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1 November 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1603

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## POPULARITY OF ROMANIAN HUNGARIAN-LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 16, 20 Aug 78 pp 48-49

[Article by Simion Buia: "Fatherland, Native Land, Nationality"]

[Text] We are looking at the first yearbook published by the Bucharest social-political-cultural weekly A HET. It is an ambitious and useful attempt to include in a single volume (a truly encyclopedic collective work) the entirety and diversity of the assertions and demonstrations of the rights and freedoms enjoyed by the national minorities in Romania today, with special emphasis of course upon the state of the Hungarians. In the massive volume entitled "Fatherland, Native Land, Nationality" we find a systematic presentation of the fruits of the RCP's nationalities policy, its legislated principles and the facts on which anyone here or abroad can base an image of the socialist historical present of the Hungarians and other nationalities in Romania.

Under the editorship of Sandor Huszar, Andor Horvath and Maria Kacsir (who have selected and arranged 300 pages of studies, essays, interviews, reportage, documents and statistics obtained from more than 50 authors), a true subject anthology has come from the press, dedicated to the friendly coexistence of the workers in Romania without distinction of nationality. Ion Vlad refers in the introduction to the friendly good will, natural mutual aid, desire for mutual understanding, and collaboration which have always characterized relations between the Romanian and Hungarian creators of literature and art in Cluj-Napoca. Janos Szekernyes refers in the same spirit to the world of the Timisoara workers, who speak the languages of Eminescu, Petofi and Goethe from early childhood with equal fluency while their hearts beat in unison and they share the same patriotic feelings.

The noble idea of unity in the achievement of great goals and social ideals is also expressed in the series of reports and accounts wherein Dr Eduard Eisenburger, Milan Ivanovici, Izo Schapira or Mehmed Ali Ekrem record the existence in our socialist society of equal rights and conditions for all citizens regardless of nationality in any field of activity, whether it is a matter of full self-assertion in material production, in cultural creation or in public life and the conduct of public affairs. Their meditations, concerning both the individual and the ethnic community whence he comes, are often lyrical in their expression of devotion to this common fatherland, this native land where the

bread and the book are equally available to anyone regardless of his mother tongue.

And after this prelude equivalent to photographing the present state of mind of the national minorities, the anthology comprehensively treats the historical, political and social subject of civil rights and freedoms. We refer here to the chapter on the provisions of the Constitution and regulatory acts in force intended to regulate, in general and in detail, all that the legislator and the sovereign people themselves considered necessary and essential for the spirit of justice, democracy and socialist humanity to be exemplarily asserted through the system of legal guarantees accorded to those of other nationalities. The paragraphs presented and commented upon by Imre Miko, with supplementary and updating notes by his famous colleague Tibor Szepessy, are accompanied by reflections of a profoundly academic inspiration by Lajos Takacs. They also capture our attention by the way they bring out the historical roots of the RCP's nationalities policy, a principled policy the foundations and objectives of which originated in the demands for equal rights formulated by the Romanian people in their centuries of struggle for freedom and expressed in such highly significant documents as the *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, the Program-Declarations of 1848 and the 1892 Memorandum.

The true and final solution of the minorities problem was not entirely accomplished until socialism, and now the specific material conditions have been created that are indispensable to any real equality of rights for all workers. This was greatly aided, among other things, by the RCP policy emphasizing harmonious development and distribution of the productive forces throughout all areas of the nation as well as priority development of the economically and industrially deficient regions, as the one inhabited by the Szeklers was.

Allowing of course for all the inadequacies and inconsistencies of the bourgeois regimes' policy on the status of minorities, we must say however than even in Romania after World War I the Hungarian minority had access to certain rights and freedoms which, within narrow class restrictions, permitted for example the creation and development of a belletristic literature of an exceptional moral and aesthetic value. This is attested by the classic works of Aron Tamasi, Karoly Kos, Beno Karacsony, Aladar Kuncz and a great many other authors and poets who regarded "belonging to Romania," the positive-active presence "here and now," and rejection of revisionist maneuvers and plots as the ethical and historical law of conduct and the bulwark of their ethnic group. Then let us reflect upon the prestige of the theoretical and literary journals of the time from *KORUNK* to *ERDELYI HELIKON*, the existence and prodigious activity of the *Erdelyi Szepives Cseh Publishing House*, the cultivation of such a noteworthy theater as that of Jenó Janovics, and other creative cultural-artistic values and manifestations of tradition and a progressive and humanistic cultural heritage.

Because of the very existence of such antecedents, the study of the socialist present of the Hungarians in Romania (an effort of great political and ideological significance, presenting the picture of an evolution and an effervescence clearly superior in all respects) indicates to us present considerations of outstanding importance. The subject anthology, in this respect, performs a

painstaking task of charting and clarifying the new values of the Hungarian minority's experience in Romania, values born under the sign of socialist construction that are impressive for their qualitative and quantitative superiority.

Zsolt Galfalvi accordingly presents the evolution of the Hungarian language press (illustrated by the existence of nine dailies, including the Bucharest daily ELORE printed under the auspices of the FUS /Socialist Unity Front/ in 140,000 copies), the weeklies BRASOI LAPOK and NAGYBANYAI FAKLYA in old Transylvanian urban centers, the publications NAPSUGAR, JOBARAT and IFJUMUNKAS for children and youth, and the journal DOLGOZO NO, a popular illustrated publication devoted to women and to general family interests and solidarity. The Hungarian-language press in Romania caters to the particular preferences of the various categories of readers. There are highly specialized publications like FALVAK DOLGOZO NEPE for cooperative farmers and villagers or TANUGYI UJSAG for improvement of teachers and guidance of school training, as well as UJ ELET, a journal of general interest with extensive coverage and photos from Romania and everywhere, bold and penetrating social surveys, and substantial columns on the theater, cinema and fine arts.

The high-level literary, artistic and scientific organs have a distinct and distinguished place in this broad category. Some of the periodicals are even known and prized abroad, such as UTUNK, KORUNK and Igaz Szo, which play an important part in stimulating the Hungarian minority's cultural activities.

A major role in disseminating scientific knowledge is played by the weekly A HET, which also publishes a large supplement in the form of the periodical TETT, which has a separate format and treats problems of the technical-scientific revolution.

The anthology also covers Hungarian-language radio and TV broadcasts, which were started on a nationwide scale in November 1969. Since then the TV programs have become increasingly rich and varied in form and content, and they have been gradually extended to 180 minutes a week.

To provide a wider audience for the six Hungarian theaters in Romania, the TV programs beamed at this nationality have so far included nearly 80 complete shows with good plays representative of the interpretative skills of the Hungarian actors in Cluj-Napoca, Tirgu Mures, Oradea, Sfintu Gheorghe, Timisoara and Baia Mare. These shows have been gaining a much wider audience since they were provided with subtitles in Romanian.

The portrait films recording the thoughts and images of the most important Hungarian creative writers, scientists and artists also command a wide audience. TV documentary films of this kind have been made on the lives and activities of Karoly Kos, Janos Kemeny, Ferenc Szemler, Gyula Csehi and many others.

The national Song of Romania Festival also had a powerful impact on the TV program beamed at Hungarian speakers. This is graphically illustrated by the extensive monographs filmed on microcollectives and particular areas where the ancient ethnic beauties of folklore have been perpetuated in all their original brilliance despite the feverish pace of urbanization and industrialization.

The A HET Yearbook mentions another of the great services rendered to Hungarian culture in Romania by the TV editors for minorities. Thanks to the organizing spirit of their collaborators, original music in the popular and folk genres has also been promoted in Hungarian. TV has brought to life or rescued from anonymity composers, soloists and orchestras, arranging their appearance at successful festivals and recording new Hungarian music in Romania that is well known and appreciated throughout the land.

It should be mentioned here that the recordings of Hungarian telecasts have also served as raw material for Electrecord records, including Domokos Szilagyí's verses masterfully recited by Kinga Illyes. Moreover the issue of Hungarian-language records is a permanent effort, and collectors can now obtain many symphonic recordings, selections from operas and operettas, choruses and popular songs, and poetry recitations (including a record devoted to the unique art of the late actor of genius who Gyorgy Kovacs was), to say nothing of fairy tales and lieder for children as well as much modern light music.

The new has also penetrated the realm of Hungarian-language radio broadcasting. This oral press, with a daily transmission time of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hours, has been reorganized so that the Bucharest Central Studio and the Cluj-Napoca and Tirgu Mures regional studios can exchange their programs and coordinate their activities to make of the three broadcasts, formerly separated, a single, continuous and merged broadcast comprising all the particular genres, including the "theater at the microphone," without overlapping, repetitions or duplications and on the same wavelength. To be sure further progress still requires organizational improvements, as indicated by Zoltan Krizsan's notes in the Yearbook on the subject of the innovations, but it now can be said with certainty that Hungarian-language broadcasting has developed considerably, more skillfully combining the formative and informative aspects of its transmissions.

A separate chapter of the A HET Yearbook is devoted to Hungarian literature in Romania, presented in retrospect, but also with its latest achievements, by Edgar Balogh, the author of the first encyclopedia of the minority's belletristic creation. The Romanian reader has had the opportunity to greatly broaden his contacts with this literature, closely integrated in the cultural heritage of our whole socialist nation, a literature within which essential and noteworthy changes have taken place in recent years.

The stage has been passed, for example, of excessive concentration of the Hungarian minority's self-expression in the belletristic field alone, and especially fiction. The founding of the Kriterion Publishing House lent a powerful impetus to the cultivation of scientific literature in the mother tongue, in keeping with the requirements of the times and the readers' expectations. Thus in the Yearbook Zoltan Rostas, Jozsef Spielmann and Miklos Nagy also have occasion to discuss the "workshop problems" of writers and publishers of technical, medical, agricultural and other works, presenting a truly overwhelming bibliography of titles but also detecting the gaps that are still to be filled. Then dramaturgy was also developed, which had been insufficiently cultivated in the period between the wars. And it not only developed but also became reknowned in the repertoires of the Hungarian theaters in Romania, repertoires of which

the plays of Andras Suto, Istvan Kocsis and Daniel Veres or the comedies of manners written by Gyorgy Mehes are now veritable supporting columns, guarantees of success with the broad public. The supplement to the chapter on literature also includes a "Repertoire of Hungarian Writers in Romania." Born of the labor of the philologist Agoston Bernad, the repertoire includes essential biographic data on the 136 Hungarian-language writers belonging to the Writers' Union and thousands of titles of their works.

But the A HET Yearbook is no documentary confined to specific data and facts. In demonstrating the quantitative accumulation, it also brings out the qualitative leap and its components, finally discussing the great progress of the party's nationalities policy in the inner realm of human feelings and sentiments of noble devotion to this Romanian native land, to the fatherland wherein Romanians, Hungarians and other nationalities alike are the beneficiaries of progress. Thus is depicted the image of the common fatherland, in which those of whom the anthology speaks feel and are at home.

The union of the wills and deeds of the workers regardless of nationality demonstrates their boundless devotion to the common cause of socialism and communism. In the final evaluation of this work, I feel the reflection of this truth in the A HET Yearbook calls for the Arghesian [?] words, "Beautiful book, an honor to him who wrote you."

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CSO: 2700

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

SOVIET NAVAL FORMATION'S VISIT--On 5 October a formation of Soviet warships will arrive for a 5-day official visit in Rostock to participate in the festivities on the 29th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, TASS Reports. The formation comprises the cruiser "Oktyabrskaya Revolutsiya" and the coastal protection vessels "Svirepiy" and "Neukrotimiy". The formation is being commanded by Vice Admiral Vladimir Sidorov, chief of the Baltic Redbanned Fleet. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

BULGARIA

TODOROV PROPOSES TOAST IN HONOR OF GDR'S STOPH

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Oct 78 p 2 AU

[Text of toast by Stanko Todorov, Council of Ministers chairman, at official dinner in honor of Willi Stoph, GDR Council of Ministers chairman, in Sofia on 11 October 1978]

[Text] Dear Comrade Stoph, dear guests from the GDR, comrades:

It is with the greatest pleasure that we greet you, Comrade Stoph, and the officials accompanying you, who are the representative of the fraternal GDR. We welcome you as our dearest guests.

Your visit represents a new confirmation of the tested and solid friendship between our two Marxist-Leninist parties, the BCP and the SED, and between the Bulgarian and GDR peoples. The foundations of this friendship were laid by the two loyal sons of our peoples, Georgi Dimitrov and Ernst Thaelmann, outstanding leaders of the international communist and workers movement. Today this friendship is developing and strengthening under the unremitting and direct care and with the personal contribution of Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Erich Honecker.

The treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance signed 1 year ago between the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria is an expression of the qualitative growth of our all-round cooperation and also reflects the vital necessity of consolidating unity of action among the socialist community countries.

Allow me, dear Comrade Stoph, to express our mutual satisfaction at this useful meeting, a meeting during which we reviewed and assessed the implementation of the tasks set at the highest level in September 1977. The "Basic Directions of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation and the Further Development of Socialist Integration Between the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria for the Period Following 1960," which were approved at this meeting, represent a long-term, comprehensive program of bilateral cooperation between our two countries in the economic sector. In connection with the successful implementation of these basic directions, we pay particular

attention to specialization and production sharing in the field of production and cooperation in important branches of the national economy, such as the power industry, metallurgical industry, machine building, electronics, chemical industry and others.

We assess positively the good implementation of the "basic directions" achieved up to now. The results achieved in this connection are opening up new opportunities for further developing modern forms of cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the GDR.

I believe, Comrade Stoph, that I express our common opinion in stating that all prerequisites exist for implementing the volume provided for in the long-term trade agreement between our two countries for the 1976-80 period and for implementing the envisaged relative share of specialization and production sharing in this exchange.

Dear Comrade Stoph, comrades:

Under the leadership of the BCP our people have mobilized their efforts, talents and creative strength in further implementing the decisions adopted by the 11th BCP Congress.

The task of relentlessly improving the scientific-technical production level is being successfully accomplished. Dynamic and progressive structural changes are being effected in our economy. The industrial sector has asserted itself as a leading national economic branch, upon which over half our material production funds are now being concentrated.

An important stage of development in implementing the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress was the national party conference aimed at perfecting the socialist labor organization and the planned leadership of the national economy.

The strategic party line in connection with achieving high efficiency and high quality of production is being systematically and consistently implemented. This is the correct method of attaining the main goal outlined in the party program--namely, to constantly improve the working people's material and cultural prosperity and to achieve a many-sided development of the socialist individual.

As an active CEMA member our country is making its genuine contribution to the implementation of the decisions adopted at the 32d session of this organization. The long-term, purpose-oriented programs worked out and approved at this session will actively contribute to the further intensification and development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation. The practical implementation of these programs will contribute to the successful implementation of the national economic plans of the CEMA member-countries and will also contribute to the consolidation and increase in power of the socialist community.

Comrades, our party and government, in the spirit of the Helsinki CSCE, are conducting a consistent and constructive peace-loving policy for the

consolidation of trust and cooperation among all peoples. This policy was once more clearly expressed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in the speech he recently delivered in Blagoevgrad.

An important task of our foreign policy is to consolidate lasting peace in the Balkans and to further develop our relations with neighboring countries.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, as in the past, will in the future continue to conduct an uncompromising and consistent struggle against the actions of imperialist and reactionary forces which are against detente and in favor of the arms race. We reject the anti-Soviet and antisocialist policy of the Chinese leaders aimed at creating tension in the world.

We wholeheartedly support the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR and the initiatives of the Warsaw Pact member-countries in connection with stopping the arms race and consolidating peace and security, in connection with developing cooperation among countries.

Dear friends, in 1979 our peoples will most festively celebrate two glorious anniversaries--the 35th anniversary of the 9 September socialist revolution in Bulgaria and the 30th anniversary of the creation of the GDR. These celebrations will represent a new impetus for the peoples of our two countries in striving to reach new victories in building a developed socialist society.

As loyal friends and internationalists we sincerely rejoice in your successes--they are the results of the consistently implemented party line of the SED, the results of the implementation of the Ninth SED Congress and the results of a well-coordinated economic and social policy, the results of an accelerated application of scientific-technical progress in all sectors of life.

Dear Comrade Stoph, our present meeting, too, is taking place in a spirit of fraternal comradeship and cordiality which is based on our two parties loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to the principles of socialist internationalism.

I would like once more to stress the usefulness of our talks and of the results achieved.

Allow me, dear friends from the GDR, to propose a toast to the successes of our two communist parties!

To the fraternal spirit and cooperation between the peoples of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the GDR!

To our indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries!

To the health of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council!

To your health, Comrade Stoph!

To the health of all present here!

## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

**DZHUROV ACTIVITIES**--Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, on 6 October took part in a celebration marking the 35th anniversary of the Polish People's Army. The event took place in Sofia and was organized by the Bulgarian Ministry of National Defense. [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

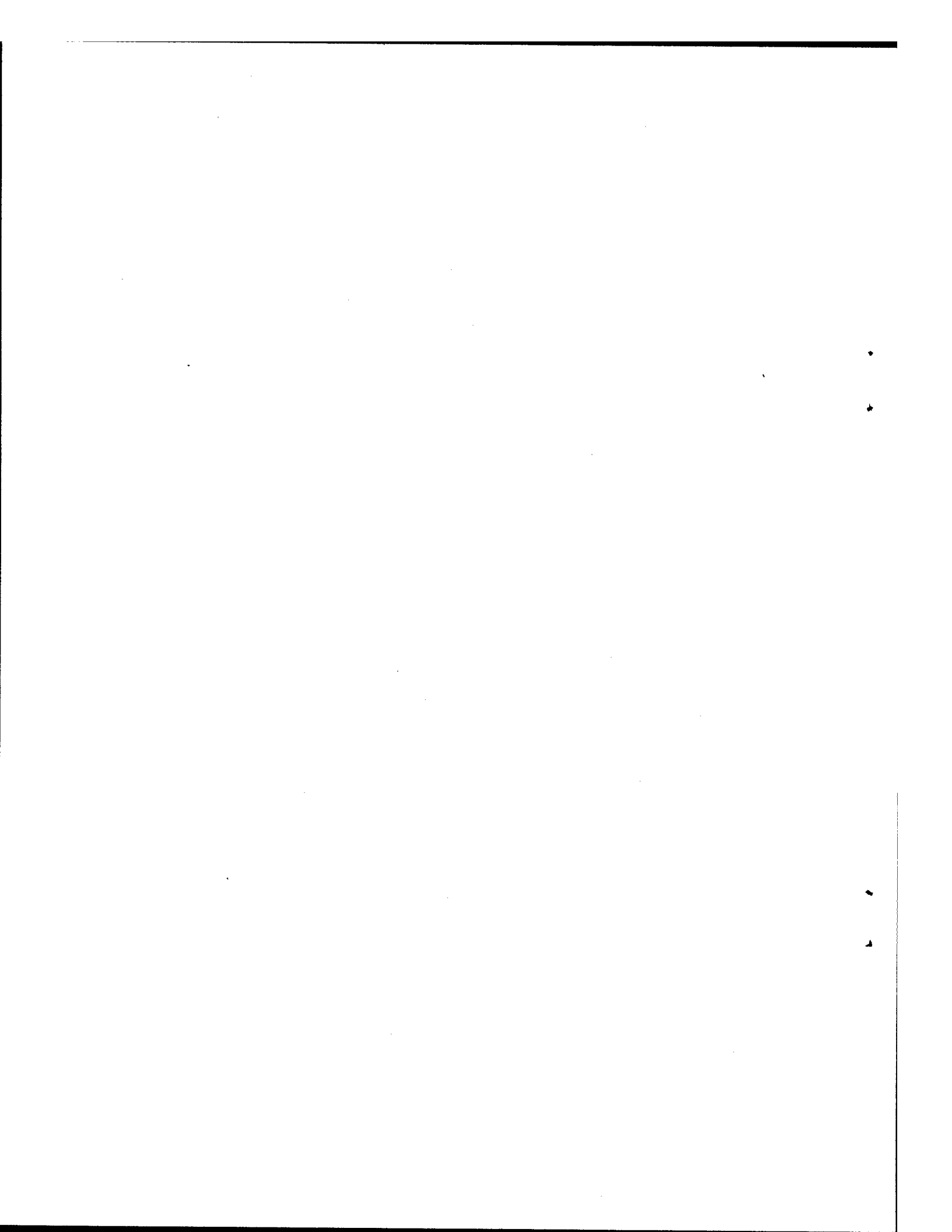
**TOLSTOY ANNIVERSARY**--The 150th birthday of Leo Tolstoy was marked at the Ivan Vazov National Theater on 9 October. "The celebration was attended by Comrades Aleksandur Lilov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Georgi Yordanov and Nacho Papazov; Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council; Lyudmila Zhivkova, chairman of the Committee of Culture; Lyubomir Pavlov, BCP Central Committee Art and Culture Department head; and Boycho Shteryanov, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee." [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Oct 78 AU]

**DOYNOV ACTIVITIES**--Ognyan Doynov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, visited the exhibition on innovations in light industry which opened at the headquarters of the Light Industry Ministry in Sofia. Stoyan Zhulev, minister of light industry, briefed the visitor on the creative achievements of Bulgarian textile workers that are being implemented in the design of new materials, readymade clothes and other goods. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 6 Oct 78 AU]

**MACHINE BUILDERS HOLIDAY**--Bulgarian machine builders are celebrating their holiday for the 14th time. The Ministry of Machine Building Industry and the Ministry of Electronics, as well as the Machine Building Workers Trade Union Central Committee, organized the celebration of this holiday in Lovech Town this year. "The festive meeting was attended by Peko Takov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the State Council, as well as by Petur Balevski, first secretary of the Lovech Okrug party committee; Toncho Chakurov, minister of machine building industry; and Nikola Kalchev, head of the BCP Central Committee Industrial Department." Vasil Khubchev, minister of electronics and electrical engineering, read a report on the achievements of the Bulgarian machine builders. "Comrade Peko Takov read a decree of the State Council awarding frontranking workers in the machine building industry sector honorary titles and state awards." [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Oct 78 AU]

INTERNATIONAL JOURNALISTS MEETING--Sofia, October 6 (BTA)--An international journalists meeting on the theme "Development of Socialist Culture in Bulgaria" was organized here. Representatives of Vietnam, the GDR, Iraq, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary and Czechoslovakia attended. At the Union of Bulgarian Journalists today the participants met the leadership of the Committee for Culture. Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova, chairman of the Committee for Culture, made the guests familiar with the public and state principle in the organization and management of the cultural process in Bulgaria, the all-national programme for the aesthetical education of youth and working people. She spoke of the role of art for the harmonious development of personality. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1450 GMT 6 Oct 78 AU]

CSO: 2200



POLITICAL-ECONOMIC DIALECTICS MISINTERPRETED BY REVISIONISTS

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 17, Aug 78 pp 17-18

[Article by Vladimir Gerloch: "The Dialectics of Economics and Politics"]

[Text] Interrelations between economics and politics are among the most important but at the same time most complicated relations in a society. These relations express the tasks of the political and economic struggle of the workers' class against capital, its drive to attain political power and its struggle for revolutionary changes in the period of socialist construction. The classic authors of Marxism-Leninism regarded the analysis of the complete network of these interrelations and their individual aspects and the correct appreciation of their significance for the struggle of the proletariat at the different stages of this struggle as the major task of the vanguard of the working class, its political party.

V. I. Lenin particularly emphasized two aspects of this relation, which he formulated in two incisive theses: he characterized politics as a condensed expression of economics and at the same time he stressed that politics cannot but be primary with respect to economics. At first glance these two theses appear to be contradictory but in fact, however, each expresses a different aspect of this complex interrelation. Concisely stated, the first thesis points out that politics is secondary with respect to economics, that it is derived from it, whereas the second thesis emphasizes the importance of the political struggle and of the political strength of the workers' class in satisfying their economic demands.

Politics Is the Condensed Expression of Economics

This statement means nothing more and nothing less than that politics does not have its own history, that politics can be understood only in connection with the development of the economy, its internal contradictions and the economic interests of the individual social classes. "People have always been and will continue to be the simple-minded victims of delusion and self-delusion in politics," says V. I. Lenin, "until they learn to seek the interest of one class or another behind the varied moral, religious, political and public-spirited phrases, declarations and promises."

Marxism views society not as a mere aggregate of individuals, but as an organism, as an internally structured system. "Society is not composed of individuals," wrote Karl Marx, "but rather is an expression of the totality of relations and relationships in which these individuals stand to each other." The totality of economic relations form the economic foundation of society in comparison with which legal, political, ideological and other relations and institutions have the character of social superstructure.

Thus it is economics that determines politics and not vice versa. The assertion of the determining role of economics is one of the basic teachings of Marxist theory; it is an integral element of the materialistic conception of history. To suppose that politics plays the leading role in society and its development means to account for the development of society unscientifically and to see it either as the result of the caprice of so-called strong personalities or as the work of God. A scientific understanding of politics is possible only in the context of economics as the struggle of social classes, the basis of which is the economic interests of those classes. The role of personalities and the masses in politics, the role of parties and of states, the bases of political ideologies and programs can be understood only from the viewpoint of this fundamental discovery of Marx and Engels.

This law is of enormous importance not only from a theoretical, but also from a predictive, revolutionarily practical standpoint. One result of this is that the only viable, actualizable goals are those founded on a real economic base. The opinion that it is possible to change society independently of the real economic preconditions is an illusion which in the history of the workers' class movement has appeared as the theoretical basis for utopianism and various pseudorevolutionary movements.

From this standpoint the doctrine of the decisive importance of economics holds even in socialist society, although after the working class has achieved political power new factors come into play. Just as during the stage of constructing socialism, however, so during the period of ensuring its further development it is necessary to take into account the country's economic resources, to ensure thorough planning consonance between politics and economics.

#### The Primacy of Politics with Respect to Economics

V. I. Lenin, who was never under the sway of idealistic utopianism in delineating the political goals of the various stages of the movement and who never for a moment forgot the determining role of economics with respect to politics, at the same time always emphasized the active role of politics, its primacy with respect to economics, the importance of political strength and political power for the victory of the proletariat and for constructing socialism and communism. At the very beginning of his activity in the

Russian workers' movement, directed against the theory and practice of the so-called economists, he stated that in its struggle the proletariat must unite the struggle for their political interests with that for their everyday economic demands. Contrary to the opportunistic concept of the gradual "transformation of capitalism into socialism," according to which individual elements of the socialist economy arise during the capitalist stage, he demonstrated that the fundamental condition for their creation is for the political power to be in the hands of the proletariat.

During the period when the foundations of socialism are being laid, the political power of the workers' class is the basis for bringing about such fundamental economic changes as transference of the basic means of production into the hands of the socialist state, socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture and the planned management of economic development. The socialist nature of the economy is thus directly contingent upon political power being in the hands of the workers' class. In contrast to capitalism, where the political power of the bourgeoisie comes from its ownership of the means of production, of capital, in a socialist society collective ownership of the means of production is connected with the political power of the working class.

The importance of politics is not weakened but is, on the contrary, rather strengthened even in a developed socialist society and at the stage of its construction when the bases of socialism have already been established. In the future as well we will have to approach the solution of individual problems not from a "purely economic," but rather from a political standpoint and to take into consideration the overall improvement of society, the strengthening of the socialist order with respect to capitalism, not only within individual countries but throughout the entire socialist world. Politics, the quality of political decision making, subjective factors in general, have enormous significance for socialist economics, which is developing in a planned fashion and on the basis of the initiative of the broad masses.

On the one hand it still holds true that economics is a basic area on the improvement of which depends the development of the society as a whole and of all other areas of social life--science, art, social security, health care, defense, etc. At the same time, however, the higher the degree of social development and the higher the level of the economy itself, the more its further improvement depends on the effect of extra-economic factors and the greater is the influence of science, education, health care and so on. For example, social services require a certain portion of the funds produced by the economy; at the same time, however, their level acts as one of the factors affecting the economy's development. Significant resources have to be devoted to solving the most urgent ecological and other problems but only thus can the development of production be ensured for the future. It would be possible to continue listing similar conditions. The long-range goals which socialist society has set itself--the complete

liberation of man, ensuring the allround development of the human personality--can in no way be achieved on the basis of mere economic development, but only on the basis of the over-all development of the society, of all its areas and of all its social activities.

In a society whose development is ensured on the basis of planned management, complex relations arise between economics and the other spheres of social activity and thus there also arise great demands for comprehensive, societywide evaluation of these relations, for establishing priorities, and for making political decisions. The content of politics, of political activity, of political work, is today much richer than it was years ago and this activity is itself substantially more demanding.

Life gives rise to the problem of meeting many new, higher demands, say documents of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ. "The desires and needs of the workers are growing. Thus the demands made on each of us and the discipline required from each of us also grow; greater demands are made on the people's knowledge, self-sacrifice, discipline, creativity, receptivity to new ideas. We have acquired a large fund of experience, but what sufficed yesterday will not tomorrow. Even today Lenin's challenge sounds topical, "that we not be contented with what we know, with what we have already learned, but that we proceed at any cost, that we make ever greater and greater demands, that we pass unequivocally from easy tasks to more difficult ones. Without this no progress of any kind is possible and so any progress in constructing socialism would be impossible."

#### Revisionist Distortion of the Relation between Economics and Politics

The source of the revisionist distortion of the interrelations between economics and politics is above all the absolutization of both of the most important aspects of these relations. The "leftist" revisionists and the adherents of various petty bourgeois radical movements ignore the objective subordination of political goals, determined at a given stage of social development by the economic level, and vastly overrate the force and effectiveness of political decisions and actions. The rightist revisionists--as a result of their general approach to the development of society and their conception of so-called "democratic socialism"--grossly underrate the political power and political struggle of the workers' class and ultimately fail to see the objective mutual relations between economics and politics. It is impossible to analyse here in detail the revisionist approach to this problem, but we will at least refer to the approach of the rightist revisionists to this problem in the Czechoslovakia of the 1960's.

Rightist revisionists for years and from different directions tried to obscure the relation between economics and politics. Essentially they were concerned with introducing the concept of the mixed economy, i.e., an economy in which the state, private and collective enterprises would compete as "partners with equal rights" and which would be "freed from the

trusteeship of the state." At the very beginning of the 1960's revisionist publicists promoted the idea that after the bases of socialism had been created, the primacy belonged not to politics but to economics. They even attempted to misappropriate for their own ends the search for effective economic reforms made necessary by the pressing requirements of the national economy and undertaken at the initiative of the party leadership, but which gradually became the domain of the revisionists and a means to the destruction of the socialist principles of our economy.

All the problems of the country's economy were explained by the necessity of radically changing the system of government and above all of eliminating the intervention of the socialist state in the economy. Behind the rejection of "bureaucratic centralized" management were actually hidden attempts to eliminate ownership of the means of production by the whole society, to deprive it of its socialist character and gradually to restore private enterprise. Socialism would thus have lost its economic base. The basis of social relations would have again become bourgeois individualism, the heedless enrichment of some at the expense of others.

The revisionists asserted the demogogic petty bourgeois concept that "the owners of the means of production should be those who work with them," the immediate producers. But adopting this concept would have led to the rise of thousands of enterprises whose mutual relations would have been realized on the basis of market relations and the competition that goes with them. Gradually great differences would have arisen among them--some would have become rich, others would have been impoverished. This petty bourgeois concept of group ownership, if it had been realized, would finally have led logically to economics ceasing to be the means of development of society as a whole and on the contrary to politics being again subordinated to economics, i.e., to the interests of a few of the most powerful enterprises. Practice would have confirmed that it is impossible to separate economics and politics and that counterrevolutionary development would have merely replaced one politics, the politics of the workers class, with another, that of the bourgeoisie.

An appraisal of the results we have achieved in the decade since the international assistance offered us by the fraternal socialist countries in the battle against the counterrevolution convincingly demonstrates that during this period we have succeeded not only in correcting past mistakes and reinstating correct, dialectic relations between economics and politics, but also in ensuring the successful construction of a developed socialist society. The most convincing proof of this is the steady growth of our economy and the rise in the living standard of our people even in the face of worsening external influences.

Comrade Gustav Husak appraised our country's development over the past few years in these words: "On the whole--and this is also the evaluation of the 15th Congress--the 1970's, after the crisis was overcome, have

constituted one of the most successful periods of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia. Our economy has developed dynamically and is still developing even though we were forced to resolve many problems from the past, make structural changes and make large investments in fuels, energy, and other areas. The greatest negative factor since 1974 has been the rise in prices for raw materials and the crisis phenomena in the non-socialist world. Even so, our economy grew steadily, is still growing and will continue to grow."

Life faces us with new tasks. On the agenda is orientation toward significant growth in the effectiveness of production and the quality of every kind of work. This is at the present the chief element in the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This is not by chance. The further progressive, dynamic development of the economy is the material base for attaining our goals in all the remaining areas. This is why reaching our targets in the economy holds a key position in realizing the whole program of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ.

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MARXIST CULTURE SEEN AS PART OF IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 35, 30 Aug 78 pp 6, 7

[Article by Miroslav Bukovsky: Culture in the Present-Day Ideological Struggle]

[Text] "Our Party values highly artists and cultural workers who are aware of the social mission of their work and serve with devotion and creative inspiration the formation of the socialist man and the enrichment of his intellectual life."

G. Husak at the 25th CPCz Congress

Despite the frantic resistance of world reaction, we are living in a historical period when the growing forces of the socialist community, accompanied by gradual relaxation of international tension, influence all aspects of the struggle between socialism and capitalism. This process is characterized by simultaneous consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence together with an increase in force and complexity of the ideological struggle and its significance, especially on an international scale.

The daily social experience gives evidence that the great historic struggle for implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, initiated by the CPSU with active support from the international communist and workers' movement and all peace-loving, progressive forces in the world, in no way indicates a conciliation in the ideological field. To the contrary, contemporary conditions of class struggle on the international scale demand that our scientific-theoretical and ideological front continue indefatigably to unmask the true aims of bourgeois ideology, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, and spread the truth about genuine socialism's advantages convincingly.

Since it is class-conditioned, culture is also involved in an acute class confrontation. Almost daily we learn that the world's imperialism exploits individual cultural sectors with increasing subtlety, coordinating

its ideological pressure against Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, the international communist and workers' movement and the world socialist system. The target of the attack is socialist culture itself, its overall concept and individual principles.

The complexity of class struggle in the cultural field is caused by, among other things, the dialectically contradictory role of culture itself in this struggle. We see that under conditions of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems and in the atmosphere of relaxation of international tensions, the cultural field moves to the fore as a sphere of developing cultural cooperation of socialist countries with all states, on the one hand, in the interest of friendship and a broadened prospect of peace among peoples; and, on the other hand, as a sphere of intransigence toward 'bourgeois' ideology on problems of world outlook, of defense of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, of aggressive promotion and popularization of the advantages of socialism and socialist culture, as well as a sphere of disclosure of the enemies of progress, peace, democracy and socialism.

An in-depth analysis of conditions under which the ideological impact of culture materializes shows that social processes which characterize the contemporary epoch are substantially influenced by important, objectively existing basic tendencies.

What are these tendencies? The basic tendency is the fact that during the continual struggle between the forces of progress and reaction and the forces of socialism and imperialism, socialist and communist society is being formed and consolidated. Simultaneously, a new socialist culture gains strength and power, showing the path and prospects for development of a worldwide progressive and revolutionary culture. Secondly, as a result of intensification of capitalism's general crisis, decay and disintegration of the official bourgeois ideology and elitist culture is taking place, an inherent feature of capitalism's general crisis. This process is meanwhile accompanied by the increase of elements of the new socialist culture within the capitalist society, this culture being programatically related to the struggle of the working class and other exploited strata for social liberation. This revolutionary current blends with the current of popular and progressive democratic culture; its representatives severely criticize capitalist conditions, sympathize with the struggle of the exploited and oppressed masses and sincerely support this struggle by their activity, even though their creative production still lacks revolutionary orientation.

The third tendency is the new cultures, emerging in complex, formative process, of those peoples who by national liberation and revolutionary struggles freed themselves from colonial dependence and took the road of independent development.

These chief tendencies substantially influence strategy and tactics of the ideological struggle in the cultural field.

Intensification of ideological struggle in the cultural field in connection with these tendencies takes place because of the obstinate effort made by the world bourgeoisie to preserve political, ideological and cultural domination in their own countries. It is accompanied by suppression of the growing influence of the ideology and culture linked with the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Methods of this suppression range from utilization of the immense state propaganda apparatus, including mass communications media, to manipulate the consciousness of the working people with the aid of the so-called "mass culture," to discrimination against institutions and organs of Marxist-Leninist parties and their officials, persecution and imprisonment, physical liquidation of revolutionary cadres, often accompanied by public burning of Marxist-Leninist and other progressive literature. The situation in Chile and some other countries can serve as a typical example. Imperialism is also exerting additional pressure and spending more and more money to influence the socialist countries ideologically and culturally, with the aims of disrupting, slowing down and possibly reversing the social development in those countries. At the same time, it spares no effort or expense to regain its ideological and cultural influence over the developing countries in order to strengthen its weakened political and economic positions there or recover them. To deceive world public opinion it demagogically conceals its true intentions behind hypocritical slogans, struggle for "human rights," for example.

There is ample evidence that to achieve its anti-communist goals, the world bourgeoisie mobilizes not only its own ideologues but also defectors and traitors of the international communist movement, who--often cloaked as "creative Marxists"--revise essential principles of Marxism-Leninism, aesthetics, and of the theory of culture and cultural policy. They disorient and disinform cultural workers and artists, disrupt the formative process of socialist culture and, with the aid of culture, try to influence the working people ideologically. Right-wing and left-wing revisionism, together with different kinds of opportunism of all degrees, is thus becoming a dangerous ideological weapon in the hands of bourgeois reaction, which, at the same time, skillfully exploits the negative inheritance of the past in the people's consciousness towards reviving and spreading bourgeois ideology and culture.

#### Historical Lessons

Analysis of internal and external causes and influences of social-class, theoretical andgnoseological sources of right-wing opportunism in the field of culture reveals that the cultural field, together with the philosophical field, was infected in the middle 1950's and 1960's by positivist-empirical and pseudo-Hegelian and pseudo-materialistic

revision of Marxist-Leninist principles. At the beginning of the 1960's the existentialist-anthropological revisionist trend became gradually stronger.

Positivistic revisionism excises the worldview from philosophy, underestimates the solution of the fundamental philosophical question or denies its importance. It reduces philosophy to the theory of knowledge, which poses as a "pure science," free from social interests, without relation to the class struggle. As a crude empiricism, it absolutizes individual facts, which it approaches by ignoring the historical context.

This blind empiricism in the creative arts, emphasizing unilaterally life experience and facts, was submitted to a principled criticism by L. Stoll: "Therefore, when a work of art is judged for its truthfulness, the outlook of the artistic personality and the ideology through which the reality was observed also matters. An intensified sensibility to the facts of life is thus not enough. There is also need for a truthful worldview, a truthful ideology, which can separate the essential from the non-essential, that which is being born from what is dying...which sees things in motion, in the course of their changes, since this reflects life's truth accurately." The conclusion to which this one-sidedness can lead even a great artist in the times of revolutionary upheaval is demonstrated by the case of M. Gorkiy. As a prisoner of empiricism in 1919 he succumbed to deep scepticism concerning the revolutionary power of the proletariat. It was Lenin himself who showed him the way out of this momentary straying.

The neo-positivistic revision of the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics was reflected in the revival of structuralism, for example. The aims of the positivistic revisionist, which separated socialist culture and art from Marxist-Leninist ideology, was to deprive our new art and culture of that source from which it draws an undying creative force and which endows it with perspective and an exalted mission in human society, to deprive it, in effect, of its truthful humanistic Marxist-Leninist ideology.

While positivistic revisionism overestimated and absolutized the means, neo-Hegelian revisionism absolutized the purpose and completely underestimated the dialectical relationship between the means and the aim. Neo-Hegelian revisionism severs the theory from the method, belittles and denies materialism and the dialectics of nature. Instead of objectively existing contradictions, it invents and introduces speculative contradictions. Materialistic dialectics is replaced by pseudo-dialectics and turns into sophistry. While positivistic revisionism is, politically, predominantly tied to right-wing opportunism, neo-Hegelian revisionism is usually accompanied by petty-bourgeois radicalism.

A nihilist negation of real socialism and of the practical cultural policy of the CPCZ was carried out in the spirit of neo-Hegelianism, reflecting the viewpoint of a speculative model of the ideal communist society.

Following this trend, right-wing oriented publicists, literary art critics, writers and artists completely rejected the leading role of the party and the directing function of the state in the field of culture. Even in 1969, for example, a report by the Coordinating Committee of the Czech Associations of Creative Artists, a center of right-wing forces, declared that culture--and "above all" art, science and the communication media--are a "corrective and in a way a subject of power as well." Consequently, between political power and culture there supposedly can exist "one relationship only: equality and independence." Allegedly necessary and essential "room for confrontation in an open and matter of fact dialogue with political power" is categorically demanded for culture.

Both trends had in common the effort to separate Marxist-Leninist theory from the practice of the revolutionary workers' movement and from the communist party, to make the field of art and culture fully independent. This field would then be actually placed above the party and the state, and tiny right-wing groups of intellectuals would be raised above the working class. In the 1960's both these trends were gradually supplemented by additional elements and theories alien to Marxism-Leninism, primarily by the ideas of phenomenology, the "Frankfurt School," of Freudianism and, in the cultural field proper, especially by the ideas of existentialism. The existentialist-anthropological philosophical trend helped to formulate the political program of right-wing forces with slogans about "humanization" of Marxism-Leninism, "enhancing" socialism in the form of socialism "with a human face"; and helped to launch demands for a "democratic socialism." The basic starting point for the formulation of the political program was the theory of "pluralism" in Marxism-Leninism; when applied to the field of culture, the concept of "cultural pluralism" emerged.

In the cultural field, the philosophical trends mentioned above were most conspicuously manifested in the radical demands for separating culture and art from the Marxist-Leninism ideology, in denying objective necessity for the cultural revolution and of class-and-party character of culture. Also, in deformation and refutation of the principles of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics; in proclamation of absolute freedom of creative activity, anarchistically understood; in rejection of artistic-creative methods of socialist realism; and in return to theories of bourgeois aesthetics and abstract, formalistic views of artistic creativity.

While the unvanquished social democratic tradition facilitated adoption of the reformist program of the right-wing social-democratic parties of the West in the form of "democratic socialism," the Masaryk tradition, which was still alive and maintained, together with the undiscarded inheritance of bourgeois philosophy, facilitated the acceptance of various "humanizing" attributes attached to the concept of socialism, strengthening the petty-bourgeois nationalism and anti-Sovietism. The "democratic socialism" model was related to the leading role of intellectual elite groups. Cultural pluralism took over all of this theoretical equipment and the chief programmatic postulates broadened by the demand for "cultural autonomy," which meant that the direction of culture and cultural

policy should be separated from the communist party and the socialist state, to be handed over to the right-wing oriented "cultural elite," heading autonomous organs.

Advocates of right-wing opportunism often expressed their nihilistic attitude towards the results of the construction of socialism and formation of socialist culture in the period since February 1948. Non-dialectical exaggeration and one-sided absolutization of partial errors and shortcomings in the policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state became a pretext and spring-board to summary rejection of the suitability of the direction taken to socialism and to formulation of concepts completely alien to socialism. From innumerable examples of the critical years, we recall at least one which undoubtedly belongs to the most shattering. A leading advocate of the right-wing trend, speaking from the rostrum of the Writers' Union, described the "new model" of our future cultural policy as follows:

"...I admit that it actually will be the United States which, from the position of the richest country of the world, will ultimately formulate the cultural policy we are dreaming of." (Fourth Congress of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers, Prague 1968, p. 105)

Can it be doubted that the introduction of the cultural policy of American imperialism into our country can be realized only after the return to capitalist conditions?

It is precisely for this strategic aim that the right-wingers were spreading the poison of anti-Sovietism in the mass media and were grossly slandering socialism in stage and film productions, and were creating illusions in literature about life in capitalist society. "Belles lettres have suffered from a wave of fashion-mongering and feeble imitation, a wave of scepticism and disillusion, which in some cases lead even to the negation of socialist conviction and socialist ideals." This is the way Hana Hrzalova evaluates the 1960's in her book "To Create Reality Together." (Czechoslovak Writer Publishing House, Prague 1976, p 134).

The other aspect of the decay of cultural values which was taking place was gradual decline in the working people's interest in "works" destined for the snobbish elite; at the same time there was also a decline of individual creativeness and interest in artistic work, especially among the young.

It is appropriate to recall all these facts, since foreign reaction and its local lackeys have done and still are doing their best to hide the truth about the critical years in our country, falsifying it according to their nations and wishes.

## Struggle for the Revival of Marxist-Leninist Principles of Cultural Policy

When the new CPCZ leadership under the direction of G. Husak took up its duties, the complex and exacting process of a resolute elimination of the consequence of the critical years of 1968-69 from all areas of political, economic and cultural life took place.

Under sensible but principled direction from the CPCZ, the cultural front underwent a deep process of modification and consolidation, in the course of which all healthy forces that were ready to wage a decisive struggle against opportunism and revisionism gradually gathered around the CPCZ.

Resolutions taken by the 24th CPCZ Congress and, in particular, the CPCZ Central Committee document entitled "The Lessons Drawn from the Development of the Crisis in the Party and in Society After the 23rd CPCZ Congress: have been of great assistance in this struggle. This document offered an in-depth, well-informed Marxist-Leninist analysis of the causes of the origin, manifestations and consequences of the grave crisis experienced by all of society during the second half of the 1960's. The CPCZ Central Committee meeting in October 1972 worked out in detail the policy line taken by the 24th congress in the field of culture and in ideological work.

The indefatigable effort of all party and state organs, actively assisted by all honest CPCZ members, succeeded in gradually consolidating the party's leading role in the cultural field and in activating the socialist state's directing role. All this contributed considerably to the formation of the cultural front on the basis of the party cultural policy. It stirred up new artistic production and gave a powerful impulse to renewed progress in cultural creativity by the broad popular strata.

Reactionary and elitist theories were eliminated from production, and dissemination of cultural values and progressive traditions were restored. Broken cultural ties with fraternal socialist countries were again strengthened and the great socialist culture of the peoples of the Soviet Union again became an important inspiration for our creative artists and for the working people in their struggle to overcome all difficulties.

The overwhelming majority of cultural workers and creative artists understood that the socialist society produces good conditions for creation of cultural and artistic values, assisting them to maintain and develop creative forces and artistic gifts and abilities. Eloquent proof of the speedy consolidation and renewal of artistic production based on socialist foundations was, for instance, the artists' participation in the contest honoring the 30th anniversary of the liberation of CSSR by the Soviet Army. Two thousand three hundred and twenty artists entered 7,739 works of art, of which 445 were awarded prizes.

New organs of the Czech artists' unions, whose membership has rapidly increased, have made an important contribution to this progress. Following their establishment in 1972 these unions had a total of 857 members but by 1975 there already were 1,974 members. In 1974, 127 new literary publications were produced; the following year, there were 173; and a year later there were as many as 187.

A phenomenon to cause rejoicing has been the emergence of young, talented creative artists in all the artistic fields. Despite the disfavor and artificial obstacles created by foreign reactionary forces, Czech and Slovak culture has begun to make an impressive showing abroad. In 1975, for instance, the Czechoslovak film industry won recognition by taking about 12 international prizes. Interest in artistic activity has been rapidly developing and expanding quantitatively as well as qualitatively; the work of cultural-educational institutions has improved in level of achievement and attractiveness; and the people's attainments in education have quickened. A principled and, at the same time, sensitive cultural policy has produced abundant returns. The 15th CPCZ Congress, therefore, rightly stressed that "success has been achieved in strengthening our culture's socialist character and in forming a creative front for the arts, one related to the party and socialism, and in developing a rich cultural life."

On the basis of an in-depth scientific analysis of present results and the study of the achieved level and main tendencies of further developments in our socialist society, the 15th CPCZ Congress formulated a Marxist-Leninist program of building a developed socialist society.

An organic part of this long-range plan is a program of cultural policy, in which the 15th CPCZ Congress explained the main developmental, inherent features of culture--its importance, status, overall role and specific tasks in building developed socialist society.

The 15th CPCZ Congress emphasized that the high level of culture and a constant growth of the educational standards of the working people are characteristic aspects and important criteria of a developed socialist society. The all-round development of socialist culture, its broad development of socialist culture, its broad assimilation in the process of profound democratization of cultural values, associated with a substantial rise in cultural level and creativity of the working people, is becoming an important instrument in molding a harmoniously developed man and an irreplaceable factor in creating the socialist way of life. It is also an objectively existing prerequisite of dynamic, long-range societal development and one of the necessary features of the building of developed socialism.

The all-round progressive development of society's principal spheres, accompanied and influenced by dialectically interrelated processes of

cultural and scientific-technical revolution, creates the chief prerequisites to well-balanced progress of both material and intellectual cultures. The rapprochement and intertwining of both cultural spheres are impressively manifest in the formation of cultural qualities found in the socialist man and in the creation of a new way of life. This comprehensive cultural progress which is becoming an organic feature of cultural development at this stage in times brings to the fore purposeful ideological training and all-round education, development of socialist art and strengthening of its socio-educational function; it stresses active participation of the working class in the creation of cultural values and in the development of cultural creativity for the working people. This comprehensive concept includes by necessity the growing role played by the culture of labor and the working and living environment. It assumes a gradual rapprochement of cultural levels of all social classes and strata. International rapprochement of cultures of socialist countries and support of progressive, popular and democratic world culture are also inherent in this concept.

An important part of the comprehensive development of culture and cultural life is the increased role of the system of cultural-educational activity on the level of the centrally operated mass communications media as well as on the activity level of the local system of cultural and artistic establishments, organizations and institutions. The complex development of socialist culture is unthinkable without a broad stream of cultural creativity of the working people and youth in the field of artistic production in the form of many-sided artistic interests as well as in various forms of technical creativity, physical education and sports; and in active involvement in useful public work and creative, constructive work, work imbued with initiative.

The purpose of culture and cultural education becomes the transformation of the objective cultural-educational activity into an active subject, creating cultural values, not only intellectual but also material; in the process of cultural education the aware, ideologically and morally strong and active builder of socialist society gains stature.

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CSO: 2400

HIGH CSR OFFICIAL EXPLAINS ROLE OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 78 p 3

/Article by Vaclav Slechta, chief of the Department of National Committees, Chancellery of the CSR government: "For Higher Efficiency" /

/Text / In recent months, the national committees of all levels focused on the consistent specification of resolutions of the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee for all areas of their activity. The effort of officers, deputies and workers of national committees, based on the generally good cooperation with the appropriate ministries and activity of mass organizations of the National Front both in the communities and places of work, resulted in drawing up of complexes of measures for the implementation of resolutions of the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in all areas under the jurisdiction of national committees. A particularly important role in this respect was played by the kraj national committees /KNV / which directed the lower levels of national committees to the decisive specific tasks and offered effective methodological assistance to them.

Political Work is the Basis

Political organization and management unquestionably is the basis of solution of specific problems in individual areas of national committees' jurisdiction. A system of management and organization must be created which will most effectively help in enforcing scrupulous exactness, high responsibility, quality and efficiency in daily practice and which will insure best possible conditions for the exercise of state administration and systematic development of socialist democracy.

This year, work continues on completion of the analysis of the present status and jurisdiction of national committees at the basic level. Its results will serve as the basis of the proposals for their further strengthening by granting them additional necessary jurisdiction. Of extraordinary importance will be also the planned evaluation and the resulting proposals for increasing efficiency of mass political work in big towns and satellite communities. It is anticipated that during 1979 the principles will be worked out and submitted to the CSR government for further integration of small communities

and that a general plan will be developed for a network of national committees on the basic level as well as a proposal for the categorization of towns and villages. In cooperation with the ministry of finance, the Ministry of the Interior will process the proposal for the composition and size of personnel of local national committees.

The KNV's measures for improvement of management process lay emphasis on the factfinding and analytical work which includes the building of an automated information system and methodological assistance to the national committees on lower levels. More attention is paid to raising the political and professional level of officers, deputies and workers of national committees. In Central Bohemia kraj for example they will perfect the advisory system for the deputies of KNV, while in West Bohemia kraj they offer more effective assistance to the leading KNV workers, selected deputies from the ranks of blue-collar workers, women and young deputies and plan to review cadre and personnel work in all organizations managed by KNV by the end of 1981.

In the complexes of measures in the area of political organization and management, the national committees will pay increased attention also to the preparation of the agenda for the meetings of their organs and particularly for plenary sessions; to the checks on work of organs of national committees on the lower level; to the assistance to citizens' committees, house commissions and house confidants; finally, to more effective attending to citizens' complaints. They pay increased attention everywhere also to the systematic expansion of cooperation of national committees with the organs and organizations of the National Front particularly in the improvement of political education and mutual help in the fulfillment of tasks assigned to them by the election programs.

Measures of all national committees anticipate more effective and systematic controls. More emphasis is laid on the checks by the commissions of national committees, periodical checks in selected areas will be more frequent, better planned and better coordinated. For making checks more effective, the Central Bohemia KNV passed a resolution according to which the shortcomings discovered in the enterprises and organizations managed by them will be regarded as shortcomings in management of leading workers and reflected also in their material incentives and comprehensive evaluation.

#### More Effectively in Economic Sphere

The overwhelming majority of measures approved by the plenary sessions of national committees for the implementation of resolutions of the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee deals with the economic sphere. Their purpose is not to assume new tasks in addition to the tasks ensuing from the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress, Sixth Five-Year Plan and election program, but on the basis of a critical analysis to define with more precision the tasks for the rest of this year and period of this five-year plan, and to create solid preconditions for the implementation of the tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. In other words, their purpose is the enforcement of the

required principles of quality and efficiency in the economic sphere of national committees, a more ambitious approach to the planned economic development of territorial units.

The KNV will continue to define with more precision the conceptions of development of their conglomerates and the resulting scope of future tasks. The national committee of the capital of Prague for example will project the documents, approved by the government, on the city economic structure and general plan of its development into the individual functional systems in such a way as to create on time the preconditions for the gradual start of additional big investment projects. The North Moravia KNV is working on a number of conceptual materials aimed at one goal only--to give the Ostrava industrial conglomerate a clear prospect and solid base. In addition to the territorial plans for individual areas and Ostrava city, it is preparing together with the South Moravia KNV the construction of the so-called rapid transit system for Ostrava and Brno.

#### More Ambitious Plans for Capital Construction

Capital construction unquestionably is the most challenging part of the jurisdiction of national committees. Here the measures of national committees aim at the improvement of management and design preparation of projects including the completion on time of key projects of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, adherence to the budget costs, promotion of scientific-technical progress in construction, standardization, application of designs listed in the catalogs, use of repeated designs of public service and so on. Some national committees are to reduce the scope of unfinished projects by as much as 18 percent by 1980 in comparison with 1975. Comprehensive rationalization brigades are set up for the coordination of procedures followed by the designers, investors and suppliers.

The continuity of special-purpose capital construction in North Moravia kraj is to be achieved by the enforcement of proportional fulfillment of the annual plan in individual quarters. In its measures, the West Bohemia KNV will consistently apply standardized designs for construction of kindergartens and nurseries as well as basic schools. The licensing procedure for construction of projects up to Kcs 2 million in budget costs focuses not only on examination of preparedness of projects and contracts backing construction, but also and primarily on the economic evaluation and examination of necessity of the projects involved. On the basis of the appeal of the CPCZ municipal committee, the national committee of the capital of Prague cooperates with the institutions of higher learning and research institutes in the planning of projects and actual construction.

#### To Make Life More Pleasant for Citizens

Increased attention is paid by the national committees also to the environment and its protection. They will more strictly enforce the penalties for the violation of regulations on the protection of nature.

The problems of trade, services and local economy unquestionably are among the key and permanent responsibilities of national committees. The adopted measures which are related to the implementation of resolutions of the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee plenum render the work of national committees more effective in this area. They focus on the completion of structural changes in favor of services, building of a services network in the more remote areas, expanding selected sectors of services during the Seventh Five-Year Plan and gradual elimination of shortcomings in quality, promptness and courtesy.

In the local economy, the methodology of comprehensive planning is applied on a larger scale, there is great emphasis on the improvement of management and control, on more extensive use of equipment in services, more rapid application of research and development results, innovations, limitation of imports of equipment and reduction of material costs. The North Moravia kraj anticipates that, in cooperation with the ONV /okres national committees/ innovations in the selected enterprises of local industry will increase by 15 percent. The innovations will primarily pertain to the products delivered to the domestic market designed to enrich and increase the assortment in retail outlets.

The leading idea of the 11th CPCZ Central Committee plenum is the consistent increase in quality and efficiency of all work. The national committees therefore search, in the complexes of measures enacted by them, for more ambitious approaches to the solution of problems related to the planned development of educational system and culture, development of health care and social welfare and other areas of their activity. By adopting the measures designed to implement the resolutions of the 11th CPCZ Central Committee plenum and okres and kraj party conferences, they have entered a new stage of their work--the stage of a more ambitious and more consistent approach to the fulfillment of approved election program of the National Front. We regard these work programs as open which therefore be defined with more precision and improved for a constantly better and more pleasant life of our citizens. The correctness and necessity of this more exacting approach to the solution of given tasks is documented also by the positive response of citizens. The response to the meetings of party and state organs and national committees is manifested in the signing of additional collective and individual pledges, in increased pledges of brigades of socialist labor and further development of socialist competition. By their attitude toward the implementation of resolutions of the 11th CPCZ Central Committee plenary session, the national committees have thus solidly joined the broad stream of creative initiative of our entire society.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

IMPORTANCE OF BASIC CPCZ ORGANIZATIONS EMPHASIZED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 17, Aug 78 pp 31-33

/Article by Karel Karas, secretary of the CPCZ Municipal Committee in Prague: "The Most Important Elements of the Party"/

/Text Party organizations in every place of work or residence face the truly basic task of having to convert the theoretical concept underlying the political line into building socialism in practice, a key task which is crucial if the policy of the party is to be implemented. Basic organizations serve many functions. Their statutes charge them with admitting new members into their ranks, educating them in the spirit of dedication and loyalty to the party, ideological steadfastness and communist morality. Study courses in Marx-Leninist theory are being organized for them to enable them to assume a leadership role in work collectives and social life. Basic organizations make an effort to encourage every communist to abide by the moral principles of builders of socialism and induce other workers to do likewise.

Everything a basic organization does to educate communists and encourage them to strengthen their leadership role is designed to influence and mobilize all workers to fulfill urgent socialist construction tasks. The ever broader scope and complexity of the tasks posed by advanced socialist construction calls for continued intensification of the influence of the party in all areas of the economic, social and intellectual life. This can be accomplished only if every basic organization engages in intensive political activity.

The leading role of the party and its success in implementing its political line increases with the intensification of the activity of the party organization. This is why the problem of the varied activities of party organizations is always of interest and concern to municipal and all obvod party committees.

The municipal party committee keeps routinely informed about the activity of basic party organizations in industrial enterprises, building construction, transportation, in leading state and social organs, scientific and research institutions, schools and cultural institutions. On the basis of in-depth analyses we examine to what extent basic organizations actually

fulfill their primary role in mission--that of a basic school of party work from which every communist must graduate. This is how we generalize and disseminate the experiences gained and set further new goals.

The municipal committee is especially interested in industrial party organizations because of V.I. Lenin's ever-valid heritage that the main strength of the movement rests on the degree to which workers are organized in large enterprises and that industrial party organizations will always be the backbone of the communist party.

For a considerable time now we have been concerned with intensifying specifically the control activity of every party organization. The municipal committee holds that carefully organized control by the party is a highly effective tool for the prevention and against repetition of mistakes, improvement of the work of cadres and increase of personal responsibility.

But consistent application of the right of control enhances also the degree of responsibility of the basic party organization for the activity of the collective in which it operates. This is accomplished by not resorting only to criticism of shortcomings and the potential adoption of measures for their removal but by assuring the obligation to organize political work among the masses properly and in this way influence and mobilize the entire work collective for the rectification of the uncovered shortcomings.

We constantly keep reminding officers of basic organizations that control activity is essentially a continuous confrontation and continuous comparing of our ideas and principles with what was and remains to be accomplished. We keep stressing that the situation in production can be assessed accurately only by acknowledging deviations and thereby creating conditions for changing the situation in accord with the program approved by the 15th congress and the resolutions adopted at individual sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. We emphasize at the same time that reliable knowledge is acquired only on the basis of a thorough analysis of the results achieved in a workshop, an operation, enterprise or plant and that the reason why every party organization, party group and every communist is required to keep constantly informed about the situation, the mood of the people, the moral political situation of the work collectives, public opinion, the tasks and problems of individual work places is to enable them to react to all these factors in time and correctly. The current structural standard of basic organizations in the Prague municipal organization enables them to organize their forces rationally, exert daily influence on all aspects of life in the production sphere and the entire society. The annual membership meetings held at the end of the past and the beginning of this year demonstrated clearly the rising standard of organizational and ideological-educational competence exhibited by basic party organizations. All these intraparty deliberations demonstrated the ideological and organizational unity of action of the Prague party organization.

We have acquired ample experience and information about the activity of basic organizations. An indubitably positive discovery was the fact that in these deliberations the communists were not satisfied with the results they have achieved but that they set for themselves more ambitious goals and at the same time evaluated very critically the weaknesses and shortcomings of their current work. The measure adopted by the annual membership meetings and party conferences are properly designed to raise further the management standard of economic development, culture and education of the people by the party and improve the organizational and political work of communists among the masses of work collectives.

We have repeatedly made the discovery that the standard of party leadership depends directly on the militancy and initiative exhibited by the basic party organization. Now, after the 11th CPCZ Central Committee session has imposed on basic party organizations the even more urgent task of intensifying their effort to increase production efficiency and accelerate scientific and technical progress, the requirement of increasing the effort to create an atmosphere conducive to harmonious work and productive striving, to educate people and improve their working and living conditions is also gaining in importance.

The 15th party congress rightfully emphasized the fundamental and practical importance of continued consolidation of the ranks of the party, the need to master the Leninist work style, apply criticism and self-criticism, control and verify the implementation of adopted resolutions and intensify the selection and education of cadres and intensify ideological activity. All these principles of political party work must be fully applied in the day-to-day activities of basic party organizations. The unconditional compliance with these principles is a necessary prerequisite for organized active and purposeful work it is to meet the current exacting demands.

The party statutes charge okres (in Prague obvod) party committees with the direct management of basic party organizations. This duty is nontransferable and needs to be constantly improved. Obvod committees are responsible for the build-up of basic organizations and direct their activity, familiarize themselves systematically with their annual activity reports and keep the communist membership roster. The municipal party committee imposes on obvod committees the duty of dealing with the task of increasing the role and activity of basic party organizations.

We will continue to encourage all obvod committees to render their assistance to basic party organizations even more regularly on a differentiated and concrete basis. No conference, aktiv, session, or consultation can ever replace live organizational and ideological educational work when it comes to solving key problems in developing production and educating people. There is nothing to ponder here, the guideline is clear: the activity of party organizations must aim at the overall increase of productivity, the maximum utilization of reserves and successful fulfillment of annual and prospective plans.

In practice this translates into the necessity to intensify the quality of work by all elements, introduce the latest scientific and technical findings and innovatory experiences in production, and assure work stability in all enterprises, plants, operations, workshops and work places. All party organizations active in the economic sphere must focus their attention on these tasks. To that end obvod committees are obligated to render them the necessary and very tangible assistance.

All obvod party committees must become even deeper involved in the activities of basic party organizations, improve the forms and methods of their work and place greater emphasis on the effective application of the right of control. Obvod committees must increase the role and responsibility of basic organizations in selecting and assigning cadres within their sphere of activity and guide them more consistently to practice effective control and verify the implementation of adopted resolutions.

The same applies to the critical assessment of the results achieved and the encouragement of criticism and self-criticism. Party organizations must solve the day-to-day problem of assigning party cadres to key positions correctly and keep improving the qualitative composition of party ranks, see the political education of communists and render ideological and educational work more effective.

The activity and intensity of the political work of basic party organizations depends on many factors. In the Prague municipal organization we attribute basic importance to advisories and recommendations which basic organizations receive from the municipal and individual obvod party committees on the practical implementation of tasks in the economic and cultural sphere and on organizational and political work. They are contained in resolutions of the municipal and obvod party committees and their executive committees. Great attention is being paid to the need for party resolutions adopted by higher organs to be specific and to the point so that they may, as V.I. Lenin taught, assist basic organizations in deciding in time where to concentrate their main forces and attention.

The experience which we have acquired in the Prague party organization over many years authorizes us to say that carefully prepared and collectively agreed-on party resolutions which were unambiguous and justified had a positive impact also on the practical implementation of economic and political tasks. But there are also resolutions which have no noticeable impact on the absence of necessary control or lack of discipline needed for their implementation. The quality of similar resolutions and the correctness and feasibility of the tasks they set must also be examined.

In party practice we must do away quickly with resolutions of a declarative nature which contain general meaningless phrases such as "to raise the level of political and organizational work" or "improve tangibly the management of socialist competitions." A resolution must also be instructive and

indicate how and in what respect a given activity is to be improved, how the form and method of work should specifically be changed at this time, what specific tasks are to be implemented by this or that party organization and how this can best be achieved. Party organs must issue guidelines in this vein and none other. Of course, this does not mean that detailed instructions have to be laid down for the activity of party organizations but that the guidelines pertaining to basic questions must be clear and specific. In party work a clearly understood hint plays an important role in raising its effectiveness.

We now pay closer attention to the evaluation of information and reports which basic organizations transmit to the municipal and obvod party committees. Here everything depends on the choice of the questions to which basic organizations are expected to provide answers. We attribute increased importance to thorough examination of problems on the spot, principled approach to the evaluation of the work of basic organizations, collective judgment in the executive committees of the municipal or obvod party committees, and to concreteness of the conclusions and recommendations.

The number of resolutions passed is also being carefully considered. If there are too many they cease to be of value in managerial work. Party organizations cannot assess them in time, let alone study them, and they are therefore inadequately implemented. The same applies also to controlling the implementation of such resolutions. Highly instructive words on this subject were spoken at the 25th congress of Soviet communists by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L.I. Brezhnev: "Occasionally, when some resolution is not followed by implementation, a second or even a third resolution is passed on the same subject. Their content is not bad, or so it would appear. But what they contain should already have been put into practice. Unwittingly, the question arises whether a new resolution on an old subject is not an expression of leniency and of some sort of liberalism. Are we not detracting from our high standard? An end must be made to such practice." Our Prague party organization has had a similar experience and found that it is preferable by far to insist on the implementation of a once-passed resolution than to pass new additional ones.

Employees of the municipal and obvod party committees will contribute even more to raising the effectiveness of the work of basic organizations by direct contact. We attribute especially great importance to their participation in the preparation of membership meetings. Naturally, even though the multifaceted life of the party cannot be reduced solely to intraparty activities, membership meetings as the organs of collective leadership are among the principal means for mobilizing communists and constitute an event in the life of the organization which decisively influences its entire activity.

A positive attitude to the party begins with a positive attitude to the highest organ of the basic organization--the membership meeting. A party meeting is not an occasion for visiting and staying a while to hear what others have to say. Mere presence counts for nothing. Important is active participation in the proceedings where direction of the work of the basic organization is being decided. Such an approach harbors no danger that communists might leave the meeting without knowing what is to be done. A specific resolution assigning specific tasks with deadlines for their fulfillment, which at the same time sets down forms of control, is the best guarantee against passivity and also the best solution of the problem of dividing the work equally among individual communists.

The experience acquired by our Prague organization demonstrates that the standard of a membership meeting is directly related to the thoroughness of its preparation and to the atmosphere in which it takes place. If the agenda deals with a specific problem, if a broad circle of communists has participated in its preparation, if an exhaustive report is rendered, if constructive solutions are advanced and the meeting takes place in an atmosphere of sober and open discussion of facts subject to principled criticism, then the meeting will be productive. And since problems are being solved which are of concern not only to communists but to all working people, the participation of the collective in recounting experiences, voicing views, making comments and hearing the viewpoints of workers, technicians, and management workers who decide about the fulfillment of tasks must be intensified.

Naturally, very much depends on determination of the problem area which will constitute the agenda of the membership meeting. As an example, party organizations active in the economic sector should at their meetings deal more frequently with the topic of personal responsibility of individual communists for raising work efficiency and quality in the collective. Tackling this general problem appropriately in specific terms will necessarily lead to a productive assessment of the entire problem area and to adoption of a factual specific resolution showing how to approach implementation of the most important task of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Of course, the most important stage is practical implementation of the adopted resolutions. The assistance rendered basic organizations by employees of the municipal and obvod committees must contribute to this end and not cease when the meeting ends but maintain proper continuity.

Our experience, which is surely identical with that of other kraj organizations, bears out the correctness of the principle of differentiated approach to basic organizations taking into account the specific conditions in which each of them lives. It is a generally accepted practice that obvod committees monitor the activity of party organizations which operate in key enterprises, plants and installations. This is surely correct, but organizations with small numbers of members ought not to be forgotten, especially because they

represent a considerable percentage of our Prague party organizations. Moreover, they are organizations which are mostly active in the cultural sector, in public education, public health, housing services and management organs which, because of the frequently complicated conditions in which they operate, need informed guidance and assistance.

Keeping basic organizations properly informed about the activity of higher party organs has a considerable impact on raising the activity of basic organizations. The existing party information system enables communists to familiarize themselves with a broad spectrum of domestic and foreign policy problems, with the most important sessions of party organs and their resolutions. But there is also the other side of the coin--to keep party organs properly informed about the life and problems of basic organizations. Without such information it is not possible to provide proper guidance, generalize and disseminate exemplary experiences, and adopt in time measures for the overcoming of shortcomings.

Raising steadily the standard of activity of basic organizations is closely connected with the composition of their executive committees and with the political profile of their chairmen. For this reason obvod committees must continuously pay attention to improving the cadre quality of elected leadership organs of basic organizations. With the increasing difficulty of the tasks, the demands placed on individual communists are also rising. This applies even more to officers of basic organizations. This fully justifies the call for electing to committee offices only the politically most mature comrades who are good organizers and have a good education. This logically poses the fundamental task of raising further the standard of their Marxist-Leninist preparation which would enable them to master the theory and practice of party work and the art of working with people.

The activity of basic organizations is the focus of attention of the Prague municipal party committee. Their share in activation of the entire Prague organization, the maintenance, strengthening and channeling of the work effort of our citizens into successful attainment of the goals set by the 15th CPCZ Congress and the fulfillment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan is crucial. Basic organizations have a decisive influence on the acceptance of party policy by all our working people in acknowledgement of their own interest and on its ultimate implementation at their places of work.

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

NEW MONGOLIAN ENVOY--The new Mongolian ambassador to the CSSR, (Ulzin Dorz), arrived on 9 October in the CSSR and was welcomed on arrival by Jindrich Tucek, head of diplomatic protocol in the federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

VISITING AUSTRALIAN MINISTER--Victor Ransley Garland, Australian minister of special trade affairs, arrived on 10 October for a brief visit to the CSSR, to discuss the possibilities of expanding trade contacts and economic cooperation between the CSSR and Australia. He is accompanied by Robert Stephen Laurie, Australian ambassador seated in Warsaw. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

PARTY DELEGATION TO MONGOLIA--A study delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee's general department, headed by department head Jaroslav Molek, departed on 10 October from Prague to Ulaanbaatar at the MPRP's invitation. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

CSSR-AUSTRIAN CONTACTS--Mecislav Jablonsky, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Dr Hans Pasch, ambassador of the Austrian Republic to Czechoslovakia, exchanged notes on Tuesday [10 October] in Prague. In the notes the two states confirmed that the required intra-state prerequisites for the validity of the agreement between the CSSR and the Republic of Austria on cooperation in the sphere of culture, education and science, signed on 22 November 1977 in Vienna, had been fulfilled. According to the stipulations, the agreement will become valid on 9 December 1978. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

SYRIAN DELEGATION EXPECTED--An official delegation of the People's Council of the Syrian Arab Republic, led by Mahmud Chadid, People's Council chairman, will be visiting the CSSR Central Committee and Alois Indra, CSSR Federal Assembly chairman. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Sep 78 p 1 AU]

JOURNALISTIC PRIZES--The presidium of the Czech National Council, acting on the recommendation of the Czech Socialist Republic, has awarded the Jan Sverma journalistic prizes for committed publicistic activity on the occasion of the Day of the Press, Radio and Television. The prizes were

presented to Jindrich Besta, editor-in-chief of the DIKOBRAZ weekly; Josef Hora, foreign correspondent of Czechoslovak radio; Jarmila Houfova, RUDE PRAVO journalist; and Oldrich Vejvoda, Czechoslovak television journalist. The prizes were handed to them in Prague today in the presence of Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech Premier, by Evzen Erban, chairman of the Czech National Council. Also present at the festive ceremony was: Oldrich Svestka, member of the secretariat of the party Central Committee and editor-in-chief of RUDE PRAVO; Otto Cmolik, departmental head of the party Central Committee; Stepan Hornik, Czech deputy premier; Milan Klusak, Czech minister of culture; and other representatives of our political, public and cultural life. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 21 Sep 78 LD]

CSSR-AUSTRIAN TRAVEL AGREEMENT--The agreement between the CSSR and Austria on the alleviation of visa contacts--the free issuing of entry and transit visas for scientists, artists and experts of the two countries--has become valid this Tuesday [10 October]. The Austrian press unanimously welcomes this step, calling it another contribution to the development of mutual relations between the two states. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

SWISS ENVOY ENDS MISSION--Alois Indra, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received on 12 October in Prague Walter Jaeggi, ambassador of the Swiss Confederation, in connection with the termination of the latter's diplomatic mission in the CSSR. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION--Prague, Oct 11, CETEKA--Ambassador Nguyen Tien Thong gave a reception here this evening on the occasion of the official visit of the Vietnamese Patriotic Front Delegation to Czechoslovakia. Head of the delegation, chairman of the front Hoang Quoc Viet, presented the Vietnamese Order of Friendship to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak National Front, in appreciation of the long-time all-round support of the people of Czechoslovakia for the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggressors and for assistance in the construction of socialism in Vietnam. The order was taken over by Czechoslovak National Front Deputy Chairman Tomas Travnicek. [Prague CTK in English 2025 GMT 11 Oct 78 LD]

CLERGYMEN PLEDGE LOYALTY--Antonin Vesely, general vicar of the Olomouc archdiocese and chairman of the CSSR Association of Catholic Clergymen Pacem in Terris, and Jan Urban, chairman of the Council of the Brethrens Church, have recently pledged loyalty to the CSSR. The pledge was received by Czech Minister of Culture M. Klusak. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

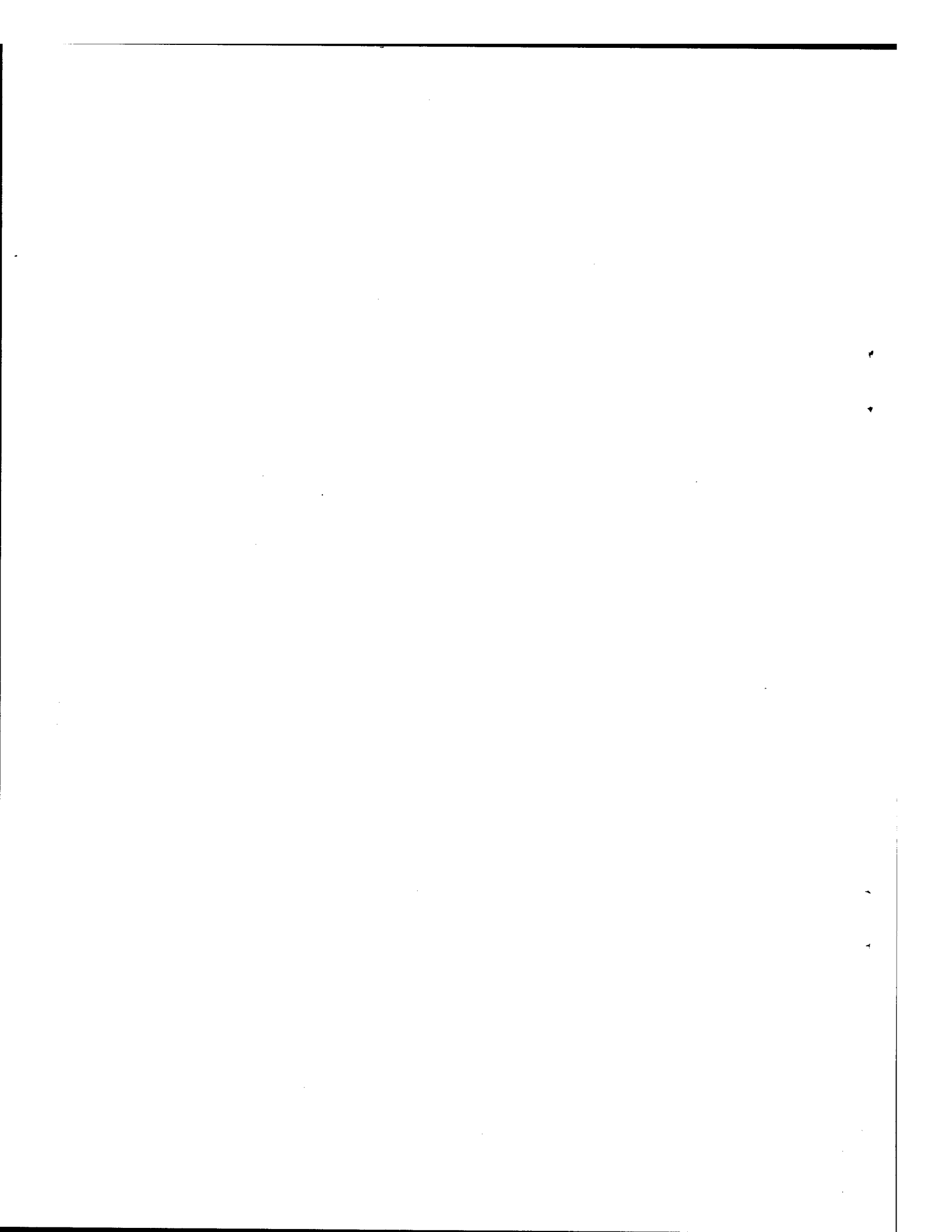
YOUTH DELEGATION TO ANGOLA--A two-member delegation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union led by M. Zozulak, deputy chairman of the Socialist Youth Union Central Committee and chairman of the Slovak Socialist Youth Union Central Committee, has departed for Luanda [date not specified] to attend the first national conference of the Labor Party Youth, the JMPLA. [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 16 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

ALGIERS DELEGATION--Prague 18 Oct CETEKA--A protocol on cooperation between Prague and Algiers was signed here today by Prague Mayor Zdenek Zuska and Chairman of the Algiers People's Council Mustapha Kamal Medjaoui. A Prague "Friendship Week" will be held in Algiers next year. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1630 GMT 1 Oct 78 LD]

PEACE MEETING--Prague, 12 Oct, CETEKA--A two-day consultative meeting of delegates of some world non-governmental democratic organizations opened here today, with the aim to coordinate efforts in the struggle for peace and detente. The meeting is attended by representatives of the World Peace Council, led by its Chairman Romesh Chandra, the International Institute for Peace, Women's International Democratic Federation, World Federation of Democratic Youth, World Federation of Trade Unions, International Association of Democratic Lawyers, World Federation of Scientific Workers, the Christian Peace Conference, Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization and of the WORLD MARXIST REVIEW journal. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1515 GMT 12 Oct 78 LD]

VIETNAMESE DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE--Prague, 12 Oct, CETEKA--A delegation of the Central Committee of the Patriotic Front of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, headed by its Chairman Hoang Quoc-viet, ended today its official visit to Czechoslovakia and left here for home. The delegation was seen off by National Front Deputy Chairman Tomas Travnicek. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1602 GMT 12 Oct 78 LD]

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GOALS OF COMMUNIST EDUCATION DETAILED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 192/193, 3-4 Oct 78 p 3

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Journal Rejects Presumptions Regarding Ineffectiveness of 'Patriotic Education.'" A translation of the East Berlin PAEDAGOGIK article discussed below follows this commentary]

[Text] Statements by politicians and scientists in the Federal Republic regarding the "ineffectiveness of patriotic education in the GDR" have been vehemently attacked by the East Berlin journal PAEDAGOGIK. Such statements, the journal claims, are based on "dubious assumptions" about an allegedly still effective solidarity and the "unstilled hunger" of GDR citizens for living in one single country with Federal citizens. On might, the journal continues, relegate such "speculations" to the realm of fantasy if they did not represent more than the remarks of individuals. But this is not the case; instead they represent voices in a chorus which is tuned in to the alleged survival of the German nation, including the GDR and the Federal Republic. The "nationalist demagogy" pursued with this doctrine is intended to mislead GDR citizens into thinking that their fatherland is not the GDR but an "imaginary Germany." It is said to aim at disrupting the "process of the ideological consolidation of the socialist nation in the GDR," at sowing confusion and representing the policy of "annexation of the GDR" as the "execution of an alleged national will." The doctrine is therefore clearly in the service of a policy hostile to the GDR, which has to be countered appropriately.

## Importance of Patriotic Awareness

East Berlin PAEDAGOGIK in German Vol 33 No 9, Sep 78 signed to press 16 Aug 78, pp 673-683

[Article by Dr Helmut Meier, lecturer, deputy head, department for history of German workers movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Current Problems of Socialist Patriotism." A translation of the Hermann Axen article cited in footnote 4 below is published in JPRS 70417, 5 Jan 78, No 1492 of this series, pp 14-27. A translation of a detailed discussion of the Alfred Kosing book cited in footnote 16 below is published in JPRS 69068, 10 May 77, pp 5-54. Other translated articles by Kosing on the same subject are available in JPRS 64634, 28 Apr 75, pp 11-39 and 64368, 20 Mar 75, 71708, 18 Aug 78, No 1577, pp 64-84; 71618, 3 Aug 78, No 1573, pp 7-12; 70827, 23 Mar 78, No 1515, pp 122-135; 70640, 15 Feb 78, No 1503, pp 22-26; 70196, 21 Nov 77, No 1476, pp 58-67; 67733, 10 Aug 76, No 1279, pp 50-58; and 66764, 10 Feb 76, pp 10-27]

[Text] Next year the German Democratic Republic will celebrate its 30th anniversary. In a period which is relatively brief when related to the history of mankind, the antifascist-democratic revolution was carried out under the leadership of the party of the working class and the socialist society established. This turn in the history of the German people is at one and the same time part and result of the worldwide victorious advance of socialism. For that reason the foundation of the socialist GDR assumes the rank of a significant date in history. In the appeal on the 30th anniversary of the GDR's foundation it says: "On this 7 October 1949 a German state entered upon the world stage, which inscribed on its banners peace instead of war, friendship instead of hatred among the peoples. For the first time we have a German state which our people can acknowledge with a clear conscience, both to themselves and to the world, a state in which the people are free of exploitation and oppression. The emergence of the GDR signified the emergence of a state with a policy entirely designed to do everything for the welfare of man, the happiness of the people, the interests of the working class and all working people. A German state arose, which embodies social progress and carries it forward--with the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces the world over."<sup>1</sup>

The GDR originated in an important popular movement and continues to be carried by the democratic initiative of the entire people. Erich Honecker was therefore able to observe: "By the socialist revolution the working people of our country managed, for the first time in the long and eventful history of the German people, to conquer their own fatherland and constitute themselves as the socialist nation. The German Democratic Republic is their homeland."<sup>2</sup>

The proper significance to be attributed to the fact that the working people of our country have a real fatherland can be gauged only when we appreciate

that the progressive forces of our people were compelled for many centuries to wage a furious and sacrificial struggle for a state with a socially just and decent system, where they could truly feel at home. This struggle was replete with painful defeats. Even when they scored some successes, the working people--given the conditions of exploiter rule--were usually tricked out of the results of their struggles and their labors.

The prerequisites for success did not emerge until the appearance of the revolutionary workers movement. The conquest of power by the working class at the head of all working people represented the vital step toward the implementation of the goals of the popular struggle. That is why our socialist fatherland is a precious achievement, a valuable property which we must defend and multiply. It is one of the foremost tasks of communist education to raise the consciousness of all citizens, and especially the young ones, concerning the benefits of the socialist order in our country, which enables us to have a real fatherland guaranteeing all its citizens social security and prosperity, the development of their bodily and mental endowments.

#### Unity of Patriotism and Internationalism

Socialist patriotism represents one of the most important facets of socialist consciousness. Together with proletarian internationalism, one's attitude to labor and loyalty to the communist ideals of the working class, it is one of the crucial objectives of steady ideological work by the party of the working class and the socialist state and, in particular, the communist education of the young generation. Our patriotism has features of its own, which derive from its socialist character.

It reflects the relation of the working class and all other working people to the socialist society and the socialist state in our country. At the same time it demonstrates an important aspect of the realization of the historic mission of the working class, that is the fact that conditions for the revolutionary deprivation of power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of socialism--and later communism--do not mature at the same time in all countries and Continents, and that therefore the revolutionary transformation of the world, under the leadership of the working class, proceeds by way of a chain of socialist revolutions in single countries or groups of countries.

For that reason the necessity arises for the working class and its leading Marxist-Leninist parties correctly to couple the potential for conquering power in their own countries with the international workers movement's struggle for socialism. By initially removing capitalism in its own country and establishing the socialist society there, the working class makes a significant contribution to the promotion of the revolutionary world process. It shows itself a reliable segment of the international workers movement. That is a genuinely internationalist task. In its accomplishment it takes the head of all working people in its country (because their basic interests coincide with its own), and mobilizes them for the liberation of the people from oppression and exploitation.

The result of this struggle is the conquest of a real fatherland which meets the desires and hopes of all working people. In its capacity as the leading force of this national popular movement, the workers movement turns out to be a profoundly patriotic force. In the struggle of the working class at the head of the working people, in its policy and ideology, therefore, patriotism and internationalism are always indivisibly linked. In this spirit Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, issued the directive: "Our party assigns great importance to the patriotic education of youth, especially at the present time. But for us communists this patriotic education is always indivisibly linked with internationalist attitudes and behavior, the firm friendship for the Soviet Union, the consciousness of community with the socialist fraternal nations, the obligation to anti-imperialist solidarity. In our ideology and policy patriotism and internationalism are one."<sup>3</sup>

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism are always determined by the class tasks and class goals of the working class, the elimination of exploiter rule and the advent of the classless society.<sup>4</sup> Consequently socialist patriotism has a profoundly class-like content. As this target coincides with the interest of all other working people in a society free of exploitation, carried by social justice and respect for human dignity, it is based on the full identification of all citizens with the socialist social order which alone allows the respective country to be a genuine fatherland for all working people.

Socialist patriotism is incompatible with a merely passive attitude. Nor does it reflect merely a holiday mood. Socialist patriotism demands active involvement in the further development of the socialist fatherland. It is expressed in the creative actions of citizens in all areas of social life. To be a socialist patriot, therefore, means commitment to the accomplishment of the economic, political and social tasks resolved upon by the Ninth SED Congress. A patriotic attitude is displayed in advanced achievements in socialist production, the fulfillment of plan targets, the observance of quality standards, participation in the competition and innovator movements, the exercise of social functions and the observance of responsibilities in people's representations and other elected bodies, not least of course also in the readiness to defend the fatherland.

Socialist patriotism also includes profound love for the socialist fatherland, solidarity with its citizens, pride in its history and achievements. Yet commitment to the socialist fatherland does not mean that we should fall prey to nationalist exclusiveness, let alone arrogance toward other peoples. Marxism-Leninism rejects all concepts which assign to one's people a special superiority by comparison to other peoples. It requires equal respect for the contribution of all peoples to the history and culture of mankind. Erich Honecker pointed this out when he explained: "As patriots we keep and defend the national dignity of our socialist fatherland; at the same time we are consistent proletarian internationalists. Our conception of national dignity includes responsibility toward world socialism, the international workers movement and all progressive forces."<sup>5</sup>

The basic social content of socialist patriotism signifies that it is essentially and consistently anti-imperialist and revolutionary. The working class can get a socialist fatherland only by means of waging revolutionary class war against the monopoly bourgeoisie. Many years ago Clara Zetkin wrote: "The proletariat must conquer its fatherland. Not in the struggle against an alien nationality or race which threatens its 'most sacred concerns,' but in the struggle against the property owning, exploiting and ruling classes who rob it of that which makes the native country the fatherland."<sup>6</sup>

#### Offensive Dispute With Bourgeois Nationalist Demagogy

Capitalism and socialism represent irreconcilable opposites; bourgeois and working class concepts of the fatherland are similarly incompatible. No coincidence of interests between exploiters and exploited is possible in capitalism. The ruling class not only owns the factories and most of the land, it also decides government policy; consequently its share in the wealth of the "fatherland" is infinitely greater than that of the working people.

The profound differences in their lifestyles are not bridged by the fact that exploiters and exploited use the same language and live in the same territory. Nevertheless, even that is used by the ideologues of the bourgeoisie to postulate allegedly common national features in order to use them as a smokescreen to hide the social differences. At the same time the sentiments of love for the homeland and the longing for a real fatherland, deeply rooted in the popular masses, are misused to make them serve the goals of the ruling class. Bourgeois ideology has thus made the term "fatherland" one of the most abused concepts. Using the watchword "defense of the fatherland," broad masses of the peoples were precipitated into bloody wars of conquest in the service of the profits interests of the bourgeoisie. To malign in the eyes of the working people those who championed social progress, they were branded "rootless scum." For many years this is what happened to the fighters of the workers movement. Condemned as traitors were all those who fought the warlike policy of German imperialists and militarists. Clara Zetkin pertinently revealed this abuse of the fatherland concept by the ruling classes in the exploiter society. She wrote: "For the property owning classes the fatherland conceptually represents the ideological cloak disguising their interests which are so inimical to the people, the ideological blinders to dupe the masses. In fact the fatherland is for them the politically outlined and secured national sphere of power serving their exploitation and rule. They identify the fatherland with themselves and their interests. They pontificate in the name of the fatherland but act exclusively for the benefit of their own interests, disregarding the welfare or sufferings of the millions who are their subjects. They dishonor the fatherland by reducing it to the role of a milchcow which provides their butter and that of a guardian dragon who watches over their loot."<sup>7</sup>

Clara Zetkin graphically showed that it is precisely the monopoly masters and landowners who deny the working classes and strata their fatherland. In the "Communist Manifesto" Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels said that workers in capitalism have no fatherland because they do not own it, that is they do not have the power to dispose of natural resources, factories or farms.<sup>8</sup>

The struggle for a fatherland is thus ultimately identical with the struggle for the conquest of political power, the ownership of the means of production and access to education and culture for working people, that is for those who produce wealth. From this aspect the socialist fatherland is a revolutionary achievement which must be won in the struggle against the exploiters and always defended and secured against the class foe.

Patriotic education must, therefore, include the constant offensive dispute with bourgeois nationalist demagogy which continues to serve as a disguise for the antisocialist attacks launched by imperialism. That applies especially to the imperialist policy pursued by the FRG vis-a-vis the GDR.

Here we still find the imperialists harking back to the fact that the people of the GDR and the FRG share the same language, have the same ethnic background and both were formerly part of the same bourgeois German national state. These common features are made to justify the bourgeois doctrine of the alleged survival of a "German nation" embracing both the GDR and the FRG. With this consideration in mind they agitate against the statement proclaimed in the SED party program: That in the GDR we see the development of the socialist German nation which is in total and unbridgeable contrast to the capitalist nation persisting in the FRG.<sup>9</sup>

Politicians and ideologues in the FRG indefatigably assert the alleged ineffectiveness of patriotic education in the GDR, and they indulge in dubious "assumptions" about an allegedly still effective "solidarity" and the "unstilled desire" to live in one state with the citizens of the FRG.<sup>10</sup> Without attempting to justify this assertion Federal President Scheel, for example, lately claimed "that precisely the people of the GDR cling to the concept of German unity."<sup>11</sup> A certain Dietrich Grille went so far as to assume "in the depth of the consciousness of Germans living at the present time" a persisting "historical pathos" of "a single people, fundamentally one though divided from above and the outside."<sup>12</sup>

It would be easy to assign such speculations to the realm of fantasy if we were dealing with no more than utterances of solitary individuals. But that is not the case. In fact we are confronted with a chorus which is harmonizing the song of the alleged survival of a "German nation" to include the GDR and the FRG. This chorus is directed by politically and economically leading circles in the FRG. The official attitude regarding the necessity to "keep open the German question" is designed to arouse the impression that no definite decision has yet been taken on the status of the two German states and the nature of relations between them. Deduced therefrom is the justification for continuing to question the existence of the GDR as a sovereign socialist

national state. In 1974, for example, the Friedrich-Ebert Institute distributed some material on the goals linked to the "keep open strategy": "This means that the nation will join in a single state at the time when this can be done peaceably, consequent upon the appropriate world political constellation or atmosphere."<sup>13</sup> And Hans-Peter Schwarz wrote: "Keeping open the German question until more favorable conditions prevail for settlements in the spirit of freedom."<sup>14</sup>

In fact this means nothing less than the wish by some means or other to shift the balance of power once more toward imperialism and subsequently extend capitalist power to the GDR. This attitude is definitely untenable. Yet it confirms Erich Honecker's claim early this year, "that, due to its basic anticommunist attitude, the Federal Republic will have difficulty even in future in coming to terms with the existence of the first workers and farmers state on German soil."<sup>15</sup>

This nationalist demagogy pursued with the doctrine of the alleged survival of the German nation is designed to make GDR citizens believe their fatherland to be not the GDR but some imaginary "Germany." It aims to disrupt the ideological consolidation of the socialist nation in the GDR, spread confusion and make out the imperialist policy for incorporation of the GDR in the imperialist system to be the "execution" of an allegedly "national will." It is thus clearly in the service of an imperialist policy hostile to our fatherland, and we will have to counter it accordingly.

In fact everybody can check the facts backing our arguments. Nobody can dispute that totally incompatible social conditions exist in the two German states. The GDR is a socialist state where the working class exercises power in alliance with the other working people. Our society is built upon socialist production conditions which are characterized by common ownership of the means of production. Our economy is planned with the aim increasingly well to satisfy the growing material and cultural needs of the people. The intellectual life in our state is determined by Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class. The GDR is part of the socialist community of nations clustered around the Soviet Union. Conversely, capitalist social conditions prevail in the FRG, political power resides in those who own the economic resources: The monopolies. Their profit interests dominate the policy of the Federal Republic. As all other capitalist countries, the FRG is subject to the consequences of the crisis of imperialism. It is one of the most active members of the aggressive NATO Alliance.

Where, then is the "national" communion of the GDR and the FRG? Certainly, the German language is spoken in the FRG and the GDR. The territory of both states once belonged to the same bourgeois national state. Many close relations are rooted in this common past. But it is indisputable that ethnic similarity does not necessarily make for membership in a national federation. How else could we explain that several historical nations were able to emerge from one nationality, or that several nationalities merged into one nation? This phenomenon can be explained only by the fact that nations are

socio-ethnic communities, that is their decisive bases are provided by objective social conditions. A nation is constituted from, especially, the community of economic, social, political and ideological conditions in conjunction with one or several nationalities. The socialist revolution has completely reshaped the basis of national life in the GDR and provided the prerequisites for the evolution of the socialist German nation on its territory. No imperialist wishful thinking can change any of this.

Furthermore, the dialectic of social development in socialism means that, despite different ethnic features, an ever more noticeable adjustment of the socialist states is proceeding within the socialist community of nations. That is another proof of the truth inherent in the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the ultimately decisive role of socio-economic and political givens for the evolution and consolidation of national communities. The adjustment of the socialist nations proceeds on the soil of the already existing coincidence in the nature of production conditions, the political system, the leadership of society by the Marxist-Leninist parties, the social structure, lifestyle and ideology.

This process does not by any means signify the extinction of national characteristics nor the elimination of national features, because it is intertwined with the simultaneous flowering of the socialist nations.<sup>16</sup> It does, though, make great demands on the socialist consciousness of the citizens of all socialist states, including those of our republic. It assumes profound insight into the interrelations between national and international aspects of socialism and the essential characteristics and outlook of our own socialist nation. In addition it requires increasing knowledge of the history and culture of our country as well as that of the socialist fraternal countries.

We must therefore continue to consider it a central task of patriotic education to familiarize all citizens with the inevitabilities of the socialist development of nations and, at the same time, open their eyes to the processes of internationalization proceeding in socialism. This can provide a valuable contribution to the improvement of our citizens ability to take an active share in the further development of socialist national relations in the GDR and, simultaneously, the deepening of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community of nations. This aspect of communist education is of particular importance in the ideological dispute, because the GDR is very much a target of bourgeois-nationalist demagogy.

#### Teaching the Marxist-Leninist Image of History

Erich Honecker emphasized that "knowledge of the historic development trend adopted by our people... (represents) a strong source for the evolution of socialist patriotism."<sup>17</sup> That indicates the great ideological significance inherent in the teaching of a scientifically based Marxist-Leninist image of history.<sup>18</sup> At the same time it provides an answer to the question what will have to be done now and in future in order further to strengthen the socialist

patriotic attitudes and sentiments of GDR citizens. Certainly it is true that this must always happen in connection with internationalist education, the development of a socialist attitude to labor and the consolidation of socialist moral standards.

Socialist patriotism is unthinkable without knowledge of the history of our own fatherland, our own nation. Knowledge of history is an important prerequisite for grasping the fundamental change effected by the establishment of socialism on the soil of the GDR. It is of great help in recognizing the place and importance of our fatherland within the scope of the revolutionary world process. It makes available important social experiences gained by generations of our people and still of significance for solving present and future problems.

One such historic experience is that of the unending creative force of the working class and the other working people who are the molders of our fatherland. Led by the united party of the working class they created a stable socialist state with a developed industry and agriculture on a territory devastated by imperialism, and this state has for years maintained its ranking among the world's 10 outstanding industrial nations. It is not so much a matter of having cleared the ruins and constructed new homes and factories. War damage was removed in capitalist countries also. Much more important is the fact that, despite these adverse initial conditions, we managed at the same time to develop a completely new society, entirely new relations among men. Socialist production conditions and the political power of the working class offer a guarantee that, for the first time in the history of the German people, the working people enjoy the fruits of their labors. "They own the factories, farms, cultural facilities and natural beauties. They are involved in planning and in government."<sup>19</sup>

Knowledge of GDR history thus provides an important precondition for properly valuing the achievements of our people and appraising that which remains to be done in the matter of organizing the developed socialist society. To know the successes achieved heightens our awareness of our own strength and reinforces our conviction that we can confidently look forward to future tasks. At the same time history teaches us to be factual and sober.

Another important insight may also be derived from history. The successes of the GDR would not have been possible without the constant support of the USSR and the other socialist fraternal countries. Still bleeding from innumerable wounds inflicted by criminal fascist German imperialism, the Soviet Union offered selfless aid to the GDR in every possible sector. Immediately after the liberation the Soviet Army used its stocks to help satisfy the worst hunger. Soviet officers counseled and helped the antifascist and democratic forces when it was a matter of restoring the economy and social life. The USSR helped meet the raw material and fuel needs of our industry and thereby destroyed the imperialist economic blockade. The presence of Soviet armed forces kept in check the domestic and foreign counter-revolution and ensured the peaceful progress of the socialist revolution in

the GDR. With the aid of the USSR and the other socialist allies, finally, the diplomatic isolation of the GDR by the imperialist states and especially FRG imperialism, was first rendered ineffective and ultimately broken.

All these examples bear witness to the fact that the history of the GDR is also the history of our indestructible friendship with the USSR and the socialist community of nations. Erich Honecker could therefore report: "The results of full cooperation with the Soviet Union have everywhere permeated today's socialist reality in our republic. They live in everything we have created and love."<sup>20</sup>

Our fatherland has also furnished a recognized contribution to the reinforcement of world socialism and proven a worthy member of the chief revolutionary force of our era. GDR citizens exercise solidarity in many forms. These historic facts demonstrate the international nature of socialism, which results in the organic link between the progress achieved in one country and the advance of the entire community.

Moreover the history of the GDR is important for patriotic education because it supplies incontrovertible proof that socialism and imperialism have nothing whatever in common. The history of our fatherland is the history of most serious class conflicts with imperialism, especially in the FRG. Every advance in the organization of socialism had to be achieved in hard struggles against a merciless foe. In this connection knowledge of history fulfills an important ideological function. It helps us strip FRG imperialism of the hypocritical mask of "national representation of interests" and reveal its aggressive and reactionary nature.

If we delve into the history of the period since 1945, we see that the SED left nothing undone "to frustrate the establishment of a separate imperialist state in the Western zones, create the proper conditions for a united German Democratic Republic and lead the entire German people to peace, democracy and socialism."<sup>21</sup> This policy had the support of the USSR and the young people's democracies.

The GDR submitted to the FRG Government more than 100 definite proposals for preventing or reversing the split. It accepted serious material sacrifices in order to keep going the possibilities for overcoming the split. For 12 years the working people of the FRG built socialism while keeping an open border. This was exploited by the imperialist rulers on the Rhine and the Ruhr to shamelessly plunder the GDR. Though it will probably never be possible accurately to ascertain the full dimensions of the damage done the GDR, it is quite certain that at least M100 billion were taken out of our country. The full import of this loss may be gauged by the fact that, in 1949, the GDR's gross national product for the year amounted to only some M27 billion.

At the time FRG imperialism reacted with openly hostile actions to all GDR efforts for an agreement. It was its intention to "bleed the GDR to death,"

undermine its economic and political stability and subsequently with little trouble reincorporate it in the imperialist sphere of power by a kind of police action. The Bonn politicians did not care in the least about the suffering their measures caused to millions of working people in the GDR. In their blind hatred of socialism they did not disdain any means for overthrowing socialism in the GDR and extend imperialist power to its territory. Thanks to the growing strength of socialism this policy suffered an ignominious defeat. Nowadays the imperialist side is unable to use many of the means and methods then employed against the GDR. It would, however, be a fallacy to assume that the ruling circles of the FRG have given up all hope of achieving their goal. Knowledge of history is an effective antidote to illusions about the nature of imperialism. Incidentally, the present-day politicians and ideologues of imperialism are gambling on the fact that a large section of the GDR public is no longer directly familiar with long stretches of our history since 1945. All the greater is the responsibility of history teaching and history propaganda to make sure that these important class conflict experiences are kept alive.

Finally let me remind you of another important aspect which illuminates the importance of history as a source of patriotic convictions.

Obviously the socialist GDR is not a structure "without history," which bears no relation to the earlier development of the German people. Such a silly reproach is sometimes leveled at us by our enemies in order to defame the GDR and socialism on German soil as a phenomenon conflicting with the "spirit of German history." Such manipulations, however, cannot withstand serious examination.

Analogous to the development of other peoples, the history of the German people is characterized by the unceasing conflict between the forces of progress and reaction. Any improvement in the condition of the working people any change in social relations, was achieved in acute class conflict with the ruling classes. We need not ask which are the forces the socialist GDR relates to. They are the social forces and movements as well as the personalities whose efforts aimed at a progressive, democratic and revolutionary development. The GDR, the country where progressive forces at last triumphed over their reactionary opponents and assumed the leadership of state and society, regards them as precursors.<sup>22</sup> The GDR feels obligated, in the conditions of victorious socialism, to translate into real life their dreams and hopes of a socially just and decent society. The GDR consequently has deep roots in the entire history of the German people.

Of course the FRG also relates to a tradition of German history. It continues the exercise of power by the exploiter class which, for centuries, burdened the German people with heavy sacrifices in sweat and blood. It is tantamount to mockery of the heroes of the popular struggle for the FRG rulers and their ideologues to arrogate to themselves the right to represent the heritage of the fighters in the German Peasant War, the 1948/1949 Revolution, the 1918 November Revolution or the antifascist resistance because,

after all, the power bases of imperialism remained untouched in the FRG, the same bases which had nurtured fascism and given rise to militarism racism and anticommunism. The appeal to the progressive traditions of the German people is in clear contrast to political practice in the FRG, the employment ban, the toleration of the evil spirit of nazism, the friendship with racist and fascist regimes and, most of all, the uninterrupted agitation against socialism in the USSR and the GDR.

If any persons in the FRG have the right to consider themselves the guardians of our progressive traditions, it is those who fight for anti-imperialist democracy, against the arms madness, against employment bans and for the observance of the treaties concluded with the socialist countries. From this aspect also knowledge of history turns out to be a strong weapon of the class war, a reinforcement for patriotic affection for the socialist fatherland which in every respect corresponds to the inevitable social progress.

In summation: The development of socialist patriotism is an extraordinarily demanding and comprehensive social task which must proceed on the broadest possible front. It calls for profound ideological insight into the social development processes of our country and the socialist community of nations in which our fatherland is incorporated, as well as into the conditions of the international class conflict between socialism and imperialism. The teaching of a lively understanding for history assumes an important place therein.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Appeal Concerning the 30th Anniversary of the Establishment of the German Democratic Republic," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 November 1977, p 1.
2. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Partei bei der Weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des IX. Parteitagés der SED" [The Party Tasks Involved in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions], Berlin 1978, pp 71 f.
3. Ibid, p 73.
4. See Hermann Axen, "The Great October and Proletarian Internationalism Now," EINHEIT, No 10/11 1977, p 1152.
5. Erich Honecker, as before, p 73.
6. Clara Zetkin, "Our Patriotism," in "Kunst und Proletariat" [Art and Proletariat], edited by Hans Koch, Studienbibliothek der Marxistisch-Leninistischen Kultur- und Kunstwissenschaft, Berlin 1977, p 75.
7. Ibid, p 77.

8. See Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels: "Communist Manifesto," Collected Works, Vol 4, p 479.
9. See "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [SED Program], Berlin 1976, p 56.
10. See Walter Osten, "Modest and Realistic," VORWAERTS, 13 April 1978, p 7.
11. "We Must Show Our Countrymen in the GDR That We Have not Written Them Off," FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 19 June 1978, p 4.
12. Dietrich Grille: "The Vision of Reunification in the Total European Perspective," POLITISCHE STUDIEN 236, November/December 1977, p 588.
13. "Die Deutsche Nation--Von der Geschichte Ueberholt Oder Geschichtlicher Auftrag? Die Nationale Frage und die Beiden Deutschen Staaten" [The German Nation--Overtaken by History or Historical Task? The National Issue and the Two German States], published by the Friedrich-Ebert Institution, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, (1974), p 62.
14. Hans-Peter Schwarz: "Do We Need a New German Political Concept?," EUROPA-ARCHIV 1977, No 11, p 336.
15. Erich Honecker, as before, p 21.
16. See Alfred Kosing, "Nation in Geschichte und Gegenwart" [The Nation in History and Now], Berlin 1976, pp 292 ff; S.T. Kaltakhtsyam: "Leninism On the Essence and Roads to Education for the International Community of Man," Moscow 1976, pp 334 ff.
17. Erich Honecker, as before, p 72.
18. See "Marxistisch-Leninistisches Geschichtsbild und Weltanschauung der Arbeiterklasse" [The Marxist-Leninist Image of History and the Ideology of the Working Class], Berlin 1975, pp 58 f.
19. Erich Honecker, as before, p 72.
20. Erich Honecker, "Reden und Aufsätze" [Speeches and Essays], Vol 2, Berlin 1975, p 122.
21. "Geschichte der SED (Abriss)" [History of the SED (Summary)], Berlin 1978, p 206.
22. "Appeal Concerning the 30th Anniversary...", as before, p 1.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

DPRK HEALTH MINISTER'S VISIT--Prof Pak Myong-pin, DPRK minister of public health, studied theoretical and clinical problems of tumor research on 3 October at the Central Institute for Cancer Research of the GDR Academy of Sciences. The Korean guest has been in the GDR since the end of last week to finalize the further cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of public health and medical research. An exchange of views about these topics took place with Hermann Tschersich, state secretary in the Public Health Ministry. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

FLOOD RELIEF FOR VIETNAM--Another special INTERFLUG aircraft carrying aid goods for the victims of the flood disaster arrived in Ho Chi Minh City on Sunday. The 16-ton load consists mainly of tents, clothing and food and is part of the immediate aid made available by the GDR Government for the Vietnamese people. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1854 GMT 8 Oct 78 LD]

CSO: 2300

BUREAUCRACY SMOTHERING HUMAN RESOURCES

Stifled Creativity, Individualism

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 23 Sep 78 p 5

[Article by Imre Tuba, sociologist, scientific aspirant, Miskolc]

[Text] "Are we so rich?" The debate initiating question (like every really good question) is provocative. "No, not at all," some in the debate have answered. "Hungary is not at all a rich country. On the contrary, it is a poor one and this is the chief obstacle to our utilization in practice of our inventions, of our intellectual values." But hardly anyone casts doubt on the fact that we have intellectual values. If my memory does not deceive me it was only Pal Eotvos, in the 5 August issue, who represented the position that our little homeland is poor not only in material but also in intellectual goods: "So, the Hungarian spirit does not sparkle." The extreme argument prompts me to reverse the question: "Are we so poor?" Let us see whether, with this logical handstand, some of the debate questions might not become unjustified.

Let us presume that we are a country poor in capital and that the utilization of inventions demands capital before all else.

If this is true (and it is approximately true) then should one not conclude just the opposite from that which those who use this argument conclude, namely that every idea which contains an element of imagination, which seems capable of utilization and which could enrich us should be examined with the greatest precision and understanding and most conscientiously. In a word, we should do just the opposite of what we are now doing. Since we are poor we can save money only by being clever and ingenious.

What Needs To Be Discovered And What Does Not?

It is probable that not even Andras Mezei thought that we had to discover new socialist production relationships. It was an unfortunate formulation and an unfortunate example--this is all that can be held against him. I doubt that he would want to restore capitalism.

What has been discussed primarily in this debate--the system of regulators, the interest system, the system of requirements--is an entirely different level of social relationships than that of production relationships. I agree with the importance of one word here--"mediation" as used by Geza Paskandi in his 5 August article "The Example of Hercules." But I do not believe, as he does, that the elimination of the mediating elements is the solution, or that this solution is even possible. Because, for example, in accordance with our production relationships, we are all co-owners of social property (state, cooperative and enterprise). It is only that the access to the common property is direct for some and mediated for others. If this mediation is not sufficiently effective the feeling of ownership--the so often mentioned and found missing "we awareness"--disappears.

The responsibility felt and practiced for the common property exists truly only where the institutional mediation strengthens, day by day, the ownership outlook of people. In my opinion these institutions are indispensable. It is impossible to transfer the right of ownership directly to every single citizen of the country. This would be a condition of complete anarchy. So what needs to be changed? The production relationships? Hardly. According to our production relationships we live in a collectivist society. What needs to be changed is the behavior of people, which certainly is not always communal--as the fate of our inventions also shows. But what needs to be changed so that the behavior of people will change?

What Does Democracy Mean?

I completely agree with Janos Farkas--his 19 August article--that there must be a simultaneous examination of human action and social relationships because, as he writes, "the objective laws of society, the economy and technology always appear in human action and behavior." This is true; but there is not a pre-ordained harmony between the world of objective social relationships and laws on the one hand and the human action which realizes them on the other.

Our social and production relationships are communal, but very often our behavior is not. The paradox which can be found at every turn might be formulated just this crudely. The debate shows again that a narrow economic view and reference to the economic basis for social processes are not sufficient for an understanding of social behavior. It shows again that we must reckon in a far-reaching way with the effect of so-called human factors (I might add, factors outside of the economy) in the planning and control of economic processes.

How do we get the boots on the bench? That is, what does the utilization of inventions have in common with democracy? As I understand democracy (and it may be that this will get me in trouble with the experts) the single primary criterion of it is the realization of the common interest in every area of life. I believe that democracy (in this broader sense) is a form of social structure and not only a form of political structure. Because for me democracy is not a goal in itself (although it is that too); rather, it is the optimal form for the liberation and utilization of human energies. Permit

me to refer to Marx who said that community is the first productive force. Yes, a productive force; presuming that it exists and can contribute with its unique something extra to the solution of tasks.

Democracy is a mode of existence of community, the living strength and productive force of the associated individuals. And those in this debate--concentrating on the operation of impersonal mechanisms--have not taken this into account sufficiently. The unpunished squandering of our inventions, which deserve a better fate, is also a symptom of the weakness of our democracy. In my judgment there are two essential aspects of this. One is the question of interest realization (to which I will return) and the other is the question of so-called organized irresponsibility. But can we accept as a basis for discussion in such a debate the impersonal official responsibility of the authorities?

Max Weber, the famous social scientist of the early part of the century, felt that a professional organization based on formal-legal control and expertise was the most efficient form of government. In any case it is indispensable in a modern society. At the same time, this organization--because of its structure and the principles of its operation--divides up and depersonalizes responsibility; the responsibility of the office is not the same as the responsibility of the people in the office. What is more, the assumption of personal responsibility in such a structure becomes unnecessary and, in some cases, expressly harmful. On the one hand the organization limits the assumption of responsibility and on the other hand it makes possible the passing on of responsibility. This apparently abstract argument can be well applied to the theme of our debate, especially in regard to the transferal of responsibility to impersonal mechanisms. The transferal, of course, is not arbitrary but rather it is factual. And thus the "shield of objectivity" is such a good defense.

On the other hand the state of organized irresponsibility logically creates the so-called "difficult" men who compensate for the low responsibility level of everyday average morality by assuming "too much" responsibility. Naturally those who assume a larger share of the communal problems and tasks, those who live and think in the community, those who realize their personal lives as part of the common fate, are the exceptions; the standard of their deviant behavior cannot be a standard for mass action either. But I do not believe that the logic of organized irresponsibility should set a direction for our social action in any ultimate way or that--as a counterbalance to this--all of us should become difficult men.

Speaking of responsibility, Gyorgy Lukacs emphasized that we must perpetually return to the everyday life of people. Because in an everyday life situation people usually act in accordance with their everyday interests. I also think that a realistic influence over social behavior is impossible without taking into consideration everyday interest relationships. If the common interest is not linked to the everyday behavior of people then it is diminished into a holiday interest. The demand for communality or creativity is a mass need. Is it possible that it is still a dormant need, that it can be awakened from the "dreams of Sleeping Beauty"?

I am convinced that we have only one opportunity for this--the school of democracy. Not the democracy of mass enthusiasm or election day, but the democracy of everyday.

### The Weekday Inventors

In his debate initiating article Andras Mezei asks, on the pretext of the squandered inventions: "How should we realize our intellectual values?" Later in the debate a number of people extended this "more broadly radiating sphere." I feel that it would do no harm to step out of the phenomenal and problem sphere of the "inventor."

Everyone is an "inventor," one who, in the midst of his work and activity, mobilizes not only his hands and feet and other bodily organs but also his head (Marx). It is through man that knowledge enters practical life but through man it enters unconditionally. I do not mean that alienated work which would destroy this sphere of movement for human intelligence. But how do we stand in regard to the utilization of our weekday "inventions"? The ideas which are born day after day in various spheres of social activity?

Does not the tip of the iceberg--our unrealized inventions which have now become notorious--cause one to suspect that we are not much better off in regard to the utilization of the everyday inventions beneath the surface? For example, we cannot solve the problem that some of our enterprises release oxygen into the air while another enterprise has a burning need for it and without its production stops or the missing oxygen must be obtained through imports. Another example: It is the unanimous lesson of innumerable education debates that in an area of social activity which demands flexibility and ingenuity and creativity, namely education, one of the chief problems is the artificial intellectual "juvenilization" of the teachers, making impossible teaching of an independent, creative character.

We can recognize the less clamorous but no less demoralizing Calvary of our weekday inventors who also are inspired by something of the creative imagination and ingenuity (and who is completely untouched by these things?). They are not even protected by publicity--if, indeed, publicity offers any protection. Because how many of our graduates complain that they are not employed in work corresponding to their training and ability? We have precise statistics about how much we sacrifice to "produce" highly trained experts--but do we make good use of this investment in people? Do not conservatism, rigidity and narrow vision hold this back in many cases? Higher technical education in Hungary has now succeeded, for example, in providing a "back field" so that students can obtain, in the course of their university training, the social information absolutely necessary for an engineering career. The "negative print" of this (to which Istvan Lazar called attention in his 22 July article) is that the bottled up aspirations and talent which still strive for realization are realized "separately" in the service of private interests.

Here also there is an objective, "rock hard" paradox to which attention might be called. The division of social activity into intellectual and physical work is also a division of people into these branches of activity. Intellectual abilities are concentrated on one side and physical abilities are concentrated on the other. The work of one person does not make possible the development of his abilities while more is demanded from another than he is capable of. He whose position invests him with "intellectuality" (initiative, rationality, the ability to make decisions, responsibility) is naturally inclined to dispute in others the ability for or right to "intellectuality", even if he himself is incapable of exercising it. Apathy, lack of interest, lack of team spirit, fear of risk--everything which has been defined in this debate as a deficiency of the officials--find a partial explanation in this paradox.

Behavior is conditioned by institutional conditions and this behavior cannot be changed except by modifying the institutional conditions. Lenin recommended the creation and effective operation of the institutions of socialist democracy to counterbalance the effects of this indispensable hierarchic structure. We know of nothing better today.

Certainly, even the most developed democratism is not equivalent to the unlimited efficacy of communal action. Our imperatives formulated in the royal plural must always clash with the limiting power of reality. We must ask again and again: Can we do what we want to do? But even the continual facing reality--under such institutional conditions--cannot be a safe conduct for lack of ability, conservatism, bureaucratic conceit or lack of interest.

#### The Future Belongs To Creativity

Of course, one can also wave one's hand, make a wry face, be ironic or make light of it.

But the question is not which of the "inventor's ballads" discussed is justly and effectively written but rather that even in this medium there is in our little homeland an overproduction, even by international standards, which is very worthy of attention. Can we permit ourselves this? Should we do something against it?

We become alarmed especially if we inquire into the future: What will happen to one who squanders his values in the present? Every prognosis pertaining to the unfolding of the scientific-technological revolution reckons with the swiftly increasing role of knowledge. Reckons with the fact that our tasks requiring physical effort will shrink and that our tasks requiring intellectual ability (guidance, preparation and supervision of production, research and development serving production, innovation tasks) will multiply. We will be increasingly required to use our heads rather than our hands. The role of "investments in people" will increase.

On economic bases alone a lack of culture or failure to utilize intellectual resources is an impermissible luxury. But the great historical added value of socialism is that an individual developed from many sides creates not only material goods but also his own quality, common feeling, relationships, culture and community.

I am convinced that given the logic of historical continuity all this is a problem of our everyday today also.

#### Regulators Deemed Unrealistic, Arbitrary

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 23 Sep 78 p 6

[Article by Laszlo Bogar, economist, of the Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen Megye Council, Miskolc]

[Text] Using the system of comparison of Gyula Fekete--in the 26 August issue--I will begin where he left off.

What are we really looking for? Hardly that which they were seeking in the Kesudio debate several years ago--a clear picture of our society. It is natural that recognition begins with phenomena, but we cannot stop with the recognition of symptoms because we would be ignoring a fact which cannot be neglected, that nine tenths of "the iceberg" is under water.

And what do we see on the surface? Aborted inventions and the shreds of emotions, "difficult" men, pseudo-objective experts, vanity, avarice, conformist leaders, radical fans and shifty opponents--in a word, a colorful cavalcade of human behavior and conflicts. And all this in a society which is resolving antagonisms and making possible, for the first time in history, the free unfolding of the personality, of human values. What the participants in the debate are looking for is through what strata the general truth is distorted before it reaches the depressing surface.

According to the classics of Marxism what can be found between the actions of people as manifested on the surface of the world and the social laws which control these actions are interest relationships. Well, our first impression might be that the Marxist social sciences owe us a manysided analysis of the real interest relationships of the socialist society. But their neglect in this regard becomes understandable if we note that the political practice at any time defines in a fundamental way the possibility of studying interest relationships. And in the initial period of the construction of socialism political practice, in a way tolerating no contradiction, made it the general position that there was no place in the system of socialism for differences in interests--not even to speak of conflicts of interest. The illusion which forged interests into a false unity rested on two dogmas.

One hypothesized that every particular interest in socialism was harmful, an individualist remnant, which was opposed to society and as such must be abolished by means of persuasion, education or the tools of force. The other dogma was the hypothesis that the central will expressed the social interest perfectly and under all circumstances and was the only possible form in which it could be manifested. The common--and anti-Marxist--basis for these two principles was the denial of the objectivity of separating interests, which was manifested in forcing onto practice the illusion of a

socialism free of different interests. How far this conception stands from Marxism can be shown by citing the opinion of Marx: "...private interest also is a socially determined interest and can be achieved only under the conditions set by society and by means of tools given by society and so is bound to the reproduction of these conditions. The interest is that of a private person but its content, and the form and means of its realization, is given by social conditions independent of everyone."

I consider this historical detour essential because it thus becomes understandable why the voluntarist ideology of the 1950's held back and reversed the development of social self-awareness through a true reflection of interest relationships. This explains that confused irresolution with which we even today sniff around the essential questions of interest relationships. And yet the political atmosphere of recent decades has made it possible for us to free ourselves of the ideological ballast which still has an effect. (It is characteristic of the stubborn survival of prejudices that Pal Eotvos mentions the political knife throwing of those who see anachronistic "sacred cows" endangered.)

At the time of the working out of the reform which is modestly celebrating its tenth birthday the experts were most optimistic. They firmly believed in the possibility of creating a consistent system of regulators in which individual and group interests would receive a relatively broad sphere of movement but in which they could be realized only in the service of all-social interests. In the period since, and especially during the last 5 years, it could be increasingly found that our fundamental economic policy goals were breaking up one after another under the resistance of reality. There could be two sorts of causes. Either the economic policy goal system was unrealistic or the methods of control were not suitable. We can hardly classify as unrealistic goals an increase in the productivity of work, an acceleration of technical development, an improvement in operational and work organization, a better preparation of investment processes or effective management of the human and material conditions of production. We cannot so classify them because, among other things, many countries less developed than we seem to have realized similar goals more successfully.

We can pose the question, without any superfluous dramatization: What motivates our central and local, regional and branch, or guiding and executing organs to hinder, directly or indirectly, a transformation aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the planning, decision-making and management system? How is it that fundamental economic policy intentions, behind which stand the leading organs of a socialist society, can be frustrated? Why are we incapable of realizing in practice our correct principles? The answer is both perfectly simple and perfectly impossible. It is perfectly simple because there is a simple answer: He who would regulate must first discover, with ruthless sincerity, the segment of reality to be regulated. If he fails to do this--or does it superficially--then his system of regulators may be perfect but it will break up under the resistance of interdependencies opposed to his hypotheses. But the answer is also perfectly impossible because it is a hopelessly complex undertaking to try to grasp in its entirety the infinity of a living social-economic organization.

In the July issue of the journal VALOSAG, in his article analyzing the 10 years of the economic reform, Istvan Friss poses these same questions and makes four statements which, in my opinion, are crucial in regard to the future: 1. Differing interests exist and function even in a socialist society. 2. The various social actions and processes derive from the functioning of society as a whole. 3. If the direction of the functioning of enough people or of significant people or groups of people does not coincide with the economic policy ideas then their functioning will in practice modify the direction of these ideas. 4. In the case of cardinal economic policy ideas or decisions very significant, we might say powerful, groups or organizations must function in a different direction in order to turn all the decisions in this direction into their opposite.

In the opinion of the author it will be possible to answer these questions only after thorough scientific research, after sociological examinations embracing the entire planning and decision system. And although some progress can be experienced in this area in recent years, for the time being a veil of modest silence covers those groups of questions which require an examination of the institutional centers at the middle and upper (indeed, lord forgive me, at the highest) guidance levels. The rather confused irresolution is one of the consequences of the smoldering but sometimes also very open survival of the already mentioned dogmatic principle. Its essence might be summarized by saying that only the higher guidance levels can recognize, formulate and represent the all-social interests, or that what these institutions recognize, formulate and represent is always the all-social interest.

That is, the men standing at the higher levels of the hierarchy are able to realize their various interests with greater probability because it is possible for them to get them recognized as general social interests. And it does no harm to again emphasize here the opinion of Marx about the social determination of private interests because the content of the terminology used today could be misleading. What is involved is not that there exists a social interest of favored significance while there exist, in contrast to this, the interests of insignificant groups or individuals. It would be more correct, in the interest of clear vision, if we were to use the expressions all-social interests and part-social interests. This would be more correct because guidance, social-economic regulation, even today starts for the most part from a very simplified hypothesis. It starts from the hypothesis that although the social interest is not exclusive the tools suitable for the realization of interests are under strict central control and as a result the several individuals or groups bearing certain interests have a share in them only when and to the degree that guidance approves and makes this possible. Thus there are tools only where guidance puts them.

Even despite the present excessive regulation I consider this apparently convincing principle--which in reality is a serious misunderstanding--to be an attitudinal obstacle holding back a further development of our faultily regulated social-economic relationships. Those who believe in this idea deny that very phenomenon which, I am convinced, is the cause of our everyday waste, our aborted inventions and the bewilderingly "grandiose" management

of our resources, namely that the people and groups of people bearing certain interests do have tools with which to realize their interests--because of their objective social situation and independent of the wishes or desires of guidance. And what is more they can and do make use of these tools without any "cue from the conductor"--and even in opposition to such cues. So it must be recognized that there are tools in other places, not only where the regulator system directs them. Regulation does not mobilize social processes; these processes are objective and they are realized in accordance with their own laws.

I do not want to say, with all this, that there is no need for guidance or control. Rather, what I want to say is that guidance can influence the objective course of matters--for example, the development of interests and of possibilities for the realization of interests--only to the extent that the nature of these permits control. Thus, the existing reality can be regulated only to the degree and only in the way made possible by the internal rules of its autonomous movement. If guidance is to make use of its possibilities--which are very significant, in any case--a practical and scientific awareness of interest relationships is fundamentally required.

#### From Theory Into Practice

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 23 Sep 78 p 6

[Text] The theme of the link between science and practice stood at the center of the Tihany conference which began on Friday of last week and ended on Sunday. At the debate organized by the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front and the science policy club of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences research institute directors and theoretical and practical experts sought, in essence, an answer to the question "Are we so rich?"

Ferenc Marta, first secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, gave a debate initiating speech on the freedom of scientists, the repayment of that part of the national income going to science and the utilization of the energies of research in production. He outlined the results to be expected from recent decisions and measures, especially the fact that they would strengthen the guidance and supervision of scientific life. In the future, in the place of 50 to 100 page written reports which often only administer research programs, the results of the several years work of each scientist will be measured by international comparisons. Competitions will be set for the institutes in the expectation of an answer as to what themes from what national program the research communities are undertaking to work on. The National Technical Development Committee and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences will decide, on the basis of actual plans, on the fate of the millions intended for support. Work on the Sixth Five Year Plan has already begun in the research institutes, harmonizing with the ministries and large enterprises in regard to the scientific assistance requested for the development of various themes. The rapprochement of science and practice is also suggested by the fact that plans for new production-research associations have been developed recently and that the patron role of enterprises has strengthened.

In addition to the ideas promising improvements there were reports about unfavorable phenomena which the participants in the debate drew from the contemporary practice of scientific life. These are known from the "Candidature" debate in our journal--easily won qualifications, research of a peripheral character which is nevertheless supported, manifestations of license instead of scientific freedom--factors which confuse scientific public life and hinder planned work. It was reassuring, however, that the 40 experts pointing out the mistakes were formulating the opinion of a number of scientists--hopefully of the almost 30,000 Hungarian researchers.

#### Need For Debate in All Areas

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 23 Sep 78 p 6

[Article by Szabolcs Szerdahelyi, psychiatrist, physician at the Semmelweis Hospital of the Pest Megye Council, Budapest]

[Text] The debate developing about the fate of inventions is exciting and instructive. Its validity can be extended to other areas also because new ideas and inspirations must struggle with similar problems in scientific and artistic and even in everyday life. It is perhaps obvious to those participating in the debate titled "Are we so rich?" that the fate of inventions is determined not only by economic laws but also by social-psychological laws which cannot be controlled by decree. But the incidence of these can be controlled. Very suitable for this purpose is the open clash of various opinions, debate as the creation of the possibility for feedback.

ELET ES IRODALOM has done this, providing a forum for an open exchange of ideas; this may be most important for initiating favorable changes. Of course, a similar role could be played by other, professional forums--if they exist. But if there is not a suitable forum in scientific, artistic or economic life then the conservative forces will be able to avoid debates as a result of which development may continue to falter. There are certainly domestic examples of this. Today, unfortunately, even the fact of a debate often gives rise to negative passions. It would be worthwhile to investigate what correlation there is between the achievements of some scientific, artistic or economic branch and the degree of freedom in their communication customs.

I would not dare to propose that those interested in the various areas should expect this--the poet Andras Mezei, when he feels himself competent, can expound his own problems. To take an example from my own speciality, the consequences of the lack of opportunity for debate in psychiatry can be easily grasped, the accumulation of superfluous tensions can be easily felt. The problem is not that there is a traditional trend and a more modern one (won by invention). The trouble is that there is no forum where the opponents could confront one another even though the two trends differ from one another in fundamental matters. (There is not even, for example, an independent psychiatric journal.) This state of affairs has been preserved artificially and can be maintained only by proscribing debate. The result? Traditional psychiatry offers locked wards with electro-shock in addition to treatment

with medicines while social psychiatry offers group psychotherapy and family therapy. Anyone can experience the difference between the two possibilities.

Are we so rich? The recommended escalation of the debate suggests that it would pay to extend the basic question to the "non-producing" branches also.

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## YOUTH MAGAZINE ATTACKS U.S. 'CENTERS FOR SUBVERSION'

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 40, 1 Oct 78 pp 9-10

[Article by Leszek Gabriel: "In the Lifeless Field of Sabotage; Evolution of the Strategy of Anticommunism"]

[Text] A characteristic feature of current sabotage efforts of the Western powers is the use of various sorts of "announcements," "letters," pamphlets, and "appeals," in antisocialist propaganda, and for their purposes the exploitation of numerically small but very noisy little groups of people from the socialist countries, people with a position which is uncompromisingly inimical to socialism.

All these propaganda efforts of the West's cold-war circles are aimed, by forcing a campaign for the rights of man, at counteracting the processes of detente in East-West relations, the sort of processes which began after the signing of the final CSCE document in Helsinki, and at turning the attention of capitalist societies away from the socioeconomic effects of the current economic crisis. But the basic goal of this campaign of sabotage is mainly the activation in countries of real socialism all its adversaries who have not reconciled themselves with the socioeconomic changes which have taken place in the countries of the socialist community after the workers and peasants came to power. Imperialism tries to achieve this goal mainly through the use of a whole arsenal of sabotage propaganda measures.

Within the framework of such tactics, bourgeois propaganda is making a forceful attack on the basic principles of the socialist system and on the party's leadership role, making accusations that in the socialist countries, including Poland, human rights are being violated along with the freedom of the individual and society. At the same time, western centers of ideological sabotage are popularizing a hypothesis of a freedom which is not hampered supposedly by anything under capitalism and an alleged universality of civil rights and freedoms.

It is commonly known that under capitalism the individual's rights are usually formal in nature and not carried out in the practice of social life. The best proof of this is the current situation on the labor markets of the capitalist countries. The millions of unemployed in the most advanced, richest countries of capitalism show that capitalism cannot guarantee one of man's basic rights, the right to work. In addition, nobody yet in the capitalist countries has managed in practice to guarantee the universal right to study, education, culture, recreation, or health care. Nobody has been able to insure the eradication of racial segregation.

The propaganda-inspired racket over "the rights of man" is aimed not only at undermining the internal bases of socialism but also at destroying its world position and tremendous moral authority in the international arena. It wants to undercut the attractiveness of the idea of scientific communism, to bring about disorganization among the progressive forces in the capitalist world, and to complicate relations in the heart of the world communist movement, between the communist parties of the West and the parties governing in the socialist countries.

The American ruling circles, proclaiming themselves to be the advocates of human rights throughout the world, are counting on thus vindicating themselves of the atrocities of the Vietnam War. They are counting on restoring the international prestige of the United States, which according to the election statement of the democrats has become a country which is isolated without and torn within, and within these same United States they wish to strengthen their ideological-political position. It was with clear anxiety that Z. Brzezinski, whom we have already mentioned [in a previous article in this series], in an article in FOREIGN AFFAIRS wrote that the development of the processes pertaining to U.S. domestic policy was leading to a disruption of the previous consensus on matters of foreign policy. As the result of the Vietnam tragedy, the Watergate Affair, and the "dirty tricks" discovered in the Central Intelligence Agency, in Brzezinski's opinion American society holds the following views: It considers it absolutely essential to change the system of national priorities and to turn attention first of all to domestic issues rather than external ones. It is constantly showing a declining tendency to make expenditures for military purposes. The society is also coming out more and more decisively in favor of deepening the processes of detente in East-West relations.

Under these conditions, within the governing U.S. circles people are beginning seriously to consider the ways and means of overcoming the sociopolitical breakdown in the country. People wanted to resolve this problem in Washington, that is the task of restoring consensus in one form or another, insofar as issues of foreign policy are concerned, without touching the foundations of this policy, however. In this context the campaign to "defend" human rights takes on an important role. The actual intent of Washington is clear: the term "defend" human rights boils down to some sort of ideological enticement. Appearing in the role of an advocate of moral and humanistic ideals, Washington is counting on the American society's supporting not only the campaign itself on "the defense" of human rights but also the direction of the United States in terms of foreign policy.

So why have the U.S. ruling circles, especially the leaders of the Democratic Party, decided to choose a moral-political slogan and not a socioeconomic one? Formerly Roosevelt's "New Deal" and Johnson's "Great Society," all these pleasant-sounding slogan-programs promised the American people a solution to socioeconomic problems with the aid of the broad application of the state-monopoly mechanism. At present the Democratic leaders are not putting their old hopes into state intervention as a panacea for all socioeconomic misfortunes. Although during the last election campaign the Democrats gave out large drafts, now they realize that they have to be paid for, and that the solution to old socioeconomic problems will be a very complicated matter. Expenditures rising in recent decades for socioeconomic purposes have reached the limit above which any further absolute or relative increase becomes increasingly troublesome. Funds to expand state activity in the socioeconomic sphere may be obtained through a real reduction in outlays for military purposes or by attempts to tax capitalists. Neither of these solutions is acceptable to either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. During the last election campaign the Republican Party openly called for a reduction in state obligations in the social sphere and for an increase in funding for military purposes. Although they criticized this platform, the Democrats, once in power, failed to carry out the promises they had made before the election, that is, a real reduction in expenditures for military purposes. As for their promise to completely reorganize the present tax system, in fact they are by no means trying for a basic distribution of national income to the detriment of big money. There is the intention of closing numerous loopholes which permit some rich people to get out of paying taxes.

The limited extent of the possibility for bourgeois reformism, however, is conditioned not only by the purely financial factor, that is, that the state is not willing or able to interfere with the interests of big capital and allocate the funds essential for national needs. The essence of the matter consists of its basic inability to resolve important economic and social problems of the nation. State-monopoly regulation, to which Washington has come closer and closer since the 1930's, could not relieve the United States of either cyclical economic crises or inflation, unemployment, mass poverty, and other ills of the capitalist system. The very policy of state-monopoly regulation is feeding the growing crisis. On the other hand, the current administration's theoretical arsenal does not have any sort of conception of new, concrete programs for solving the incessant flood of problems. The program of the Democratic Party, aside from the rhetoric, is a mixture of liberal ideas and moderately conservative ones, old proposals for a "new partnership" between federal officials, local bodies of power, and the private sector. The recipes of the Democrats and the Republicans' programs of "new realism," as President G. Ford called the old credo of the conservatives, have already shown themselves to be ineffective. Not counting on effective successes in the socioeconomic sphere, the new administration is trying to insure support for itself from the masses through moralizing phrasology, and is attempting to receive political dividends without spending a cent. As J. Reston, the well-known journalist, put it during the election campaign, the main emphasis is on spiritual values and not material ones.

He says that by talking just about the budget and gross national product will not permit the United States to resolve its problems at home or abroad, that the United States should achieve unity and peace in this area which is closest to both the heart and mentality of the American nation.

Washington's false concern about the "violation" of man's rights in the socialist country is a maneuver to divert attention, from the viewpoint of the goals of domestic policy. In an artificial way the attention of Americans is drawn away from real sociopolitical problems and the actual violation of political and civil rights in the United States itself. At the same time, the unpardonable slanders against the socialist countries are supposed to create ideological ferment to stimulate an activation of anti-communist attitudes and views in the American society.

The propagation of oppositional attitudes is not anything new in the West's propaganda tactics, nor did it come from the period of J. Carter's presidency. The preparations for this sort of action began back in the middle of 1974, and the first expressed attempts to inspire "opposition" in the socialist countries, especially in Poland, were undertaken by the sabotage-oriented Paris publication KULTURA, which for years has been trying to create an ideological platform to unite enemies of socialism of different orientations: revisionist, nationalist, cosmopolitan, Zionist, and liberal-bourgeois. This ideological platform was reflected in the composition of the various antisocialist groups of people in Poland, but it could not lead to a wearing away the political differences within or the development of a uniform program of action, because for socialism there is no alternative.

Propaganda groups in the West (Radio Free Europe, the Paris KULTURA, BBC, and Deutschlandfunk), which create enemies of the socialist social order to be "defenders" of civic and human rights and freedoms, at the same time have begun to create a suitable climate for this activity in both the socialist and capitalist countries, because it has been assumed that the activity of these people will lead to making the domestic situation more severe in the countries of the socialist community and lead to the creation of social tensions.

Of course the creation of such a situation would be immediately developed into a propaganda coup both to build up the destructive effect on the society of the socialist countries, to discredit socialism in the eyes of the capitalist societies, and for political propaganda purposes during the CSDE in Belgrade.

In assessing the results of these sabotage-oriented efforts of the West we can say that they have not brought about the results expected by the propaganda groups, despite the fact that we should assume that the West will continue to make such efforts and modify them to fit the current balance of power in the world.

The demand for "information about communism" and for theoretical concepts which would support the West in the "psychological war" has carried with it the dynamic development of a network of agencies which undertake research on the problematics of communist ideology, the socialist countries, and East-West relations. During the peak period of the "cold war," there was an exceptional momentum in the creation of various scientific institutes and agencies which began specializing in these problems. Within the United States itself there are nearly 200 of them. Among the most important of these are those at universities: Berkeley, Columbia, Harvard, and Stanford. In the FRG there are about 100 such agencies in operation. Their main purpose is:

Attempt to contrast the work of K. Marx with the real practice of the socialist countries; contradict the universal values of Leninism and prove that it could only under the specific conditions of Russia at that time.

Seek alleged conflicts between Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and also between the views of the creators of Marxism-Leninism and the goals and tasks of the contemporary communist movement.

Advance a hypothesis concerning the existence of "several Marxisms," by exaggerating the differences in the operating tactics of the various communist parties and present by way of contrast various "models" of socialism.

Deny the legal authority of the people's rule and falsify the history of social and political changes in Central-Eastern Europe.

Soften up socialist ideology, popularize revisionist slogans, in order in this way to undermine the unity of the world-outlook and theoretical base of the communist movement.

Discredit the real practice of socialist people's rule, socialist law and order, and the mechanisms of socialist democracy.

In the sabotage activity of the West against the socialist countries, an important role is played by radio propaganda conducted just about since the end of World War II, initially by the BBC and then by Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, Radio Liberty, Deutschlandfunk, Vatican Radio, and other broadcast stations which transmit largely from the inspiration of U.S. cold-war groups.

Radio Free Europe holds a particularly prominent place in this widely built up system of the West's radio sabotage. It is one of the classic "cold war" institutions. This broadcast station was created and developed at the high point of the tensions in international relations. From the very beginning Radio Free Europe was secretly financed by the Central Intelligence Agency. Links to the intelligence service were kept very secret and despite sporadic "leaks" from the press, the alleged independence of Radio Free Europe was

not basically questioned in the United States for a long time, because external appearances were created to make it look as though Radio Free Europe were financed out of the public funds of the American people, and every year an operating crusade was waged to collect funds for the station. Another "private" American station, Radio Liberty was operated under identical circumstances. It specialized in ideological sabotage against the Soviet Union.

But from time to time in the American press there was information about these two stations' connections to the CIA. The first important break-through did not come until 1967, when it was stated publically that the CIA had been financing them. In 1971 both stations were again the subject of hearings in the U.S. Congress. Since 1973 Free Europe and Liberty have been financed through a newly created administration of international radio programs from funds allocated each year by the U.S. Congress. The basic goal of this operation of course was not to deprive these stations of their sabotage-spying nature but to hide ties with the CIA behind the screen of detente and the requirements of the current stage of class struggle.

One of the first organizational moves was to join Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty into one administrative body. At present they appear under the shared name of Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty Corporation. During the past few years the budget for Radio Free Europe and Liberty has been constantly increasing. Last year the U.S. Congress allocated more than 14.3 dollars for the further expansion of the power of the transmitters in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The issue of reducing the personnel of the two radio stations is similar. The essence of the matter was to try to get rid of old emigrants who had been compromised by open cooperation with intelligence agencies of capitalist countries, often people who were not familiar with contemporary reality in the socialist countries. The shift was to the "new emigration," especially people who emigrated after 1968 and about whom it is said that they are trying to accomplish "real" socialism and are presented as "defenders of the rights of man and civil liberties."

In July 1976 changes were made in the statute of another American radio station, Voice of America. The new profile for programming at this station clearly approximates that of Radio Free Europe and Liberty.

The propaganda of these stations does not serve the cause of detente and peace in the world. Nor does it have anything to do with the widely touted slogan about the right to information, because it is a flagrant violation of the prohibition in international law against interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, as clearly follows from Article 2 of the U.N. Charter. The above actual state occurs when the station serves to "influence or change, through external measures, the domestic social and political relations in countries at which it is aimed; to undermine the population's faith of those countries in their social and political system, in the policy of their legitimate governments, and in information of the

domestic mass media, in order thereby to create internal opposition." The prohibition against interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries is also discussed unequivocally in a declaration adopted by the 25th session of the U.N. General Assembly, the declaration on the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation between countries in the light of the United Nations Charter. International law also prohibits conducting any sort of activity "aimed at arousing internal disturbances in any other country."

After the signing of the final document of the CSCE in Helsinki, these principles took on still greater force, because the 35 countries attending the conference recognized it their duty "to respect each participating state's right to the free choice and development of its own political, social, economic, and cultural system, and to decide for itself about its laws and orders." The states participating in the conference also took upon themselves the obligation to "refrain from any sort of direct or indirect, individual or collective interference in the domestic or external affairs which are subordinate to the domestic national jurisdiction of any other state."

Centers of the Polish political emigration in the West have been attempting to work out an ideological-political program for "opposition" activity in our country for a long time. The leading role in these inspired actions has been played mainly by the Paris-based KULTURA, which in November 1974 came out with the concept of so-called opposition activity, of the resistance movement, and initiated discussions about it in its columns. This concept was then taken up by other emigrant groups, especially Radio Free Europe, which mainly played the role of a propaganda mouth-piece for the hypotheses and instructions drafted by the Paris-based KULTURA.

Up until mid-1976 the basic assumption of both the political and journalistic activity of the major centers of the Polish political emigration was the hypothesis that it was they who should be the authors, disposers, and animators of the antisocialist activity of persons and small groups in the country who were inimical to our party's policy. Paris KULTURA itself stated that this sort of tactic was the result of the conviction concerning the low level of activity and the absence of political unity among anti-socialist forces in the country.

On the other hand, beginning in the middle of 1976 all the emigre centers in the West, in keeping with the recommendations of their political sponsors, and as a continuation of past goals, performed a special sort of tactical evolution. It consisted of creating appearances that the antisocialist concepts propagated by them, especially Paris KULTURA and Radio Free Europe, were allegedly of Polish origin and reflected in the broad ranks of Polish society. This was accompanied by extensive coverage of the actions of certain people long known as avowed opponents of socialism and by attempts to create around their activity an atmosphere of sympathy and support both within the country and outside of it.

This tactical evolution of the propaganda centers in the West intended to create the impression that antisocialist concepts are derived from within the country and was supposed to act as a smoke screen for ideas calculated to bring about within our country conflict situations, political instability, and irresponsible statements. In their calculations the antisocialist centers of political disposition count to a large extent on a lack of political experience on the part of certain social groups and on emotions as a guiding force, especially nonconformity, among young people. This became particularly evident in the provocative efforts, backed with propaganda by Paris KULTURA and Radio Free Europe, of certain irresponsible "political gamesmanship participants" during last year's Juvenalia in Krakow.

For years the Paris KULTURA group has been playing the role of a conceptual center for other institutions of ideological sabotage. It also ascribes to itself the role of main inspiration for opposing actions within our country. The concepts presented in the columns of the Paris monthly magazine are always convergent with the current directions of U.S. foreign policy vis-a-vis the socialist countries. By way of general assessment, we can say that these concepts totally deny the whole record of achievement which People's Poland has to its credit and flagrantly call for bourgeois social, political, and economic structures.

It is worth noting here that the concepts of inspiration for antisocialist action in Poland have changed more than once in the Paris group. Disappointed hopes in the effectiveness of their plans forced the main instigators of sabotage-propaganda activity to seek increasingly new "implementors" of antisocialist actions in Poland. In turn successive hopes were upset for the support of antisocialist activity within certain groups of the Polish society. Particularly ineffective still are Paris KULTURA'S efforts to create in Poland some sort of opposition encompassing all factions of opponents of People's Poland. They are ineffective for the same reasons that all the previous ones were: in Poland there is no social base to fit the concepts of emigrant politicians. There are no political forces which could see it to be in their interest to carry out a program directed basically against Poland. And small little groups of bitter opponents of irreversible social changes which have taken place in our country over the past 3 decades do not operate on behalf of the Polish *raison d'etre*. They have simply long been in the service of anti-Polish subversive groups in the West. It is their task to attempt to create social tensions in our country and to distort the real picture of Poland in the world.

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## UNIFORMITY, INDIVIDUALITY OF PACT DEFENSE DOCTRINES DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29-30 Jul 78 p 3

[Article by Col Prof Julian Kaczmarek based on the proceedings of Third Armed Forces Conference on Ideology: "The Internationalist and National Aspects of Military Science and Doctrine"]

[Text] Looking at the record of the past 35 years it is easy to see that the need for scientifically based solutions to problems in the area of national defense has become more and more pressing. This is the case both with regard to purely military problems and with regard to the problems of warfare in their most general sense. This is primarily due to the fact that at the present time any error in the decision making process concerning national defense matters could cost us a lot more than at any time in the past as well as due to the fact that as the World War II era recedes further and further into the past it is becoming less and less possible to employ the otherwise valid operational techniques that were used during that war. And, finally, this is also due to the fact that at the present time the likelihood that we will make the right kinds of decisions in this regard becomes greater to the extent that such decisions rest more firmly on scientific foundations.

In this connection the launching of studies on the question of the internationalist and national aspects of military science and doctrine in the socialist countries should be regarded as being an especially valuable initiative. This is because the results of these studies may prove to be not only interesting from a scholarly point of view, but also utterly indispensable in terms of the efficient promotion of practical actions aimed at providing for the protection and defense of the past achievements and the future successful development of the countries of our socialist community.

The studies that have been made indicate that there are both common and specific elements both in the military science and in the military doctrines of the socialist countries.

The joining together of the socialist countries in the defensive Warsaw Pact led to the creation of a coalition defense doctrine consisting of

common conclusions arrived at by the pact's member states. But, in addition to this jointly agreed upon doctrine, there also exist the national defense doctrines of these member states, doctrines which are comprised of both elements that are held in common by and elements that are peculiar to each of the member states. In the military science of the socialist countries, which has developed on the basis of both collective (international) and independent action, there also exist both common and specific hypotheses (theories) and problem-solving techniques.

The existence of common features in the national military doctrines and scientific achievements of the socialist countries is above all a consequence of their common needs, goals, and tasks, their common ideological and philosophical foundations, their common methodologies, and so on. On the other hand, the specific features of their military doctrines and scientific achievements are a product of the diversity of national and organizational structures, economic potentials, geophysical conditions, and so on.

But inasmuch as in the doctrinal conclusions and scientific achievements of the socialist countries both that which is held in common and that which is specific to each country serves one and the same goal, i.e., the advancement and defense of socialism, these common and specific features are at one and the same time both national and international. And so the criterion for evaluating the compatibility of the common and specific elements in the military doctrine and science of the socialist countries is the fact that they are used for the defense of the socialist state and people.

As was already mentioned, there are a number of factors which contributed to the development of the common and specific aspects of this body of military doctrine and science; these factors are a product of the work that has been done in other spheres of social life, not just in the military sphere (e.g., in the ideological, political, social, economic, scientific, and other spheres), and, with reference to science, of the work that has been done in the fields of philosophy, political science, economics, sociology, and so on.

All of this goes to show that, for example, the differences in the geographical location of the individual member states, with all of the differences that this implies in terms of their positioning in a theater of military operations, in terms of their economic potentials, levels of armament and military technology, and in terms of the organizational structures and manpower of their respective armies, produce a dissimilarity in their individual doctrinal conclusions and, accordingly, give rise to the need to conduct scientific studies, whose findings will be subject to updating, correction, and also reformulation. It therefore follows that in the countries of the socialist community there is a need to conduct studies that are designed to analyze the problems that are specific to each country and to obtain solutions that are useful only to that particular country.

But in addition to the problems that are specific to each of the socialist countries, problems which are usually of a detailed nature, there are also problems of a common nature (and these are most prevalent), the resolution of which is of fundamental importance to all of the member states. The unanimity of the basic goals, toward the realization of which the socialist countries aspire in all spheres of the life and work of their societies, is the reason behind the consistency of their general doctrinal conclusions and scientific premises. This unanimity of goals also gives rise to the fact that--in the first place--given the balance of power and sociopolitical relations in today's world, working within the framework of a military coalition is the only guarantee of security, and--in the second place--in the face of the constantly advancing scientific and technological revolution, only a common effort resulting from the findings of comprehensive studies can have any chance of producing meaningful results for the requirements of modern warfare. This is especially important with respect to small and medium-sized countries, and thus for our own country as well, because these countries do not have at their disposal the economic, scientific-technological, and military potential that would enable them to stand up to an aggressor all by themselves or even to conduct research according to present-day requirements. Thus, modern military doctrines are characterized chiefly by their coalition orientation, and research is characterized by its comprehensiveness. This is undoubtedly conducive to the standardization of the doctrinal principles and accomplishments in the field of science and technology and to the development of military thought.

The unanimity of the underlying doctrinal principles of the socialist countries is manifested above all in their desire to preserve peace, which makes possible the development and strengthening of socialism. As experience has shown, peaceful coexistence of countries with different sociopolitical systems is possible solely under conditions marked by a balance of military power between opposing sides. It is to be assumed that this balance of power, at least within the immediately foreseeable future, will be maintained on an increasingly higher technological level, thereby confronting the socialist community and every member of its defense system with new demands. For these reasons, the military doctrine of the socialist countries is based on the further development and consolidation of their military potentials, which consist in their moral-political potential, their economic (including scientific-technological) potential, and, above all, the might of their armed forces.

And all of this poses a great many problems, and, as should be expected, bearing in mind the ever more forceful advancement of science both in the more immediate and in the more distant future, these problems will continue to proliferate on an ever widening scale. This is because military science, which views war as a class phenomenon, examines not only its military aspects, but also its ideological, political, economic, and other aspects. All of these aspects are interdependent and intertwined with each other, in connection with which they may constitute a subject which ought to be examined by all of the disciplines and specialized fields of military science.

And so, by way of example, as one of the topics of concern to the social sciences one can include the problem of the further molding of an internationalist awareness and patriotic feelings among soldiers and improvement of the methods used to prepare society to participate in the defense of the socialist fatherland. In the field of economics consideration might be given to problems revolving around how to find better ways to prepare the economies of the socialist countries in the event of war and how to shift them to a wartime footing. In the category of technical sciences it is becoming especially important to address ourselves to the problem of how to skillfully utilize the scientific and technological revolution to promote the development of defense industries, or to the problem of the further improvement, classification and standardization of the technical equipment and weaponry of the armies of the socialist countries. Natural science and medicine will be faced with such problems as, inter alia, how to neutralize the effects of wartime enemy action directed against the natural environment or how to increase man's physical and mental resistance to the effects of modern offensive weapons.

An unusually large number of problems of a scientific nature, which are important both to all of the countries of the socialist community as a whole and to each of them individually, are cropping up within the realm of the art of warfare. By way of example in this regard one might mention research on the most likely nature of possible future wars, the impact of new combat equipment on the conduct of military operations and on the organizational structure of the armed forces, problems pertaining to the further improvement of the armed forces, the collaboration of coalition armed forces in wartime civil defense measures, and a host of other problems. The undertaking of joint research programs, the organizing of scientific meetings, symposia, and working conferences, and the holding of military exercises during which newly gained knowledge and experience will be put to the test in practice and disseminated are tremendously important and should contribute to the resolution of the above-mentioned problems.

The following conclusions should be drawn by way of summing up the preceding comments:

1. As a result of the changes which are being made in our country and in the other socialist countries, proletarian internationalism is being transformed into socialist internationalism--in all spheres of the life and work of our societies, and so it is also the case in the area of military science and doctrine that all of these spheres are intertwined and inter-related, thereby combining to form a single dialectical entity.
2. In the military science and doctrine of the socialist countries there are problems which are being resolved and defined in ways that are common to all of these countries and in ways that are specific to each of them. But inasmuch as both the former and the latter serve to ensure the security of our socialist community, these common and unique elements are not mutually contradictory. Quite the contrary, they are mutually complementary.

3. Given the balance of power and sociopolitical relations in today's world, all undertakings in the military field are being accomplished within the framework of coalitions. Therefore, all defense problems in the socialist countries are directly related to the work that is being done within this coalition framework, regardless of whether this is a question of undertakings which are to be accomplished in a uniform manner by a majority of these countries (joint undertakings) or of independent undertakings that are therefore to be carried out differently by each of these countries. Within the framework of this defense system the substance of the coalition doctrine consists of the jointly agreed upon conclusions concerning preparations for and the actual waging of war, whereas the substance of the national military doctrines consists of both common and specific conclusions in this regard. Nevertheless, both the former and the latter are in essence internationalist and national in orientation at one and the same time as long as their goal is the defense of the community of countries committed to the construction of socialism.

4. At present there is no issue which is not directly or indirectly related to war. For this reason also, the number of research problems in military science has expanded considerably, with the result that only by means of a common effort, as reflected in the conduct of comprehensive research projects, will it be possible to resolve these problems in a satisfactory manner. Each of the socialist countries is making its contribution to socialist military science. Thus, the record of achievement of this military science is a product of both collective and independent research efforts. And this record of achievement is permeated with all of those things which are most valued by and most essential to our community.

5. As is apparent in light of recent observations and forecasts, in view of the relentless progress of science and, consequently, the emergence of ever newer and ever more complicated problems, and also in view of the fact that the balance of power in the world serves as proof of the validity, effectiveness, and indispensability of working within coalitions, it is to be expected that that which is held in common in the military science and doctrine of the socialist countries will, in pace with the advancement of their cooperation, come to play an increasingly more important role.

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## TOLERATION OF VIOLATIONS OF SOCIALIST MORALITY CONDEMNED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Oct 78 pp 1, 5

[Article by Sergiu Andon: "Revolutionary Combativity and Firmness in Implementing the Norms of Socialist Equity and Ethics"]

[Excerpts] Matters connected with what we might call the formation of an awareness are not and cannot be regarded, not even temporarily, as separate from problems of material construction. No one has the right to postpone an educational intervention, to leave the correction of conduct for another time, to excuse his own neglect, to say or even to think "first we will be concerned about the plan and then after that about awareness."

All the successes achieved do not give anyone the right to conclude that, in the objective conditions of our system, the progressive socialist awareness appears, is developed, and is consolidated automatically and can be allowed to develop by itself. The code of ethics gives an overall picture of the traits which should characterize the Communist and every citizen of the country and stipulates the moral attitudes and relationships which must be made concrete, in an unflinching manner, by all members of our society. Of course, a simple knowledge of the principles and norms encribed in the Code is not sufficient, since their application is not voluntary. The entire political-educational activity must be guided by the idea that the principles and norms of the work and life of the Communists and of socialist ethics and equity are not a collection of pieces of advice displayed for free choice but the developing revolutionary awareness of our entire people. Therefore, the knowledge and popularization of the principles of ethics and equity must be finalized by their firm, perseverant application. Without exceptions, without frivolousness, without compromises. No division of labor or "parcelling out" of general responsibilities for ethics, no hierarchy of social responsibilities assigned at a given moment can justify a hierarchizing of moral requirements. All members of our society, and especially the Communists, are equally obliged to observe the totality of norms of ethics, the single moral standard of society, and to fight for its implementation in life.

As a result of the complexity of social relations and the fact that ethical norms express these relations most exactly, both for the present and for the

future, any violation of the rules of conduct has an effect, directly or indirectly, in a way which is observable immediately or which is observable later, on other relationships of life. Therefore it is an indisputable duty of each Communist and of each citizen to take a stand and to firmly defend the socialist norms of conduct against any violation. The majority of violations of the norms of the code of ethics are accompanied by symptoms of the feverish effort to get rich. Therefore, there must be prompt reaction, decisive curbing of any attempt to violate the rule of distribution, from petty thievery to profit, because of position or function. Just distribution represents the nucleus of the new relations of life and work established in our society and any violation of its regulations is the same as an act of renunciation of the moral principles of the socialist system.

Sometimes, however, instead of combativity which is necessary for the health of the moral climate, manifestations of toleration and concealment of serious moral defects in the name of a so-called just evaluation of man make their appearance. Certainly, the exact and complete knowledge and weighing of the facts is a firm rule of justice in the socialist system. What merits can balance off even a single petty theft on the scales of moral judgment? If "merits" and "achievements" are invoked to the credit of the individual while he, as "profit" calculated on his own, brings a cement truck to his home, what real conclusions can be drawn? The conclusion that there was a total discrepancy between his beautiful phrases spoken to the world and the dubious arrangements with "trusted persons." Or: what merits can "balance out" an act of favoritism? The fact is not confined to the statement that "we are only human beings" or to the inequity of the gesture to another candidate, wrongfully outclassed. The violation denotes total indifference to what the incompetent will do in the place in which he has been put, how he will confuse things there and what material and human consequences this will have. A moral violation in the realm of abuse and profit-seeking is not a "defect" but represents a fissure and such a fissure is not repaired with the mortar of words; it must be tracked down to its foundation and must be analyzed with full attention and responsibility, without circumspection, without "deviations."

The true promoter of the revolutionary combative spirit cannot be satisfied with a critical attitude--no matter how critical--manifested after the violation is committed. This would mean that the living flame of awareness would be reduced to the value of a certain procedure, severe as it might be. The revolutionary spirit is not accumulated so that it can break out all of a sudden; it is not stored up so that it can be displayed "in favorable circumstances." As a torch of the heart, as a light of thought, it must illuminate the paths of morality continually; it must prevent deviations, falling into the trap of profiteering, declassé elements and it must point out the beginnings of errors. Less harshness used in time is preferable to harshness which comes too late, on the condition, of course, that the desired effect is achieved and that the road is closed to error.

It is true that in the case of some people, the attempt to straighten them out does not produce results immediately. But is this a reason for those

around them to disarm, to allow incorrect behavior to triumph and to allow the negative trend to ossify? No reply from the person criticized, no fear of rancor should reduce combativity in respect to shortcomings and weaken the firmness and promptness of the intervention.

The revolutionary spirit in the implementation of the norms of socialist ethics and equity should manifest itself, first of all, in the personal example of the Communists and of the party, state and social activists. The presence among men of the new type of political man, from the moment that he enters the party until his death, must manifest itself as an unflinching example of revolutionary ardor, with an unfaltering consistency in regard to the principles and norms of life promoted by the party, without any "reward" besides the satisfaction of honorably executing his mission, besides appreciation for having done all he can for the success of the noble cause which he serves.

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