphazard interviews, What did they want to be? The exchange became exciting when the subject of their reading matter came up. In a rather surprising manner the debate and the stimulating tension increased as more abstract themes were discussed and it soon developed that every one of my suntanned, bathing-suited, bearded or mustached friends was a Socrates or at least a candidate philosopher of his own fashion.

One boy mentioned the name of Teilhard de Chardin whom, as he said, he had read in German: "Az ember helye a világegyetemben" [The Place of Man in the Universe]. (This Hungarianization of the title is a little loose as the German translation is "Der Mensch im Kosmos.") What impressed the boy was that we consider De Chardin an idealist, a defender of religion, but the church denied his teachings, everyone reads him in the West, he is a fashionable philosopher, what he says is interesting, and yet we don't publish his works. According to him he was a good natural philosopher.

It would take a long while to describe, though it would not be without interest, the course of this conversation without scenario, the sputtering of the thought balls tossed out, the words seized from one another's mouths, the battle of arguments and counter-arguments. I had long been only a silent observer of the debate when the most interesting statement was voiced, more or less as follows: However, this may be it is worthwhile to think these things, to read everything, to listen to everybody who has something to say, something new, exciting and witty about the world.

The "Standard" World-View

If I had to write an official summary of the above conversation it would certainly include the statement that the participants left something to be desired in their knowledge of history, that their literary information was faulty and that there were many confused elements and incompletely thought-out ideas in their thinking; they were too inclined to generalizations and dismissed complex questions with half words. But these "unruly philosophers," expressly but especially in the truths of the content behind their words, formulated one of the most important problems of world-view education--namely that their professional knowledge, the sciences learned as school subjects, and world-view information do not stand together on a uniform foundation in the heads of the students. And this means that there is a gap between experienced facts and abstract information.

The probable reason for this problem is the attempt to create a "standard world-view." There is an unwritten law, a false axiom in the world-view classes: Say either good or nothing about our contemporary society. There was a time (again this little phrase evoking the past!) when it was not acceptable to take notice of the contradictions of our social development,

of our economic life, when closing one's eyes was an obligation. Today we speak about this in the schools, most often as transitional difficulties, as momentary confusion, following the elimination of which there will be a state of paradise, life free from contradictions, the fulfillment of socialism. And then we take it amiss and wonder at it if this ideal picture of a happy future free of struggle does not overpower the youth of today.

At the very beginning the participants in the above ditch-bank conversation gave me to understand clearly that they were inclined to devote time to an exchange of ideas only if we laid our cards on the table saying, "Throw out the ballast." A few sentences from one of the boys amounted to an outburst of rebellion. He said something like this: "There are rules for everything today. The secret of a successful life is for a man to know these rules not so he can follow them but rather so he can get around them. A good protector is worth more than any effort."

He was one of those who, despite a successful exam, did not get admitted to a university. It would have been good to know more about him but the most important thing appeared from his further words; his rebellion was the protest of a healthy self-esteem, even the flashing of his eyes betrayed that he would not give up, he would show what he was worth, if not at a university then elsewhere. Despite all the arrogance of his style of speech I took this young man to my heart because he who could thus bear the first blow, received not in school but in real life, has character. I asked him what he would do but he only said, "I have plans." Which meant among other things, "Don't worry about me."

Character Building

It would be difficult to say where education lays the first foundation stones of the morality of a developing person. World-view education forms rather some upper stories of the building of character. A forced compromise seems to follow necessarily from this fact: For the most part it offers rules for behavior, a sort of systematic etiquette, which can often be called human conformity. There is much truth in the statement that today there are rules for everything, but one cannot know all the rules, and to do so would be superfluous. The question is, is it necessary to limit moral education, whether found as part of world-view information or elsewhere, to this teaching of behavior. Is it possible to lay the foundations of moral self-discipline within school frameworks and conditions?

It is not easy to support an affirmative answer with a few sentences. We might only cite the example of some very effective educators, the results of some outstanding institutions, but if we accept these we are again immediately at the problem of methodology. Very frequently, especially in the case of younger children, it is necessary to clearly say: Do this, this is permitted, this is not, you must do this because otherwise you will be punished. But for the most part the general practice of school education remains at this demand level; and this is one of the biggest mistakes of moral education.

The next level would be--if there were ever more--among the clearly formulated requirements--one calling for individual decision. "I leave it to you what you will do in this situation. Decide for yourself what you consider correct." Such an educational method is accompanied by great responsibility and great risk. The teacher, and every adult, knows better what should be done and how; so it would be simpler to tell the students rather than risk blunders, half success or failure.

The Rule of Three

The lecturer at a megye further training course expressed the following very convincingly and wittily. Every teacher teaching world-view, political subjects knows in what way his speciality differs from the other subjects taught. The following rule of three need be followed not in physics, not in mathematics, history or grammar, nor anywhere else except in political education, because it does not become necessary elsewhere. The rule is this. First, do not say anything which you yourself do not believe (if you preach water, don't drink wine). Second, do not say anything you cannot prove (because it will become a cliché). Third, do not say something everybody knows (because it is boring). These are the basic requirements for political education.

What won the attention of the listeners and evoked lively debate and the majority of the comment at the lecture may be questionable or something to be criticized when it is written down because it seems to excessively simplify the methods of world-view, political education. Maybe, But there is much more truth in this rule of three than is actually applied in everyday practice.

There is already an official forum for the world-view foundations in every secondary school; in some of the general schools they are experimenting with a subject called citizenship information. And even before this there was room and opportunity in every subject and outside of class, too, in every school. The word must be written down again, methodology, because the combined official, scientific and individual experiences about world-view education all indicate that the problem is rooted here.

The objective and personnel conditions for world-view education are also uneven. In many schools it is dealt with as a sideline by someone to whom the obligatory number of hours thus come. In the future the training of "philosophy" teachers will give the schools professional experts but until then individual and organized further training can supplement the faulty information.

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HUNGARY

WRITER FEARS RETURN OF HARSHNESS OF 1950'S

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 18 Sep 76 p 5

[Interview with Ivan Boldizsar by Andras Mezei]

[Text] [Question] Your stories published in recent months deal with the end of 1944, with 1945 and with the early 1950's. Especially gripping for me was the one titled "Tortenelem" [History]. You wrote the story of a poor peasant with many children, of Revbiro, then 40 years old, who just could not be persuaded to accept land from the land dividing committee because he was afraid that the landlord would return. Yet when, after 30 years, the hero of the story, the one-time land dividing official, returns to the village, the son of old Revbiro recalls that his late father was the first to sign the list of those demanding land. Your story offers a good pretext for us to talk about the past because it shocks the reader into recognizing that people in general do not remember what they said and did, but rather what they have thought of in the meantime and what they would have liked to have done. So let me turn your own discovery against you: When you write your stories about 1944 and 1945 and the early 1950's do you also remember what you thought of in the meantime and what you would have liked to have done?

[Answer] Before I answer yes or no to your question let me interject that writing about 1944 deals primarily with the Hungarian resistance or the question of not resisting, with dead-ends, while one writes something different about 1945 and especially the early 1950's. One year can mean a decade or a century of change, a turning, and today, when there is continuity, when we can survey decades, it is not easy to feel this. I might make more precise the story of old Revbiro by noting that he would have wanted land, would have signed, if he had not been afraid. So it is not unfair that he accepted the divided land in his imagination. Perhaps that is why he did not feel as false praise that which was celebrated later, after several decades. And what is more, since the land dividing committee regarded the signing as a formality and gave Revbiro land despite his protests, he later believed himself that he had been the first to seize his own land from the baron's estate.... It is surprising how one can know with complete

certainty, after more than a quarter century, what "yes" may hide behind a headstrong "no."

[Question] Your hero was afraid to sign a list. But there were lists later which people were afraid not to sign. This also is a theme for a story.

[Answer] What are you aiming at?

[Question] The Peace Loans.

[Answer] That would be part of a novel rather than a story. In any case, more and more remember the early 1950's as a time when they signed nothing (not even in their imagination). So let me return here to your first question, do I remember from those times what I said and did or what I would have liked to have said and done. My answer naturally is a little of both. I would not be able to write of those years if I had not lived through the ambivalence of the age. But let me continue the thought: Why would it be immoral to remember what we thought or what we would have liked to have done while, perhaps, we were afraid? We were not heroes, except in our imagination. Especially in our non-actions. But let us go further still; the real wrong would be if we did not remember even our thoughts.

[Question] Matyas Rakosi had a friendly talk with the hero of your novel titled "Barati beszélgetes" [A Friendly Talk], although you did not mention Rakosi by name. You describe in this story how a well-meaning, progressive person begins to become afraid....

[Answer] It is not an easy thing to remember the self-mastering psychological process of fear. Because in the meantime (lest someone forget it while reading my stories, because I was thinking of it while writing them) the country has worked hard under difficult material circumstances, with anxiety, doing without, giving things up, but with hope and faith and conviction, "night and day," to quote the title and atmosphere of an Ehrenburg novel. The economic structure of the country was transformed and if we have used the plural thus far let us do so now also. It was just this faith, trust and working spirit which the above-mentioned character in "A Friendly Conversation" abused. So it is not easy to reproduce this process, reaching to the very nerve cells, in which the urge to live orders us not only to say but to believe that black is white. This is what I was writing about, among other things, in my story titled "Egy nap anatomiaja" [Anatomy of a Day]. And here and now I answer yes to your chief question, that I did not always do what I would have liked to have done. But let me ask you: Is it possible today to remain silent, is one free to remain silent today about that of which one was a witness, even possessing the appearance of the shadow of power? The question was rhetorical, do not answer it.

[Question] But I will answer. And in this way: Do you have the right to write about the period of the personality cult?

[Answer] It is not my right, it is my obligation. But if you put the question the way you did then I must say that only the martyrs would have the right to write about those times. To carry the question to the absurd, only the dead have the right to speak, because this is what I would have to say if you pose such a high moral standard. But let me tell you, if I write about the war, about the resistance, about the fifties, do I not do it for the future rather than for the past? If I remember well even you wrote a poem concerned with the future 6 or 8 years ago in which you said that we should take care: "Bit by bit the dangerous generation of heroes who did not see the war is growing up." And if that poetic warning was timely then why cannot we repeat today that we should take care because the dangerous generation of heroes that did not see the personality cult is growing up bit by bit too.

[Question] You have a good memory. But now I must ask you what they asked me then, those who did not like my writing about 1944. Why must these ghosts be raised up?

[Answer] Because I have seen ghosts. Because they are here. Because horrors unspoken of eat like a cancer at the psychological organism. Because a new generation is growing up which might "unwillingly" stray in their own areas and practices into a personality cult.

[Question] I am afraid we will seem rather theoretical in the eyes of the new generation growing up.

[Answer] How do you mean that?

[Question] They will want an example.

[Answer] Permit me not to say who that leader was (for it is not the essential thing) who visited a provincial city so they could have a meeting, after work naturally. The young party secretary selected the simplest method of "agitation" and locked the factory gate. The guest, the leader, when he learned what had happened, called him to account: "Are you crazy, using a method of the Rakosi period?" Surprised, the young party secretary defended himself, he had never heard that they locked the factory gates in Rakosi's time too. He simply found this solution effective. Perhaps this example will help the generation that did not see the personality cult, the contemporaries of the young party secretary and even younger people, to understand that it is worthwhile to disclose the structure of the past for the benefit of the present and the future because, unfortunately, there is a tendency in every generation to choose the easier solution--giving orders, and locking the factory gates in every sense.

[Question] You are right and you have convinced me. One must write. You must write because you have almost literally been there whenever anything important happened in Hungary in the past 30 years.

[Answer] That is true, if not as an actor (for I am a journalist and was a journalist), I was almost everywhere and it would be immoral for me to act as if I had not been there, and I have no intention of acting that way.

[Question] So the Ivan Boldizar of today will write about the Ivan Boldizar of yesterday?

[Answer] I always do.

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HUNGARY

BUDAPEST AIRPORT TO BE MODERNIZED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Sep 76 p 9

[Article by S. P.: "More Than 3 Billion For Development of the Ferihegy Airport; Instrument Landing System Equipment, Hangar, Runway"]

[Text] In the Fifth Five-Year Plan period the Air Traffic and Airport Directorate can spend 3.1 billion forints and it can spend 500 million forints of this sum this year. This year they will finish the Koris Mountain radar station and will begin another radar base near Puspokladany. The stations will use microwave links to send signals to the control center at Ferihegy. The Ferihegy center for ground controllers will be renovated also; they are replacing the old equipment and putting into operation computers for the processing of information. With the construction of a modern radar system for the western and eastern halves of the country, air transport will be safer in every respect. The ground flight controllers will be able to more easily survey traffic in the air space and will get more information simultaneously.

Other new equipment will aid the work of the controllers in the future also. Doppler VOR equipment being imported from the FRG will make more reliable a precise designation of air routes and the determination of the location of aircraft. There will also be equipment in the center to provide information on the distances of aircraft. A new lamp line of 300 units is being placed along the runway to facilitate the orientation of the pilots during night landings. An important investment at Ferihegy to be put into operation at the beginning of next year is the new Telex center; as part of an international system it will provide automatic links between airports and ground control bases. New automatically operating instruments will measure meteorological characteristics in the vicinity of the airport and transmit them to the experts.

By 1980 they will build a hangar capable of receiving two IL-62 planes, complete with repair shops and social facilities. The hangar will be further expanded in later years and after completion it will provide covered, well-equipped "housing" for six large planes. Construction of an investment which is perhaps most urgently needed at Ferihegy will begin next

year, a modern runway about 1.5 kilometers from the present one. Linked to the 3,700-meter runway will be modern equipment needed for safe landings and takeoffs--instrument landing system equipment, lead-in light lines, indicator lamps, meteorological instruments, etc. The flight controllers will be housed in a new tower near this project.

Only the first phase in the development of the airport will be completed in the present five-year plan. After 1980 a new concrete surface will cover the old runway. A terminal building with significantly larger capacity than the present one figures in the long-range plans also. The thinking is to have trapeze-like building wings connected to one another so that the planes can receive passengers in the immediate vicinity of the building, the passengers going on board the planes via movable bridges.

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HUNGARY

BRIEFS

AIR FORCE TRAINING--The air force has developed a great deal since 1961. The old aircraft have been replaced by supersonic planes and various types of helicopters and new transport aircraft have been acquired. During the years 1966 to 1970 flight time increased 45 percent compared to the period between 1961-1965, and a further 22 percent increase was registered during the years 1971-1975. The amount of flight time per individual pilot has also increased. At the present military pilots fly 30 to 50 percent more in the course of a year than they did 8 or 10 years ago. There has been a considerable increase in the practice of low and tree-top level flights, as well as in all-weather and night flying. Greater importance has been attributed to the practice of aerial acrobatics and aerial combat. [Bekescsaba BEKES MEGYEI NEPUJSAG in Hungarian 26 Sep 76 p 4]

CSO: 2500

POLAND

DEFENSE MINISTER JARUZELSKI SPEAKS AT POLISH-SOVIET RALLY

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18-19 Sep 76 p 2 AU

[Speech by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Politburo member and minister of national defense, at 17 September Polish-Soviet friendship rally at the 10th Sudecka Armored Division named after the heroes of the Soviet Army-- report accompanying the speech is datelined Opole, 17 September]

[Text] Greatly esteemed Comrade Dmitriy Fedorovich Ustinov, defense minister of the USSR and marshal of the Soviet Union; dear Soviet guests; and soldiers of the 10th Sudecka Armored Division named after the heroes of the Soviet Army:

This rally is an inspiring and most memorable moment of the visit paid to Poland by Comrade Dmitriy Ustinov, defense minister of the USSR, marshal of the Soviet Union, an outstanding Soviet party, state and military leader, who has great merits in achieving the victory in the war against fascism and in creating the present technical-defense might of the Soviet Union.

The importance of this visit is emphasized by the fact that the Soviet delegation includes outstanding representatives of the Soviet Army and Navy, whom we know very well and whom we respect.

Esteemed and dear Comrade Marshal, we highly value the fact that Poland is the first country you have visited as minister of national defense of the USSR.

Your visit to this division, which bears honorably the name of the heroes of the Soviet Army, has for the soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces a symbolic significance: It expresses the cordially close relations between our peoples and armies, demonstrates their unity and alliance, and enriches their common traditions with new valuable content.

Friendship and brotherhood in arms are our great historical achievements. The revolutionary foundations of this friendship were set up during the class struggles and the common struggles of the proletariat. Its theoretical

principles were determined by Marxist-Leninist science, ideology and policy. All this proved its absolute correctness during World War II when it became tangible and consolidated.

During that dramatic trial of history our people found themselves on the brink of annihilation. However, despite everything--despite the defeat and the terror of the Hitlerite occupation--our people did not succumb. They continued to fight all the time. We should bear in mind, however, that only the backing of the Soviet ally, who liberated our country and played the decisive role in annihilating the Third Reich and who was, is, and will forever be our tested friend and ally in our march to socialist construction and successfully peaceful development, gave us a chance in this struggle and launched us upon the road to victory.

As Polish soldiers, we are proud that we have been able to help create Polish-Soviet friendship, and that it is based on the Polish-Soviet brotherhood in arms forged in the fire of our common armed struggles against fascism, and made eternal through commonly shed blood.

Polish and Soviet soil bears hundreds and thousands of battlefields, execution sites, and cemeteries of the last war. Our people honor the memory of the millions and millions of victims of fascism, and of all the fighters for the freedom of our motherland. They honor the memory of the Soviet soldiers who gave their lives to liberate our country. Our party educates the young generations of people's Poland in the most profound esteem for this tradition.

We remember very well that we always could and can count on the Soviet Union's fraternal help and comprehensive cooperation. It is precisely to the Soviet assistance in personnel and equipment that the Polish People's Armed Forces owe their chance to have participated victoriously in the war against the Hitlerite invader. This assistance has also helped us to a great extent to develop our armed forces since the war.

We are developing and improving our present potential through the ever expanding cooperation with our Soviet partner, and on the principle of integrating efforts with our Soviet ally.

All this has special significance here, in Opole territory. When this territory returned forever to our motherland after centuries of struggles for its Polish character, the forces opposing this undermined our just rights to it and poisoned the climate of stabilization for many years. This is all past now. The patriotic attitudes and creative efforts of Opole people, our socioeconomic achievements, and our armed strength, which serves the defense of this territory, were instrumental in this. However, we bear well in mind, and we will always stress that precisely the consistent, allied position adopted by the Soviet Union and the Soviet military might, which guards the borders of the socialist world, was greatly decisive in achieving this.

Young comrades in arms, our friendship and brotherhood are developing, tightening, and strengthening all the time. Your colleagues--the soldiers from other units and garrisons of our armed forces who participated in the allied exercise Shield-76 that ended the day before yesterday--have served this cause well. They have exemplarily fulfilled their tasks, and have demonstrated dedication, efficiency, toughness and discipline.

The Shield-76 exercise held within the framework of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces has been very useful, has enabled us to deepen the ideological unity and combat cohesiveness of our allied ranks, to improve the mechanisms of cooperation, to raise the various specialist skills, to demonstrate excellent models, [zareprezentowac doskonale wzorce], and to exchange and spread the best experience.

We are also utilizing all the other forms of mutual ties and we are extending the direct contacts between the armed forces of our two countries to ever lower levels.

Today we have seen an example of just such activity in your division: The soldiers of the Polish and the Soviet guest companies are undergoing joint training, getting to know each other better, getting on with one another with increasing effectiveness, and striking up friendships. Young comrades in arms, the long-term prospects of our relations and our internationalist unity are being forged among you who are the sons and even grandsons of the veterans of the last war and its common struggles. This is a guarantee that the cause of Polish-Soviet brotherhood in arms will continue forever and will forever be in good hands.

Dear comrades, our ideology and our great tasks of socialist construction give rise to a sincere interest in the detente of the international situation and a wish for lasting peace in Europe and the world. After all, the experience of the past has helped us to form the indestructible conviction that it is necessary always to fight for and to reliably protect peace.

We accepted the "victory of commonsense" in Helsinki in this conviction. This victory constituted a particular reaffirmation of the far-sightedness and the attractive force of the Leninist peace program mapped out by the CPSU. It was proof of the outstanding impact on international life of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's activities.

At the same time, we realize that maintaining lasting peace, especially on our continent, called for and calls for suitably strong obstacles to opposing trends and hostile forces. The defense strength of our community, especially the tremendous might of the Soviet Armed Forces, are such an obstacle; it has been built with the help of the potential created by socialism. These armed forces have for years paralyzed the plans of the imperialist, militaristic forces, and have provided defense guarantees for the peaceful policy of socialism.

The scientific-technical revolution is making a crucial impact on the size and character of this historic task. The international military-industrial corporations and complexes that are getting rich through this revolution and the unending process of armaments in the leading capitalist states make it necessary for socialism also to possess better and better weapons and hardware. Esteemed Comrade Marshal of the Soviet Union, I wish to stress once again the outstanding role you have played in this regard during the last war and the entire postwar period.

People's Poland and its armed forces participate to the proper, considerable, and solidary extent in the efforts to enhance the defense of the socialist community. This is our patriotic duty and our international obligation.

This is the general line of our party, this is the steady concern of its leadership, and this is the personal directive of Comrade Edward Gierek.

Esteemed Soviet guests, soldiers: As in the past 33 years, the Polish People's Armed Forces will continue to do their best to ever improve our fraternal cooperation within the system of our allied combat readiness, in garrisons, on testing ranges, in technology and the sciences. They will continue to do this in the same way as they did years ago in our common struggles. Esteemed comrades, your visit to our country and to our armed forces is the highest possible expression of this cooperation. Expressing the feelings of the Polish soldiers, let me therefore take this exceptional opportunity to present to you, esteemed Comrade Marshal, this artistic expression of the combat brotherhood in arms, which is a heritage handed over to the hearts, minds, and hands of the successive young soldierly generations--this symbol of our common struggle for peace, progress and socialism.

Long live the great Soviet people and their Leninist party!

Long live the armed forces of the USSR!

Long live our Polish-Soviet combat friendship!

CSO: 2600

PZPR URGES INCREASED AGITPROP WORK AMONG POLES WORKING ABROAD

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 8, Aug 76 pp 13-14

/Unattributed article: "Among Poles Abroad"/

/Text/ The work of Polish labor forces and specialists employed abroad occupies an essential place in the economic collaboration of Poland with other countries, which has been developing conspicuously in recent years. These labor forces and specialists work in exporting and in the construction of complete industrial installations, and they implement a broad range of specialized scientific and technical services. Most of them are employed in fellow socialist countries, many work in the developing countries, and some perform their tasks in the highly developed capitalist countries. In the coming years, the number of Poles employed abroad will increase.

The conditions of work abroad are very diverse, which results from the nature of the performed tasks and from the local circumstances. Most of the workers remain separated from Poland, from their social and vocational environments, and from their families for a long time.

Thus, the reinforcement of the feeling of a firm tie with the homeland of all the Poles employed abroad, informing them of the events and socioeconomic processes transpiring in Poland, and also the formation of a conviction about the great significance of the performed duties as well as the formation of a feeling of responsibility for their worthy representation of socialist Poland are unusually important.

Concerned with the appropriate resolution of these important problems, the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee adopted a resolution "On the matter of agitprop work among Polish labor forces and specialists employed abroad."

It imposes upon party instances, state agencies and institutions, social organizations, and the appropriate diplomatic posts of the PRL /Polish People's Republic/ the obligation to surround the Polish labor forces and specialists employed abroad with due protection and to intensify the

agitprop work conducted among them. The party leadership of Polish workers employed in a given country and the lending to them of substantial aid in party and agitprop work rest on the party organizations of the territorially appropriate Polish diplomatic and trade posts.

The fundamental aim of the agitprop activity conducted among the labor forces and specialists working abroad is to develop their social and vocational activity on behalf of the best possible performance of duties, as well as to form a feeling of particular responsibility for representing socialist Poland, its working class, and also its science and technology before the societies of other countries.

Agitprop work should further the formation of a feeling of national and civic dignity and should contribute to a conviction about the need to strengthen the position and authority of Poland in the world with these workers' own posture and activity.

The activeness of party organizations, the perfection of their leadership role, their style, and their methods of work, as well as the consolidation of the tie with worker collectives, are the basic condition for the efficiency of this work. It requires constant ideological and organizational strengthening of party ranks and the elevation of the ideological knowledge and vocational qualifications of its members.

The fact that party organizations fulfill the function of the political leader imposes upon party members the obligation to actively confirm their membership in the party through faultless work and an exemplary ideologico-political and moral posture. Each party member ought to be an active propagator of the PZPR program and policy, ought to be able to interpret phenomena correctly and to counter enemy propaganda.

Properly conducted agitprop work is to bring about:

- efficient use of accumulated technical potential, improvement of the efficiency and organization of work,
- maximally frugal use of materials and human strengths to achieve set tasks,
- observance of established deadlines and work timetables, concern for the quality of jobs, proper strengthening of social and vocational discipline, formation of socialist interpersonal relations, and integration of worker collectives,
- development of work competition, rationalization, and inventiveness.

The propagation of the socialist ideology and the clarification of aims and assumptions of party policy are the main direction of agitprop activity. It requires assimilation of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the principles and experiences of the building of socialism and presentation of the ideological and class motivations of the programs and decisions undertaken by the party. In the implementation of this task, a particular role falls

to the economic education of the labor forces, which--in accordance with the resolution of the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee--should be conducted by trade unions and administrative leadership.

The formation of patriotic and internationalistic attitudes, of a strong feeling of civic dignity, and of a cultivation of respect in contacts with the local population should engage a good deal of attention.

The grounding of the conviction of the superiority of socialism to capitalism, and especially of the knowledge of the achievements of the building of socialism in Poland and in the remaining countries of the socialist community, and of familiarity with the principles of Polish foreign policy and the whole community, as well as with the problems concerning peaceful coexistence and the ideological struggle of the states for different social structures--that is one of the main goals of agitprop work.

It requires dissemination of the knowledge of the growing role in the world of the socialist community and its peaceful policy, demonstration of its significance for the development of Poland, and tightening of the fraternal bond with the socialist peoples and countries, and especially with the Soviet people and the USSR. It also requires demonstration, in a deep and critical way, of the essence of the capitalist structure as well as of its socioeconomic and moral aspects, and elucidation of the laws and mechanisms governing the capitalist world as well as of the reactionary role of capitalism in the modern world.

Knowledge of the activity and the struggle of the communist movement in the world and of the national liberation movement should be spread among the Polish labor forces abroad, and a feeling of solidarity with these movements should be consolidated.

In the socialist countries, we should strive for the broad development of different forms of contacts with sociopolitical organizations, local authorities, and the population. Conditions for the development of circles of friendship societies with the peoples of these countries should also be created.

In the capitalist countries, great emphasis should be placed on countering bourgeois propaganda and ideological sabotage, ensuring information based on ideological principle and evaluating the situation prevailing in the host country, analyses of phenomena and processes occurring within its society, as well as appraisals of active political groups.

The steady growth of the number of Polish specialists working abroad is a convenient occasion for extensive propagandizement concerning the socioeconomic achievements of Poland. At the same time, Polish specialists ought to adopt modern technical, technological, and organizational solutions. These problems should be reflected in the organizational and agitprop work of party, union, and youth organizations.

In order to assure all those employed abroad of systematic information on the current socioeconomic situation in Poland as well as on policy directions and the most important decisions of the party and the government, broad informational and lecture activity should be conducted in gatherings of Polish specialists through the efforts of our own most active members, workers in diplomatic and trade posts, representatives of the mother enterprises who arrive from Poland, and also lecturers from the Central Committee.

Party organizations should systematically receive the basic journals of the Central Committee as well as nonperiodical lecture publications. Guaranteeing a timely supply of fundamental items of the national press and enabling the reproduction of selected radio and television broadcasts are also essential.

Cultural and educational work is an important segment of agitprop activity. It has a substantial influence on the rational use of free time, consistent with the wants and aspirations of the workers, on the appropriate regeneration of strengths, and on active rest. The teaching of foreign languages, vocational improvement, the supplementing of education, and the organization of amateur cultural groups are an essential element of this activity.

Tourist athletic activity should also be conducted in gatherings of Polish workers using available athletic equipment. Excursions to the more important economic and cultural centers of the given country should be organized during free time away from work.

The base of agitprop activity should be reading rooms equipped with:

- libraries supplied systematically with the most interesting and the most valuable items from the areas of belles lettres, sociopolitical literature, and specialized literature,
- suitable apparatus for cultural work, such as film apparatus, audiovisual aids, videotapes to the extent possible, and sets of records and magnetophonic tapes.

Efforts should be made so that a suitably prepared worker directs the work of each reading room. Where conditions allow, centers of propaganda and information should be set up at plants--as staff cells coordinating the whole of agitprop activity, creating a uniform program conception, and ensuring uniform leadership in the implementation process of this conception.

The forms and methods of agitprop activity among Polish labor forces and specialists abroad should be adapted to the nature of the performed tasks, the level of education of the employees, as well as to the specific character of their place of residence.

The implementation of the provisions adopted by the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee is in the hands of the party organizations that draw together the party members employed abroad and also the party

organizations of the institutions and enterprises that send them abroad, as well as the diplomatic and trade posts. The Secretariat of the Central Committee also imposed specific obligations to this extent on the departments of the Central Committee as well as on concerned agencies and institutions in Poland.

Total and systematic fulfillment of the recommendations contained in the resolution of the Secretariat of the Central Committee will affect the elevation of the ideological and political level of Polish specialists working abroad and better and more effective work at buildings under construction and in industrial plants. This is work performed in the name of socialist Poland, although at a significant distance from it.

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DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER TERMS OF CSCE FINAL ACT DISCUSSED

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[Article by Dr Zbigniew Resich, dean of the Department of Law and Public Administration at Warsaw University: "Respect for Human Rights in the Declaration of Principles of the CSCE Final Act"]

I

[Text] A number of important resolutions associated with the international field of defense of human rights were found in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE]. The Declaration of principles guiding mutual relations between participating states contained in it states, as principle VII, "Respect for human rights and basic freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion or beliefs."¹ Obviously this was not the first time that the field of international defense of human rights found expression in an international act, but this was the first time that it was accepted as one of the main principles governing mutual relations between countries.

Already during the first phase of the Conference in Helsinki, the problems of basic international principles, also including principles of respect for human rights, kept cropping up in the statements of the majority of discussion participants. They were voiced particularly by representatives of Poland, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Denmark and Holland.² The representative of the Soviet Union spoke about respect for human rights and basic freedoms, including freedom of religion. The representative of Yugoslavia was concerned with economic rights from the aspect of the "third world" countries, and problems of discrimination, apartheid and colonialism.

In the draft of the general Declaration on the bases of European security and principles of relations between countries in Europe, introduced on 4 July 1973 by the delegation of the Soviet Union, a principle referring to human rights was formulated in the following manner:

"Respect for human rights and basic freedoms, in accord with which participating states will respect human rights and basic freedoms, including freedom of religious convictions."³

Likewise the draft proposed by the delegation of France contained a statement of principles of respect for human rights and basic freedoms, "including among them freedom of thought, conscience, religion and convictions." This draft referred to national, ethnic and linguistic minorities. It stressed the importance of respect for human rights for international cooperation and security.⁴ Similar motions referring to principles of respect for human rights were found in the draft presented by Great Britain⁵ and the Apostolic See.⁶

Principle VII, referring to human rights, was formulated during the second phase of KBWE [CSCE]. The problem area of human rights was brought up again in the third phase of the Conference in utterances by representatives of many countries (for example, Poland, the Soviet Union, the United States, France, Romania, Belgium and Ireland), and this by representatives of the highest rank.

II

Expression of respect for human rights as a principle of international law and its location among the 10 most important principles of international coexistence indicate the importance which the field of defense of human rights has in the modern world. The concept of this principle in the Declaration of Human Rights of the Final Act of CSCE contains a whole series of statements and resolutions, essential both from the theoretical point of view and from that of international practise.

The position of theoreticians of law on the question of the possibility of defining basic human rights is not uniform. In the opinion of representatives of the science of constitutional law such a definition is not possible.⁷ However, it seems that from the point of view of the doctrine of international law, elaboration of a definition of basic human rights is not only possible, but even necessary. Without any elaboration of such a definition it would be difficult to think realistically that individual countries would fulfill the obligations in the field of defense of human rights.

An analysis of principle VII of the Declaration of Principles of the Final Act of CSCE permits certain elements of a definition of human rights to be identified. There it is stated that countries will "support and encourage the effective use of civic, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms, all of which are the result of the natural dignity of the human person and have basic importance for his free and full development." This statement indicates the fundamental and universal nature of these rights. Features of equality and prohibition of discrimination follow from another formulation.

The definitional elements indicated above also testify to the full integration of the position and importance of civic and political rights in comparison to economic, social and cultural rights. At the same time the continuing efforts of western countries, aimed at belittling the importance of norms regulating social, economic and cultural relations, once again came to naught. Here it should be recalled that an attempt of this kind of unjustified differentiation suffered its first defeat by the resolution of the Pact of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the second at the international seminar organized in Warsaw in 1967, with UN participation, on the subject of realizing the socioeconomic rights expressed in the General Declaration of Human Rights. At this seminar it was stated that social, economic and cultural rights have the nature of a norm in international law, and, in addition, that they should be reflected in all constitutions.⁸

From the point of view of the characteristics of the basic rights of man, there is essential importance in other formulations of the above-mentioned Declaration of Principles, from which it follows that the individual not only has rights, but also obligations toward society.

III

As already stated, the Final Act defined basic human rights and freedoms in a certain sense, and delimited their scope, indicating in general that this is a matter of civic, political, social, economic, cultural and other rights. The reference in this text to the General Declaration of Human Rights and to the Pacts of Human Rights provides a basis for concluding that it concerns all the rights and freedoms which were regulated in these documents. On this basis it can be stated that this is a matter of such rights and freedoms as: right to self-determination, right to equality, right to freedom from all discrimination, right to life, right to humanitarian treatment, right to personal freedom and security, right to free movement and freedom to choose a place of residence, right to equality in legal proceedings, right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, right to possess an independent opinion, right to free assembly, right to free association, right to defense of family, right to take part in management of public affairs, right to uniform legal defense, right to work and freedom from unemployment, right to just and proper working conditions, right to professional associations, right to social security, right to defend children and youth, as well as working mothers, right to a suitable standard of living, right to defense of physical and mental health, right to study, right to participate in cultural life, and right to necessary freedom for the conduct of scientific research and creative activity.

However, it should be stressed that the Final Act formulating the principle of respect for human rights does not only mention some rights and liberties. Thus, it speaks of freedom of thought, conscience, religion

or convictions, of freedom from discrimination because of race, sex, language or religion, and the rights of national minorities. In the sense of its statements, participating states:

"Will acknowledge and respect freedom of the individual in the area of religion and practise, individually or in concert with others, of religion or conviction in accord with the dictates of his own conscience."

This statement undoubtedly refers to the draft of the declaration and UN convention concerning a prohibition against intolerance in the field of beliefs and convictions, and thus in the field of religion and atheistic convictions.⁹ It also refers to article 18 of the Pact of Civic and Political Rights, which states the following:

"1. Everyone has a right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right includes freedom to hold or accept beliefs or opinions according to one's own choice and to avow individually or with others, publicly or privately, of his religion or opinions through practise of a cult, observance of religious dictates and prohibitions, and the practise and teaching of religion.

2. No one will be subject to coercion which would limit his freedom to hold or accept beliefs or opinions according to his own choice.

3. Freedom to avow beliefs or opinions may be subject only to such restrictions as are anticipated by law and are necessary to defend public security, public order, public morality and health, or the basic rights and freedoms of other persons.

4. The member countries of this Pact oblige themselves to respect the freedom of parents or, in corresponding situations, of legal guardians to assure their children religious and moral education in keeping with their own convictions."¹⁰

A comparison of the statements in the Final Act and article 18 of the Pact does not provide a basis for asserting that the Final Act includes all of the material contained in article 18. Still, it can be stated at any rate that it includes this content to the extent that it refers to freedom of the individual in the field of believing and practising religion or convictions.

In formulating a prohibition against discrimination the Final Act mentions various races, sexes, languages or religions, while the Pacts consider various races, skin color, sexes, language, religion, political and other opinions, national and social origins, financial standing, birth or any other condition. Therefore the scope of article 18 seems to be broader. However, in explaining the resolution of the Final Act in this area it is

necessary to consider the fact that in the terminology of UN documents, such as international conventions on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination,¹¹ the term "racial" is usually used in a double sense, sometimes as one of the features characterizing the act of discrimination and sometimes as a technical term, embracing all possible forms of discrimination. Then it speaks of "racial discrimination" as if it were a matter of discrimination from the point of view of different sexes, nationalities, languages and so forth. Even if the term "race" introduced into the Final Act, were not understood so broadly, it would still be necessary for it to embrace ethnic origin and certainly national origin and skin color as well.

On this subject of national minorities, the Final Act states:

"Participating countries which have national minorities within their territory will respect the rights of persons belonging to these minorities to equality before the law, will give them full opportunity to real use of human rights and basic freedoms and, in this way, will protect their basic interests in this field."

It is characteristic that this resolution refers to national minorities, although it seems that in general "minorities" should be understood under this concept, and article 27 of the Pact of Civic and Political Rights speaks of ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities. Here it should be recalled that problems of minorities were the object of international seminars in Ljubljana (1965) and in Ohrid (1974). At the latter one, the object of interest, among other things, were the social minorities of emigrant workers.¹² The Final Act also regulates economic and social problems of migrating manual workers (in part 6: "Cooperation in other fields").

A list of the basic human rights expressed in actual words in the Final Act is not limited to those which were expressed in the formulation of principle VII referring to respect for human rights. Here allusion can also be made to the right of nations to self-determination (principle VIII). It should also be mentioned that a number of basic rights occur in those parts of the Final Act which refer to cooperation in the humanitarian field, and in the field of culture and education.

IV

The Final Act declares the existence of a close bond between the field of defense of human rights and matters of peace, social justice and prosperity. Thus it states that:

"Participating states recognize the universal significance of human rights and basic freedoms, respect for which is an essential factor for peace,

justice and prosperity, necessary to assure the development of amicable relations and cooperation between them and also among all countries."

Anyway it is not difficult to find proof in favor of this position. It should be enough to recall the situation which occurred as a result of mass transgressions against human rights in South Africa, causing a snarl of tensions dangerous for peace. The inseparable connection between defense of human rights and the matter of peace and social justice was stated in an obvious way in the Declaration of technological progress and development approved at the UN General Assembly in 1971.¹³

The Final Act also speaks of effective defense of human rights, which recalls the appeal of U Thant contained in his inaugural address at the World Conference of Human Rights in Teheran in 1968.¹⁴ In making a balance of achievements and losses in the international field of defense of human rights, he called for intensification of the struggle for greater effectiveness of UN actions in this field.

The Declaration of Principles of the Final Act states that in their mutual relations countries should unflinchingly "respect these rights and freedoms and make efforts, collectively and individually, including cooperation with the United Nations for the purpose of supporting universal and effective respect for them." They are to proceed in accord with the goals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They will also "fulfill the obligations defined in international understandings and declarations in this field, including among others the International Pacts of Human Rights, if they are associated with them."

The question now comes up as to what means, according to the Final Act, should be used to fulfill the obligations of participating states anticipated in it in the field of defense of human rights. An answer to this question is connected to the fact that the Final Act pleads in the formulation of the principle of respect for human rights for the goals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and for the Pacts of Human Rights. This plea for the goals and principles of the Charter demonstrates that control of the fulfillment of the obligation of respect for human rights, in accord with the preamble and the content of article 2 of the Charter, belongs to the area of the sovereign authority of each participating state and should be based on its internal system of organs of legal defense. It also shows that this control can belong to international organs when sovereign nations express their agreement with it. This opens a path for wide international cooperation with European nations with the aim of forming suitable conditions for the protection and development of the field of respect for human rights. Reference to the resolutions of the Pacts commands that, in coordinating forms of international control of respect for human rights, all forms anticipated by the Pacts of Human Rights be recognized as proper. On the other hand the Pacts, which have already been put into force, anticipate (each of them in part IV) a system