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SHORTCOMINGS IN POLITICAL WORK WITH THE MASSES CITED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 8, Aug 77 pp 65-78

[Article by Hiti Hito: "Problems of Political Work With the Masses"]

[Text] Last month the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Albania organized in Vlore a seminar to discuss and exchange experience concerning the further improvement of the party's political work with the masses. At the seminar, attended by secretaries of party committees from all districts of the country, directors of mass organizations, instructors in political work, cadres of military units, and so forth, a report was read titled "Let us raise the party's political work with the masses to the level of the tasks set by the seventh party congress," by member of the party Central Committee Miti Nito, as well as a report titled "On the experience of the party organizations of the Vlore district in political work with the masses to interpret the directives, provide the workers with information and confront the problems raised by life," by the secretary of the party committee of the Vlore district Rudi Monari.

We publish herewith a synopsis of the main parts of those reports.

Let Us Raise the Party's Political Work With the Masses to the Level of the Level of the Tasks Set by the Seventh Party Congress by Miti Nito.

During the last few years, in addition to strengthening and perfecting all the party's orienting, mobilizing, organizing and guiding work, its political activity with the masses has also been increased and improved in content and in form, and this has heightened their interest, fervor, vigor and mobilization in the work of solving the many problems which we face. But the performance of the great tasks set by the seventh party congress for the construction and defense of socialism in our country demands that all measures be taken to elevate also the level of political work to the level of those tasks so that political work may be effective in penetrating more deeply into the inner world of people, create a profound conviction in their minds and, on this basis, insure the mobilization of the masses to put into practice the directives of the seventh congress and the 2nd plenum of the party Central Committee.

1. In the whole chain of tasks set by the seventh party congress, the main link that we must take hold of in the party's political work with the masses consists of making them live actively with the internal situation of the country, but also with the external situation.

"The construction of socialism in Albania," Comrade Enver Hoxha told the seventh party congress, "our people's struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and defend the fatherland, the efforts for a secure future have not been isolated from the international situation in which we live, from the general historical process of present world development." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, p 185).

Our Socialist People's Republic lives, works and fights in a general imperialist-revisionist encirclement and scoring successes. Our economy is moving ahead, resisting and resolutely breaking the blockade and the pressure of the economic-financial crisis in the capitalist-revisionist world. The material and cultural level of the workers and the defensive power of the fatherland are growing continually. The prestige of the party and the Socialist People's Republic of Albania in the world has grown immeasurably. All these successes have their basis in the correct leadership of the party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the rightness of its line, in the untiring work of our people.

At the 2nd plenum of the party Central Committee held at the end of June of this year, Comrade Enver Hoxha, again making a thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation, once more drew attention to the fact that the communists and workers of our country should follow carefully the development of international events, the aggressive, plotting, expansionist and hegemonistic activity of the two superpowers, the fierce struggle going on between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, since only thus will we be able to understand the course of events and determine and best perform our tasks.

In this situation, it is a part of the party's political work to keep the workers posted on events and strengthen more and more their faith in the party's correct line, to strengthen ever more the unit between the people and the party, and to keep ever high the morale, elan and enthusiasm of the workers. We stress this for the further reason that the work done and the struggle waged by our party to build socialism and defend the fatherland, as well as everything connected with the defense of Marxism-Leninism, is a long fight demanding sacrifices, a glorious struggle guaranteeing our people their liberty and independence, a fight for the victory of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism in the world.

The party's political work with the masses has the task of making it clear that the imperialist-revisionist encirclement is exercising continual pressure on our country, with great and ever increasing intensity. The imperialists and revisionists are making unbridled propaganda, using every way and means to make their influence felt. The foreign radio stations in the

Albanian language, among which are the "Voice of America," "Radio Moscow," "Radio Vatican," and others, are daily sowing their venom. Their whole propaganda aims at dealing a blow to the faith of our working masses in the party, their faith in their ability to build socialism and defend it with their own forces; at spreading a spirit of pessimism, liberalism and dissolution, and so forth, without, however, abandoning the aim of military aggression.

As is known, in the last few years, our internal enemies, in collaboration with the external enemies, have hoped to realize their hostile purposes through plots and putsches. But they have failed thanks to the vigilance of the party and the people. However, we must not grow lethargic and lower our vigilance. It must be made clear to the masses that our enemies have not and will not abandon their aims. The international situation is becoming more and more exacerbated. The two superpowers are constantly increasing and perfecting their weapons. Their navies are increasing from year to year in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. All these and other things have created a tense situation which constitutes a danger for our country too. We cannot ignore them. Therefore, the task of the party organs and organizations is to keep the communists and the masses posted on the situations as they develop and, by raising the quality of information and political enlightenment to the workers, to make them understand thoroughly and become fully aware that under these circumstances it is necessary to sharpen their vigilance and maintain ever high the revolutionary spirit for the performance of the tasks in every field of life, and to increase our defensive capabilities constantly, combating every liberal and bureaucratic manifestation that impedes our forward march, however slightly.

Qualitative elevation of the political information given to the workers demands above all the abandonment of the ordinary kind of work sometimes done, in which there is only a mere chronicling of events, and questions regarding the development of the situation are not presented with all their contradictions. The workers must always be given objective information, and it must be explained to them, among other things, that the world revolution does not always take place in a direct line, that it, too, has its zigzags, which must be well recognized so as to draw conclusions about our practical tasks. This work must be done better by all the party organs and organizations and its levers, beginning with the center and extending to the base, since the possibilities too are now greater.

In giving political information to the workers we must bear in mind that we should clarify not only the general and anticipated things, but also matters that come up every day in the course of the development of events. It would be very useful to organize conversations on the basis of the questions asked by people since in this way political work not only responds better to the worries and demands of the masses themselves regarding the situation and the problems posed by the party for solution, but the political conversations with people will stimulate debate more and will become most understandable.

This is also attested positively by the experience gained thus far in political work with the masses. For example, during the discussion of the draft Constitution of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania there were almost no questions at first, when the discussion was general, whereas when discussion began in smaller groups about particular matters and on a more concrete basis, so many questions were forthcoming that the party Central Committee found it necessary to activate a group of qualified comrades to be sent again to the districts and military units to hold various conversations in response to the questions that had been asked. This was also the procedure of the Tirana party committee in pursuing the interpretation of the materials of the seventh party congress on the international situation and the class struggle. It collected all the questions asked by the communists and workers when the respective subjects were dealt with and, on that basis, it constructed a work program to clarify them further. Furthermore, on the basis of the questions, it also made an analysis of the work of the party organizations on those matters at the plenum of the district party committee, where the tasks regarding the further deepening of the political-educational work with the masses in the future were also defined.

Concerning the present problems of world development, which are broadly treated in the report rendered by Comrade Enver Hoxha to the seventh party congress, more thorough work needs to be done: the questions must be collected, they must be grouped and comrades must be charged with preparing to clarify them more clearly for all communists, cadres and masses, by the most diverse forms and means.

The party's political work must be constantly on the offensive and duly counter ever better the alien pressure and influence in order to preserve and raise to ever new and higher levels the political enthusiasm and real revolutionary optimism, to perform the tasks and march forward, applying the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance. We have scored one success: now let us consolidate it so as to score others. This demands continual political work, not work by leaps, by campaigns. We say this because actual practice in this work has evidenced defects of this nature. Let us take, for example, the various initiatives adopted since the 4th plenum of the party central Committee. Some of them, for which there was better support through the political activity with the masses as well, have had a strong influence in combating alien manifestations and liberal attitudes, whereas in some other cases there has been no continuity, and so the work begun has remained stalled midway.

Why has such a thing happened? Because not all have as yet fully understood the party's directives on the fight against the alien bourgeois-revisionist pressure and influences as an uninterrupted struggle. Hence, it sometimes happens that, when a directive is given, initiatives and drives are launched and a number of measures are taken, but they are not properly accompanied later by thorough ideological and persuasive work. Of course, this is not normal, and therefore it is necessary for the party and mass organizations

to improve their method of work, to raise the effectiveness of political-educational work against alien manifestations, to arouse the masses to drives and see to it that they themselves take this fight in hand to a greater extent and lead it themselves.

The fight for socialist construction, for the enforcement of the party's decisions and directives, for the performance of the tasks brings up daily the most varied problems. The task of political work of the party and its levers with the masses is such that these problems must not be evaded in the fight against any tendency or manifestation of "globalism" and more clarifying work in general: they must be tackled, dealt with and disposed of, on the basis of the party line, so as to inculcate in every worker correct ideas and attitudes about their solution. It sometimes happens, for example, that there are shortages of some consumer article on the market due as much to the ever growing demands as to certain deficiencies in fulfilling the tasks of the economic plans in quantity, quality and assortment, as well as to the various difficulties which the encirclement and blockade create for us. Will we permit people to interpret these deficiencies each in his own way? By no means. Our political work must duly tackle these questions and explain them correctly. The same is true of the other problems raised by life. Our propaganda has rightly treated the provision for the need for bread with our own products as a great victory. But our fight and work to insure a domestic supply of bread has not ended. We have to consolidate the victory we have won in this field. Meanwhile, we must also work with the same concern to use bread economically in the fight against every manifestation of carelessness and misuse of it, treating this question in its whole political, economic, ideological, etc., context and significance.

Above all, it is necessary that the political work effect the necessary linkage of things so that people may thoroughly understand in particular the organic connection and mutual dependence that exist between their demands and their obligations. Naturally, people may have demands for consuming more oil, sugar, vegetables and other products. And the state plans provide for a better and larger supply of those kinds of products. But the insurance of such a larger and regular supply is beset with difficulties if the production tasks anticipated in the state plans are not performed one by one and by everybody. It is necessary that everyone should have clear ideas about the direct relationship between production and consumption. Therefore, the party organizations need always to draw conclusions about such problems and build their political and clarifying work with the masses on the basis of them, to explain to them the tasks which they have to perform, and especially to create a deep conviction in the mind of every worker that his well-being grows only with work. They must hold responsible anyone who does not live in the times through which we are passing, who does not perform his tasks in due time and quality, who seeks to get more from society than is his due, who shows all manifestations, which are a cause for demands beyond our possibilities, and so forth. In particular, a severe attitude must be maintained toward anyone who exploits an occasion or task for engaging in speculation, or favoritism, who accepts bribes, and so forth, which acts are contrary to the laws and regulations in force, and to our communist norms and morality.

2. Living with the situations, as this problem was posed by the seventh party congress, means that the party's political work must rouse people to strive to break the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade on the basis of a thorough understanding and concrete application of the Marxist-Leninist principle of self-reliance in performing all the plan tasks.

The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have constantly drawn our attention to the fact that we must correctly and objectively appreciate the fact that the imperialist-revisionist encirclement is not simply geographic or passive in anyway, but an operating encirclement that we contend with in all fields and directions; that the imperialist and revisionists never--but particularly in the present situation of further exacerbation of the contradictions of the class struggle between us and our internal and external enemies--leave any stone unturned to sabotage the construction of socialism and undermine the political and economic independence of our country, to create for us as many difficulties of every sort as possible, and, on this plane, to impede the realization of our economic plans. The deepening of the general crisis in the capitalist-revisionist world exercises on us not only a merely ideological and political pressure, but also a material, economic and financial one.

Under these circumstances, it is necessary more than ever for us to bear in mind the party's injunctions given to the seventh party congress that "the full construction of the socialist society is closely connected with the understanding and application of the principle of self-reliance at every step and every field of life"; that "this great Marxist-Leninist principle, with a profound revolutionary content, is not only a natural law of the construction of socialism, but also an imperative necessity under our country's conditions in order to cope successfully with our enemies' blockades and encirclement" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Party Congress, pp 83-84); and that the encirclement and blockade "is not broken unless we have produced our bread in this country, unless we have produced our spare parts in this country, unless we have performed the state plan tasks."

Study of the materials of the seventh party congress, their assimilation by the masses and the struggle to put them into practice have caused people everywhere to launch a number of revolutionary initiatives of great political and economic value. Such are the initiatives of the workers in the Traktori Factory, the collective of the Enver Plant, that of the collective of the superphosphate plant in Lac, of the workers of the Sukth Farm Enterprise, and so forth, which have now become known throughout our country and have been embraced by many worker collectives. It is the task of the party and mass organizations to see to it, through intensive political work with concrete objectives, that these great movements stimulate the thinking and revolutionary action of the masses, that they include as many workers as possible, and that people everywhere work and live as if encircled.

The 2nd plenum of the party Central Committee took note that the working masses of the country, headed by the working class, have achieved a number of results in fulfilling the plan tasks during the first 6 months of the current year. Thus, the total volume of industrial production was realized, and the plans for the mining of chrome, copper and iron-nickel ores, coal, and so forth were fulfilled.

But the plenum also drew attention to a number of shortcomings and weaknesses of a purely subjective character that are noted in the performance of the plan tasks. Can we say that the danger, the influences and consequences of the encirclement of the blockade and of the economic crisis in the capitalist-revisionist world have been adequately and thoroughly understood when the plan for total industrial production in the first 6 months was realized as a whole, but was not fully realized according to the principal items in the nomenclature of the Council of Ministers and the central government departments? Can it be said that the danger of encirclement and blockade has been well understood when last year in the farm sector, too, the plan tasks for the production of sugarbeets, sunflowers, cotton, rice, and so forth, were not fully realized?

Failure to realize the plan in every item, in quality and assortment and in all the economic-financial indices means creating difficulties for enforcement of the party's policy on the purpose of production under socialism, the normal and unimpeded development of the various sectors of the economy and the whole life of the country, the supplying of the people with consumer goods. Therefore, the party's agitation must debate and clarify these questions well so that they will be understood and applied correctly by every worker and cadre and everyone will gain a sense of responsibility toward duty, a deep conviction that only conscientious work can readily break the encirclement.

The organizations of the party and its levers have the duty, through political work with the masses, to make them understand well that it is in their own interest and in that of the country and socialism to increase their demands upon themselves, so all nerves will be strained during working time, the full and rational exploitation of working time will be insured by every worker, cooperativist or other employee, so that everyone will give the maximum of his physical and mental energies in the service of increasing production, and our economic development in every aspect of it. We mention this because some deficiencies are still noted although there are improvements in the socialist attitude toward work. Thus, among other things, there is still no proper understanding that low norms are neither in the interest of society nor in that of the workers and cooperativists. Incorrect concepts are also noted in the quality of work and production. A part of the workers and cooperativists consider the chase after quantity to the detriment of quality of production as their "reserve," to increase their personal income; indeed there are even some who say that "quality has been left in the hands of of conscience, whereas quantity is measured by norms." This may explain the fact that in 1976 the Ministry of Commerce blocked consumer goods for poor

quality to the total amount of over 5 million leks. During the month of March the Batre mine sent to Lac 550 tons of rock together with the chrome ore, and the Bulgize mine 180 tons.

An important object of the political work with the masses have been and remains the questions having to do with the engagement in useful social work of all the able-bodied forces and the strengthening of proletarian discipline, to eliminate absences from work without cause, as well as to reduce temporary disability, since in these respects there are still problems requiring solution in spite of the improvements. In agriculture alone several thousands of able-bodied persons fail to go out to work every year, and there are a good many workers and cooperativists who are absent without cause, while there are fluctuations in temporary disability, sometimes with drops, but sometimes also with unjustified and artificial rises, especially in certain sectors. Therefore, clarifying and persuasive work by the organizations of the party and its levers, carried on especially face to face with the persons who show alien manifestations and attitudes in these respects, is needed to make them understand that the fight against such alien manifestations and attitudes is an aspect of the class struggle, in which the party's ideology clashes with the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, the general interest with narrow personal interest, and so on.

Of great value, not only economic, but especially ideological and political, is the initiative of youth to go to work and live in the countryside, which is becoming ever more far-reaching since the seventh party congress. A good example of this is to be found in the Vlore district, but in other districts too this movement is on the increase. However, in some barge cities, such as Tirana, Durrës, Shkoder, Korce, and so forth, there are still a good many young men and women who hesitate to go to work where the fatherland needs them, in the countryside, the mines, on reclamation work, and so forth. Among other things, this indicates weaknesses in the educational work with people, in the belief that everything has been solved by making an appeal or giving a lecture. Apart from these, there are cases where initiatives have been taken or supported merely pro-forma, enough to print newspapers, enough to get their names in them, and consequently the initiative has remained stalled midway.

The party teaches us that we should measure our work not only by what we sow, but especially by what we reap; that political work should create in every worker's mind a deep and lasting conviction accompanied by the revolutionary action of going to work wherever the fatherland needs one. And an example in this matter should be set first and foremost by the communists, the cadres and their children; one should not do like some cadres who have been transferred from Tirana to the districts, from town to country, and have not yet taken their families there.

The popular discussion about economies that has taken place in recent months has developed reserves and other resources for fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan tasks. The task now is for every individual and collective to put

those reserves and resources to use at once. Political work should aim at rooting the idea of thrift deeply in the conscience of every worker, by closely linking the fight to save every grain of wheat and corn, every gram of steel and petroleum, the people's leks, to the fight which the party and the people are waging to break the encirclement and blockade. That is how our agitation should treat the party's slogan that "sacrifice and savings are to be on the order of the day."

Realization of the plan tasks requires that the party organizations and its levers concern themselves more with the organization and development of propaganda about production and socialist competition. The advanced experience of every brigade, unit or sector must be better assimilated; confrontations must be better organized; positive examples must be encouraged more, and socialist competition must be stimulated down to the smallest production unit, to the squad, as well as among individuals, by making better and wider use of moral stimuli.

A distinguishing characteristic of all our work is the vigorous forward march. But we are revolutionaries and we are allowed no feeling of self-complacency with what we have achieved; still less are we permitted any feeling of tolerance for shortcomings and weaknesses. All our work must be such that people will live better with the situation, draw more and better conclusions as to tasks and work for the realization of the historic decisions of the seventh party congress.

3. Some Questions Regarding the Further Improvement of the Method of Directing Political Work and Using the Forms for Its Development

Just as all the party's work have increased and improved, so too have the direction and forms of political work been perfected. This seminar too has brought a good many examples and good experience as to how to improve the political work of the party and its levers in both content and form. We find it necessary to draw attention to some of these questions.

Let us take the problem of reading and utilizing the press. People generally read with care the various organs of the press and also follow with attention the broadcasts of our radio and television. The question now is not only one of reading the press, but of studying it with pencil in hand and drawing conclusions about tasks. Our press publishes many materials interpreting the party directives and treating both the problems of the fight being waged by our workers to perform the tasks, and the international situation. The maximum profit must be derived from all these things. It is the duty of the party organs to involve themselves still better in this work, using varied and diverse forms, especially collective reading of the press, or weekly political reports and comments; and all these things should be done in an organized and well-directed way, with definite aims; and we ought to leave nothing to chance. Directing this work means taking the proper measures to the end that the people charged with the collective reading of the press or with political commentaries may be oriented as to what they should read, what political comments they should make and why

they should make them, what they are to confront, what duties they should infer, and so forth, so that all this work may stimulate the minds and revolutionary action of the masses to perform and overfulfill the tasks connected with the building of socialism and the defense of the country. In an AKTIV meeting with the cadres of the Vlore district, Comrade Enver Hoxha drew attention to the fact that all of us should infer our duties from the press and not look up on it as merely a source of information, as often happens, or immerse ourselves solely in those articles which deal with the district or their enterprise.

Since we are speaking of exploiting the press, we have wished to draw attention to a better exploitation of the (public) voice centers, which are not only constantly increasing in number, but are an important means in the hands of the party organizations to communicate with the masses. In using them too, the work must not be left to chance with regard to the outcome, but conversations should be programed and developed according to the problems that interest and preoccupy the place of work and the collective.

Perfecting the use of all forms of political work more and more, we should devote more attention to small oral agitation, which is one of the principal forms of political work with people and which our party has used successfully ever since its founding as an irreplaceable means of free communication with masses, of penetration into everyone's conscience. Preserving and further developing its characteristics as to operativeness, clarity, proletarian partisanship, intolerance for any shortcoming or alien manifestation, it is our duty to conduct small agitation with the utmost effectiveness, aggressiveness and spirit of mobilization.

All the party organizations now have great experience in guiding, organizing and developing political work with the masses. Nevertheless, we will dwell, however briefly, upon some problems that have arisen.

Above all, it is necessary for all of us to create a full conception about who should concern himself with political work with the masses. Political work, like every other activity, is party work. But this does not mean that only the base organization should engage in it, or the secretary or solely certain communists charged with watching over the performance of this task. The party and its organizations guide the political work with the masses as they do with everything else, but in order to conduct it, it is necessary to activate everyone: the party organizations, the state organs and the social organizations, our whole superstructure, and all the people included in those organizations and organisms.

We say this because we not infrequently encounter inaccurate notions about the right and duty to carry on political work with the masses. There are some cadres who, misunderstanding the statement that political work is party work, relieve themselves of this duty and say that the party secretary in the work center, the cooperative or institution should engage in

this work, while in the army it is the commissars and party secretaries of the units who should engage in it. These views are quite wrong. The party has continually emphasized and demands that all cadres become agitators qualified to expound, apply and defend the party line and to solve the problems of the sector in which they work. Therefore, one should reject the idea of separating political work as party work from state, economic, military and other work, just as one should reject the idea that there is no need for us to engage in agitation because people now read and study by themselves (!).

Special care should be shown for small agitation. Through it the party informs and enlightens people especially about the special questions with which the general means and forms of political work with the masses, such as the press, meetings, conferences, mass lectures, and so forth, cannot deal. And for it to yield results, it needs to be directed and placed on a sound organizational base since the observations and analyses made in some districts and military units, as well as the questionnaires sent by some centers to agitators bring out certain questions that demand improvement of the work in this sector of the party's educational work, beginning with the functioning and work of the collectives of agitators, which should be set up everywhere and be permanent, not just for the occasion of campaigns, and should work systematically to make known and expound the party line and directives on all problems with which the party is contending.

It is clear that all communists are agitators. But partyless agitators also take part in the collectives of agitators. In view of the orientations given by the party, the ideas expressed in consultations and questionnaires, but also the experience which we have accumulated, it is well to set up the collectives of agitators on the basis of the party base organization and have them directed by a communist whom the organization regards as fitted to do this work. As for the distribution of labor, it is well to activate the agitators in the countryside to work with those persons with whom they work together in the fields, but also to do this work where they live; in the work and production centers we should have agitators in every unit and shift; in the army, the collectives of agitators should be set up on the basis of the company or battery so that we have agitators in every squad; while in the town ward it is well for us to have the collectives of agitators on a block basis, but we may also have agitators for every large building, or for four or five families living in separate houses. There has been some opinion that in the work centers we should not have collectives of agitators on the grounds that the Trade Union organizations do this work. Experience has shown that this opinion is wrong, and therefore we should also set up agitator collectives in those work centers where they do not exist.

A necessary condition for raising the level of effectiveness of the agitator collectives is the guidance of all their activity by the party base organizations which have the duty to orient them concretely as to

the directions in which political work should be aimed, what objectives will be attained in a given length of time, and so on. The party organizations usually meet every month, analyze problems and infer tasks, which should be made known and explained to the masses so that they will mobilize themselves to put them into effect. Therefore, after a meeting of the party organization, it is necessary to orient the agitators too concerning the questions on which they are to make their contribution, and even to ask them too to express their opinions as to how best to perform the tasks, to discuss their experience, the questions that have come up, and how they have solved them, and also to get people's opinions. And the agitators need not only to be oriented on the problems, but also to have things explained to them, to have their horizon broadened by conversations with them about important matters, to have recommended literature to be read, and so forth. We now have all the facilities for this. Everywhere there are a good many cadres who can be trained and can address the agitators. Hence, let us not confine ourselves to just a few persons, generally in certain categories of intellectuals, but also activate others, especially workers directly from production. This work needs to be undertaken by the base organizations themselves, but also by the district party committees, as is being done by the party committee in Skrapar, Mirdite and some others, which from time to time analyze the party directives for the agitators and develop subjects, prepare and distribute to the bases factual materials for conversations to aid the agitators, and so forth.

Illustrated [figurativ] agitation, despite the improvements that it has made, is not understood and appreciated everywhere as a very important means whereby the party speaks to and communicates with the masses. Many materials have been published and sent to the bases in these last 2 or 3 years, on which, as is known, great expenditures have been made, but they are not used as or to the extent that they should be by the party agitators and by the activists of the mass organizations in the units, the field, the culture homes and elsewhere. While relatively better work is being done with illustrated agitation in the center of the cooperative or enterprise, the situation is not good in the sectors, units and brigades. These weaknesses, as well as the cases in which one finds slogans and other materials that are out of date in various places, show that there are still manifestations of formalism in the use of illustrated agitation, and that it is too often used for embellishment and not as a special means of political work in educating and mobilizing the workers wherever there is effort and struggle to perform the tasks.

To make clarifying political work as concrete and effective as possible it is necessary to have a good knowledge of the situation in which the party organization operates. We emphasize this because a good many base organizations are not well informed about the situation in which they operate and raise almost no problem, such as, for example, as to whether there is not a lack of clarity about the situations, whether there are hostile slogans, what erroneous concepts and practices are encountered, and so forth. Therefore, the party committees should require the base organizations

more strongly to make analyses of the moral-political situation from time to time in order to know the situation and the concrete problems that come up and to act to clarify and solve them. Knowing the situation well, one can organize more concrete political work differentiated according to the areas, strata and categories of workers. Thus, not only the base organization, but also the party committee, when well informed, will be in a position to determine their own tasks concretely, give particular orientations and also send speakers wherever they consider it necessary, to prepare propaganda materials on special questions or to treat them in the local press, and so on.

A very important place in the development of all-around political work with people is occupied by the mass organizations, whose role in this field is constantly growing. Therefore, the party organizations are required to improve their method of directing those organizations, since it is through them that the party brings to the masses its directives which are learned, mastered, and carried out by the masses with political-educational work differentiated according to the various strata, ages and categories of workers.

The seventh party congress also once more stressed the need for the party organizations to concern themselves more with mass organizations. And the greeting which Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the 8th Congress of the Trade Unions of Albania in the name of the party Central Committee, as well as his speech on youth delivered to the Politburo in June of this year, again stressed the need for the party to pay attention to those organizations. For it is noted that, while greater attention is shown in the districts and better work is being done to broaden the horizon of the mass organizations in their work so as to better expound to them the directives in each one's line, the whole care of the party organizations--on the basis of most cases--is reduced to convoking the directors of the mass organization to some party meeting, or to having some communist go to take part in the meetings which they hold. This is a general trend, and therefore this shortcoming must be corrected by the party organizations. But the mass organizations themselves must also wage a better fight to insure the most effective guidance by the party organizations.

The Trade Union organizations now have in their hands the decisions of their eighth congress and the greetings of Comrade Enver Hoxha to that congress, and the youth and party organizations have Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech on youth. It remains the duty of those organizations themselves to expound the respective tasks. But it is also up to the party organizations to immerse themselves deeply in the content of Comrade Enver Hoxha's ideas and infer the tasks by themselves, in order to improve their work with regard to the mass organizations and particularly with regard to the youth organization, which is now about to hold its seventh congress. "The party," enjoined Comrade Enver Hoxha in his speech to the Politburo of the party Central Committee on 17 June, "should always keep the youth organizations under its sponsorship, and take great care to avoid making it into a sectarian organization, but make a fighting mass organization out of it. It

is precisely among these masses that the party should practice in diverse forms all those things which I have mentioned briefly above and many other directives which it has constantly issued, from time to time, so that this whole great mass of youth, enrolled in its organization with an iron discipline, conscious of the tasks entrusted to it, and with a great desire to enter deeply into the tasks and execute them correctly in life, to merge with the bosom of the people, to become one with them, with their blessings, their joys and sorrows, to be inspired by the people and to inspire the people. It is precisely this shape," continued Comrade Enver Hoxha, "this impetus, this method of work that the party should give to the youth organization and to all the other mass organizations."

These have been some of the matters which we have thought to pose to this seminar, in the convictions that the discussions, debating of opinions and exchange of experience carried on here will serve to raise political work to the level of the tasks set by the socialist construction of the country and the defense of the fatherland, by the fight to defend and apply Marxism-Leninism faithfully to the end in the struggle against revisionism and every other kind of opportunism.

10002

CSO: 2100

STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS, REVISIONIST INFLUENCE IN LITERATURE

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 13 Oct 77 p 3

[Article by Kujtim Ymeri: An Important Aspect of the Class Struggle"]

[Text] Literature and the arts constitute one of the most delicate spheres in which bourgeois and revisionist ideological pressure can be exercised. This is also due to the fact that in artistic creativity, by its very nature, the subjective element has a special role. Our party has always strongly emphasized the need and necessity of a continuous struggle without concessions or compromises, against the reactionary bourgeois and revisionist ideology. Speaking at the fourth plenum of the party Central Committee about the intensification of alien propaganda, Comrade Enver stressed that this great wave of propaganda is also dashing against our shores, so "our duty is to resist with all our strength and means the pressure of foreign ideological influences, which is exerted precisely under these new external circumstances, and counter-attack actively.

The present bourgeois theories in the field of art and esthetics are becoming more and more refined. The ideological poison is served up under the guise of "scientific objectivity and innovativeness," the desire to be "broadminded" and "to get to know the values of every kind of art." Never, and especially in our times, has there been a "purely esthetic or literary" theory. Every esthetic and theoretical-literary concept expresses the tastes and concepts of a specific class, and is placed directly or indirectly in the service of this or that class. The infamous "literary" theory of R. Garodi, for example, about "realism without shores," which sticks into one bag all writers and artists from the most reactionary to those representing socialist realism," cannot be taken outside of this concept.

Present-day ideological diversion from socialism takes place in many directions: the attacks come from bourgeois ideology, but also from the modern revisionists; from the old opportunists, but also from the young ones, the so-called "left." All of these, regardless of their slogans and "arguments," come out against Marxism-Leninism. They unite as Comrade Enver teaches us, "in the principal aim of showing that capitalism has overcome

its contradictions, that the bourgeois society has improved, that capitalism and socialism are now converging toward the same society, that there is no longer room for a class struggle..." Thus purposely ignoring the essential differences of principle between the two systems, the Austrian revisionist Fischer treats the problem of alienation as a typical phenomenon in the two societies. The problem of alienation is directly related to the treatment of the contradictions within a society, and so the bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians endeavor to fit into the framework of antagonisms both the contradictions in the capitalist society and those within the socialist society. When viewed in this ideological and political context, it is easy to understand how harmful and erroneous was the tangle of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions noted in some literary works before the 4th plenum of the party Central Committee.

Our press, and especially the literary press, has not remained indifferent to the danger of foreign influences. Many writings of a demonstrational character have been published regarding the modernist tendencies in the bourgeois and revisionist literature, and various critics have also treated these problems in articles and studies collected in several volumes. Thus, of considerable benefit have been the articles by A. Uci, I. Kadare, M. Xhaxhi, and so forth, which have made a serious scientific analysis of certain theoretical-literary phenomena characteristic of bourgeois and revisionist literature. These kinds of articles, which now and then rise to the level of a study, form an important contribution to the fight against bourgeois and revisionist influences. The fight against foreign influences cannot be conceived solely from the aspect of analysis and exposition of the reactionary ideological and esthetic concepts. This is only one side of the question. More important is the strike, the assault against every such manifestation in our literature and arts. The strengthening of the fight in this direction, especially since the fourth plenum of the party Central Committee, still further reinforces the militant spirit of our art of socialist realism.

The party teaches us that in this important field of the class struggle too we must be in assault positions and must not expect to wage the fight against bourgeois-revisionist art and esthetics solely when some work showing such influences appears. Our literature and art workers have understood this well, and hence, while criticizing some alien manifestation in our literary and artistic process, they have also spoken their mind in the direct unmasking of bourgeois-revisionist art and esthetics. In spite of the achievements in this respect, some deficiencies and weaknesses are also noted. In our literary organs, for example, one may read writings about authors, works or literary trends which are permeated by the proper desire of the author to bring out the reactionary essence of this or that literary phenomenon. But sometimes the writing does not succeed in penetrating into the social-esthetic manifestations of an artistic phenomenon and remains within the limits of a declarative unmasking. The ideological roots of a work or literary trend are not always exposed.

There are cases where popularizing and simplifying attitudes are maintained. Either from a desire to make this literature as abhorrent as possible to the reader or because of their own weaknesses, the authors of the writings lay stress on the external aspects of phenomena. Reading certain writings of this sort, the reader may get the wrong impression that all present-day modernistic literature is formalistic literature, that all modernistic writers write without punctuation marks, with mutilated words, and so forth. Such a notion is mistaken: the bourgeoisie also has in its service writers who follow the traditional mode of narration or versification and nevertheless remain essentially reactionary. Such writers, like Sartre or Camus, have not devoted much room to formalistic "exercises" and yet they are among the most "skilled" preachers of the reactionary existentialist philosophy. Naturally, the undoing of form, often to the point of absurdity, is an indication of the degeneration of that literature, but one cannot limit himself to this alone. It is essential to reveal to the reader the ideological and political causes that nurture that degeneration.

These weaknesses, conditioned also by the understandable difficulties of this work, require that the fight against bourgeois and revisionist influences, against reactionary concepts in the field of literature and esthetics, must not be left to chance, to spontaneity. This important matter needs to be placed on a scientific basis. Thorough studies on general problems, and not just on particular creations and authors, would be a valuable weapon in the counterattack against these influences. They would help to understand better the fallacious character of the claims of so-called "innovativeness," "rebellism," and so forth, with which they often seek to mask this literature in the service of reaction. It would be interesting, for instance, to make a study on the so-called "spirit of insurrection against the bourgeois society," which has been and is being used as a banner by many big and little currents of modernism. History has shown that all those "surrealists," "futurists" and "existentialists," the "angry ones," and so forth, have very quickly gotten over their anger and become integrated in the propagandistic mechanism of the bourgeoisie.

It is important that all this work should be directed, not casual and sporadic, and should seek and find some necessary organizational form.

10,002
CSO: 2100

BILAK OUTLINES POSITION ON SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 9, Aug 77 pp 5-9

[Excerpt from the book "Pravda Zůstala Pravdou" [Truth Remained Truth] by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ: "Socialist Internationalism--Principle of International Activity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] The relations of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance express, in our opinion, national as well as international interests of the socialist countries and of the fraternal parties. The further development of the socialist system and of the world revolutionary workers' movement as a whole depends on the degree to which general principles of proletarian internationalism are actually implemented in relations between individual countries. We have no illusions that these are simple tasks. The complex and heterogeneous problems which are being dealt with by individual communist and workers' parties, and diverse objective preconditions for the development of individual countries also have fostered the development of different views about their solution. We are convinced, however, that on the basis of mutual communist understanding even the difference in views cannot permanently impair mutual relations and that comradely exchanges of views and the necessary measure of tolerance provide a realistic basis for its gradual clarification and elimination.

For that reason we want (and our party stressed this already at numerous occasions) to further maintain contacts with all fraternal parties in the socialist as well as capitalist world. In promoting bilateral contacts we want to continue most of all to exchange experiences concerning specific problems pertaining to the principles and methods of the party leadership in individual sectors of the economic, political and cultural life in socialist countries.

We shall continue to support the development of relations not only along the line of central committees, through mutual visits of party delegations, but we shall create conditions for the systematic intensification of contacts between party institutions and organs which have already long ago initiated fruitful cooperation with party organizations in socialist countries.

We consider it essential to search for such forms of mutual relations which will reflect even better current needs and which will make it possible to mutually verify views and standpoints, to consult about ways of solving individual problems and coordinate the process of our party with other fraternal parties to a maximum degree.

In the same way, in which we consider the orientation of the CSSR to the USSR and to the other states of the socialist community as a permanent postulate on which our country's foreign policy will undoubtedly be based, we also are proceeding and shall proceed in the future from proletarian, class and international positions also in relations with other communist and workers' parties.

In addition to bilateral relations, our party has always supported and will support in the future the development of multilateral relations among Marxist-Leninist parties. In accordance with this it is participating in all important conferences of the communist and workers' parties. We regard such forms of international party consultations as particularly important in view of continuing provocations by the imperialist forces which have not ceased to seriously threaten the peace and security of nations.

The communist and workers' parties must oppose such acts by their joint struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, jointly support the just struggle of nations against imperialist arbitrariness, and thus, create conditions for a united fight of all anti-imperialist forces in the world.

It is precisely from this point of view that such meetings of the Marxist-Leninist parties have a great significance, since they make it possible to collectively analyze the current world problems, to exchange experiences, discuss the standpoints of individual parties to the solution of various problems, and on this basis, to coordinate joint actions and prepare a common concept for the strategy and tactics of the struggle. Therefore, our party is using the collective form of international relations which enables an in-depth exploration of the objective social processes in the world and helps establish forms of solution of the aforementioned problems.

We regard our active participation in the struggle for a stronger cooperation in the action with all progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces in the world, the purposeful, planned activity in promoting and improving various forms of cooperation and coordination of procedures as the cornerstones of the international policy of the CPCZ, from which we must proceed also in future development. For this reason, the CPCZ welcomes each step, each specific action inspired by the effort to increase the action-readiness of the communist movement and of all progressive forces.

The party wants to keep on mobilizing the foreign political activity of mass social organizations which will have, as a basis, a specific anti-imperialist struggle. A meaningful role is played especially by the Czechoslovak trade unions which were among the founding members of the anti-monopolist committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions and as such,

together with organs of labor unions of other socialist states, are actively cooperating with labor union organizations of the advanced capitalist and developing countries in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

We attribute a particularly great importance to the question of unity of the world communist movement. We realize that in accordance with the general trend of development, unity of views and actions stems from constant confrontations of views, often even in a fierce battle between the old and the new attitudes. We are, however, deeply disturbed by certain facts in the development of relations between the communist and workers' parties, especially in the area of coordination of actions in the struggle against imperialism. It is our opinion that the duty of every Marxist-Leninist party is to develop a maximum effort in order to overcome the controversy, particularly in directions pertaining to the most basic areas of interests of the revolutionary workers' and world progressive movements.

We are convinced that the atmosphere of comradely relations, mutual understanding and tolerance of different views, in which the international conferences and various meetings of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties are taking place, has created sufficient space for a free exchange of views and for attainment of unity the communist movement in the solution of specific urgent problems. At the same time, in our opinion, such an atmosphere makes it possible for all parties which are truly interested in finding a common language and in reaching an effective agreement to make a positive contribution to their solution.

Our party played a positive role in international conferences of the communist and workers' parties in 1957 and 1960. In April 1967, it was entrusted by the fraternal parties of the European countries to organize the conference of European communist and workers' parties in Karlovy Vary. It participated in all consultations and preparatory meetings for the convocation of a new international conference of the communists. Its views, standpoints and experience were always fully respected at such international meetings. In the same vein, the CPCZ delegation always welcomed every constructive suggestion aimed at a greater unity of views and joint actions of the fraternal parties.

The international tradition of the CPCZ which always approached the problems of the movement with complete awareness of its international responsibility, commits us also in the future to continue this effort and, within the framework of our possibilities, to assist further to a maximum degree in solving current tasks of the communist movement.

We regard this activity as the main thrust of our party's positive contribution to the preparations of the international conference of the communist and workers' parties whose meeting is scheduled for May of this year [sic] in Moscow. Together with other parties we too want to offer our experiences in setting up new tasks for the international communist and workers' movement.

The present situation in our country and the problems with which we are struggling in building of our socialist society, however, have, at the same time caused an urgent need for international support of the CPCZ on the part of other sectors of the revolutionary workers' movement. This involves particularly active solidarity with the procedures of our party in enacting the conclusions of the recent plenary meetings of the CPCZ Central Committee and comradely support of all measures aiming at the socialist stabilization of the political situation in the CSSR.

We want to further consolidate our relations with the communist and workers' parties. We appreciate their understanding of our situation. We wish to continue offering them objective information about specific problems of our party's internal and foreign policy and about important aspects in the development of the situation in the CSSR.

Since August 1968, the imperialist propaganda has considerably stepped up its attacks against the socialist system in Czechoslovakia. Therefore, we would appreciate it if the fraternal parties in capitalist countries intensify their struggle against such imperialist propaganda, unmask the effort to retard the process of consolidation of the situation in the CSSR, and continue in the fight against the distortion of specific problems of the internal political development in Czechoslovakia. That will make our work easier and help us normalize the situation faster, and consolidate and develop socialist relations in Czechoslovakia.

The main trend of the CPCZ's current efforts in the international area stems from the achievement of appropriate unity of action of the fraternal socialist countries and of the entire world communist movement, the unity necessary for the development of aggressive policy against all reactionary forces, of a policy that would unite the mainstream of all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces in the world. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has done and will continue to do all it can to achieve this unity and will actively contribute to it also at the scheduled conference of fraternal parties.

9004
CSO: 2400

ANNIVERSARY OF BORDER TROOPS CELEBRATED

General Hoffmann Issues Statement

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Dec 77 p 3 AU

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On the 31st anniversary of the GDR Border Troops, General of the Army Heinz Hoffmann, minister of national defense, has conveyed greetings and congratulations to the soldiers, NCO's, cadets, officers, generals and civilian employees. He paid tribute to their conscientious fulfillment of duty, their politically prudent, courageous and determined actions for the reliable protection of the GDR state border, and their high personal dedication in strengthening the combat-readiness and protection of the border.

"Led by the party with clear goals, and constantly looked after--closely linked with the border zone population as well as with the comrades of the other protection and security organs, you have successfully contributed to the fulfillment of the class mandate issued by the ninth party congress," the order of the day states in part.

"Your achievements accomplished in border service and in the socialist competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Red October are taking a worthy place among the successes scored by the GDR working people, and are thus at the same time an expression of your high patriotic and internationalist sense of responsibility."

Solemn Ceremonies, Contests Held

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Dec 77 p 2 AU

[Text] Berlin (ADN/ND)--On Thursday [1 December] border soldiers and working people jointly celebrated the Day of the GDR Border Troops. Delegations from industrial enterprises, agricultural production cooperatives, schools and other spheres conveyed their most cordial greetings and congratulations to the soldiers, NCO's, cadets and officers and thanked them for their reliable protection of the GDR state border. Floral offerings were laid at the memorials and graves of members of

the border security forces who have been assassinated in the fulfillment of their combat mission.

With a minute of silence and a solemn wreath-laying ceremony at the memorial for soldiers who have fallen at the state border with West Berlin on Reinhold-huhn-Strasse, Berlin working people and soldiers of the Geier unit honored the memory of the unforgotten victims in the morning.

In the border troops groups of units and units, solemn roll calls were held in the morning where the best soldiers were distinguished and honored. At many garrisons, border soldiers met with their comrades in arms from the Group of the Soviet Armed Forces in Germany for sports and military contests, and together with their guests from the populace participated in many different cultural events held in honor of the Day of the Border Troops.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

HAGER PRESENTS POLITBURO REPORT TO SED PLENUM

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Nov 77 pp 5, 6, 7 AU

["From the report of the Politburo" of the SED Central Committee to the Seventh SED Plenum, delivered by Kurt Hager, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, in East Berlin on 24 November 1977]

[Excerpt] The Development of Cooperation With the Socialist and National-Revolutionary States

Dear Comrades, 1977 was a successful year for the foreign policy and the international relations of our party and state. This can even be stated now. If we add the two visits of party and state delegations to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and to the DPRK, envisaged for next week, we can say that this year, talks were conducted at the highest level with 12 fraternal countries, and important treaties and agreements were signed. All these facts serve the implementation of our party's foreign policy line and contribute to the further consolidation of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community.

Along with the friendship treaties signed in the past, during the period under review new treaties of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance were signed with the People's Republic of Bulgaria and with the CSSR. The GDR is now linked to most fraternal states by treaties, which will have an impact on the fraternal relations with these countries for a long time.

The treaties mark the beginning of a new, higher stage in bilateral relations with the fraternal states. They outline cooperation prospects for a period reaching into the next century. It is becoming clear that the drawing closer together of states, peoples and nations is the characteristic feature of the development of our community. At the same time the new treaties create conditions to carry this development further forward.

The above-mentioned treaties guarantee the joint protection of socialist achievements. They take into consideration the changes that have occurred throughout the years in the international situation, and they emphasize

the firm resolve of the socialist states to promote the further strengthening of peace and security, to implement the principles collectively worked out of relations among states with different social systems, and on this basis, to develop fruitful and mutually advantageous cooperation among peoples.

The 32d UN General Assembly admitted the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, with which we are linked by fraternal relations, as a member of the United Nations and the GDR people and our government welcome this with great joy and gratification. We consider the General Assembly's approval as a new victory of the heroic people of Vietnam, as a victory of socialism and peace.

During the period under review, we actively contributed to the further consolidation of anti-imperialist cooperation among the states of the socialist community and the progressive forces in African and Asian countries.

The negotiations concerning the development of these relations, which are proceeding in a friendly and fraternal spirit and the constructive results of these negotiations demonstrate the great prestige the SED and the GDR have earned as a result of their consistent anti-imperialist policy and their strong solidarity with the struggle of the peoples for the consolidation of their independence, against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

A GDR party and government delegation, headed by Comrade Werner Lamberz, visited the following countries during the period 11-24 June 1977: the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, socialist Ethiopia, the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of the Congo, the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and the Republic of Zambia. The delegation had a wide-ranging exchange of opinions with the following presidents, or secretaries general: Ali Salim Rubbaysi', Isma'il 'Abd al Fattah, Mengistu Haile Mariam, Agostinho Neto, Joachim Yhombi-Opango, Olusegun Obasanjo and Kenneth Kaunda, as well as with other leading politicians of these states and with leading representatives of the South-West African People's Organization of Namibia (SWAPO), with the African People's Union of Zimbabwe (ZAPU) and with the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC).

Comprehensive agreements on the development of cooperation in all sectors were signed with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, with Ethiopia, Angola and Zambia. New opportunities for a significant development of cooperation with Nigeria were established.

A GDR party and government delegation, headed by Comrade Hermann Axen, visited the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya during the period 1-4 October 1977. Hermann Axen presented a personal message from Comrade Erich Honecker to Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi. The agreements signed as a result of the negotiations with the Libyan Government, including the agreement signed between the SED and the General People's Congress of Libya represent a favorable basis for a long-term development of relations between the GDR and Libya. Both states agreed to intensify their political consultations on important world-political questions and to intensify their exchange of experience.

A GDR party and government delegation, headed by Comrade Guenter Mittag, conducted negotiations with leading politicians of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria on the further development of economic, scientific-technical and political cooperation. During the delegation's visit to Algeria Comrade Guenter Mittag was received by Col Houari Boumediene, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and chairman of the Revolutionary Council. They had a friendly talk and as a result of the negotiations, an agreement on the further development of economic, industrial, commercial and scientific-technical cooperation was signed between the GDR and the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria. Further agreements were also concluded, which in their comprehensive scope, represent a considerable expansion of the economic relations between the two countries, of the training of cadres and of political cooperation.

The results of the work of these delegations represent, as a total, a higher stage in the development of relations between the GDR and the above-mentioned African and Arab countries.

During the negotiations it was possible to establish common political interests in the struggle for peace and progress, against imperialism, colonialism and racism, and great opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation were also established, which serve as a solid basis for the future. The signing of cooperation agreements between the SED and the United Political Organization of the National Front of Yemen (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen), the Provisional Administrative Military Council of Ethiopia, the United National Party of Independence of Zambia, General People's Congress of Libya and the Algerian National Liberation Front, and the agreement signed on 21 November 1977 with the PAIGC of Guinea Bissau, all these agreements demonstrate the further closer relations [annaeherung] with a number of African and Arab states and peoples.

During the period under review the visits of GDR party and government delegations to African countries found their continuation in negotiations with a party and state delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo, headed by Col Joachim Yhombi-Opango, chairman of the military committee of the Congolese Labor Party, head of state and chairman of the Council of Ministers, which visited the GDR during the period 11-14 October 1977 and with the visit of Lopo de Nascimento, prime minister of the People's Republic of Angola, to the GDR on 9 and 10 November 1977.

Meetings and exchange of opinions with Joshua Nkomo, chairman of the African People's Union (ZAPU) and with Sam Njoma, president of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) who visited the GDR in October and November 1977 respectively served the further consolidation of our party's relations with the patriotic liberation movements of southern Africa.

The exchange of opinions with leading political figures of Mozambique, Iraq and Burma also demonstrated considerable concordance in the stands on key

questions of international development. The GDR policy of peace and progress, its solidarity with the struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence were highly appreciated in talks with the leading representatives of India, Iran and other countries.

The working people in the GDR are concerned about the most recent events in the Horn of Africa. The military confrontations between Somalia and Ethiopia endanger the achievements of the revolution in both states and cause damage to the peace and security of the peoples in Africa and throughout the world.

We confirm once more our opinion that the controversial questions inherited from colonialism, must be settled peacefully in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity and good neighborly relations.

On the occasion of the visit of a party and state delegation from the People's Republic of the Congo to the GDR, Comrade Honecker pointed out the attempts of imperialism to weaken the liberation movement in southern Africa as well. With so-called new strategies, an attempt is being made to perform cosmetic operations in the racist regime of Zimbabwe and as regards the status of Namibia as a colony, without actually changing the real power situation. The goal of such machinations consists in preserving the sources of immense profits for imperialism and to cheat the people out of the recompense for their struggle.

The GDR supports all African states in the struggle to overcome their colonial inheritance and to create a new society. The GDR most severely condemns the South African and south Rhodesian racists' persistent actions of terror against the African population. This year representatives of the GDR participated in the UN-initiated conferences convened in Maputo, Lisbon and Lagos, which mobilized the efforts for the international struggle against racism and apartheid, as well as for the guarantee of the right of self-determination of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe. The GDR's consistent solidarity, assistance and support for this struggle is highly appreciated by the peoples of southern Africa. The GDR welcomes the proposal of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to declare 1978 as the year of struggle against apartheid and expects decisive progress toward the abolition of the racist regime.

The Struggle For International Security and Detente

The initiatives and measures for the further consolidation of international security represented a main factor in the activities of the party and government within the last 6 months.

In his speech on the occasion of the 1977-78 party school year Comrade Honecker stressed that "despite all progress in detente, disarmament has become a crucial question of further development." In this respect we support with great emphasis the statements made and the initiatives submitted

by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev in his report to the festive meeting on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution.

The peoples are greatly concerned about the fact that the arms race and the accumulation of means of waging war, caused by imperialism, always far outstrip the negotiations on the limitation or prohibition of them. An end must be put to this disgraceful race. The GDR, therefore, welcomes the fact that questions of the limitation of armaments and of disarmament, in particular in the nuclear sphere, are being given priority treatment at the 32d UN General Assembly, in accordance with the initiative of the Soviet Union. The adoption of resolutions on effective disarmament as a step toward the convening of a universal disarmament conference is a question of primary importance at the present UN session. The socialist states' efforts aimed at universal disarmament are being complemented by the constructive proposals on disarmament measures within a regional framework. At the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, the socialist countries are resolutely supporting the demand that military confrontation in that area should be reduced by the mutual reduction of the 11 states' armed forces concentrated in central Europe. The socialist states have submitted several proposals for a partial and total solution of this problem. They are ready to reduce their armies. Since the very beginning of the negotiations, however, the Western participants have failed to show readiness to assume effective disarmament commitments.

The population of our country is following the present Belgrade meeting with the greatest interest. This meeting must serve the continuation of the process of detente. In our opinion, the task of this meeting, is, in accordance with the principles of the final Helsinki document, to make possible an exchange of opinions on the results achieved so far and to seek opportunities aimed at a further progress in the implementation of the final document. This signifies that the Belgrade consultations must be conducted in a businesslike and constructive manner and with a view to the future.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist states are making constructive efforts. Comrade Erich Honecker explained our party's position on this question cogently and unequivocally again in his Dresden speech.

Obviously, not all delegations went to Belgrade equipped with the necessary realistic approach. Certain states' attempts to abuse the meeting, to turn it into a propaganda forum manifested themselves. Individual questions were unjustifiably emphasized and the so-called question of human rights was used as a pretext for accusations and slanders against the socialist countries. This is in contradiction to the letter and spirit of the final Helsinki document. The NATO leading circles are using all efforts to subject the Belgrade meeting to their own concept, which is hostile to detente. All their attacks concentrate upon the attempt to justify their actions

directed at interfering in the domestic affairs of the socialist states, by falsifying the Helsinki final document, the conclusion of which they violently opposed only 3 years ago. In this connection a general principle of the present behavior of the opponents of detente is becoming obvious, a principle which consists of distorting and misusing the agreements between socialist and capitalist states and using such agreements as instruments of imperialist policy of interference.

What are we, what are the socialist states presenting as opposed to this attitude? We have the 25th CPSU Congress peace program, we have our strategic line of peaceful coexistence, we have many proposals based on realistic approach and we have the peoples standing behind us. It is on this solid ground that we are advancing, even in complicated stages of development, in which along side the progress in detente, tension has increased in numerous sectors of international relations.

The GDR Government submitted a statement to the UN Secretary General at the end of June 1977, in which the GDR declares that it has not, even for a moment, neglected the goal proclaimed by the world organization, as regards the expansion of the process of detente throughout all areas of the world. It is in accordance with this statement that the GDR is doing everything within its power to eliminate still existing hotbeds of tension. This is also the determining factor in our attitude to the Middle East problem.

The conflict is unresolved and endangers the international atmosphere, because its main causes have not been eliminated. The Israeli troops still occupy vast areas of the Arab territory and are disregarding the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

The Politburo once more reaffirms the stand of the GDR: the following questions of key importance are decisive for the peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict:

- The complete withdrawal of all Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied in 1967;
- The implementation of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to create their own state;
- The recognition of the right of all states in this area to an independent and secure existence.

The Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East is still the competent forum for the discussion and settlement of this question. We support the stand of the Soviet Union, which is aimed at paving the way to the resumption of the Geneva Middle East Peace Conference with its initiatives. The GDR supports the demand of the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine--the PLO--in accordance with the UN resolution, to participate in this conference on a basis of equality.

For the Consolidation of Peaceful Coexistence With the Capitalist States

In the period under review the GDR continued to develop its relations and the system of agreements with the capitalist states. In this connection we must point out the particular significance of the state visit of Dr Urho Kekkonen, president of Finland, to the GDR. During the talks between Comrade Erich Honecker and Dr Urho Kekkonen the common will of both states to continue the favorable cooperation to the advantage of both countries and to the benefit of peace and of European security and to develop this cooperation in all sectors was emphasized. The state visit became an example of mutual trust and mutually useful cooperation between two states belonging to two different social systems in the spirit of the final Helsinki document.

The further development of relations and the stabilization of peaceful coexistence were also promoted by talks with the minister of foreign affairs of the kingdom of Sweden, by an exchange of parliamentary delegations with France and Portugal, as well as by numerous other meetings. By signing a number of new agreements the opportunities of a closer cooperation with the capitalist states have been improved.

During the period 1-17 November 1977 a state delegation, headed by Guenter Mittag, visited Japan. This state delegation's visit was the result of an invitation addressed by Mr Inayama, chairman of the Japan-GDR Economic Committee, on the occasion of a conversation he had with Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. This visit was aimed at developing the comprehensive relations between the GDR and Japan in the political, economic, trade and cultural sectors.

Important results were achieved for the GDR. This applies particularly to the agreement, concluded on a barter basis, to deliver a plant for crushing and processing aromatics in order to process oil more efficiently [spalt-und aromatenkomplex zur effektiveren verarbeitung vom erdoel] using the latest technological methods; it also applies to an agreement on scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and Japanese governments and to the signing of agreements on tourist exchanges between the GDR and Japan.

As regards the FRG, in recent months the GDR again reaffirmed its readiness to develop constructive relations on the basis of the generally valid norms of international law. It was stressed in this connection that the GDR will positively react to the FRG's serious initiatives aimed at improving relations.

In the preliminary talks the outstanding problems between the two states were discussed. It was agreed to start or to continue negotiations on a number of questions in the respective sectors. At the same time, it again appeared that on many questions the FRG Government is adhering to its destructive positions.

Recently, the FRG Federal Court of Justice and the Constitutional Court of Justice, opposed in a drastic manner, the international law treaty and agreements signed between the FRG and the GDR, and adopted decisions that are directed against the GDR's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

On 3 Nov 77, the presiduum of the GDR Supreme Court adopted a decision clearly expressing and confirming our juridical position according to which all decisions concerning the territorial validity of laws in connection with the state border on the river Elbe must be based on the fact that the GDR-FRG state border runs along the Talweg. This clarifies the fact that the GDR's actions concerning its sovereign rights on the Elbe fully conform to international law and that no juridical basis exists for any other interpretation.

On the basis of its 4 November 1977 decision, the first GDR Penal Senate has analyzed the repeated abuse of transit roads on GDR territory and the violation of the transit agreements and has stated that such violation contradicts international law. At the same time it differed in principle with the FRG Federal Court of Justice 29 September 1977 decision and stated clearly that no state whatever may avoid its obligation under international law by basing itself on the independence of its domestic jurisdiction. This applies fully to the FRG as well.

In the treaty on the foundations of the relations between the GDR and the FRG of 21 December 1972 the FRG bindingly undertook under international law to proceed, in its relations with the GDR, from the aims and principles laid down in the UN Charter and from the principle that the sovereignty of each of the two states is confined to its state territory. As far as the GDR is concerned we have always proceeded in this way and we will always do so. However, we will reject any interference with the GDR's international affairs in an appropriate way--including judicial means.

According to the decisions of the ninth party congress the GDR will steadfastly keep to its line of peaceful coexistence also toward the FRG. Any cooperation has its starting point and basic prerequisite in the fact that the two states, which are independent of each other and sovereign, shape their relations on the basis of respect for sovereignty, equal rights, non-interference and mutual advantage.

It is known that the 1971 Quadripartite Agreement has had a positive influence on the political climate in Europe. The recent repeated attempts to consider West Berlin a land of the FRG, counter to the agreement, and to treat it as such, cannot but lead to new tensions and thus also jeopardize the advantages West Berlin and its people reap from a strict observation of the Quadripartite Agreement. As Comrade Honecker stressed in Dresden the GDR advocates a positive development in this area.

Dangerous Symptoms in the FRG

Comrades: The mighty international manifestation in the GDR capital on the occasion of memorial day for the victims of fascism on 11 September 1977 proved that the antifascist struggle is a firm component of our current efforts for European security and detente. That is why we are in solidarity with all the forces that warn against a strengthening of neo-Naziism and call for vigilance and resistance.

In the past few months the European public was alarmed by news about increasing neo-Nazi activities in the FRG. There is good ground indeed for the concern voiced in numerous protests and utterances of prominent persons and organizations from the FRG's neighboring states. Both the accumulation of Nazi provocations and the seriousness of the incidents prove that these are no insignificant ephemeral features in the FRG political scene. Rather, they are symptoms of a development that concerns all the European nations and states, since it is directed against the security interests of the FRG's neighbors. No one who sets any store by historical experience can view this with indifference.

It is well known that indignation was aroused by the flight from an Italian prison of the war criminal Kappler, assassin of hostages, which was organized from the FRG. The protective reception of this blood-soiled murderer, who shot women and children with his own hands, by FRG state bodies and the neo-Nazi jubulations not only represented derision for the helpless victims but also a glaring violation of international law.

An extremely grave assessment must also be made of the facts indicating a substantial neo-Nazi influence in the Bundeswehr. It is not without reason that certain circles are hurriedly trying to cover up the anti-Semitic misdeeds of Bundeswehr lieutenants so that the European public does not recall that leading Bundeswehr generals only recently manifested their common way of thinking with Nazi General Rudel. Moreover, for months, moviehouses in the FRG have been showing films glorifying Hitlerite fascism, glossing over its crimes and propagating its ideology. Bookshops and newsstands in the FRG have been offering and selling SS and Hitlerite Wehrmacht books and propaganda pamphlets with undisguised Nazi propaganda on a mass scale and without hindrance.

What is happening in the FRG is not simply nostalgia for Hitler, as some people explain, trying to make things appear harmless. The issue is not simply one of a few incorrigible old Nazis. Rather it is directed at neo-Naziism with the primary intention of infecting the young generation with the poison of fascism and preventing it from finding the true way out of youth unemployment and the insecurity of the future.

It is true that the situation in Europe now is completely different from what it was in 1932. However--to use Bertold Brecht's words--the womb that

bore all that then is still fertile. It is clear that there are influential supporters: The FRG's most powerful press concerns are helping to spread the unwholesome spirit; movie distributors and publishing houses are making themselves available; schoolbooks are riddled with falsifications of history; in certain areas uniformed and armed terrorist bully gangs are in training--unmolested by police or judiciary.

In addition, under the pretext of fighting terrorists, a domestic political climate has been created that favors neo-Nazi activities. Prominent FRG artists, writers and scientists speak of charges of heresy and an atmosphere of witch-hunt. Blacklists have been drawn up. There are threats of banning the DKP. CDU politicians like Filbinger in Baden-Wuerttemberg have to answer for mysterious deaths in prisons. The employment bans are being applied unchanged and even more strictly--in the past few years 1.3 million FRG citizens have been exposed to secret service spying and harassment. Even he who asserts trade union rights invites suspicion.

All in all--a purposefully pursued discrimination of any humanist way of thinking and democratic acting, being executed in the FRG on the basis of special laws; it is a development whose ominous threat is being pilloried not only by the communists but also by an increasing number of Social Democrats, trade unionists, students, intellectuals and artists.

All this is happening against the background of the profound crisis of capitalism, which has fully seized the FRG as well. In the economic field it has again become apparent, particularly recently, how illusory and untenable all the more or less scientifically adorned concepts of "successful crisis management" are. Although there was a partial upswing in industrial production during the first months of 1977 in the economic cycle, all the forecasts published at the beginning of the year by manufacturers associations, government bodies and bourgeois economic institutes have had to be corrected downward. This affects the development of the gross social product, investments, order influx and foreign trade. Contrary to predictions the number of the unemployed has not fallen, but continues to rise. The situation of hundreds of thousands of youths leaving school is more hopeless than ever. The only way open to them is the one leading from school to the relief agency; they do not draw any unemployment benefits since they do not pay unemployment insurance.

Capitalism is and remains in the throes of the crisis--capitalist economic policy has been and remains unfit to solve the contradictions. All the burdens of the crisis continue to be shifted onto the working people. In the FRG the manufacturers' associations have already threatened the workers with lockouts if they were to oppose wage cuts. A determined struggle against this unloading of the crisis burdens onto the working people, against the interconnected antidemocratic, neo-Nazi tendencies is being waged by the democratic forces in the FRG, in the forefront is the DKP.

The Development of Relations With the Communist and Workers Parties

Comrades: The celebrations on the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, for which 123 delegations from 104 countries came to Moscow, turned out to be a representative world meeting of communist, national-revolutionary and socialist parties. Their presence was living proof of Comrade Brezhnev's words that hundreds of millions of people are now following the path to socialism or communism, a path which it is the destiny of all mankind to follow.

At the same time it constitutes an impressive worldwide tribute to the role of the Soviet Union and the CPSU, which for 60 years have marched in the vanguard of social progress and have made the decisive, the biggest, contribution to creating a new type of civilization. The comprehensive participation in the celebrations of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution demonstrates the international communist movement's cooperation and endeavor for unity

The participation of delegations of Asian and African states with a socialist orientation, of parties and organizations fighting in their countries for national and social liberation, constituted a visible expression of the solidarity among the main revolutionary forces of the present as well as of the great confidence in the Soviet Union's policy of support to the peoples' struggle against imperialism.

It is also worth noting that a number of social democratic and socialist parties from developed capitalist countries expressed interest in cooperation with the CPSU for peace, detente and disarmament by participating in the festivities.

In the period under review our party's friendly relations with the fraternal parties of the socialist countries were further developed and intensified. An event that stands out was the meeting of the general secretaries of the SED and the CPSU Central Committees in the Crimea on 19 July 1977.

Further matters of focal interest were the continuation of the exchange of experience about problems of shaping the developed socialist society and questions of cooperation in the international communist and workers movement. This aim was served by the working talks of the following Politburo members and CC secretaries: Comrade Guenter Mittag with Comrades Kirilenko, CPSU Politburo member, and Rusakov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and with Comrade Kempny, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Comrade Erich Mueckenberger with Comrade Pelsche, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; Comrade Hermann Axen with Comrade Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Comrade Horst Dohls with Comrade Borbely, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and Comrade Lovetinsky, member of the Secretariat and department head of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The exchange of delegations and experience of the Central Committee departments and of the bezirk leaderships with their partners took place according to plan in line with the agreements.

During the period under review the relations with the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries were further intensified. Under an active exchange of information and delegations, many fraternal parties acquainted themselves extensively with the successful development of our socialist state. The knowledge obtained, they stressed, has been very useful for the further drafting of their policies in the interest of the workers and all the working people of their countries, particularly in the face of the serious capitalist crisis.

Delegations of our party acquainted themselves in greater detail with the fraternal parties' complicated conditions of struggle, and they saw the selfless engagement of the communists in the capitalist countries against the unloading of the crisis burdens onto the working strata, for the maintenance of democratic and social rights.

The emphatic solidarity with and support for the just struggle of the communists is and continues to be a fundamental object of our party's policy. Bearing in mind our common responsibility, our common interests and aims in fighting for a durable peace and social progress, we attribute great significance to the expansion of cooperation with the fraternal parties in these countries in the spirit of the document of the Berlin conference.

From 29 September to 2 October 1977 AKEL General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou visited the GDR at the Central Committee's invitation. The visit expressed the close fraternal relations between the SED and AKEL and also the GDR's firm solidarity with the Cypriot people's struggle.

Headed by its chairman, Rene Urbany a delegation of the Luxembourg Communist Party [name and title as published] visited the GDR 20-23 October 1977 at the invitation of the SED Central Committee. On the occasion of this visit the two parties highlighted their traditional close bonds in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The cooperation with the fraternal parties of Latin America reflected the firm internationalist bonds of our parties also during the period under review.

At the invitation of the SED Central Committee delegations of fraternal parties from Cuba, Argentina, Bolivia, Guayana, Honduras, Martinique, Mexico, Colombia, Panama, Peru and Venezuela visited the GDR. A delegation of the SED Central Committee visited the Peruvian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Ecuador.

Comrade Erich Honecker received for a cordial talk Geronimo Arnedo Alvarez, general secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina, who reported on the

courageous and complicated struggle the communists and the people of Argentina are conducting against the fascist threat and for a democratic regeneration. In the exchange of opinions Comrade Honecker gave the assurance that the communists and the people of the GDR would unswervingly continue their solidarity with and their support for the patriots in Latin America who are conducting a hard struggle against fascism and imperialist reaction that demands many sacrifices.

The liberation of Comrade Antonio Maidana, chairman of the Communist Party of Paraguay after almost 20 years of imprisonment in dungeons of the Stroessner regime, as well as the liberation of Comrade Jorge Montes from the hands of the Chilean junta again demonstrate the power of international solidarity. The thing to do is to continue this solidarity without abatement, so as to save the lives of the 2,500 who have been carried off and to liberate the countless political prisoners in Uruguay, Paraguay and other Latin American countries, such as Gen Liber Seregni, chairman of the left-wing alliance Frente Amplio in Uruguay, Jaime Perez, Central Committee secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay, and Miguel Angel Soler, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Paraguay.

The further development of our party's relations with the national-revolutionary parties and movements of Africa is shown, among other things, by the participation of a delegation headed by Comrade Konrad Naumann, Politburo member, in the third PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands] convention from 15 to 20 November in Bissau. The visit helped to further intensify the close relations and solidarity between the two parties.

Comrade Hermann Axen conducted fruitful talks on questions of the anti-imperialist struggle with Joshua Nkomo, president of ZAPU and leader of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, as did Comrade Werner Lamberz with Jorge Rebelo, member of the executive committee of the FRELIMO Central Committee.

In the interest of strengthening the struggle for the continuation of international detente, disarmament and security, the relations with socialist and social democratic parties were also continued and expanded on the basis of and in the spirit of the Berlin conference of the communist and workers parties of Europe.

At the invitation of the Belgian Socialist Party a SED Central Committee delegation headed by Kurt Hager visited Belgium 4-7 October.

The 76th annual conference of the British Labor Party 3-7 October was attended by an observer delegation of the SED Central Committee. From 1-7 November a delegation of the Italian Socialist Party paid a study visit to the GDR. [Passage omitted on the growth of the party]

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

FOREIGN MINISTER FISCHER ADDRESSES SED PLENUM

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Nov 77 p 4 AU

[From the discussion speech of Oskar Fischer, member of the SED Central Committee and GDR minister of foreign affairs, at the Seventh SED Central Committee Plenum 24-25 November 1977 in Berlin]

[Text] Dear Comrades: The Politburo report, of which I approve, shows that we will conclude the year 1977 with good results. Led by the party, the workers class always proves anew to be the driving force in our society's life. Thus constant advancement is insured.

This also applies to foreign relations. In implementing that which was decided by the ninth party congress, the GDR has made the possible and expected constructive contribution to another year of peace in Europe.

With the conclusion of additional friendship and assistance treaties our place among the fraternal socialist countries was further consolidated, thus at the same time promoting the prosperity of the socialist community. The highest confidence is placed in us, and thus this means we have a commitment--by both the leading forces and the peoples in the national-liberated states. No other year has brought so many high-ranking visits, conclusions of treaties and steps for developing pragmatic relations with so many countries. Visible for all, the reputation of our republic has further grown.

Only a few days ago we witnessed--as did millions at the television screens--the events on the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Moscow. Particularly these events held on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Red October, in which hundreds of millions of people on all continents participated, attest to the breadth and dynamics of the anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggle. Who was not most deeply moved by the awarding of the "Order of the October Revolution" to Comrade Erich Honecker on the very eve of the anniversary; who of us was not filled with joy and pride by the speech of our delegation leader as well as its reception before this so very representative world forum at the Kremlin Palace.

Both the force of expression and the form in which this speech was delivered at the same time testify to our unshakable position at the side of the CPSU and the Soviet state, as well as to the militant strength of our party and our state.

In his Dresden speech which was of both domestic and foreign political importance, Comrade Erich Honecker pointed out that the prospects of our socialist revolution primarily require peace. No less is at stake than to block the effects of the aggressive law-governed developments inherent in the politics and in the economy of imperialism, which in the past have repeatedly led to world wars.

This is the strategic goal of the socialist policy of detente for the last quarter of our century. The most aggressive circles of the West would have long ago upset detente had they not been prevented from doing so by the present balance of forces in the world, the active peace policy of the socialist community and the pressure of world public opinion.

To Consolidate the Material Basis of Detente

The delusions of strength they are still indulging in was recently spelled out in writing by the previous U.S. representative in the NATO Council: although it is very late, the imperialist forces can still turn the tables if they rally their tremendous resources.

This policy gives rise to new tensions. Primarily, however, it involves the danger of a nuclear war. With all due seriousness, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that we have arrived at a crossroads today. Hence it remains the priority task of socialist foreign policy to promote the realization that detente has struck deep roots, because it is founded on objective trends.

Realistically-minded forces in the capitalist states today prefer detente to a renewed balancing on the brink of a nuclear war. Nearly all developing countries support detente and call for its expansion to all regions of the world.

Further advancement thus requires prudence, endurance and time, but primarily activity. There can be no other road because:

--The strengthening of the material basis of detente, the universal consolidation of the socialist states, that is, of the balance of power that is further changing in favor of socialism, progress and peace, make it possible to gain additional opportunities for the fruitful cooperation between states with different social systems. Without this, disarmament is inconceivable. Accordingly, the universal strengthening of the GDR is an internationalist duty. The internal strength of the republic thus turns into direct, foreign political activity;

--The further strengthening of the unity and cohesion and the coordinated action of the socialist countries constitute the most effective force for developing detente. Socialism is unswervingly struggling for the further fundamental transformation of international relations;

--Without the alliance with the revolutionary movements and progressive developing countries, progress would be less pronounced and slower;

--Only in the uninterrupted struggle against the most extreme circles of imperialism and other forces hostile to peace, such as for example Maoism, can the aims of socialist foreign policy be attained.

The renewal of the friendship treaties with the fraternal states, as stated in the Politburo report, has been our most important foreign political contribution to the policy of peace this year.

The treaty of 7 October 1975 with the USSR and the treaties concluded in the year of the Red October guarantee continuity as well as intensification of the joint struggle. The growing intertwining of the material and intellectual potentials, the gradual drawing closer together of our peoples are strengthening socialism and peace. A similar effect will be produced by the forthcoming visit of the GDR party-state delegation to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The new treaties embody what today characterizes the fraternal countries' foreign policy as a whole:

--The leading, constantly growing role of the communist parties in determining and implementing the course of international developments;

--The collective action of the states to fulfill the peace program, the reliable collaboration and coordination within the framework of the Warsaw Pact;

--The universal and long-term effect on the entire spectrum of international relations.

New Measures Against the Arms Race

The treaties have impressed their mark on international law in our era.

Where the European treaty system created in the first half of the 1970's cements the realities in Europe and makes such important principles as the inviolability of the borders, the renunciation of force and noninterference in internal affairs standard norms between states with different social systems, the new treaties are cutting the ground from under the feet of those who still indulge in illusions about the development of the socialist nation in the GDR and its belonging to the community of socialist states.

In implementing the adopted main foreign-political tasks, new steps are planned for 1978 to strengthen the fraternal alliance with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community and to increase the attractiveness of socialism in the world. This includes the purposeful implementation of the new treaties. In accordance with the policy concerted within the Warsaw Pact, we will contribute within our means and possibilities bilaterally and multilaterally toward defending detente against any attacks and toward strengthening it with new measures, especially against the arms race. In his festive speech on 5 November in the Palace of the Republic, Comrade Erich Honecker already stressed that we not only unreservedly welcome but fully support the new disarmament--that is, peace--initiatives of the USSR.

Comrades, the authority also of our state, its stable and dynamic growth constitute a safe guarantee that the attractiveness of socialism will grow and that thus peace and social progress will continue to advance. Even Western politicians cannot help but recognize the GDR and its policy as being consolidated and as a stabilizing factor for peace in Europe and beyond it. Particularly our general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker and the entire Politburo deserve special thanks for having worked out the necessary policy for this.

In preparing for the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, new great tasks are to be solved in accordance with the appeal of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the GDR National Front.

This, too, will contribute toward fulfilling our economic tasks according to plan. The international economic processes require a most careful analysis and quick reaction.

The constant crises in the capitalist countries, the raw material shortages and the price increases, the growing protectionism in foreign trade, the national economic and fishing zones established by numerous countries without waiting for the results of the conferences that are authorized to make the pertinent decisions--all this is being taken into timely consideration.

In his programmatic festive speech L. I. Brezhnev said that the cause of the liberation of the peoples in the former colonies and semi-colonies is invincible.

To Convene Quickly the Geneva Conference

The GDR--enjoying a worldwide reputation for its solidarity--has intensified this solidarity in recent months. Like the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries, it has demonstratively taken its place at the side of the progressive states. The trips by Comrades Werner Lamberz, Hermann Axen and Guenter Mittag mentioned in the Politburo report are confirmation of this.

It is no accident that Africa is a principal object of imperialist conspiracies. The entire continent is rising in the truest sense of the word. This spurs on the enemy's activity. Everywhere he attempts to sow distrust and disunity, and to nip progressive trends in the bud.

In the Middle East the prospects for an early settlement have deteriorated after the extremist Likud bloc came to power.

The settlement envisaged by the Soviet-American Middle East declaration of 1 October 1977 does not want to exclude any interested side or any problem. The Israeli forces--and this is the fundamental condition--must withdraw from the Arab territories they occupied in 1967. The Palestinian question must be settled, including a guarantee for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The ending of the state of war and the establishment of normal peaceful relations on the basis of mutual recognition of the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence are additional requirements. The Geneva Middle East Peace Conference is to be quickly reconvened with the participation of all sides involved in the conflict, including the Palestinian people. This alone can secure order and peace. Every other solution would preserve, even multiply, the danger of a large military conflict that lately exists in the Middle East.

Our party's general secretary declared in his festive speech at the Moscow Kremlin: "If the communists, with the approval and support of all the peace forces on earth, are struggling for a cause with such purposefulness and consistency, then the most important task which was already set by Lenin will be fulfilled--to establish a durable, stable peace on earth."

Purposefully and consistently we have also this year moved forward and we have made our contribution. On a well-built, solid foundation we can continue to pursue the road adopted by the eighth and ninth party congresses.

CSO: 2300

BRIEFS

ENDANGERED YOUTH PROBLEMS--Experts in the GDR estimate the number of GDR youths who cannot cope with the problems of life is 10-15 percent of all youths. East Berlin senior medical officer, Dr Irene Blumenthal--according to the "Berliner Church Report"--made these pronouncements at the Synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR (21-23 October 1977 in Herrnhut). In this regard she said: "We know that the process of life is becoming ever more difficult and that we may expect a possible increase to 20 percent upon reaching adulthood. I am thinking of addicts who do exist also in our society, of children who loiter about drunk in railway stations, who take sleeping pills on top of that, who want to get 'high' because they cannot go on living that way." According to the doctor, these children and youths seek primarily "two outlets. Some say: 'I don't want to go on living either in this society or anywhere else.' They are trying to commit suicide in various ways; they slip away from the family or they separate completely from the family unit. And the others say: 'To hell with this joint.' By 'joint', they mean school, job, their well-established family, their parents who frequently hold high positions." [Text] [Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 23, Nov 77 p 6]

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

NEMES TRACES PARTY HISTORY, CONFLICTS OF SOCIALISM VERSUS CAPITALISM

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 11 Nov 77 pp 3-17

[Article by Dezso Nemes: "The October Socialist Revolution and Six Decades of World Change"]

[Text] Six decades have passed since the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia overthrew the power of the capitalists and the landowners, put an end to the solitary rule of imperialism in the world, and with this a new era began in the history of mankind, the historical era of transition from capitalism to socialism.

When the imperialist powers pushed the peoples into the blood bath of the First World War, they did not count on the fact that a general crisis was developing for capitalism, and the proletarian revolution was the order of the day. And when Soviet power was born in Russia, the masters of the capitalist world did not believe that it could last for more than a few weeks: they did not believe that without the capitalists the working class under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party could establish a new system. When they saw that the developing Soviet system was indeed viable and capable of fighting, their incredibility became mixed with increasing restlessness. Their unbridled anti-Soviet campaigns of slander and attempts at political penetration were quickly supplemented with military attacks. The Entente Powers and the Central Powers were still fighting their murderous war with each other for the goals of conquest, but in the meantime both attacked the young Soviet power wherever they could. After defeating the Central Powers, the victorious Entente organized a comprehensive campaign of intervention, arming at the same time the various White Guard armies.

In defending the power of the people, the young Soviet state bore witness to a resolution and fighting capability which in its social goals, scope and influence exceeded any that existed before in the history of mankind. The strength of the revolutionary ideas, the organizing and motivating capability of the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin made its fighting spirit and ability invincible. It threw back the interventionist campaigns of the imperialists, overcame armed and other kinds of resistance by the defeated exploitative classes, and fought off serious war deterioration and hunger which the capitalist states tried to make final by organizing a blockade.

The Soviet Union's Fight for Peace, Its Historical Victory in Building Socialism and in the Great War for National Defense

The first diplomatic step of Soviet Russia was the Peace Appeal which it directed at the peoples and governments confronting one another in the war. During its entire existence, the Soviet state has been the spokesman and defender of international peace, and at the same time it had to face constant threats of war. Naturally, it had allies, primarily in the international proletariat, which regarded with sympathy and great hope the first workers-peasant state. This sympathy was expressed in action on behalf of the Soviet Union primarily by those who understood that an end to exploitation in their own country had to be carried out through a proletarian revolution. But the sympathy for proletarian power also lived in the hearts of the working masses who under the influence of reformism trusted that socialist goals could also be realized — sometimes in the future — without a revolution. The "hands off Russia" movement which developed in Western Europe during the interventionist years was not restricted to the revolutionary wing of the workers' movement; it was participated in also by those socialists who respected the extremely great efforts of the Soviet power, the heroism of its struggles, and Lenin, the great leader of the revolution, but who thought that a proletarian revolution could be avoided in their country. It was also participated in by those who did not understand Soviet power, but condemned the anti-Soviet intervention. And the triumph of the Soviet people over the interventionists strengthened the proletariat of the capitalist countries as well, and intensified political pressure on the bourgeoisie.

In 1924-1925, the recognition of the Soviet Union became general; with the exception of the United States, every large capitalist power took up diplomatic relations with Moscow. But the attempts at establishing an anti-Soviet capitalist front continued, and the antiwar struggle also went on.

The opposition and discord between the two main lines of the workers' movement hindered the development of the antiwar front. The communist parties linked the defense of peace with exposing and condemning the anti-Soviet slanders, while the social democratic parties linked their pro-peace positions, for the most part, with sympathy for anti-Soviet propaganda. The communist parties conducted revolutionary antiwar propaganda, and urged the masses to protest, while the antiwar stance of the social democratic parties was largely pacifist. Instead of unity, the communist and social democratic parties went on separate paths in the defense of peace.

The Soviet peace policy also strengthened the revolutionary antiwar struggle and the pacifist-type war protestations, and it caused great political and moral difficulties to the propagators of war plans. The representatives of the Soviet government made concrete proposals at international forums for restraining arms competition and promoting the cause of disarmament. Our proposals put political weapons into the hands of all those who were struggling to avert the danger of war that threatened peoples. The Soviet peace policy significantly expanded the circle of the Soviet Union's allies against the war plans of the imperialists.

The circle of the Soviet Union's allies was also increasingly widened with the national liberation movement of colonial and semicolonial countries. The flames of the First World War consumed the until then fearsome nimbus of the "civilized" capitalist powers also in the eyes of physically and morally subjugated peoples, and in various parts of the world it inflamed the struggle of their countries for freedom. While in the developed capitalist countries, the period of deep crises after the war was followed by years of relative stabilization, the national movement in India, which was led by Gandhi, grew and became an important driving force of the workers' movement. In China, the anti-imperialist and antifeudal national revolution sprang to life with the unity of various national forces organized under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen and assisted by the Soviet Union. The betrayal by the Chiang Kai-shek forces and the compromise with the imperialists in 1927 set the revolution back, but after entering on a new stage the struggle was continued.

In Morocco, the independence war of the Rif tribesmen broke out in 1921 against the Spanish and in 1925 against the French colonialists. In Indonesia, the 1926 Java uprising, led by the communists, shook the rule of the Dutch colonialists, and independence wars were afoot also in other countries of the colonial and semi-colonial world.

With the conclusion of the First World War, Great Britain was the master of the British Empire, which embraced one-fourth of the world, or about 34 million square kilometers, and it also governed other dependent countries. But its world power situation was shadowed by the strengthening independence wars of colonial and semi-colonial peoples, and also by its main rivals in a keen competition, above all by the United States, which deeply penetrated the British dominions economically; and in Europe by France, and in East Asia not only by the United States but also Japan.

Differences arose over division of the colonies taken from defeated Germany and territories of the fragmented Turkish Empire. The object of general rivalry was the redistribution of the "zones of influence" of the capitalist powers, their monopolization or declaration as free hunting grounds, assuring thereby unhindered expansion to the strongest, above all the United States. The exercise and exploitation of control over the defeated European countries was the object of constant diplomatic clashes. The ruling circles of the defeated countries tried to exploit the conflicts among the victors, seeking support from one against the other, particularly from the United States, since it became the strongest power of the capitalist world. With the giant profits gained as the beneficiary of the European war and with its economic and financial strength, the United States reduced Great Britain to second position and assured its leading position militarily as well with the rapid development of its sea and air power.

While the capitalist world was fighting the intricacies of its own contradictions, it was also threatening the Soviet Union with beginning a new war. In the years of relative stabilization, it was Great Britain, pressed from a number of sides, which urged the establishment of the capitalist states into an anti-Soviet united front. The intent was to strengthen Great Britain's

world power situation as the leader of the anti-Soviet campaign. With the defeat of Soviet power, they hoped for an end to their fears of a socialist revolution, for the strengthening of imperialist rule over colonies and semi-colonies, for the bridging of conflicts among the main imperialist rivals, and finally for everyone to attach the dismembered Soviet territories to his own sphere. It is worth remembering that it was with these efforts that British-Soviet diplomatic relations were broken in 1927. But it was not able to break the strength of the people's antiwar protest, and it was not able to bridge the differences among the imperialists. As the organizer of this action, the Baldwin government was abandoned and defeated in the 1929 elections. The Labor Party received a majority, an important, or even decisive role, being played by the demand for the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and this, in fact, did follow.

Efforts at establishing the anti-Soviet, capitalist front were continued, but in the meantime, capitalism's greatest economic crisis exploded and lasted from 1929-1933. In this period, in 1930-1932, the French Tardieu government tried, under the "Pan-Europe" slogan to organize an anti-Soviet war bloc under French leadership. But the government was defeated in the 1932 elections, and the succeeding Herriot government signed a nonaggression agreement with the Soviet Union. In Germany, the fascist forces of a renewed imperialism gained ground which undertook to organize and carry out an anti-Soviet war; and demanding a leading role, it linked this together with its revanchist plans and world domination efforts. The French and other peoples watched with increasing nervousness the increase in German revanche propaganda and military preparation. The struggle of revolutionary forces against the increasing danger of fascism and war found an increasingly wide echo in democratic public opinion.

After the Hitlerites came to power, fascist Germany as the front fighter for an anti-Soviet war achieved having the Western powers acknowledge the rearmament of German imperialism. This was particularly supported by British ruling circles; the conservative Chamberlain government urged that Hitlerite expansionism be freed — toward the East! As is well known, they were counting on this to lead to war between the Soviet Union and Germany with both bleeding to death; this would end their fears over the revolutionary influences from the Soviet state and avert the danger of a German revanchist war against Great Britain and France. Following precisely the same policy in the Far East, both British and the American ruling circles noted the Japanese imperial invasion of China and the seizing of great areas of Chinese territory in the hope that a Soviet-Japanese war would erupt.

It is well known that the events did not develop according to the adventurous calculations of the Western powers. German imperialism first began its war of revenge to take over all of capitalist Europe and use its resources to a fuller extent in its plans for world dominion. The Japanese militarists regarded the expulsion of the United States from the Pacific Ocean area and the acquisition of its tremendous resources as their main goal of expansion, which would also serve the realization of their further plans of conquest. But the

danger of an anti-Soviet war was constantly present, and a tug-of-war manifested itself in when and under what conditions the attacks would start.

The Soviet people arrived at a breathing space in the armed conflict in 1921, and they succeeded in extending it for 2 decades. In February 1920 — after the Red Army had triumphed on all fronts and the important campaigns leading to a victorious conclusion were being conducted only in the Caucasian area — there was a gleam of possibility for peace. In this situation, Lenin said at the First Congress of Cossack Workers on 1 March 1920: "The bloody war has come to an end. Now we shall conduct a bloodless war against economic disintegration and decay, against poverty and sickness which the 4-year-old imperialist war and the 2-year-old civil war brought on us. You well know that the destruction has been terrible..."

At this time, Lenin was calling attention to the possibilities of economic restoration and to the extremely difficult tasks it entailed at a whole series of conferences. But the general conversion to peaceful work was delayed. The Entente started its third campaign, and this time with sending aristocratic Poland into the war and throwing in the Crimean White Guard army under the newly organized Vranghel command. The Soviet people had to go through another war. In the meantime, however, it was able to intensify its efforts on the extremely serious economic front, and it took the first steps toward the reconstruction of industry and transportation.

This was still the period of war communism, the importance of which was in the fact that the bulk of mobilizable reserves was concentrated on strengthening defense, the development of the Red Army, its victory, and the defense of all the Soviet people against every enemy. War communism also became the first school of economic organization work, under circumstances when it was possible only to solve the organized consumption of remaining reserves and the partial operation of remaining production capacities. When breathing space came, the period of war communism ended. It was followed by Lenin's New Economic Policy NEP, which assured the reconstruction of the ruined economy.

The importance of NEP is well known in the development and regulation of small commodity production, which the basic interest of the economically ruined country needed badly; it brought relatively rapid results, which at the same time under peaceful relations was an indispensable requirement for strengthening and developing the workers-peasant federation. At the same time, the NEP policy prepared and brought to maturity the great and difficult cause of taking agriculture and small industry on a cooperative path.

The first socialist state also had the historical task of being the first to create a socialist plan economy. And NEP, at the same time, was also the period of the development of plan economy, the working out of the GOELRO plan, and to a large extent carrying it out. In the initial years, the central task was to restore industry and transportation. In 1927, the prewar level was regained in industrial production, that is, the 1913 level. But this did not mean the general restoration of the 1913 technical level, rather it meant exceeding it in many areas. The restoration work was linked with technical

development. This was tremendous work which the capitalist countries sought to hinder with commercial restrictions. But early in the NEP program, the Soviet state broke through the economic blockade organized by the Entente and successfully expanded its commercial relations with some of the capitalist countries. Although at a high price, it made good use of many things that could be acquired from the developed capitalist countries. But many problems could be solved only through its own development.

The planned reconstruction and development carried out in the years of the NEP were the preparation for the growth of large scale socialist industry, which was developed with great strength in the 5-year plans. Industrialization took place at a rate never known before in history. The particular significance of this was not only the fact that in a short time the Soviet Union rose among the great industrial powers but also in that it demonstrated with exceptional force the superiority of socialist plan management over the anarchic capitalist system rife with so many irreconcilable contradictions.

At the time the first 5-year plan was being realized, capitalism's great world economic crisis broke out, and thus the great upswing in the Soviet economy was opposed to the greatest crisis ever in the capitalist world. Anti-Soviet propaganda sought to explain away the great victories of socialism with false stories, slanders and explanations in the guise of "science," and while the deception was not without effect, it did not alter the facts at all.

The kolhoz movement also developed strongly at the time of the First Five-Year Plan, and the socialist transformation of agriculture — also for the first time in history — was solved. This did not come about without serious difficulties. It was carried out amid a sharpening of the class war in the villages, the expropriation of the kulaks, and their elimination as a class. With the mobilization of the poor peasantry, the Soviet power paid back the kulaks for their role in supporting the White Guardists in the civil war, support which cost the lives of hundreds of thousands. The elimination of the kulaks in this way was accompanied by serious economic losses. Thus the first great historical victory of collectivization left behind various lessons for all those who set themselves to the solution of this great task by weighing and using these lessons.

To all this belongs the great work which we call the cultural revolution. The Soviet power inherited a cultural condition such as the illiteracy of three-fourths of the population. The limited nature of elementary education and the even more narrow character of the middle schools was a difficult heritage, as was the relatively small number of those with a high level of education. And in addition, the bulk of the intelligentsia was of bourgeois origin and outlook. The cooperation of this intelligentsia had to be assured for the liquidation of cultural backwardness, raising of the general educational level, and the education of a new socialist intelligentsia. This enormous work, which was begun in the years of war communism, received a great boost with NEP, and the rate of its growth continued to increase with the development of socialist industrialization. This was a task which took along most of the old intelligentsia and put it on the side of the Soviet power. This includes

not only the intelligentsia in the humanities but also the bulk of the technical and scientific intelligentsia.

In 2 decades of peaceful building, the Soviet society achieved tremendous results in all areas of social life. Two 5-year plans were fulfilled, or overfulfilled, in the general development of the economy, education and health. With the exceptional efforts, they increased to a great extent the economic strength of Soviet society, its defense capability, and particularly the Second Five-Year Plan assured a significant rise in living standards for the Soviet people, who had accepted so many sacrifices. This development continued into the Third Five-Year Plan, which was interrupted, however, by the war that put an end to the period of peace.

The voluntary federation and indivisibility of the Soviet nations and nationalities belong among the basic important factors in the development of Soviet society. With the leadership of the Russian working class there was established a solid class federation of workers among the various nationalities, and this is what made the unity of the Soviet nations and nationalities indivisible. This unity, in the years of intervention and civil war, was tempered in the common work, the combined struggle for common goals, and brought to a head the establishment in 1922 of the united federated states, the Soviet Union.

In the united Soviet state, the development of the brotherly federation of nations and nationalities sped up the great achievements of growth in socialist industrialization, collectivization of agriculture, and a cultural revolution in the socialist spirit. The community of socialist nations linked together by thousands of ties was formed into a united Soviet people. This was an achievement in the development of Soviet society which is without example in history. This became possible on a socialist base, and only on a socialist base, by socially elevating all Soviet nations and nationalities, by the growth of their cultures in the socialist spirit, and by the realization of the Leninist nationality policy. And how great a power it became is shown in the rapid development of the Soviet Union and in the danger-fraught years of the Great War for National Defense.

In the capitalist world, there were many who doubted the solidity of the Soviet people's unity. Bourgeois thinking imbued with nationalism or cosmopolitanism thought this was impossible. This was one reason why the capitalist powers underestimated the strength of the Soviet Union. Others, on the other hand — naturally in the circle of socialists — believed that a unified Soviet people was a self-understood concept, an automatic achievement as it were. However, such a tremendous change does not come about automatically, but only through hard and lasting work, and the overcoming of many difficulties, and this is exactly what makes it tough and indivisible.

The development of Soviet society was hindered by many external and internal difficulties. Among these, amid large scale development, was the personal cult of the 1930's, with the undoubted exaggeration of Stalin's outstanding role and with all the accompanying distortions. The foiling of imperialist intrigues and the struggle against conspiracies and sabotage required adequate

alertness, but this was distorted not strengthened by the spread of the unjustified suspicion nourished by the personal cult, and which the enemy used successfully more than once for its own goals. All this caused great damage, and painful losses. Anti-Soviet propaganda exploited in a far-reaching way the distortions caused by the personal cult and the concept quarrels which compromised socialist to confuse the development of Soviet society. These were also fed by their demeaning attitudes on the strength and possibilities of the Soviet Union, of which they themselves were the victims.

But in these years, too, Soviet reality was decisively characterized by great achievements, and anti-Soviet propaganda could not change this at all. It was these great achievements which made it possible for the Soviet people to protect their moral and political unity, and by developing the industrial potential of the country prepare, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, for the eventuality that the period of peace would end and the imperialist powers attack with greater forces than ever before.

It was an important opportunity for the Soviet state to use the contradictions among the imperialists for its own security and for peace. Following the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social systems, the Soviet government took effective steps to prevent a capitalist, anti-Soviet united front from developing. It strengthened foreign political relations with those governments which believed this to be in their own interest, and it developed commercial relations with those capitalist states which themselves were strongly interested in doing so.

In the 2 decades of the peaceful period, the tangle of conflicts among the imperialists was an "indirect ally" of the Soviet state; and in the war against fascist aggression, the "indirect" alliance became a direct one, and even a military alliance in history's greatest war.

The antecedent of this was that the Soviet Union's proposals for establishing collective security in the years prior to World War II offered unity to those interested in protecting peace against threatening fascist aggression. But with false proclamations of peace the Western powers rejected the proposals because they wanted only to stop the German revanchist war, and not the anti-Soviet, particularly not a German-Soviet, war. They gave the fascist Axis powers a free hand in military intervention against the Spanish Republic, although they should have known that with this they were easing the way for Hitlerite Germany to wage a revanchist war. Instead of an agreement guaranteeing collective security, they signed the Munich Pact. The Munich Pact compelled the Soviet Union to sign the Soviet-German nonaggression agreement by which it succeeded in lengthening somewhat the period of peace for the Soviet people.

The Second World War began with the revanchist war of German imperialism, and in this war continental Western Europe and the Balkans became the prey of the Hitlerites; their armies also invaded North Africa, and their tentacles penetrated deeper and deeper into the Near East. In response to this, the Anglosaxon ruling circles decided in 1941 to sign a military alliance with the Soviet Union, which had been attacked by the fascist bloc, against the common

enemy. Meanwhile, they sought to continue bargaining with the Hitlerites through secret channels; they delayed in opening up a second front to attain their desire that the war would end in the exhaustion and bleeding to death of the Soviet Union and Germany.

Both the German imperialists and the Anglosaxon powers underestimated the political solidity of the Soviet Union, the unity of its peoples, and its defense capability. The Hitlerites hoped for a lightning war victory, but instead they found themselves confronted with military resistance and counter-blows, and the greatest people's war in history. The fascist aggressors perpetrated great destruction in the Soviet territories that came temporarily under their power, but they paid a great price. However, the greatest war sacrifice, as is known, was made by the Soviet people; 20 million of its citizens were lost, and its material losses in rubles or dollars can be measured only in hundreds of billions. In demanding struggles, the Soviet state developed its army into the world's greatest land force which triumphantly carried out the greatest battles in world history. It not only drove the fascist armies from Soviet territory but pressed forward to the Elbe River and there met the troops of the Western allies. Meanwhile, it also liberated the countries of the Danubian valleys, including Hungary, bringing freedom to the Hungarian people also.

Socialism a World System, the Soviet Union's Historical Role in the Competition Between Two Systems.

The tremendous war effort of the Soviet people and its historical victory, inexorably put an end to every vain hope that anyone could undo the unity of the Soviet people tempered in the fire of the Great War for National Defense and repeatedly sealed with the blood of all the Soviet nation. Its heroism and victory won great respect among the peoples liberated from fascist slavery; it aroused joy and pride among the working class everywhere in the world, particularly in the revolutionary units, and decisively contributed to the development of the communist movement into the world's most powerful political movement. A primary role was played in this, of course, by the fact that in the countries occupied by the Hitlerites the communist parties were in the forefront of resistance, and it was they who made the greatest sacrifices for the liberation of their people. With their leadership, the political influence of the working class and its power increased significantly and became the leading political force in more than one country.

The routing of the fascist powers was, of course, also a great victory for the Anglosaxon powers which they won in cooperation with the Soviet Union. But it greatly worried the British and American bourgeoisie, along with the whole international bourgeoisie and the entire reactionary forces of the world, that the Soviet Union had become the leading land military power, and that the political influence of the working class had increased in many countries. Their worries were further increased by the fact that the national liberation movement of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples also were stimulated to new growth.

As the greater part of Europe was destroyed by war and fascist occupation, the economic power relations in the war years shifted so much in favor of the United States that its industrial production exceeded the combined industrial production of the rest of the capitalist world, and its agriculture also made possible the formation of great reserves. The Washington government exploited this to influence, with assistance grants linked to political and economic conditions or the denial of simple commercial deliveries, the political life, government composition and policies of countries, in very difficult circumstances afflicted or threatened by hunger. The bourgeoisie in these countries, fearing a break-through for socialism, grabbed at American assistance, which the presence of Anglosaxon troops in Western and Southern Europe made into a weighty and commanding force. Following the policy of its main partner, the United States, the London government hoped to preserve its rule in the countries of its old empire, and if this were impossible in any other way, through some sharing with the Americans, or making compromises with local, wealthy strata demanding more influence and power in the government, or forced to make concessions to go in both directions.

The Anglosaxon leaders kicked over the wartime, antifascist alliance with the Soviet Union and started the Cold War. Above all, the leading circles in Washington hoped that with the help of their great economic and financial strength and the atomic monopoly they had at the time they could become the rulers and commanders of the whole world.

With their Cold War policies and the political and economic conditions of American assistance, they broke up the democratic national coalitions established in France, Italy and several other countries with the defeat of fascism. They forced out of governments the communist parties which had borne the main burden in the struggle against the Hitlerite invaders. Under the sign of this reactionary policy, yielding to the pressure of bourgeois propaganda and supporting it, the social democratic parties shifted to the right and ended the cooperation which they had formed with the communists in the anti-fascist war. In these countries, the working classes had to conduct a tough fight against the damaging of democratic achievements and the Cold War.

The Anglosaxon powers also tried to use the Cold War in the liberated countries to repress the working class which had become the vanguard of natural reconstruction, participants in holding power, and the leading class. For our part, we know very well how the Western powers encouraged and supported domestic reaction to pull our countries back into the imperialist world and restore the rule of the capitalists-landowners. The workers' parties, however, strengthened their cooperation, created the democratic people's front supported by the majority of the population; and overcoming domestic reaction and rejecting Anglosaxon intervention, they led our countries on the path of socialism. An important role in their success was played by the many-sided help extended by the Soviet Union in reconstruction work and in averting Anglosaxon intervention.

The Cold War was a policy of widening the international class war, with the main goal of preventing socialism from becoming a world system, restraining

the international influence of the Soviet Union, and preparing politically and militarily for the Third World War against the country of socialism and the people's democracies. But the imperialist powers were unable to curtail the Soviet Union's international influence and could not prevent the people's democracies from entering on the road to socialism. Socialism became a world system.

It is well known that the cause of socialism is traditionally entwined with the struggle against imperialist war. As socialism became a world system, it was also closely intertwined with the struggle against the danger of a world war, and it increased the strength of the international struggle against the infamous NATO policy of "dancing on the brink of war."

Historical changes occurred not only in Europe but also in East Asia, the beginning of which goes back to 1945 and is related to Japan's defeat in the war. After the Soviet Army shattered the main land forces of the Japanese conquerors, the Kwantung Army, and liberated large northern areas of China and Korea, the national development and the victory of the anti-imperialist people's democratic national revolution was accelerated in China. This inflicted another powerful blow on imperialism and opened the way to the broadening of the socialist world system. The American imperialists were not able to hold back the shattering of the Chiang Kai-shek forces which they protected, and they were swept out of the continent. They were only able, for the time being, to protect Taiwan for their proteges and as their own military base.

The Cold War did not turn out suitable for preventing the process of disintegration in the colonial system which the large-scale increase in the international influence of the Soviet Union, the existence and help of a socialist world system accelerated.

The Cold War was the political, economic and ideological propaganda organized and guided by the American imperialists, and it was accompanied by more than one armed conflict and local hot war. As a political campaign, it was directed against the Soviet Union, the people's democracies, and the entire international revolutionary movement. As an economic war, by narrowing commercial relations and forbidding the sale of so-called "strategic goods," it sought to make it more difficult to heal the war-inflicted wounds of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, to prevent their economic growth, and to stand in the way of the consolidation of the socialist world system.

At the same time, the Cold War signified the development of arms competition. A role was played in this not only by the calculation of the Western powers that they would assure themselves a great military superiority for their war plans, but also by forcing such competition they would make economic development of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies more difficult.

The Soviet Union and the people's democracies, of course, united for carrying out their peaceful building work, and they established CEMA in 1949. In opposition to the aggressive NATO bloc, they established the alliance known

as the Warsaw Pact in 1955, when the FRG was accepted into NATO, opening wide the road to renewed West German rearmament by the revanchists.

In the past quarter of a century, the imperialist powers provoked and conducted a series of local wars, in the course of which war was conducted against two socialist countries, and the third was an armed attack against Cuba.

At the beginning of the 1950's, the Korean War was conducted under American imperialist leadership, using the UN flag as a cover with the goal of annihilating the people's power in North Korea and establishing a staging area both on the borders of the Soviet Union and China. This hot war was conducted parallel with the "cold war" in Europe, and the socialist camp reacted in a united way against it. The Korean plans of the imperialists were defeated. At the same time, the "dirty war" of the French colonialists was ended in Vietnam; the Vietnam Democratic Republic was recognized in the north, while in the south the Saigon puppet regime was maintained under American control as the French were forced into the background. At that time, the Peking leadership was conducting a policy of friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, and it was by virtue of this that the imperialists were prevented from pushing their South Korean bridgeheads to the Chinese border, and establishing a direct staging area on the southern boundary of China.

The Western powers took new hope with the anti-Soviet turn in the Maoist leadership in Peking. Not long thereafter, in 1961, an armed counter-revolutionary Cuban army with American equipment landed at the Bay of Pigs. This attempt, as is well known, ended in a disgraceful defeat. But in 1965, the American imperialists — extending the military intervention they had pursued for years in an attempt to choke the war for liberation in South Vietnam — started an air and sea war against the Vietnam Democratic Republic.

For the war against Vietnam — which even many of the bourgeois politicians condemned — the Washington government was unable to use the UN flag, but it attached far-reaching hopes to the disintegration of unity in the socialist camp. Maoist policy played a role in the prolongation of this war for so many years. But the Vietnamese people held out. They received the necessary help from the socialist countries, above all from the Soviet Union, and successfully opposed the war machine exceptionally well equipped by the strongest capitalist state. But the moral strength of the American intervention collapsed, and the Washington government was compelled to acknowledge defeat.

The United States suffered its greatest and most shameful defeat in 200 years of its history. The Vietnamese people reaped total victory, and a unified socialist Vietnam was born. This also helped the peoples of Laos and Cambodia to win their own freedom, and it significantly contributed to strengthening the general struggle against imperialism.

The imperialist powers did not succeed in preventing the complete disintegration of the old colonial system, to which the recent victory of the people of Angola gave new impetus. It became and is increasingly becoming the basic goal of the people in young developing states, by relying on the socialist world

system, create the conditions for entering on the path to socialism. This, too, is taking place amid wars, and is accompanied not only by victories but also by temporary defeats. Today, the huge spaces of Africa are one of the main areas of this struggle. The imperialist powers are seeking to maintain their rule over peoples still in a state of dependency by using the methods of neocolonialism, or by trying to regain their lost positions where possible. By exploiting nationalist contradictions, by the use of general anticommunist propaganda, by incitement to tribal opposition they have the capability of exploding various kinds of local conflicts, armed clashes, and they have more than one opportunity. However, the developing countries fighting for and solidly defending independence have shaken the neocolonial system in many areas.

There are considerable changes in the developed capitalist countries, too. The conversion of monopoly capitalism into state monopoly capitalism has been accelerated, particularly since World War II. This has given a push to capital concentration processes both in national and supranational forms and has contributed to a significant expansion in productive forces and a significant increase in production. Meanwhile, the economic power relations among the capitalist countries have changed substantially. In this respect, the most important is the renewed increase in the world economic importance of Western Europe and Japan, the end to the general preponderance of the United States, and a substantial moderation in its great advantage vis-a-vis partners and rivals. The Washington government's long military adventure in Vietnam and its ultimate defeat accelerated this process.

The conversion from monopoly capitalism to state monopoly capitalism was accelerated in competition between the two world systems and aroused new hopes in the defenders of capitalism. They assumed that this increase in the power of the monopolies will result in the advance of the imperialist world and the curtailment of socialism. In fact, it led to an increase in the inner contradictions and social oppositions of the capitalist world, which was especially sharpened by the 1974-1975 economic crisis, and resulted in the renewed deepening of capitalism's general crisis.

It was under such circumstances that the competition between the two world systems was conducted and is still being conducted, and on the course and outcome of which depends whether mankind will escape the avoidable but still existing danger of a Third World War. This is a historical competition called on to decide the entire future of mankind.

After the bankruptcy of the Cold War built on the former atomic monopoly of the United States and its absolute economic superiority, the Western powers, as is well known, announced the notorious "dissolution" policy toward the socialist countries. They did this when they appeared inclined to accept the policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and of mutually advantageous economic, cultural and scientific cooperation, which they earlier declared to be a communist maneuver and they officially rejected it. Amid sharp internal debates, the understanding evolved in

leading bourgeois circles that the radical change in the world situation required a change in their policy. Above all, they recognized the necessity of settling disputes by way of discussions, and detente as a real requirement instead of the maintenance and heightening of tensions. Meanwhile, however, they continued the military strengthening of NATO, the increase in the military potential of the West German revanchists, and particularly the acceleration of armament by the United States. All this compelled the socialist countries of necessity to increase their own defense efforts.

While recognizing detente policy as a real requirement, the NATO powers sought and seek to tie its realization to unreal conditions. They demand "concessions" from the socialist countries from which they could hope for the dissolution and weakening of the social system of the latter, making the political system vulnerable and undermining their defense capability. But in unity with all those who cherish the cause of international peace and detente, the Warsaw Pact countries in opposition to "dissolution" attempts and an intensification of the arms race, conducted and conduct their efforts on behalf of detente, making it an irreversible process. Under this policy, the Soviet Union proposed the signing of many international and bilateral agreements, and various important treaties were concluded, including the atomic nonproliferation agreement, the prevention of the further spread of arms, and other agreements as well to limit the giddy armaments race.

More recently, the extreme reactionary circles of the upper bourgeoisie in collaboration with other reactionary forces have intensified their representations against international detente, saying that it is not advantageous to capitalist countries. The sharpening of the inner contradictions of capitalism, the deepening of the general crisis intensifies the adventurous tendencies in the extreme circles of the bourgeoisie and in the camp of other circles under the thumb of reaction. They incite anti-Soviet hysteria and mobilize various forces to create a disturbed political situation in order to carry out reactionary plans. Naturally, this evokes the strong resistance of democratic and socialist forces as linked to other steps designed to prevent the burdens of the crisis from being laid on the workers and making this burden worse with growing costs of the armaments race. The struggle is being continued to replace the rule of the monopolies with democratic people's power, which is also called on to assure the possibility of entering on the socialist path. All this is linked with the general struggle waged for continuing detente policies.

It is well known that economic competition is the area of decisive importance in the struggle between the two systems. Accepting this competition, the socialist countries are also urging the development of economic relations with the capitalist countries on a mutually advantageous basis. This helps to strengthen peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems as well as the development of our countries.

In the matter of commercial relations, a double tendency is evident in the policies of the capitalist countries: one promotes the expansion of relations,

which is actually to their benefit, while the other hinders it, for it is also advantageous to the socialist countries. In addition to the business and political circles urging commercial development, there are also forces in the United States, the countries of the European Common Market, or in the organs thereof, which are trying to keep the economic limitations. These are the staff members of a certain economic war who collaborate with military and "psychological warfare" staffs. The development of economic cooperation, therefore, on a mutually advantageous basis, depends also on the developments in the struggle of conflicting political trends and business interests in the ruling circles of the capitalist countries.

It is under such circumstances that the socialist countries contend for the development of relations. They are not afraid that these will be useful for the capitalist partners. Mutual advantage is the only real and lasting path to the expansion of cooperation, and it is an important part of detente policy. The imperialists are worried that the advance of socialism will continue under the expansion of mutually advantageous commercial relations, and in fact may speed up. But this derives from the superiority of the socialist system and not from commerce with the capitalists.

I think it is not without interest to glance back at the course of economic competition between the two systems. Industry is the decisive area of competition. The ratio of the socialist countries in the world's industrial production was about 20 percent in 1950, while at present the Soviet Union's share alone is about 21 percent, the CEMA countries combined 33-34 percent, and all socialist countries 40-41 percent. Thus the share of the socialist world system has doubled in little more than a quarter of a century. In agriculture, this trend is developing with a certain delay, chiefly at the time the transition from extensive to intensive development is beginning and is speeding up. The increasing economic integration of the socialist countries will strengthen the basic trend in our whole economy.

It is well known that the development of the Soviet economy plays a role of decisive importance in the competition between the two systems. The 1977 jubilee statistical yearbook of the Central Statistical Administration presents ample data on the results of the past 6 decades. The gross social overall production (which reached the 1913 level in 1927, that is, a still very low level) was 5 times more in 1940 than in 1913. In 1945, it was less, but 4.2 times more than before World War I. The current jubilee year's production is 15 times more than for 1913.

The civil war caused a particularly heavy deterioration of industry, and in 1920 the production amounted to only 14 percent of 1913; but in 1940 it was almost 8 times the prewar production. In 1946, it was scarcely more than 75 percent of 1940; while according to this year's plan, 1977 industrial production will be 18 times 1940, 172 times 1913, and 225 times 1917. In the First Five-Year Plan period, total capital investment was 8.8 billion rubles; in the present plan, or the Tenth Five-Year Plan — thus a jubilee in two senses — it amounts to 621.4 billion rubles. This dazzling development is made more clear perhaps in the following table with production data on some basic products:

		1913	1917	1928	1940	1945	1976	1977-es (1) terv
Elektr. energia milliárd kvó	(2)	2,0	2,2	5,0	48,6	43,3	1111,4	1160,0
Kőolaj millió tonna	(3)	10,3	8,8	11,6	31,1	19,4	519,7	550,0
Földgáz milliárd m ³	(4)	—	—	0,5	3,2	3,3	321,0	342,0
Szén millió t.	(5)	29,2	31,1	35,5	165,9	149,3	711,5	733,0
Acél millió t.	(6)	4,3	3,1	4,3	18,3	12,3	144,8	152,3
Automobil ezer darab	(7)	0,1	—	0,8	145,4	74,7	2025,0	2079,0
Traktor ezer darab	(8)	—	—	1,3	31,6	7,7	562,0	567,0
Szövet milliárd m ²	(9)	2,2	1,2	2,2	3,3	1,4	10,3	10,6
Bőrcipő millió pár	(10)	60,0	50,0	58,0	212,0	63,1	724,0	742,0
Nyers cukor millió t.	(11)	1,4	0,9	1,3	2,2	0,5	9,2	13,8
Növényolaj ezer tonna	(12)	471	421	448	804	292	2775	3050

Key:

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. the 1977 plan | 7. Automobiles, per 1,000 |
| 2. Electric energy billion kw/hr | 8. Tractors, per 1,000 |
| 3. Oil, million tons | 9. Textile, billion m ² |
| 4. Natural gas, billion m ³ | 10. Shoe leather, million pair |
| 5. Coal, million tons | 11. Unrefined sugar, million tons |
| 6. Steel, million tons | 12. Vegetable oil, 1,000 tons |

The 1920 data are missing from this table, the time when industrial production was at its lowest, only one-seventh of 1913. Starting from here, they achieved the 1928 results on which the First Five-Year Plan was built, and which in turn was followed by others, but interrupted by the Great War for National Defense. As for the 1977 plan figures, most of them, it can be expected, will be overfulfilled; it is already known, for example, that oil and steel production is exceeding the plan by several million tons.

This dazzling rate of development in the national economy was the basis for a great cultural upswing, with which I cannot deal in the framework of this article. This economic development solidified the defense capability of the Soviet Union and made possible in the years of the Great War for National Defense a large-scale increase in the war industry, which led to the acquisition of military technical superiority. This has been followed again by more

than 3 decades of peaceful, creative work, which at the same time has been accompanied by further development in the defense capability of the Soviet Union.

The decades, which were filled with struggles, have also brought a radical change in the material and cultural living circumstances of the population, which in figures is expressed as the fact that while the population exceeds that of 1913 by 100 million, the real income of the workers in industry is at present nearly 10 times that of 1913, and of agricultural workers 14 times more. Naturally, the need and demands of the population have increased no less, and in a way characteristic of socialist countries these will continue to grow.

As is well known, the economic development of the Soviet Union is of decisive importance in the competition between the two world systems. It is the Soviet Union's historical task to overtake and leave behind the United States, the richest country of the capitalist world. In 1950, the national income of the Soviet Union was only 31 percent that of the United States, while in 1976 it was 67 percent. The industrial production of the Tsarist Empire in 1913 was 12.5 percent of the United States production; in 1950, the Soviet industry's production was not quite 30 percent thereof, and in 1976 it was more than 80 percent thereof. The Soviet Union has moved ahead of the United States in the production of oil, coal, steel, cotton and other important products, and it may be assumed that in the coming decade the Soviet economy will surpass and leave behind the economy of the United States. And parallel with this, the community of socialist countries on the Leninist path will advance.

The competition between the two systems, of course, is proceeding amid a constant ideological war. The anti-Soviet campaigns in the great press, radio and television network controlled by capitalist monopoly have become essential to the existence of capitalism. The capitalist states and the capitalist monopolies are financing various social science institutes by the dozens in order to work out "scientific" theories and arguments, even in "socialist" guise, on behalf of anti-Soviet propaganda, and ideological war against the entire socialist world system. They cannot resign themselves to the invincibility of Marxist-Leninist ideas. But it is a fact that these ideas also made the Soviet Union invincible to military attacks and unshakable in the economic war. The achievements of 6 decades have also resulted in the general growth of Marxism-Leninism ideas, which are weapons of inestimable worth in the ideological struggle for peace and socialism, and which are called on to speed up the advance of socialism. An international ideological war is also accompanying the Great October jubilee, and it is our conviction that the international celebration of this revolutionary jubilee will also help the advance of socialism. This is exactly what disturbs the enemies.

The Soviet people are greeting the 60th anniversary of Soviet power with historical achievements which in themselves have radically altered the world. The effect of this is increased, of course, by socialism's becoming a world system and by the increase in its power of attraction on all the five inhabited continents of this earth. Parallel with this, there was the complete collapse of the old colonial system, which also played a role in the renewed deepening

of capitalism's general crisis, and now it can be observed that the system of neocolonial dependence is also tottering. Together with all this, an important factor in the development of the world system is that the communist movement has become the mightiest political movement of our world. It is in this way that the actual possibility was established for the peoples to prevent the eruption of a Third World War, and for mankind to avoid the terrible destruction with which the madmen of atomic war threaten it.

The progressive force of the world can celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution together with the Soviet people at a time when it has become a real goal for the historical transition from capitalism to socialism to be the process whereby the danger of war is lessened and ended. And a decisive role is played in this by the world's strongest socialist power, the Soviet Union, which is also celebrating 60 years of its socialist development with the era-opening Great October jubilee.

6691

CSO : 2500

'DISSIDENTS' BIENNALE' ATTACKED AS ANTI-POLISH

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Nov 77 p 5

[Article by Wojciech Krauze: "Art Biennale in Venice Takes a Dangerous Turn"]

[Text] Today as much as in times past outstanding individualities are of decisive importance in the area of artistic creativity. Without them, the composite picture of styles, trends, and periods of art would be blurred and, indeed, impoverished. However, the image of modern art is under an increasingly powerful influence of great spectacles reaching mass audiences. The rhythm of changes in the area of fine arts is marked by major international exhibits and numerous festivals that are held at regular intervals to present the latest creations of outstanding artists as well as to display the most avant-garde pursuits and experiments in fine arts.

Among the fine arts exhibitions, the oldest and much respected in artistic circles is the Venetian Biennale, Esposizione Biennale Internazionale d'Arte di Venezia. Held regularly since 1895, it presents a review of new works of modern art along with individual retrospective exhibits of major creative artists of world significance. Right at the outset it should be noted that Polish artists have participated in the Venice Biennale since 1905, and since 1925 Poland has taken part in it by presenting carefully selected collections of works of art, accentuating the distinct national character of our art. It is also worth noting that after World War II likewise we became a participant in the Biennale and acquired the ownership of a special display pavilion.

Because the Venice festival creates an opportunity for an extensive international confrontation of particular countries' achievements in fine arts and, at the same time, permits the dissemination of contemporary Polish art among the world's leading experts and in the Italian society, our participation in the Biennale has been marked by considerable vigor and ambition to present art of merit, committed to the issues of a socialist society and possessing humanistic values. To complete the picture it should be mentioned that without giving up the efforts to

exhibit the avant-garde trends in our fine arts we displayed at the Biennale the works of mature artists, well-known and esteemed in Poland, primarily painters, e.g., Marek Wlodarski, Maria Jarema, Jerzy Nowosielski, Wacław Taranczewski, Artur Nacht-Samborski, Piotr Potworowski, Juliusz Studnicki, Jerzy Tchorzewski, Stanisław Fijałkowski, and Zbigniew Makowski. Their artistic creations are among the lasting achievements of culture in People's Poland.

It is no secret for persons closely connected with the international exhibition circuit and well-versed in the rigorous principles of the Western artistic market that for several years now the Venice Biennale has been going through a serious crisis. Charges concerning the festival's outmoded and academic formula along with financial difficulties, with the complicated political situation in Italy as their background, have combined to induce the Venetian festival's organizational committee to make an unexpected, but in any event astounding, decision. Running ahead of the schedule of the traditional Biennale, properly to be held next year, it was announced that from 15 November to 17 December 1977 a biennale would be held devoted to "cultural dissent in East Europe." Carlo Ripa di Meana, chairman of the Venetian Biennale, presented a program of the new festival according to which it is to include such areas as "visual art, film, theater, mass media, visual communications media, literature, history, religion, and scientific research." Three exhibits are to be devoted to visual art, books, and films. The most important exhibit is to be titled "Aspects of Explorations in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary."

These announcements were followed by written invitations to dozens of artists and many cultural institutions in the socialist countries. Poland was visited by Enrico Crispolti, member of the Biennale's visual arts commission. Though he arrived as a tourist, he tried by personal contacts to secure the participation of many recognized artists in the "dissidents' biennale." There seems to be no need to comment on the fact that the list of artists regarded by the biennale organizing committee as dissidents included persons with domestic as well as international exhibits among their credentials, participants in state-organized outdoor painting projects, and recipients of grants financed by work establishments, various organizations, and above all by the Ministry of Culture and Art. Similarly, among the theater and film personalities singled out by the organizers of the "dissidents' biennale" there are creative artists whose attitudes and artistry are highly esteemed in Poland and abroad.

The idea, its implementation, and the activities related to the dissident festival in Venice can hardly be identified as anything else but a political action directed against Poland. This provocation, leveled against the socialist countries, has gained widespread publicity in the Western press and it is being utilized by centers of anticommunist propaganda. And all this is taking place in the wake of the Helsinki Peace Conference

in a period of expanding cultural exchange among countries with different political systems. Poland has been developing this exchange for a long time, while Italy, a traditional partner in the area of fine arts, is linked with us by particularly close contacts. Many exhibitions of past and present Polish art are organized in Italy and numerous films are shown on the basis of a bilateral cultural agreement. At this time, many projects are being developed in anticipation of their presentation in the months to come and in 1978.

The tendentious and unfriendly activity of current organizers of the Biennale, the exploitation for political purposes of a festival whose art presentation becomes a mere pretext, considerably hampers the process of cultural exchange in the spirit of the Helsinki Conference. If these trends turn out to be of a permanent nature, they will call in question Poland's participation in successive authentic confrontations of art at the Venetian Biennale. For such ventures as the one scheduled to begin in a week are intended to spread confusion and undermine mutual trust among partners who seek channels for cooperation.

8795

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP OF GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COMMISSIONS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part II No 5, 4 Jul 77 pp 1-19

[Report on the 1 July 1977 Session of the Seventh Legislature of the Grand National Assembly]

[Excerpts] Since some deputies, members of the permanent commissions of the Grand National Assembly, have been appointed members of the government or have been elected secretaries of the Grand National Assembly, the Bureau of the Grand National Assembly proposes the following modifications in the composition of some permanent commissions:

In the Constitution and Legal Commission--the release from the commission of comrade deputy Dumitru Bejan and the election of comrade deputy Emil Nicolcioiu as a member of the commission.

In the Commission for Industry and Economic-Financial Activity--the release from the commission of comrade deputies Trandafir Cocarla, Nicolae Constantin, and Ioachim Moga; the election of comrade deputies Stela Balan, Valer Gabrian, and Ion Staicu as members of the commission.

In the Commission for Agriculture, Silviculture, and Water Management--the release from the commission of comrade deputy Georghe Petrescu and the election of comrade deputy Aldea Militaru as a member of the commission.

In the Commission for Education, Science, and Culture--the release from the commission of comrade deputy Ion Sirbu and the election of comrade deputy Maria Uta as a member of the commission.

In the Commission for People's Councils and State Administration--the release from the commission of comrade deputy Petre Blajovici and the election of comrade deputy Valeria Stanescu as a member of the commission.

In the Commission for Defense Problems--the release from the commission of comrade deputy Ion Stanescu and the election of comrade deputy Mihai Marina as a member of the commission.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

ENGINEER DIVULGES SECRETS TO AGENTS OF WEST

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 22 Sep 77 p 23

[Article by A. Dohataru: "The Downslide of Permissiveness"]

[Text] Engineer M. M. is a tall man, looking like an athlete in an arena, prematurely grey, green eyes, elegantly dressed in the latest fashion; he often drives recklessly, flooring the accelerator pedal and braking with his arm leaning on the window. He belongs to the category of men who do not pass unnoticed, who announce and impose their presence in society, always appear self-assured, authoritative, and arrogant, stand tall, and enigmatically hide behind smoked glasses, uncommunicative, and nocturnal. He is often seen in bars in the company of elegant women, a kind of honor guard covered with jewels and concealed promises. Some of our readers have probably seen this distinctive, austere, and unscrupulous man, a familiar figure among seashore restaurants and hotel lobbies, not only during the summer season, but also during the quiet months of the fall, when an insolent automobile driver who has seen many foreign movies and magazines can indulge in racing on the beach and among the waves at 120 kilometers per hour. Where did he get the money for such a full life, loaded with evanescent satisfactions, pleasures of the flesh, refinements of the table, and the quietude of withdrawal from daily cares? Who in fact is engineer M. M.?

He is none other than M. M., engineer, esteemed specialist and a "promising figure" of research and design in a vital area of the machine building industry, graduate of the Polytechnic Institute with a 10 average, music lover, and stamp collector. A man with a "brilliant mind," a "computer memory," and "inventive ability." Outstanding references. But few know that M. M. is married (for the second time) and the father of three children, because he rarely and offhandedly speaks of his family and his private life. His colleagues and subordinates seek to ingratiate themselves to him and avoid causing scenes. He cannot bear to be contradicted. He cannot bear mistakes. He cannot bear those who smoke cheap cigarettes. On principle, he greets no one.

What time he does not spend in bars and restaurants, he spends at the opera or at the theater in the best seats in the house, from which he can be seen and noticed by everyone. No one knows when he takes time to study or work on projects, and his colleagues understand that they must tolerate him despite his faults, and despite his renouncement of all principles of morality, because he is a valuable designer "who has coordinated the completion of several research and design projects, contributing to the adoption of equipment and devices which have been extremely important to the economy." For which he has always received a substantial salary!

Until the summer of 1974, when together with his wife and children he spends his vacation at the seashore and meets a foreigner, travelling in Romania privately, a neighbor on the same floor and on the beach. The men strike a conversation, the children become friends sharing their games, and the evenings are spent together in a convivial atmosphere of relaxation and life free of cares. But M. M. seems dissatisfied, disgusted, prematurely weary. The foreigner, energetic, cheerful, and blond, asks what troubles him. They often stroll along the cliffs, leaving their wives and children behind, like two men whose shoulders bear the destinies of the world. M. M. says he is unhappy with his car, a Dacia 1300, and the foreigner says he is willing to provide him with a western sedan. All of it at the cost of a "slight betrayal" of technical and design secrets known to M. M. Without scruples, without caution, our engineer finds himself discussing with the "summer acquaintance" the ways to patent abroad an original invention whose technical file is at an advanced stage. And between two walks along the cliffs, between two meals, between two games of billiards, the two men agree to continue their collaboration. To M. M., life now seems beautiful and auspicious. He believes that he has no accounts to give for depriving his enterprise of a project, and the foreigner has every reason to congratulate himself at the thought that he is being offered an invention on a silver platter, with little effort and at a ridiculously low price! The men part company with mutual gifts and promises of meeting again.

But the short family vacation bored M. M., who now spends late hours in bars. His wife, angrily looks for him at his enterprise! Consequently, an invitation for a trip abroad, extended by the beach acquaintance according to their understanding, comes at an inopportune time. The enterprise staff, advised of M. M.'s unbalanced behavior, refuse permission for the planned trip. Our engineer is indignant. For a while, however, he strategically returns to his warm, comfortable household, to his family, to the children who adore him and whom he seldom sees. In his slippers and robe, he treads lightly on the carpet to protect the sleep of others, reads, works on projects, his slide rule always in his hand; he even buys glasses with Zeiss lenses, and he suggests to his wife that she, at least, should accept the invitation from abroad. He also asks her to discreetly inquire about the outcome of the theoretical details which he disclosed to the stranger during the past summer. His wife agrees and becomes involved in the grim and dangerous game of illegal transactions, corrupted by the paltry bourgeois confort offered by her hosts and by the luxurious store displays of the consumer society. Despite all her insistence

she obtains no information about the status of the invention details which her husband communicated with such composure to a stranger, nor does the procedure seem questionable to her. The betrayal ballet resumes one year later, when the foreigner, distinguished and formal, returns for a vacation in Romania and visits M. M. At this time they accomplish the final transfer of the invention from M. M.'s name to the the foreigner's name; the invention will be patented in a western country even though it is in the process of being accepted by Romania's State Office for Inventions and Trademarks. Now M. M. seems to lose his mind, to wit: he attempts to leave the enterprise with the documents of a new invention, claiming that he wants to finalize and "improve" them at home, after working hours. But this action places his colleagues on the alert.

Concurrently with all this, the desintegration of the home continues. M. M. leads the same disordered life, sodden with drink, spending everything he earns in bars, restaurants, and motels scattered along the roads; he drinks and comes to work in disarray. He shouts when he is reminded that he is abusing the understanding of those who surround him. He considers himself a star. He believes that the research and projects of the enterprise would fail without him.

His wife follows him in the same torrent of compromises and abandonment of principles. They each come home when they feel like it. They both seem launched into a mad race against the stream of life. No one takes care of the children. At home, they drink more and more heavily. Quarrels and loud arguments end with broken dishes and destruction. They lead their lives with the gas pedal to the floorboards. One night, his wife confesses to M. M. that she intends to flee abroad. M. M. is silent; he accepts. They agree not to divulge their secrets: they are the only secrets faithfully kept by the couple! The wife, however, is caught in the act while preparing to carry out her plan. M. M. now admits that he pushed her into the abyss, persuaded that because of the children they have no other chance for parting with one another. The car which the foreigner sends to M. M. as reward for his betrayal proves to be second-hand, thus pitifully shattering the dream of the white sedan, of the Mercedes limousine.

Notified by honest citizens, the state authorities investigate, and the "brilliant mind," the "computer memory" is convicted of "disclosing secrets regarding public interests, and stealing documents."

M. M. is a man in whom the community has invested hopes and plans. Which shows that being a good specialist, a notable engineer, a well-known inventor is not enough, as long as you can betray at the first opportunity those who have placed their trust in you. In fact, the circumstances for M. M.'s betrayal were created because he was being judged primarily by his qualities and talents as design engineer, and less or almost not at all by his flaws as a man, husband, and father. Through his behavior in society, M. M. proclaimed the weakness of his character, and it was hard to prove that he valued above all else his own advantage (or disadvantage), and that he was

interested in his next door neighbor only insofar as he could derive profit from him. He sold the secrets which he held because he does not have the sense of joint property, because he has no interests beyond his own digestive tract and the carburetor of his private sedan. He betrayed because his own attitude toward life is a betrayal. But he betrayed because he was tolerated. And in his destruction he drew with him into the pit, without remorse, all that was in his way. And now he may well say that when he met the stranger on the cliffs at Mamaia, he was deluded by the latter's ability to wring the secrets from him, and that he failed to see the foreigner's horns, his tail, and his hooves!

11,023

CSO: 2700

FORMATION OF ROMANIAN NATION DISCUSSED

Cluj-Napoca TRIBUNA in Romanian 13 Oct 77 p 3

[Article by I. I. Russu: "The Formation of the Romanian Nation and the Persistence of Its Lineage During the Migration Period" (from Almanahul Tribuna - 1978," to be published)]

[Text] It is a long-established historical truth, nearly unanimously recognized and fully verified by the more rigorous and effective comparative research of the last three decades, that the complex process of the formation of the Romanian language and nation is the principal socio-ethnic and cultural-linguistic result of the romanization of the indigenous (autochthonous) Thraco-Dacian populations of the Roman provinces in the Balkan-Danubian and Carpathian zone; meaning that it is part of the extensive and lasting phenomenon so well and suggestively defined a century ago by F. Engels in a famous passage: "the leveling plane of the Roman domination over the ancient world has touched all the countries of the Mediterranean basin during several centuries... The Roman administration and law have everywhere dissolved all the old lineage connections, and with them, the last traces of national-ethnic local independence." ("The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and State," Marx-Engels, "Works," vol II, 1952, pp 271-272). The essential fact in the formation of the Romanian nation and of its language has been determined directly, and is thus explained first of all by the romanization of the heterogeneous and heteroglotic provincial populations, and by their permanence, and their active and effective participation in the phenomenon of socio-ethnic and linguistic symbiosis, mixing, and synthesis; the native population contribution to this process has been not only compact and massive in socio-ethnic and biologic terms, but has also been exceptionally important (mostly qualitative) in cultural-linguistic terms, and even decisive for the Carpatho-Balkan and Danubian Roman world. This is a contribution which has been mostly ignored in the past, and which has been effectively and concretely brought to light by the more profound and diversified comparative research conducted in Romania during the last three decades, by establishing some 170 elements (isolated words) brought into the Romanian language from the Thraco-Dacic substrate.

In essence, the imperial romanization was determined by several factors, the principal ones being: the army of occupation and the military service of inhabitants in every province; the administrative, fiscal-economic, and municipal (urbanization) organization; the Italic and provincial elements (mostly from western and southern Dacia); immigrant-colonists, craftsmen, tradesmen, land owners, and slaves; the Roman religion and all socio-civilian public manifestations; the intense circulation of men and products, the propagation of Roman life styles and behavior; and above all, the fact that the means of communication and understanding was the official and popular Latin. In southeast Europe, this Romanic-Romanian language presents a unified and homogeneous appearance, at first sight only through its Latin grammatical and lexical, fundamental (hereditary) nature. Research conducted during the 19th and 20th centuries has shown an abundance of words (mixed with inherited ones) originating from other neighboring or cohabiting nations (Slavic, Magyar, Turkish, Germanic, and so on); but at the same time, a specific aspect of the lexical structure of the Romanian language has been (partially) disclosed: pre-Roman (and naturally anti-Slavic) elements, words originating from the local Thraco-Dacian substrate, which according to our comparative history research have proven to be hereditary parts integrated in Roman-Latin ones, but which have their own features, and characteristic, uniform phonetic, morphologic, and semantic traits, of Indo-European satem types and exclusively Romanian. We will not undertake a linguistic-etymologic demonstration here; this has been and will be done elsewhere. We will only mention a dozen of the more important and significant ones: *abure*, *aprig*, *balta*, *beregata*, *bucura*, *caciula*, *cret*, *darima*, *gard*, *pastra*, *rezema*, *vatama*, [steam, fiery, throat, gladden, fur hat, curly, razing, fence, preserve, lean upon, harm] -- whose Indo-European and Thracic genealogy-etymology is evident. The some 170 indigenous Indo-European words integrated in the Latino-Roman texture of the Romanian language were contemporarily spoken by the ancestors of the Romanian nation. They have a considerable linguistic and historic-ethnologic value: they accurately and concretely verify the hypothesis formulated around the middle of the 19th century (F. Miklosich, H. Schuchardt, B. P. Hasdeu, et al.) that the formation of the Romanic-Romanian language is the result of the introduction and generalization of the official language of the empire, which in most zones replaced the native speech. The denationalization and uniformization of nations (or as the Romans called them, *nationes*) in the provinces through speech, has caused Latin to be perpetuated through these romanized populations, "neolatins" whose indigenous languages were replaced by the uniform language of the Roman empire, which in turn has transmitted isolated elements (words, names) in a proportion which will have to be comparatively studied and determined.

Under these conditions, it is clear that the dissemination, implanting, and perpetuation of the Latin-Romanic language in the southeastern European territories, where it has been spoken since the Middle Ages until today (retrenching and losing a great deal of ground, especially in the Balkan Peninsula), have been due not to the poorly understood fact -- particularly by some purist Latinists -- that it was brought in and preserved by "clean" Roman colonists and veterans from Italy and the provinces, with very few

and disparate "barbarian" ethnic additions, but rather to the circumstance that this official dialect of Roman rule and culture was adopted by the local natives (Thraco-Dacians and Illyrians), with some deletions and contractions, but with a strong lexical addition from the substrate, which is more vigorous and significant in the Romanian language than in any of the other Romance languages. The latter aspect (the indigenous component in the lexical structure of the Romanian language, and therefore in that of the socio-ethnic community of Romania's ancestors), which is of exceptional historical and ethnological importance, was not suitably known and utilized by most researchers who recently or in past decades, have studied the question of the Romanian ethnogenesis; consequently -- and necessarily so -- there have been ambiguities, confusions, and some serious errors in the conclusions and "arguments" of various writers. The identification, and the differential, pertinent explanation of the indigenous element (pre-Roman, Thraco-Dacian) integrated in Latin-Romanic, which thus formed the hereditary mass of the Romanian language, constitutes the strongest proof not only for the proposition of indigenous sources, but at the same time for the romanization of the Thraco-Dacian populations, for the Thraco-Dacian-Roman continuity in the Carpatho-Balkan and Danubian provinces.

Today, the formation process of the language of the Romanian nation can be determined (as in fact has been suggested much earlier) according to two major criteria: 1) the extension into the Middle Ages and modern times of the Romanian language (speech), in connection with 2) the territories which according to archeological and epigraphic findings, were subjects of Rome and romanization, and in which the popular Latin language could and had to become generalized. Among the "eastern" Roman provinces (southeastern Europe) of Illyricum which had a western culture and a Latin language -- namely Pannonia, Dalmatia, Moesia, northwestern Thrace, and the Carpatho-Danubian portion of Dacia -- only the last three were considered as the territory for the formation of the Romanian language, a fact accepted by almost all Roman scholars, by philologists, and by historian-ethnologists. Two of these in particular, Moesia and Dacia -- eventually part of eastern Dalmatia and western Thrace -- are closer or are partially superimposed on the present area (or that of the Middle Ages) of coverage of the Romanian language, of all Romanians, or in an absolute sense, of Romanian phonetics. In these locations, the organized Roman life underwent an extremely intensive development for several centuries, and the native population (predominantly Thracian and Geto-Dacian) is documented as present and active, vigorously participating in all and sundry aspects of Roman life. It was therefore in the Moeso-Geto-Dacian zones that was located the land ("cradle") of formation of the Romanian language, together with the people who have spoken it since antiquity, through the Middle Ages, until today. The Romanian language in its four dialects (Dacoromanian, Aromanian, Meglenite, and Istroromanian) is the oldest and most meaningful document proving that all those who speak it compose the large community of southeast European Romans, ancient Romanians, and proto-Romanians, forming in a broad and complex sense the Romanian nation of the Middle Ages; these are predominantly romanized Thracians and Geto-Dacians, who upon receiving the Latino-Romanic

language, introduced and impressed into it a large number of words from their old Satem Indo-European dialect (which has disappeared as such, but which is being perpetuated in the fragments partially identified in the Romanian and Albanian languages). Alone among all the neo-Latin nations, the Thraco-Daco-Romans have kept the ethnic name Romanus/Romanian (Rumanian), as a socio-ethnic and linguistic characteristic, uniformly and as a unit in the large mass of Romanic nations within the old provinces of Moesia, Dacia, Thrace, and Dalmatia (an ethnic-national name which the neighboring nations "translated" as Wallachian "speaker of the Roman-Latin language," or in Hungarian olah, olasz "Italian," and so on; but in this respect we must not overlook the fact that the neo-Latin population in the intensively romanized province Gaul, the Gallo-Romans bear the Germanic ethnic name Franci, Francais who speak Latin).

The era during which the Romanian nation and language were being formed and crystallized in Dacia and Moesia, cover the first and second centuries, and the fifth and sixth centuries, because during the fifth to seventh centuries the popular Latin was being transformed into the Romanian language in two essential respects: a) typically and exclusively Romanian changes in sounds, which are not found in the other Romance languages (such as the transition of the intervocalic -l- to -r-; sole/soare, Italian sole, French soleil; sale/sare, Italian sale, French sel; singulus/singur; bolete/burete; and so on), as well as some modifications-reductions in morphology and syntax; b) simultaneous integration-assimilation (total equalization) of the indigenous (Thraco-Dacian) lexical stock into the hereditary Latino-Romanic lexical and grammatical fund. With these two fundamental aspects, the formation of the Romanian language and ethnogenesis comes to a close in its broadest form, before the Slavic influence which began (according to the latest conclusions of the Cluj Slavic scholars) only around the year 900, independently of the fact that migrating Slavs penetrated into the formation zones of the Romanian language and nation some two to three centuries earlier, beginning with the sixth century. Their immigration into the Romanic-Romanian space was neither a determining nor an essential factor in the formation process of the Romanian language and nation, of the neo-Latins in southeastern Europe; in actuality, their contribution to this Romanic-Romanian socioeconomic and linguistic-cultural collectivity was somewhat secondary, both chronologically and qualitatively; it was an addition (added stratum) of topo- and anthroponymic language elements as well as of ethnic group enclaves documented for the 10th-12th centuries, which became assimilated and integrated into the Romanian community after the latter had already finished its process of ethnogenesis and formation of a unified language.

The Struggle for Resistance as Lineage During the Migration of Nations

The establishment and evolution of the Carpatho-Danubian world was determined by a profound and painfully experienced fracture: the evacuation, around 271-273 (some say 274) during the reign of Domitianus Aurelianus, of troops, officials, and upper strata of the population which was not closely bound to the land of the Dacia province, but was closer to the Roman state bureaucracy.

This interruption in the work and production organized according to the Roman style and system was accompanied by conditions which usually lead to ruin, neglect, and economic recession. To begin with, it disorganized urban life and crafts production, reduced the extractive industry, and caused the decay of fortresses, buildings, and monuments erected and maintained during the 17 decades of Roman ownership and management; construction technology was used only rarely to combat the corrosive and destructive action of weather, rains, and time, while the local Daco-Romans were reduced to a poorer agrarian life.

In fact, Roman ownership did not once and for always on the left bank of the Lower Danube after 273, because a large variable strip of land was recovered and maintained under the control of Roman forces during the fourth to sixth centuries; and the romanized population of the Carpathian Dacia maintained constant and rather intensive connections with the Roman world south of the Danube, both through "official" and popular channels. It is known and almost unanimously accepted that in the former province abandoned by the armies of the Emperor Aurelianus, under the occupation of the new migrating "barbarian" masters, there remained only the rural stratum (agrarians, cattle raisers, village craftsmen) tied to the land which it did not leave at the "change of regime" in 271-273 (as it did not leave it in 106 when the Roman province was formed), except partially, temporarily, periodically, and alternately in connection with the needs of cattle raising, of "to and fro" pasturing, and of other ancient agrarian pursuits. Such a rural population could clearly not continue to maintain the urban life within the wall of the old cities, which went through a period of crisis and gradually became rural and fell into recession, a socioeconomic reality well observed and pointed out by historian-archeologist and philologist scholars as early as the 19th century. In any case, it is certain that the Daco-Roman population had to withdraw from cities and their surroundings, into the more sheltered lateral valleys. The essential aspect of the sociohistoric phenomenon of the existence of the Romanic-Romanian population in southeast Europe (the romanized area described above) was indeed the bold struggle to salvage its identity, the Latin-Romanic language, and some modest fragments of the legal and political conventions (beginning with the ancient village community which prevailed throughout the Middle Ages) of a vast ethno-linguistic community characterized by a notable cultural and linguistic unity (as is abundantly proven by the strong uniformity and homogeneity of the historical Romanian language, both through its Latin-Romanic elements, and through the indigenous-pre-Roman ones, and as is not found in any of the "neo-Latin" populations). Also important and significantly distinctive from a sociohistoric and linguistic standpoint is the fact that all the southeast European "Romanics" have kept the socioethnic name *Romēnus* (Romanian, Aromanian, Rumeri) which clearly distinguished them from all the immigrant, cohabiting tribes; of the latter, some became assimilated and integrated into the large people's community of Romanians, particularly of those communities north of the Danube.

A critical and comparative ethymology study of the terminology of the Romanian language as a whole, and of the lexical stratification and succession of words-ideas (by comparing linguistic, historical, and ethnographic materials), has demonstrated that the Romanian (Romanian speaking) population has an ancestry and stability in its formation territories and "cradles," total continuity of occupations in settlements, and an eminently sedentary character in rural production branches: agriculture, cattle raising, peasant household crafts, exploitation of underground metals and ores, metallurgy, and other smaller "industrial" branches. Uniform and unified more in appearance than in fact, the Romanian general and technical terminology presents -- as has been observed and pointed out earlier -- a large variety in its component elements: a) hereditary Latin-Romanic and indigenous; b) very numerous borrowings (added stratum) among which the oldest and most important are the Slavic ones; but these "imported" elements in the Romanian language have not reached (despite their number) the level at which they exceed in the terminology the fundamental value of the Latin-Romanic and indigenous fund, and therefore of the settlements, major objects and tools, and the nomenclature of the basic concepts belonging to the Romanian language and to the socioeconomic life in ancient settlements and skills. Among these, the principal terms are hereditary, either indigenous (such as vatra, gard, grapa, zestre, and so on [hearth, fence, harrow, dowry]), or especially Latin-Romanic (casa, masa, perete, usa, cheie, and so on [house, table, wall, door, key], the Hungarian terms for which are Slavic, asztal from the Slavic stolu, kulcs/kljuci).

The Romanian popular civilization (almost exclusively rural in its first phase) was founded and developed on the vigorous Daco-Thraco-Roman foundation, with its own ancestral, hereditary terminology, both in the Carpathic and Danubian Dacia, and among the Romanians south of the Danube (Balkan Romanians), as branches of the same Romanian nation unified through language, socioethnic name, belief, and material culture. All these "branches" of the Romanian nation have lived under almost identical conditions, under the same vicissitudes and cruelties which they had to face in order to save their ethnosocial existence and the structure of a closed economy, confronted with oppression and repeated attacks from invaders, and from migrating tribes and nations. The latter found the southeast Europeans abandoned by the Roman military-political force, and recently having lost the state organization abolished with the official withdrawal to the right bank of the Danube at the end of the third century, with the collapse of the Romano-Byzantine "limes" on the Danube and the unraveling of the entire defensive system in the former provinces of Moesia and Thrace. The two large structural stages in the dismantling of the Roman state organization (at the end of the third century on the left of the Lower Danube, at the beginning of the seventh century in the "Balkans") have crumbled the Thraco-Daco-Roman population, devoid as it was of a powerful shield which assure its a cultural development and productive work, placing it in a difficult situation of having to fight daily under diverse and always adverse conditions, often of crushing inequality to the foreign power of the migrating tribes, better armed and equipped, more dynamic and active in the fight for leadership, domination, and exploitation of the men and natural resources in the former

Carpatho-Balkan. "Roman"-ia. The romanized inhabitants here (neo-Latins) have nevertheless successfully fought the battles of resistance throughout centuries, saving their own language, ethnic name, and material culture, despite strong influences from and crossings with foreign national and language elements, in that island of "Romanism" (increasingly small and in places weakened to the point of almost total disappearance), in the ocean of immigrated nations which established themselves temporarily or definitively alongside or among the people of that land, the indigenous Thraco-Daco-Romans of southeast Europe. The resistance of the Romanian population under such adverse political-military and economic conditions has led to its regrouping and rebirth in village formations which were small at the beginning, and which grew during the Middle Ages, creating -- in the light of the silence kept by written sources about them, especially north of the Danube and in the Carpathian Mountains -- a kind of "surprise" for modern historians, or even a "miracle" rebirth for a nation which has withstood vicissitudes like no others through its ethnic strength, and through the vitality and sociocultural and linguistic unity of the romanized Thraco-Daco-Roman fund.

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ARCHEOLOGICAL PROOF OF ROMANIAN PRESENCE IN BANAT

Timisoara ORIZONT in Romanian 20 Oct 77 p 5

[Article by Ilie Uzum]

[Text] The official departure of the Romans from Dacia toward the end of Aurelian's reign (270-275 A.D.) did not mean a surrender to "barbarian" pressure, nor a total or final abandonment of the territory conquered by Trajan, nor yet the complete evacuation of the province, leaving it prey to Goths, Huns, Gepides, Avars, and others. On the contrary -- in the words of the late academician Constantin Daicoviciu -- "Rome is present north of the Danube in two forms: direct and indirect. Directly through the political and military interventions which it constantly conducted north of the Danube until the sixth century, and through the local romanized population which it left here; and indirectly through the civilizing influence which it has implanted in the northern territories, territories which now exceed by far the old province borders." (Le Probleme de la Continuite en Dacie, REVUE DE LA TRANSYLVANIE, VI, p 14)

Regarding Banat, the results of recent archeological research and numismatic discoveries prove without a doubt that in the fourth century its territory was effectively part of the Roman Empire. This is confirmed by the new fortifications erected on the left bank of the Danube at Gornea, Svinita, and Dierna; by the rebuilding of the Roman camps at Pojejena, Mehadia, and Jupa; through the development of settlements of Daco-Roman sedentary communities, such as are found at Greoni, Varadia, and Berzovia; through the epigraphs discovered at Gornea, which testify to the current use of Latin by inhabitants of Valea Dunarii during the fourth century; and finally through the massive amounts of Roman coins -- treasures of thousands of bronze pieces of the second through the fourth centuries -- discovered at Racasdia, Moldova Veche, Dalboset, Pojejana, Radimna, and other places. We take these findings to be firm proofs of the fact that -- at least for the fourth century -- the political, economic, social, and cultural circumstances of Banat remained unchanged. For the period which follows, the archeological results can be

corroborated by the information handed down by ancient historians. For instance, Procopius of Caesarea (527-561), Justinian's historiographer, states that the Roman governor "has reestablished administrative authority in the regions devastated by the Huns during Attila's time, and has pushed the Byzantine rule not only along the Istru river, but also very far from it, rebuilding on the opposite side (in Banat and Oltenia, n.b.) the destroyed towns and fortresses, not only as they were before, but much stronger." (De Aedificiis, 553-555 A.D.).

For the subsequent centuries, corresponding to the periods of pre-feudalism and early feudalism, which saw the formation of the Romanian language and nation, and the introduction and crystallization of indigenous forms of Romanian medieval civilization, the systematic archeological research organized by the County Historical Museum of Resita has made valuable contributions to the knowledge of material culture, types of settlements and housing, basic occupations, and cemeteries and burial rites, specific to the historical development of ancient Romanian communities in southern Banat. Everything points to a Daco-Roman and Roman population which stayed in place continuing to occupy old settlements, even though there exists archeological evidence for a strong ruralization process and a constant shift in the location of the same population, usually gravitating around streams, as in the case of the pre-feudal and early feudal settlements of Gornea -- in the locations of Caunita de Sus, Cotul Tomii, Zomonite, Podul Pazariste, Tarmuri, Zomonite once more, and Ogasul lui Udrescu; of Ilidia -- in the locations of Dealul Armenilor, Saliste, Funii, Valea Mascasenii, and Cetatea; or of Moldova Veche. Other discoveries at Gornea, Pescari, Moldova Veche, and Pojejana in Valea Dunarii, or at Ilidia, Caransebes, and Cuptoare-Cornea more toward the north, disclose the uninterrupted connections maintained between the Romanians at the north and those at the south of the Danube. Some of the traces which have been uncovered are ceramics enamelled in various shades of green and decorated with concentric circles, and the silver earrings discovered in the Cuptoare-Sfoagea cemetery, the rings found in the necropolises of Ilidia-Oblita and Cetate, and the colored glass bracelets and beads found in the cemetery and housing complex at Valea Dunarii. This material was reliably dated for the 11th-13th centuries through Byzantine coins of the time of Manuil Comnenul (1143-1180).

The information found in written sources -- although few in number and lacunar -- complemented with the results of archeological and numismatic research, demonstrates that the Banat territory is included in the large and ancient area of civilization in which was molded the Romanian nation, its unquestioned permanence and continuity being represented by the local people and their lasting stability on the same land.

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LAW ON WORKERS COUNCILS IN INDUSTRY, CONSTRUCTION, TRANSPORTATION

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 112, 28 Oct 77 pp 2-3

Law on the Congress of Councils of Working People and the National Council of Working People in Industry, Construction and Transportation

Text Romanian Socialist Republic

On the basis of Article 57 of the Constitution of the Romanian Socialist Republic we sign and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Law No 30 of 28 October 1977 on the Congress of Councils of Working People and the National Council of Working People in Industry, Construction and Transportation.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman

of the Romanian Socialist Republic

Bucharest, 28 October 1977.

Law

on the Congress of Councils of Working People and the National Council of Working People in Industry, Construction and Transportation

The development of socialist democracy, the expansion of the framework for participation by the working class and entire populace in the conscious forging of their own destiny and in the leadership of society, and the continual improvement of the activity of the councils of working people and the general assemblies of working people constitute a constant concern of the party and the state.

In order to provide for the fulfillment of the party's program for more and more markedly developing the forms of direct democracy and for affirming with greater power the leading role of the working class in the entire work of constructing the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania toward communism, the Grand National Assembly of the Romanian Socialist Republic adopts the present law.

Article 1. The Congress of Councils of Working People in Industry, Construction and Transportation, the most representative democratic forum of the working class, in its dual capacity as owner of the means of production and producer of the material goods, is instituted.

The Congress of Councils of Working People discusses the basic problems of the development of the economy, the ways and means of fulfilling the tasks contained in the party's program and in the sole national plan for economic and social development, of the improvement of worker self-leadership and of the continual development of collective labor and leadership.

Article 2. Representatives of the councils of working people in the industrial, construction and transportation units, the members of the National Council of Working People, party activists, and representatives of ministries and other central state and public bodies participate in the proceedings of the Congress of Councils of Working People.

The Congress of Councils of Working People meets once per 5 years and is convened by the National Council of Working People.

The standards for representation at the congress are established by the National Council of Working People.

Article 3. In carrying out the tasks that devolve upon it, the Congress of Councils of Working People adopts decisions binding on all the collective leadership bodies of the ministries, centrals, enterprises and other units in industry, construction and transportation.

Article 4. The National Council of Working People is organized, as a widely representative, permanently functioning body, to manage, guide and control the activity of the councils of working people in the period between two congresses.

Article 5. The chairman of the National Council of Working People is chosen by the Congress of Councils of Working People.

Article 6. The National Council of Working People has the following main duties:

- a) It organizes the application and controls the fulfillment of the decisions of the Congress of Councils of Working People;
- b) It analyzes the annual and long-range plans concerning the development of industry, construction and transportation. It establishes the measures necessary to the fulfillment in the best way, by the councils of working people in the economic units and the management councils of the ministries, of the sole national plan for economic and social development and of the tasks that devolve upon them from the party decisions and the laws of the country, pursuing the raising of the economic efficiency of the entire activity, the

management with maximum efficiency of the fixed assets and financial resources entrusted, the continual improvement of the working conditions in the enterprises, the increasing of national wealth and, on this basis, the continual raising of the standard of material and spiritual living of those who work;

c) It discusses and expresses its opinion on the draft regulatory acts referring to the organization of the socialist units and to the activity of the collective leadership bodies of the ministries, industrial centrals, and enterprises and on other drafts that concern the improvement of the activity of the industrial, construction and transportation units;

d) It provides the unified orientation and management of the activity of the councils of working people in centrals, enterprises and other economic units and of the management councils of the ministries, for the further development of collective labor and leadership, the improvement of the work style and methods, the promotion of criticism and self-criticism, and the increasing of the responsibility of all the members of the council in fulfilling the tasks that devolve upon them;

e) It guides the activity of the general assemblies of working people with a view to the organized participation of the broad masses of those who work in the management of the economic and social activity in the units and for the exercise by them of efficient control over the leadership bodies, the aim being to stimulate the creative initiative of the work staffs and involve them in solving the major problems of the enterprise and to continually raise the socialist consciousness of the working people.

Article 7. The National Council of Working People is composed of:

a) The management councils of:

The Ministry of Mines, Petroleum and Geology;
The Ministry of Electric Power;
The Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry;
The Ministry of the Machine Building Industry;
The Ministry of the Chemical Industry
The Ministry of Light Industry;
The Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials;
The Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications;
The Ministry of Industrial Construction;
The Department of the Food Industry;
The Department of Civil Aviation;

b) The Executive Committee of the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions;

c) The Council of Economic and Social Organization;

d) The Central Council of Worker Controll of Economic and Social Activity;

e) Representatives of:

The Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth;
The National Council of Women;

f) Some 301 workers and foremen, members of the councils of working people, chosen once per 5 years in assemblies of the representatives of the working people in counties and the municipality of Bucharest, in accordance with the standards established by the national council.

The members of the National Council of Working People specified in subparagraph e are appointed by the collective leaderships of the respective organizations for a period of 5 years.

The members of the national council can be recalled by the bodies that appointed them.

Article 8. The National Council of Working People performs its activity in plenary sessions and in commissions.

The National Council of Working People has the following commissions:

- a) The Commission for Problems of Collective Labor and Leadership;
- b) The Commission for Problems of Political and Educational Activity;
- c) The Commission for Standard of Living, Working Conditions and Social Problems.

During the proceedings in plenary sessions the national council can also perform its activity in sections.

Article 9. The composition of the commissions is approved by the National Council of Working People.

Article 10. The National Council of Working People has an executive bureau composed of 43 persons:

The chairman of the National Council of Working People;
Six vice chairmen;
One secretary;
Thirty five members.

The composition of the executive bureau is approved by the National Council of Working People.

Article 11. The executive bureau conducts the entire activity in the period between the plenary sessions of the National Council of Working People and provides for the fulfillment of its decisions.

Article 12. The National Council of Working People meets once per year and whenever necessary and works validly in the presence of at least two-thirds of the number of its members.

The executive bureau meets once per half year and whenever necessary.

The decisions of the National Council of Working People and of the executive bureau are adopted, in an open ballot, by the majority vote of their members.

Article 13. The decisions of the National Council of Working People are binding on all the collective leadership bodies in ministries, centrals, enterprises and other socialist units in industry, construction and transportation.

This law was adopted by the Grand National Assembly in the session of 28 October 1977.

Chairman
of the Grand National Assembly,
Nicolae Giosan

Bucharest, 28 October 1977.
No 30.

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ROMANIA

LAW ON CONGRESS OF MANAGEMENT COUNCILS IN AGRICULTURE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 112, 28 Oct 77 pp 4-6

Law on the Congress of Management Councils in Socialist Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry and the National Council of Agriculture

Text Romanian Socialist Republic

On the basis of Article 57 of the Constitution of the Romanian Socialist Republic we sign and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Law No 31 of 28 October 1977 on the Congress of Management Councils in Socialist Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry and the National Council of Agriculture

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman

of the Romanian Socialist Republic

Bucharest, 28 October 1977.

Law

on the Congress of Management Councils in Socialist Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry and the National Council of Agriculture

The program of the Romanian Communist Party for forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing Romania toward communism establishes measures for improving, in all fields of economic and social life, the organizational framework that provides for the active participation of the masses of working people in the devising and fulfillment of the party's policy of constant and balanced development of the economy and rational distribution of the production forces over the territory of the country.

In order to provide for the fulfillment of the tasks and objectives established for agriculture by means of the party's program and the decisions of the 11th Party Congress, it is necessary to create representative bodies of the working people in agriculture, which discuss and help to substantiate and to put the finishing touches on the draft annual and long-range plans for economic and social development and on the programs for fulfilling them.

In order to fulfill the party's policy in the field of agriculture, achieve a modern, high-output agriculture and fulfill the decisions adopted at the first Congress of Management Councils in Socialist Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry, the Grand National Assembly of the Romanian Socialist Republic adopts the present law.

Article 1. There is instituted the Congress of Management Councils in Socialist Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry, the highest forum of agriculture in the Romanian Socialist Republic, by means of which provision is made for the direct and effective participation of the working people in agriculture in the devising and adoption of the decisions on the continual development and modernization of agriculture, the raising of agricultural outputs and the raising of the well-being of the peasantry.

The Congress of Management Councils in Socialist Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry discusses the basic problems of the agrarian policy of the party and the state, the ways and means of fulfilling the tasks contained in the party's program and in the sole national plan for economic and social development, of the improvement of self-leadership and of the continual development of collective labor and leadership.

Article 2. Representatives of the management councils of the agricultural production cooperatives and the councils of working people in the state agricultural enterprises and the agricultural mechanization stations, delegates of the county and communal commissions of agricultural producers in localities without cooperatives, the members of the National Council of Agriculture, party activists, scientists and teaching personnel in agricultural education, and representatives of ministries and other state and public bodies participate in the proceedings of the Congress of Management Councils in State Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry.

The Congress of Management Councils in State Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry meets once per 5 years and is convened by the National Council of Agriculture.

The standards for representation at the congress are established by the National Council of Agriculture.

Article 3. The Congress of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, the conferences of the councils of working people in the state agricultural enterprises and the agricultural mechanization stations, and the conference of the agricultural producers in localities without cooperatives carry out their proceedings during the Congress of Management Councils in Socialist Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry.

Article 4. The Congress of Management Councils in Socialist Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry adopts decisions binding on all the collective leadership bodies of the state and cooperative units and organizations and the other public organizations in the field of agriculture and on all the agricultural producers.

Article 5. The Congress of Management Councils in Socialist Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry has, as a widely representative, permanently functioning body, the National Council of Agriculture.

The National Council of Agriculture provides for the coordination and fulfillment, on a unified basis, of the actions and measures needed to carry out the provisions of the sole national plan for economic and social development in the field of agriculture and for the implementation of the decisions of the Congress of Management Councils in Socialist Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry.

Article 6. The National Council of Agriculture has the following main duties:

- a) It organizes the application and controls the fulfillment of the party decisions and the laws of the country concerning agriculture and of the decisions of the Congress of Management Councils in Socialist Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry;
- b) It analyzes the annual and long-range plans and the programs for development of the branches and subbranches in agriculture. It establishes measures for the fulfillment in the best way, by the socialist agricultural units and the peasantry, of the tasks that devolve upon them from the sole national plan for economic and social development;
- c) It establishes measures for the sensible and complete use of land resources, the utilization of high-output varieties of seed, the expansion of highly productive breeds of animals, the application and improvement of production technologies in plant husbandry and animal husbandry, and the scientific organization of production and labor;
- d) It establishes measures for the complete use of production capacities and manpower, the achievement of investments, the raising of the economic efficiency of the agricultural units, and the raising of agriculture's contribution to satisfaction of the consumption needs of the population and the entire national economy;
- e) It analyzes the stage of fulfillment of the production plans and economic and financial plans in agriculture on the whole and in its branches and adopts the necessary measures for continually improving the production and economic activity in all the agricultural units and for fulfilling and over-fulfilling the plan provisions;
- f) It discusses and expresses its opinion on the draft regulatory acts referring to the organization and operation of the socialist agricultural units and to the activity of their collective leadership bodies and on other drafts that concern the improvement of the activity in the field of agriculture;
- g) It provides the unified orientation and management of the activity of the leadership bodies of the socialist agricultural units, for the permanent

application of the principle of collective labor and leadership, the improvement of the work style and methods, the promotion of criticism and self-criticism, and the increasing of the responsibility of all the members of these bodies in fulfilling the tasks that devolve upon them.

Article 7. The National Council of Agriculture is responsible, for the activity performed, to the Congress of Management Councils in Socialist Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry.

Article 8. The National Council of Agriculture is composed of:

- a) The Council of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives;
- b) The management councils of:

- The Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry;
 - The Department of the Food Industry;
 - The Department of State Agriculture;
 - The Department of Land Improvement and Agricultural Construction;

- c) The Presidium of the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences;

- d) The councils of working people of:

- The Central for Operation of Land Improvement Projects;
 - The Central for the Mechanization of Agriculture and the Production of Equipment for Agriculture and the Food Industry;
 - The Central for Vegetables and Fruit;
 - The Central for Vineyards and Wine;
 - The Central for the Utilization of Cereals and the Production of Mixed Feed;
 - The Trust for Flax, Hemp and Cotton;

- e) The Administrative Council of the Bank for Agriculture and the Food Industry;

- f) The Central Commission of Agricultural Producers in Localities Without Cooperatives;

- g) Representatives of:

- The Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth;
 - The National Council of Women;
 - The Union of Trade Unions in Agriculture and the Food Industry;
 - The institutes of agricultural higher education;

- h) Working people who work directly in agricultural production in the agricultural production cooperatives, state agricultural enterprises and agricultural mechanization stations and the agricultural producers in localities

without cooperatives, in accordance with the standards established by the National Council of Agriculture.

The members of the National Council of Agriculture specified in subparagraph g are appointed by the collective leaderships of the respective organizations for a period of 5 years.

The members of the National Council of Agriculture can be recalled by the bodies that appointed them.

Article 9. The National Council of Agriculture has a chairman and two vice chairmen.

The chairman of the National Council of Agriculture is the prime minister of the government of the Romanian Socialist Republic, and the vice chairmen are the minister of agriculture and the food industry and the chairman of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives.

Article 10. The National Council of Agriculture meets once per year and whenever necessary. The council performs its activity in the presence of at least two-thirds of the number of its members.

The National Council of Agriculture performs its activity in plenary sessions and in commissions.

The number and composition of the commissions are established by the National Council of Agriculture.

During the proceedings in plenary sessions the National Council of Agriculture can also perform its activity in sections.

Article 11. The National Council of Agriculture has an executive bureau composed of 92 persons:

- The chairman of the National Council of Agriculture;
- Two vice chairmen;
- Three secretaries;
- Eighty six members.

The composition of the executive bureau is approved by the National Council of Agriculture.

Article 12. The executive bureau conducts the activity in the period between the sessions of the National Council of Agriculture and provides for the fulfillment of its decisions.

The executive bureau meets once per half year and whenever necessary and works in the presence of at least two-thirds of the number of its members.

Article 13. The National Council of Agriculture and its executive bureau adopt decisions, in an open ballot, by the majority vote of their members.

Article 14. In order to create the organizational framework for the direct participation of the agricultural producers in localities without cooperatives in the establishment and implementation of the measures for growth in agricultural production, commissions of agricultural producers are formed within the communal people's councils.

The communal commission of agricultural producers consists of 9-15 members chosen for 2.5 years by the assembly of agricultural producers in localities without cooperatives.

The communal commission chooses an executive bureau, consisting of three to five members, to conduct the activity between sessions. The chairman of the communal commission is the vice chairman of the executive bureau of the communal people's council.

The communal commission meets quarterly and whenever necessary. The commission is convened by its executive bureau.

Article 15. In the counties where many communal commissions of agricultural producers operate, county commissions of agricultural producers in localities without cooperatives are formed within the county unions of agricultural production cooperatives.

The county commission of agricultural producers consists of 11-31 members, appointed for a period of 5 years by the executive committee of the county people's council.

The county commission chooses an executive bureau, consisting of five to nine members, to conduct the activity between sessions.

The chairman of the county commission is one of the deputy directors of the general directorate for agriculture and the food industry.

The county commission meets semiyearly and whenever necessary. The commission is convened by its executive bureau.

Article 16. In order to coordinate and guide the activity of the county and communal commissions, the Central Commission of Agricultural Producers in Localities Without Cooperatives is formed within the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives.

The Central Commission of Agricultural Producers consists of 61 members, chosen for a period of 5 years by the conference of agricultural producers in localities without cooperatives.

The chairman of the Central Commission of Agricultural Producers in Localities Without Cooperatives is the deputy minister of agriculture and the food

industry who coordinates and is responsible for the activity of animal husbandry.

The Central Commission of Agricultural Producers in Localities Without Cooperatives meets once per year and whenever necessary. The commission is convened by its executive bureau.

The central commission chooses the executive bureau, composed of 11 members. The chairman of the executive bureau is the chairman of the Central Commission of Agricultural Producers in Localities Without Cooperatives.

The executive bureau conducts the activity between the sessions of the central commission and implements its decisions.

Article 13. The central commission, the county commissions and the communal commissions of agricultural producers in localities without cooperatives promote advanced agrotechnical methods and initiate and organize actions of guidance, support and mobilization of the agricultural producers for the execution of work of general interest, the as full utilization as possible of the productive potential of land, plantations and animals, the promotion of association in production, the increasing of the contribution to the state's central supply of products, and the raising of the standard of material and spiritual living of the agricultural producers in localities without cooperatives.

Article 19. The Congress of Management Councils in Socialist Agricultural Units and of the Entire Peasantry, the National Council of Agriculture, and the Central Commission of Agricultural Producers in Localities Without Cooperatives establish their operating regulations.

This law was adopted by the Grand National Assembly in the session of 28 October 1977.

Chairman
of the Grand National Assembly,
Nicolae Giosan

Bucharest, 28 October 1977.
No 31.

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LAW ON COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 112, 28 Oct 77 pp 6-9

[Law on the Council of Economic and Social Organization]

[Text] Romanian Socialist Republic

On the basis of Article 57 of the Constitution of the Romanian Socialist Republic we sign and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Law No 32 of 28 October 1977 on the Council of Economic and Social Organization.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman

of the Romanian Socialist Republic

Bucharest, 28 October 1977.

Law

on the Council of Economic and Social Organization

The economic and social development of the country necessitates the consistent promotion of scientific forms and methods of organization and management of all fields of activity, in accordance with the quantitative and qualitative changes that occur in the life of society, with the experience acquired and with the tasks that are to be fulfilled. For this purpose, on the basis of the decision of the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party in July 1972, the Council of Economic and Social Organization was founded.

The fulfillment of the tasks of multilateral development of socialist Romania, specified in the party's program, necessitates decisive measures for the provision of scientific management and organization of all branches of the national economy and the socialist units in close correlation with the proportional development of the different economic and social sectors.

In order to provide unified coordination of all the efforts that must be put forth to modernize the economy of our country at a rapid rate and in order to raise to a higher level the concerns for improving the management and

organization of all economic and social activity, the Grand National Assembly of the Romanian Socialist Republic adopts the present law.

Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1. The Council of Economic and Social Organization is organized and operates as a party and state body, under the direct management of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the State Council, having the task of providing for the fulfillment of the policy of the party and the state in the field of organization of economic and social activity.

Article 2. The Council of Economic and Social Organization coordinates and guides the activity that is performed by ministries and the other central and local state bodies in the field of management and scientific organization of production and labor.

The Council of Economic and Social Organization guides and controls the manner of operation of the collective leadership bodies in ministries, the other central and local state bodies, industrial centrals, enterprises and other socialist units, with a view to the exercise by them of all legal duties and for the provision of effective management, the increasing of the effectiveness in decisionmaking, the wide involvement of the working people in the management of economic and social activity, and the continual deepening of socialist democracy.

Article 3. The Council of Economic and Social Organization pursues the application of the party decisions, the laws and the decrees in its field of activity.

Article 4. In performing its duties, the Council of Economic and Social Organization works with the Council of Ministers. In addition, the Council of Economic and Social Organization works directly with the central and local state bodies in solving the problems in its field of activity.

The council provides for wide consultation and cooperation with the party bodies and the mass organizations with regard to drawing up the proposals and measures in its field of activity.

Chapter II Duties

Article 5. The Council of Economic and Social Organization acts together with the ministries and the other central and local state bodies to improve the management and scientific organization of production and labor in industry, construction, transportation, agriculture and commodity circulation and in the other branches of the national economy.

Article 6. The council analyzes the way in which the activity of scientific organization of production and labor is done in industrial centrals,

enterprises and the other economic units. It analyzes the way in which the ministries and the other central and local bodies concern themselves with improving the management and organization of production and labor in the subordinate units and with how they perform the duties that devolve upon them in the field of organization.

Article 7. The council approves methodological instructions and uniform standards needed to continually improve the activity in the socialist units with regard to:

- a) The dimensions of the economic units;
- b) The scientific organization of production and labor;
- c) The duties of the conception, production and functional departments;
- d) The organizational structures of the units without a legal personality--plants, factories, operations, sections, sectors and so on--if standard organizational structures for such units have not been approved by means of a decree;
- e) Organizing and operating regulations.

Article 8. The council organizes, together with the ministries and the other central and local state bodies, the studying, testing, expansion and generalization of modern methods of organization. It periodically analyzes the results obtained. It aids the ministries in the organization of model enterprises.

Article 9. The Council of Economic and Social Organization makes proposals and takes the steps that are required--within the limits of its jurisdiction--so that in the socialist units the economic and social activity is as sensibly organized as possible, on the basis of modern principles of management, in order to improve the organization of the production, conception and functional departments and the relations between them.

The Council of Economic and Social Organization acts to promote in the work of organization and management of the socialist units advanced methods of analysis and modern techniques of management and organization of production and labor.

In its entire activity, the Council of Economic and Social Organization concerns itself with the as sensible use as possible of the specialized personnel that the national economy possesses, with the reduction of the number of administrative personnel to the absolute minimum and with the orientation of those who are employed in labor toward the sectors of material production.

Article 10. In performing its duties, the Council of Economic and Social Organization draws up and makes proposals regarding:

- a) The improvement, on the basis of unified principles, of the general organizational framework of the central and local state bodies, in order to simplify the system of contacts and relations and to eliminate the parallelism between their duties;
- b) The improvement of the organizational structure of the ministries and the other central and local state bodies and the specification of the duties and tasks that devolve upon them, in order to eliminate parallelism and to better delimit the jurisdictions in decisionmaking; the preparation of uniform standards and criteria for establishing the organizational structures and the maximum number of posts in the apparatus of the central and local state bodies;
- c) The improvement of the organization and operation of the industrial centrals, the enterprises and other socialist units on the basis of the studies drawn up by ministries and the other central and local state bodies;
- d) The preparation of the standard structures of the socialist state units;
- e) The improvement of the activity of the collective leadership bodies of the ministries and other central and local state bodies, the general assemblies, the councils of working people and their executive bureaus, and other collective leadership bodies, concerning their duties, jurisdiction, and manner of organization and operation.

Article 11. The Council of Economic and Social Organization controls the way in which the ministries, the other central and local state bodies, and the units subordinate to them comply with the party decisions, the laws and the decrees in the field of organization. It takes steps for compliance by the socialist units with the standards established.

In the case when measures in the jurisdiction of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, or the State Council are necessary, the Council of Economic and Social Organization makes suitable proposals.

Article 12. In fulfilling the tasks that devolve upon it, the council guides and coordinates, from a methodological viewpoint, the organizational and control departments in the ministries and the other central bodies.

The organizational and control departments have a dual subordination, both to the ministry or central body to which they belong and to the Council of Economic Organization, on matters referring to:

- a) The establishment of actions concerning the improvement of the management and organization of the socialist units and the application of the methodological instructions in the field of organization;

b) The expansion and generalization of advanced experience in the field of management and organization; the preparation, application and expansion of organizational studies and projects that have great economic efficiency;

c) The elaboration of proposals for the regulation of matters in the field of the management and organization of the socialist units;

d) Control of the application of the legal regulations in the field of the management and organization of the socialist units.

The appointment or the releasing from positions of the heads of the organizational and control departments in ministries and the other central state bodies will be done with the advice of the Council of Economic and Social Organization.

Article 13. The Council of Economic and Social Organization pursues the introduction by ministries of management systems with means of automatic data processing.

Article 14. The council gives advice on the draft laws and decrees concerning the founding or reorganization of the activity of the central and local bodies and on other draft regulatory acts that contain proposals for establishing or changing the uniform structural standards.

Article 15. The Council of Economic and Social Organization fulfills any other duties specified by law and tasks established by the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the State Council.

Article 16. The ministries and the other central and local state bodies are obligated to:

a) Apply, in the branches or the fields of activity that they coordinate, the criteria, standards, regulations, methodological instructions and other organizational measures established by the council in accordance with its duties;

b) Fulfill the tasks that devolve upon them from the work program established by mutual agreement and approved by the council;

c) Transmit to the council the data and materials necessary to the fulfillment of its duties.

The branch-coordinating ministries, the Ministry of Labor, the Central Directorate of Statistics, other synthesizing bodies, and the specialized scientific institutions will prepare at the request of the Council of Economic and Social Organization studies, projects and other work concerning the improvement of the management and organization of production and labor in different fields of activity.

The tasks concerning the organization of production and labor are accomplished with the ministries and the other central and local state bodies.

Chapter III Organization and Operation

Article 17. The Council of Economic and Social Organization is a deliberative body that decides on the general matters concerning its activity.

Article 18. The council is composed of representatives of the central and local state bodies, party activists, representatives of the mass and public organizations, heads of the organizational and control departments in ministries and the other central bodies, heads of centrals, enterprises and institutes, chairmen of the county cabinets of economic and social organization, and specialists in the field of organization from the economic, educational, scientific and cultural units.

The council consists of 75 members.

The composition of the council is approved by the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and by the State Council.

Article 19. The Council of Economic and Social Organization in its entirety and each particular member are responsible to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and to the State Council for the activity of the council. Each member of the council is responsible to it for fulfilling the tasks entrusted.

Article 20. The Council of Economic and Social Organization is convened in plenary sessions twice per year and whenever necessary, on the initiative of the executive bureau or at the request of at least one-third of the number of its members.

The Council of Economic and Social Organization performs its activity in plenary sessions in the presence of at least two-thirds of the number of its members and adopts decisions, in an open ballot, by the majority vote of the members that compose it.

Article 21. The Council of Economic and Social Organization has in its leadership a chairman.

The chairman of the council is a secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

In his activity, the chairman of the council is aided by a first vice chairman, a member of the government, by vice chairmen and by a state secretary.

The chairman, the first vice chairman, the vice chairmen, the state secretary and the heads of commissions form the Executive Bureau of the Council of Economic and Social Development.

The chairman, the first vice chairman, the vice chairmen and the state secretary are appointed by means of a presidential decree.

The Council of Economic and Social Organization has a permanent secretariat to perform the tasks that devolve upon it.

Article 22. The Council of Economic and Social Organization is organized into commissions for fields of activity, composed of the council's members and of specialists from within its permanent secretariat, as follows:

- a) The Commission for Industry, Construction and Transportation;
- b) The Commission for Agriculture, Commodity Circulation, Cooperation and Local Economy;
- c) The Commission for Education, Health, Culture and Administration.

Article 23. The commissions for fields of activity analyze the way in which the organizational activity is performed in the units in the respective branches, organizes the control of the application of the party decisions, the laws and the decrees concerning the matters of organization and management, and discusses, on the instructions of the executive bureau of the council, some matters that are to be submitted for approval to the higher party and state bodies.

The concrete duties of the commissions for fields of activity and their manner of working are established by the Council of Economic and Social Organization.

Article 24. In order to analyze or study problems of great complexity or ones involving the activity of many ministries, the executive bureau of the council can set up work staffs containing specialists from the permanent secretariat, as well as specialists from any field of activity, appointed with the agreement of the heads of the bodies or units to which they belong. The executive bureau can order that the preparation of draft criteria or uniform standards and of studies and proposals concerning economic and social organization be done by ministries and the other central and local state bodies.

Chapter IV The Cabinets of Economic and Social Organization

Article 25. The cabinets of economic and social organization are organized in each county, in the municipality of Bucharest and in some big industrial centers. The cabinets of economic and social organization perform their activity under the direct management of the county, municipal and city party

committees and the executive committees and bureaus of the respective people's councils. The cabinets of economic and social organization are also subordinate to the Council of Economic and Social Development.

The cabinets use a wide public active to perform the tasks that devolve upon them.

Article 26. The cabinets of economic and social organization coordinate and guide the activity of improving the organization of production and labor that is performed in enterprises and other socialist units in the respective county, municipality or city. The cabinets of economic and social organization control and keep track of the way in which the party and state decisions in the field of organization are complied with in the socialist units.

Article 27. The cabinets of economic and social organization initiate actions to improve the methods of management and organization of the units in the area under jurisdiction and to organize production and labor in a scientific manner, in direct correlation with the mechanization and automation of production in the economic units, in order to completely use the production capacities, rationally utilize the material and human resources, raise labor productivity and increase the economic efficiency of the entire activity.

Article 28. The cabinets of economic and social organization perform analyses and prepare studies and projects on organization, give specialized assistance in solving the problems concerning the improvement of the organization and management of the socialist units, study the advanced experience acquired in this field, and take steps so that the enterprises and the other units in the area under jurisdiction expand and generalize the most efficient solutions for organization of production and labor.

Article 29. The cabinets of economic and social organization control and guide the activity of the departments for organization of production and labor in the enterprises and the other socialist units situated in the territorial-administrative range of the respective county, municipality or city and guide the activity of the commissions for the raising of labor productivity and the scientific organization of production and labor.

Article 30. The cabinets of economic and social organization consist of 17-31 persons, having in their composition a chairman, who is also director of the cabinet, a vice chairman and members. Party activists, personnel with responsible work in the county synthesizing bodies, representatives of the mass and public bodies, and other specialized personnel who work on matters of organization belong to these cabinets.

The composition of the cabinets is approved by the bureau of the county party committee and of that of the municipality of Bucharest.

Chapter V
Final Provisions

Article 31. Law No 3/1973 on the Council of Economic and Social Organization and other contrary legal provisions are repealed.

This law was adopted by the Grand National Assembly in the session of 28 October 1977.

Chairman
of the Grand National Assembly,
Nicolae Giosan

Bucharest, 28 October 1977.
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followed successfully. In my opinion there are certain kinds of misunderstandings between "politics" and "science" which to some degree are natural and to some degree are the result of an underdeveloped consciousness in various quarters, including both political forms and also science.

That is, there is a kind of "law" by which the managerial social structure, especially that in the government bureaucracy, reduces the goals of society.

We are frequently inclined to say that statism is reducing the goals of socialism, by and large by alienating income from the workers and their self-management rights, but less frequently do we point out that revolutionary democratic social consciousness is also being reduced. This is not done by the government bureaucracy alone, with its vulgar pragmatism and narrow practicalism, but it is also done or attempted by parts of every managerial social structure, depending on the degree to which it has become detached, the balance of power in society and other circumstances.

Although we have had in the past quite a few problems and obstacles in development of revolutionary social consciousness, in all the revolutionary changes in our society to date we have managed to conceptualize in theory each subsequent stage and on that basis to work out a practical platform for the action of the social forces. We would have fallen victim to vulgar pragmatism and practicalism long ago had we not had within the communist movement thinkers who have been unifying theory and practice as both revolutionaries and also theoreticians, men who have known how to prevent petrification of bureaucratic structures so that process does not represent a barrier to the working class in achieving its historical goals. However, in its development society must stabilize a certain system of its relations, and, to oversimplify a bit, no man or human society has yet had the good fortune to set up a social system free of a tendency toward renewal of centers of domination and exploitation. To be specific, if now at a particular moment in history we were to devise an ideal revolutionary transformation and to create a new system which would be truly new in the sense of revolutionary democracy, it would by its nature tend to reproduce itself as the permanent situation and would at the same time tend to renew alienated power, and that alienated power would constantly reduce the socialist goals and thus create an "eternal" conflict between revolutionary consciousness and a structure tending to become petrified.

Progressive social thought has the task of constantly undermining and indeed destroying the conservatism of social structures, clearing the way for progressive social development. We have quite a few examples of this kind of methodology in our development.

As you know, we made a detailed theoretical analysis of a conflict of this kind in 1948 in the struggle against Stalinism, and out of that came the conception of self-management socialism. We made a detailed theoretical analysis on the eve of the social reform, a detailed theoretical analysis which led to the conception of associated labor, and that is not even to

mention the detailed theoretical analysis of the revolution in the late thirties.

With respect to the involvement of science in social development a new situation has now come about. That is, it was only in the late fifties that the influx of scientists began, and that influx has been increasing steadily. Instead of a few hundred researchers, today we have several thousand people in institutes and universities. A misunderstanding in society involving such a large number of people could have very adverse consequences.

Because of the reduction or limitation on creativity we have mentioned, and then because of the low degree to which science is involved in practical life, a relatively large group of people are wandering off the track in various directions. Quite a small group followed the traditional intellectual's style and took as their premises positions derived by absolute reason and would have liked to take the place of the subjects [in the philosophical sense of active agents--translator's note] of the revolution by creating their own conception, whereby they found themselves on a platform opposed to the party, while another group went off into narrow scientific positivism, seeking their fortress within their scientific discipline, others became passive as far as political life is concerned, and so on.

Since we are an open society and will be so more and more, we cannot prevent the enormous literature in the social sciences from coming onto the Yugoslav market; people are constantly and regularly familiarizing themselves with the creations of the human mind outside our borders. To some extent alien ideology, anti-Marxist or non-Marxist, comes along with those books. We are not a society whose science is sufficiently organized to overcome occasional waves of various doctrines crossing our borders and penetrating the consciousness and conceptions of our people. For example, somewhere in the mid-sixties there prevailed in the West and in the East a technocratic and optimistic vision to the effect that cybernetization and similar methods would make it possible to manage human society effectively. After 5 or 6 years that wave began to make inroads even here, and we did not come up with a true answer to it; there can only be one answer, and that is the answer of science, and by no means can it be an administrative answer or an answer in terms of political propaganda.

Can we expect new waves? Of course, we can and we must expect them, since society is open and will remain open. We must be prepared to conduct the kind of Marxist criticism which will take over what is progressive and constructive and create our own original social thought.

In spite of the changes which our society is making in the contemporary world, which probably are quite important (verojatno najkrupnije) we still do not have an appropriate work in political economy, sociology, political science or other branches of the social sciences. If a self-managed society does not create great works of intellectual creativity, it could fall victim to vulgar pragmatism and narrow practicalism.

I therefore call for our serious reflection about how we might best organize ourselves to achieve better results in this field. The essential prerequisites are the involvement of science in public life, public scrutiny of proceedings, development of freer social criticism, better organization, planning, and especially the development of consciousness, above all in the so-called political structures, and every new stage, if it is to be revolutionary, must be preceded by revolutionary social thought.

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END