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6 July 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1558

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SUNDIC BLAMES BULGARIA FOR PROBLEMS IN TIES WITH SFRY

Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Jun 78 LD

[Text] In the foreign affairs commentary we shall deal with the proposal by Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP and chairman of the Council of State, that Bulgaria and Yugoslavia sign a declaration on the inviolability of the borders and mutual renunciation of territorial pretensions. Milika Sundic comments on what this proposal means:

According to BTA, Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP and chairman of the Council of State, stated in Blagoevgrad that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is willing to sign with the SFRY a joint declaration by which the two countries will formally confirm the principle of the inviolability of the borders and mutual renunciation of territorial pretensions. Before he expressed the above-mentioned willingness, Todor Zhivkov said that between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia there are differences and complex questions with which history has encumbered relations between the two countries, but that every unresolved question can be resolved by means of friendly dialog and strict respect for the principles of equality and noninterference in internal affairs.

At first sight the uninformed might understand the speech by Todor Zhivkov as an innovation in neighboring Bulgaria's policy toward Yugoslavia. However, if one bears in mind the fact that the borders between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria were settled a long time ago and that there can be no more haggling over this matter, the question logically arises as to why it should be necessary for the two countries to sign a declaration on the inviolability of the borders and the renunciation of territorial pretensions. The problem of Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations does not lie in the borders, as far as Yugoslavia is concerned, but in the attitude of Bulgaria toward the Macedonian national minority and the Macedonian nation in general.

Bulgaria, let us recall, does not recognize the existence of a Macedonian national minority on its territory or the existence of the Macedonian nation. For Bulgaria, Macedonia is merely a geographical concept, a territory within the composition of Yugoslavia, and as regards the Macedonian

nation, its history and culture, Bulgaria denies this, asserting that the Macedonians are Bulgarians. In his speech in Blagoevgrad Todor Zhivkov did not say a word about the problems which hamper Yugoslav-Bulgarian relations, from which it may be concluded that there have been no changes in Bulgaria's attitude toward the Macedonian national minority or the Macedonian nation in general.

The Macedonians do not need, it is true, anyone's recognition, for they exist as a nation. No one has handed this to them; rather it is the result of their age-old fight, which was crowned with complete success in the great liberation war against German fascism and its Bulgarian allies.

However, the nonrecognition of the Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria and the Macedonian nation at the same time means the laying of territorial claims on Macedonia, that is, on the SFRY, of which Macedonia is an integral part. After all, marking the anniversary of the Treaty of San Stefano this year, Bulgaria unambiguously confirmed its pretensions toward Macedonia and parts of southern Serbia, while the decisions of the Berlin Congress were characterized as the breaking-up of Bulgaria and as the most tragic chapter in its history.

It is no secret to anyone that Yugoslavia has always been and still is interested in good, friendly relations with Bulgaria. However, the problems which hamper these relations are neither small nor innocuous. No declarations on the inviolability of borders or the mutual renunciation of territorial pretensions can remove suspicion regarding Bulgaria's policy toward Yugoslavia and Macedonia while Bulgaria lays claim to Macedonia and its history.

Bulgaria, therefore, need not try to convince Yugoslavia of the need to develop good, friendly relations, for Yugoslavia is always willing to do this. However, Bulgaria must renounce its misconceptions regarding the Macedonian nation and realize and accept once and for all that the Macedonian nation exists and that the Macedonians were never Bulgarians. It is, of course, also high time that Bulgaria gave up falsifications regarding its liberation mission in Yugoslavia in World War II, for this does it the least good of all.

CSO: 2800

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BULGARIA SAID TO OPPOSE BALKAN COOPERATION

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1429, 28 May 78
p 47 AU

[Commentary by Miodrag Marovic: "Viewed From the 45th Parallel: One's Own or Alien"]

[Excerpt] Whenever the Balkan countries become oriented toward one another--and they are increasingly more oriented to their cooperation--and whenever they seek, without any outside interference, realistically existing ways of mutual contacts in various fields, they usually succeed in finding both the method of reaching agreements and the topics on which their interests are close or common. This was demonstrated, among other things, by the conference of government experts for economic and scientific-technical cooperation held in Athens 2 years ago. The abundance of proposals for developing multilateral cooperation in these fields revealed the whole reality and necessity of developing multilateral contacts in those areas in which the interests of the Balkan countries coincide.

Thus it was all the more natural to expect that the Athens conference would be followed by further steps directed to advancing multilateral contacts and cooperation in the Balkans. An auspicious indication of this was the announcement that a new meeting would be held, this time in Ankara, which would be devoted precisely to implementing the abundance of proposals made in Athens, and particularly to the possibilities for economic cooperation. All the Balkan countries, with the exception of Bulgaria, have also made concrete proposals for the new meeting.

Following a certain period of preoccupation with its domestic changes, Turkey, as the host country, has carried out the necessary preparations for such a meeting of government representatives of five Balkan countries. Romania and Yugoslavia have been advocating the convening of the new meeting as soon as possible. Greece also believes in the justification of and need for developing multilateral cooperation. Bulgaria alone opposes this form of inter-Balkan relations. Recently the journal MEZH DUNARODNIYE OTNOSHENIYA, organ of the Institute for International Relations and Socialist Integration of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, publicly discussed this.

The Bulgarian theses are not new, even though they are wrapped in the cloak of "reality of Balkan multilateral cooperation." It was also possible to hear them during the Athens conference. As early as at that time the Bulgarian representatives believed that prior to launching any agreement among the Balkan countries it was also necessary to insure participation "for those states which are not Balkan states but whose interests are present here and with which the Balkan countries maintain political, economic and military ties." It was clear that bloc interests based on zones of influence were being introduced into relations among the Balkan countries.

Now the Bulgarian journal--and there is no reason to doubt the official support of the political leadership for this journal--says: "It is obvious that the most correct course to follow is the course of refraining from carrying out any initiatives in the Balkans which would be closed to the participation of other European countries, particularly when such initiatives also concern the interests of the states close to the Balkan region and when these states show a certain readiness to participate in these initiatives." And in this connection "certain disputed questions" and the claim that "the Balkans is not some kind of a special European region" are cited as the reason for virtually suppressing all attempts at advancing multilateral cooperation.

Thus, instead of practical steps to overcome the division into blocs in Europe and the world, Sofia in fact advocates its perpetuation, especially in the Balkans. Bulgaria obviously equates international cooperation and integration with its own relationship with CEMA and the Warsaw Pact, and this is also supposed to indicate the same respective relationship of those states which are members of NATO and the EEC.

Fortunately, not all, including countries belonging to this same bloc, think this way. For example, Romania has confirmed by an article in the foreign affairs journal LUMEA that it opposes the introduction of any non-Balkan elements into the relations among the countries of this region, because "it sees in this" their aspiration to consolidate their presence in this region and because they negatively "influence the search for solutions to certain problems from the past or from recent years."

The Bulgarian journal complains that Bulgaria's positions have been presented tendentiously among the Balkan public and the wider world public. In this connection it reiterates the claim that Bulgaria does not oppose multilateral cooperation by the Balkan countries.

The facts, however, show the opposite to be true. Instead of making concrete proposals which would open the door to such cooperation among the Balkan states, Bulgaria stubbornly tries to clear the way for outside interests and influences, seeking their legitimization as equal partners of the Balkan countries in those affairs which concern only the latter. And history provides the best answer as to where this can lead, history with all its lessons which precisely the Balkans has had the opportunity to learn and to personally experience.

ALBANIA

HOXHA WORK ON DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT REVIEWED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 May 78 p 2

[Review of the volume of the selected writings of Enver Hoxha "On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" by Prof. Agim Popa: "A Great Wealth and a Sharp Weapon"]

[Text] The volume of selected writings from the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha "On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," which was put into circulation recently, is a publication of great theoretical and practical value for the communists and all the workers. It constitutes a clear evidence of the unshaken fidelity to and of the creative execution and development by our party Marxist-Leninist teachings on this capital and vital problem of the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

Our party has always had the matter of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the center of attention. Having in mind the prospect of the development of the revolution, the party never removed this matter from the area of observation ever since the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, when it knew how to guarantee the undivided leadership of this struggle, when it worked for setting up the new power of the people over the ruins of the old power of the foreign occupiers and of the treacherous exploiting classes, when it condemned the Mukje compromise that aimed at dividing the power with the bourgeoisie, or when it resolutely prevented the Anglo-American "allies" from occupying Albania with their troops and from bringing the bourgeoisie into power. The period following the liberation of the country, when the people's power began accomplishing the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and up to the present days, is the period of an uninterrupted struggle waged by the party for the many-sided construction, consolidation, perfection, strengthening, and continual revolutionarization of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the period of a tooth and nail struggle which our party has developed and continues to develop for protecting and defending the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country from the persistent efforts of the internal and external enemies to overthrow it by the means of armed violence and putsches, or to undermine and liquidate it with the methods of peaceful degeneration. All these moments and this rich historic

experience are profoundly reflected in the writings of Comrade Enver included in the volume "On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

In this great matter, our party has always had in mind the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the dictatorship of the proletariat and its historical necessity, as well as the lessons deriving from the experience of our country and from the experience of the other countries. "The experience of our free and independent country," Comrade Enver writes, "has shown that without the dictatorship of the proletariat the victories of the revolution cannot be secured, the resistance and activity of the external and internal enemies cannot be broken and defeated, the defense of the socialist fatherland cannot be guaranteed, and the construction of the socialist and communist society cannot progress." (p. 499)

The historic, decisive importance of the dictatorship of the proletariat is also clearly shown by the negative experience of the Soviet Union and of some other countries, "where, the abandoning of the principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat gave birth to revisionism, the most dangerous weapon of the counterrevolution, which led to the destruction of the socialist order, to the restoration of capitalist slavery, and to social-fascism" (p. 670).

It is precisely because of this decisive role of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the fate of socialism, that its enemies--including all the revisionist renegades and the lackeys of the bourgeoisie--have directed and are directing all their weapons with madness against it, from the weapons of violence and of fire to the poison darts of revisionism. "Therefore," stresses Comrade Enver, "the attitude toward the dictatorship of the proletariat has been and remains the border stone dividing the true proletarian Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries from the opportunists and renegades of all trends of the workers class" (p. 670). On its part, our party has developed and will develop a merciless and uncompromising struggle for unmasking the anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary preachings and practices of the modern revisionists, such as those of the Soviet revisionists on "the state of all the people," those of the so-called Eurocommunists and others on "democratic socialism with a human face," and those of all the others who accept the dictatorship of the proletariat in words, when in deeds they have abandoned and betrayed it.

Generalizing the experience of the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution in our country and profoundly analyzing and studying the causes of the revisionist tragedy and of the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and in some other countries, our party has drawn and will also draw in the future the necessary lessons so as to block the way to this deadly danger and to move forward, uninterruptedly, the complete construction of the socialist and communist society in our country. As Comrade Enver points out, our party begins with the unshaken conviction that "the complete loss or partial loss of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not at all a fatality," because, as proved by the historic experience of

our country, "it is fully possible that, after it is established, the dictatorship of the proletariat can be kept pure, untouched, and unshaken in all links and directions, by continually developing and perfecting" (p. 516).

Comrade Enver, emphasizes that, above all, undivided leadership of the party in the socialist state must always be preserved intact and constantly reinforced, as an unshaken basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an essential and fundamental condition of its resistance, because in this vital matter no kind of duality is allowed. In this connection, our party has unmasked and rejected both the most flagrant abandonment of the positions of Marxism-Leninism and the efforts to justify the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the revisionist theories and practices regarding the denial and elimination of the undivided guiding role of the proletarian party in socialism, starting with the preachings on "the independence" of the socialist state from the proletarian party and on the part as a simple ideological factor, up to the opportunist legalization of the pluralism of the political parties in the socialist system. Insofar as the Albanian Workers Party is concerned, as broadly documented in Comrade Enver's writings, it will consistently progress on the road of continually strengthening and perfecting the party leadership in every cell of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the entire social life, by seeing this leadership in the broadest understanding, from the highest forums down to the basic party organization and to the vanguard role of each communist, and by eradicating and rejecting every thing that weakens this leadership not matter how minor it may be.

The Albanian Workers Party, as Comrade Enver stresses has adhered and adheres with the greatest consistency to the teachings of Lenin that the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean that the class ends, because this dictatorship is the continuation of the class struggle under new conditions and forms, against the forces and traditions of the old society. The dictatorship of the proletariat, under the leadership of the party, is the decisive weapon for developing this class struggle against the enemies, among the people, from the positions and in the interest of the working class, so as to drive it to the end, to the complete and final victory of the socialist road over the capitalist one, until the disappearance of all the class distinctions and the construction of the communist society without classes. On the other hand, as shown by historic experience and as emphasized by Comrade Enver Hoxha, "in whatever field the class struggle is being developed between the two roads--the socialist and capitalist roads--in the political field, or in the economic, ideological, cultural, or military fields, this struggle is, at the very end, the struggle as to whether the dictatorship of the proletariat will be strengthened or will degenerate and will be overthrown, as it happened in the Soviet Union and in some other countries" (p. 557). Our party has rejected the theses of the modern revisionists of all hues on the extinguishing of the class struggle in socialism, on the basis of which they build their counterrevolutionary theory on the "surpassing" of the dictatorship of the proletariat and try to legalize its liquidation, considering these ideas as profoundly anti-Marxist and with very dangerous

consequences. In this matter, too, a deep gap divides the Marxist-Leninists from the revisionist renegades. "To adhere or not to adhere to the class struggle," Comrade Enver writes, "to have a full understanding about it or a superficial one, to develop it frontally or unilaterally, and to execute it correctly on the revolutionary road or to weaken it and to make concessions, this is a vital matter on which the fate of socialism depends. That is what our enemies want, to weaken our vigilance and to extinguish the class struggle. But, we, what shall we do? The opposite. We must reinforce vigilance and consistently develop the class struggle..." (p. 622-623).

The consistent execution of the principle of self-reliance in the defense of the socialist fatherland, preventing the establishment of foreign military bases and forces on the territory of our country, the fusion of the army and all the armed people, the continual reinforcement of the leadership and control of the party in the army, the placing of proletarian policy in command and preventing the gun from commanding the party, implementing healthy socialist relations in the armed forces and preventing the creation of military castes, and so forth, as the course for strengthening the defense and as a guaranty against the danger of transforming the army from an arm of the revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a blind tool of the counter-revolution and of the bourgeois and revisionist dictatorship, as has happened in the Soviet Union and in some other former-socialist countries, also are component parts of vital importance of the revolutionary experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, which are generalized and documented in Comrade Enver's writings.

In the materials in the volume particular attention is given to the fundamental matter of the relation between the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy. Our party, as Comrade Enver stresses, has adhered to and adheres with firmness to the Marxist-Leninist teachings that the "dictatorship of the proletariat is inseparable from the broader, deeper, and most complete democracy for the workers," that the "guaranty of a broad socialist democracy constitutes a basic condition for the defense and reinforcement of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself, just as the latter constitutes the essential and decisive condition for the existence of a true democracy for the workers" (p. 671). Comrade Enver unmasks and rejects the anti-Marxist preachings of the modern revisionists who, following in the footsteps of the bourgeois ideologists, of social-democracy, and of all anti-communists, make a lot of noise about the lack, allegedly, of democracy and freedom under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is nothing else but a slander and falsification. What they want is freedom for the enemies of the people and of socialism, for the counterrevolutionaries. However, emphasizes Comrade Enver, "our party and our dictatorship of the proletariat, in complete harmony with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, have never allowed this kind of democracy, nor will they allow it. Our socialist democracy is the true democracy for the people, for the working masses, and only for them" (p. 673).

The broad, organized, and effective participation of the working masses in the governing of the country in the most varied forms, and their great right to express their opinion on the solving of social and state problems and to exert their control over these and over everything--is a vigorous evidence of our socialist democracy in action. Our party considers this participation, which is being continually extended, as the basic direction for the development of socialist democracy, as a great moving force, so as to drive socialist construction forward and, at the same time, as one of the most important factors for preserving our state and society from the danger of the bourgeois and revisionist deterioration. And, one of the most extended expressions of this effective participation of the masses in governing is the direct control of the working class and of the other broad working masses over all state and social activity, under the leadership of the party. Comrade Enver proves in depth, that this control constitutes a general and permanent principle of our socialist society in all its spheres and links, an expression of the exercising of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the working class in alliance with the peasantry, one of the most important directions of the class struggle so as to guarantee the victory of socialism and so as to prevent the degeneration of the socialist order, and a great school for the revolutionary education of the working class and of the other working masses.

Special attention in the writings of Comrade Enver is dedicated to the problems of the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism, as two dangerous enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialism.

Historic experience proves that the deep roots of the regressive, counter-revolutionary revisionist process in the Soviet Union and in some other former socialist countries must be sought in "the gradual bureaucratization of the socialist state apparatus, in its separation from the people's masses, in the creation of a category of privileged bureaucrats, in the introduction of the methods of commanding, of suspecting, and of not relying on the masses... and in the waning and weakening of the democracy for the broad working masses," because, "precisely the spreading of bureaucracy created suitable terrain for the usurpation of power by the renegade Krushchevite clique" (p. 464). Therefore, our party has considered and considers the struggle against bureaucracy as one of the most important directions of the class struggle. Comrade Enver draws attention to the fact that the struggle against bureaucracy should not be reduced to simply organizative and technical-administrative measures; on the contrary, its essence must be profoundly understood as a struggle for bringing the government and its apparatus closer to the broad masses of the people, as a struggle for protecting and reinforcing the dictatorship of the proletariat, so as to bring the socialist revolution to conclusion and to prevent the danger of the reestablishment of capitalism in our country. The active participation of the broad working masses in this struggle is decisive for successfully progressing the struggle for the eradication of bureaucracy. "Bureaucracy," Comrade Enver says, "raises its head and is revived where the struggle against it is underestimated. Bureaucracy hides and bends when the voice of the masses roars, when their control is exerted over it and when the fist of the working class and of its party falls on it with force" (p. 595).

Dealing with the issues of the struggle against bureaucracy and the defending and reinforcing of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the writings of Comrade Enver collected in the volume an important place is given to the problems concerning the revolutionary tempering of the cadres and the relations between cadres and the masses, so as to avoid the danger of the bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the cadres and their transformation from servants of the people into rulers over the working masses. Comrade Enver also discusses and shows the paths of the struggle against the danger of bureaucracy in our socialist state, particularly against foreign concepts which equate the dictatorship of the proletariat and the administrative apparatuses and against the trends for making their role absolute so as to place them above the state organs, especially, the elected organs, so as to eliminate the elected organs and the working masses from actual participation in governing the country while increasing personnel and monopolizing all the work.

Along with the struggle against bureaucracy, Comrade Enver strongly concentrates the attention of the party, the working class, and the working masses on the need for an uninterrupted struggle also against liberalism, as the expression of the ideological and political opportunism, the abandonment of the continual class struggle against enemies, and the acceptance of peaceful coexistence with hostile ideology. The dissemination of liberalism was precisely one of the major tactics that imperialism and the revisionists used for the degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist order in the Soviet Union and in some other countries. Of particular importance is the eradication of liberal and anarchistic understandings of democracy, freedom, and the rights and tasks of the workers in the socialist society. "Some people," Comrade Enver stresses, "believe that, since we are in a democracy, they have only rights and no tasks at all, that only the state and society have obligations toward them, which they do not fail to ask for, while they themselves are free to behave and act as they want, to violate work discipline and the discipline of society, the state laws, and the norms of society. These very dangerous points of view must be resolutely fought, because they are foreign to the principles of socialism" (p. 700-701).

These are only some of the great and vital problems elaborated in the volume of the selected works of Comrade Enver Hoxha "On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." This volume places in the hands of the communists, cadres, and all the workers a great wealth of revolutionary ideas and of experience, as well as a sharp ideological weapon, for the correct execution of the party line in their daily struggle for the construction and defense of socialism in our fatherland.

Comrade Enver's words echo like a war cry, always present, when he says: "Under the leadership of the party and the working class, the masses of the people must always be on their feet, and for anything, in order to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, its laws, its ideology, its policy, and its realizations. This is the only correct, healthy, and redeeming path taught by our party, which advises us all, without exception, to execute it to the very end" (p. 484).

ALBANIA

EDITORIAL MARKS LEAGUE OF PRIZREN CENTENNIAL

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Jun 78 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "An Immortal Monument to the Struggles for Freedom and National Rights"]

[Text] All our people, the working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, are today celebrating the centennial of the Albanian League of Prizren--a significant date in the centuries-old glorious history of the Albanian people--in a healthy revolutionary atmosphere prevailing throughout the country, a feeling of legitimate pride and a rich balance sheet of successes achieved in all fields of socialist construction and the country's defense under the illuminating leadership of the party headed by Comrade Enver. Also celebrating the centennial of this heroic period with us are our brothers of Kosovo, Macedonia and Montenegro, who, as part of the Albanian nation, are inseparable from the history of their centuries-old struggles for freedom and independence. Also celebrating this historical jubilee with national love and pride are our brothers in emigration everywhere in the world, who today are united in thought and heart with their fatherland, Albania.

A full century has elapsed since the founding of the national organization "The Albanian League" with its center in Prizren. Its composition included representatives from various provinces of Albania and people of various walks of life. Its creation at a very critical time, when the territorial integrity was in danger and in response to the plot of the notorious Berlin Congress, was of particular historical importance, and it marked a further stage in the Albanian national movement toward independence. As the party was stressed, the Albanian League of Prizren was a direct continuation of the centuries-old struggles of our people for freedom and independence, land, language and their honor and traditions. It was a culminating period of our national renaissance. Years and centuries will pass and the Albanian League of Prizren will always remain an unforgettable historical event, an immortal monument to the legendary struggles of our people and, as Comrade Enver Hoxha put it, an "unprecedented challenge" by the Albanian people against the imperialists and chauvinists "in order to safeguard the country's freedom and territorial unity."

The Albanian League with its center in Prizren was founded under the auspices of the "Central Committee for Defending the Rights of the Albanian Nationality" set up in 1877 in Istanbul. Carrying out their activity in its ranks were the Frasheri brothers Abdyl and Sami, Pashko Vasa and Jani Vreto, Zija Prishtina, Hasan Tahsini and others. Under exceptionally difficult and grave internal and external circumstances and conditions--when the centuries-old Ottoman terror and obscurantism predominated, when they were persecuted by enemies and their agents from within, when the devilish policy of "divide and rule" prevailed and when the imperialist superpowers were gambling with the destinies of small nations--they fought with weapons, pen and diplomacy for the formation of an integral Albania to include within its borders the Albanian territories and all the Albanian people of common customs, traditions and mother language.

The Albanian League of Prizren, realistically assessing the great danger that the presence of foreign armies on Albanian territories involved for the freedom and territorial unity of the country, the openly stated expansionist aims, the policy of plundering and the deportation of the Albanian population from their motherland pursued especially by the chauvinistic governments of Serbia and Montenegro, and the signing of the Treaty of San Stefano, which with the support of Czarist Russia pushed Bulgaria's borders deep into Albanian territory, drafted its own political program embracing the most vital issues concerning the destinies of our people. Defined in this clear program of action were the fundamental goals of the national movement, including recognition of the Albanian nation as one and indivisible and respect for the principle of nationhood for Albania in all aspects, preservation of the inviolability and integrity of Albanian national territories, and unification of Albanian lands into a single entity with Albanian administration. These goals were attained by our people through revolutionary methods, by armed struggle, relying, as always, on their own forces. At this stage a massive popular heroism erupted with particular force. Thus the League of Prizren took into its hands the destiny of the Albanian nation and fought to be its master and to protect it, keeping well in mind the lesson drawn from history that freedom is not begged but achieved by bloodshed. The legendary battles waged by the Albanians will remain unforgettable in history. For 3 successive years they defended with unprecedented heroism the threatened Albanian territories, including Plave and Guci, Hot and Grude, Ulgin and so forth, which the Western powers had decided to detach from Albania. It was this very heroic struggle of our militant and always unflinching people in the face of slavery that prevented the great powers and the neighboring states from total realization of the anti-Albanian decisions of the Berlin Congress and compelled them to recognize the importance of the Albanian factor in ending the Balkan crisis.

In its final stage the Albanian League of Prizren was ferociously suppressed as a result of the common action taken by the great powers, the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan states. Consequently, a large part of the Albanian territories was cut off from the national regions. The Albanian League of Prizren, despite being suppressed by fire and iron, left indelible traces in our people. Historical facts indicate that after the suppression of

the League its patriotic national platform still remained at the foundation of our entire national movement. Under the very grave conditions created later, our people, struggling against the imperialist powers and the chauvinism of the neighboring states and against their incalculably devilish intrigues, which prevented our people from achieving their sacred goals of liberation and creation of a free and independent Albania, had to fight for more than three decades before they reached the day of the proclamation of independence on 28 November 1912. With the proclamation of independence, which crowned the efforts and struggles of our predecessors for liberation from the savage and despised Ottoman domination, one of the demands, the demand for autonomy, of the Albanian League of Prizren, was also carried out.

Nevertheless, the proclamation of independence was not everything. It was necessary to consolidate this victory by further persistent struggle and new victories. From 28 November 1912 to 29 November 1944 our people had to fight incessantly for another 32 full years. In the stormy years of the epic antifascist national liberation struggle, the Albanian Communist Party (now the AWP), the successor of the most noble traditions of our people, heightened the traditions of the League of Prizren and invested them with a new content. Even today the party is vividly preserving these shining patriotic traditions and through them is educating the generations in the spirit of love for the fatherland, in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism for building socialism and defending the country by strongly depending on self-reliance.

In commemorating the centennial jubilee of the Albanian League of Prizren as a free, independent and sovereign nation, we recall and honor with the deepest respect all those who dedicated themselves to Albania and made their outstanding contribution to it, including political and military leaders, activists and valiant fighters. The party and all the Albanian people direct their profound and everlasting gratitude to them. The high decoration "Hero of the People" which the People's Assembly Presidium awarded to Abdyl Frasheri, Susejman Vokshi and Mic Sokoli, as well as the orders and medals awarded to many other patriots and fighters, is also a lively expression of this gratitude and appreciation. Their immortal feat inspires the generations, inspires all the people, who, in steel-like unity around the party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, break the encirclement and the blockade and march uninterruptedly on the illuminating road of socialism.

Glory for centuries to the fighters of our people for freedom and national rights!

CSO: 2100

CPCZ ECONOMIC WEEKLY SATIRIZES GOVERNMENT PROCEDURES

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech No 23, 9 Jun 78 p 16

[Article signed by cipher MP: "From Ancient Manuscripts"]

[Text] It was the year of Our Lord 1578 and there were so many statesmanlike tasks to be done that the royal court issued its royal bull right on New Year Day. Greatest attention was drawn to the resolution No 3/1578 which spoke of the necessity to adopt economizing measures in work with official steeds. It must be explained that in those times there was an unusually great number of official steeds in use, to the point that there was bad blood among the populace and many a little soul began rejoicing that even the well-born might again have to walk.

However, it is a long way from the royal court to the stables, and for a long time nothing at all happened because it was now the duty of the various country institutions to further elaborate the royal order or, as it was then the fashion to put it "to implement it in a differentiated manner." Well, the expected happened: they implemented it in the way they have been always accustomed to implement things. They called the scribes, told them to sharpen their goose quills and ordered that they should start copying the king's edict, changing only the heading and the signature. Even though the little scribes did their willing best it still took them quite a considerable time before they copied it all to the last iota -- and then the process was repeated over again, from Mecca to Medina, so that the hills and dales of our Czech motherland were already green before the New Year's edict of the king reached those for whom it was meant, the managers of the aristocratic stables, the masters of the horse and the grooms.

These started to pull out their hair by the roots wondering what kind of evil had been prepared for them now; but in the end it did not turn out to be so bad for them because those hard-nosed lads were veterans, experienced in other, even more difficult confrontations. For example, it was written in the edict that the gentry had too many grooms and that from now on each gentleman could only have as many as he had had 3 years ago. And so they searched through the ancient pergamens and found that there were very few grooms listed as grooms; the grooms were listed in the documents under other designations, such as sargeants-at-arms, scribes and stewards in order to be able to get more pay. Under the

rule that what is written is a fact, they were able to report to the royal court that in the matter of grooms the gentry had been very frugal, even beyond the point demanded by the king and also even before he demanded it, which proved their initiative.

Then there was the criticism that too many steeds were in official use, the greatest problem being the thoroughbred horses from Koprivnice who allegedly consumed huge amounts of oats, thus causing great difficulties to the state. However, the king's order had also mentioned representation, and that was the point all of them seized upon.

They pointed out that as royal subjects they in fact represented the king wherever they went and thus they had a legitimate right to the use of the Koprivnice thoroughbreds.

Also, the order demanded that every horse should be provided with proper identification device. So they summoned masters in heraldry to think up illegible coats-of-arms, and painters were called to paint these coats-of-arms the size of a dime on the horses' flanks. Thus it happened that, should a horse gallop past even the devil himself the devil would not have been able to tell who was its owner.

The royal pronouncement contained many other points with which it was necessary to grapple. Magic ceremonies were performed over oats in order to save the five parts out of each hundred as ordered. Everyone who had had a horse promised outside the area of the royal accounting hurried to get him in before all hell broke loose. And many were fearful as to what would come to pass when the committee of royal control began the clearance interviews to check on the fulfillment of the edict.

However, divine providence intervened. It came to pass that it became fashionable to eat -- besides the usual pork, beef, lamb, geese and chickens -- also the flesh of palfreys, hunters and other steeds. Many a nobleman gave the order to have a gulash made out of his horse, disregarding the circumstance that the horse was meant for representation. It is hard to say whether this development was to the good or to the detriment of the country as it is not up to us to evaluate the will of a Deity. The fact was that they were now able to ceremoniously announce to the king that the plans had been fulfilled. There were now fewer official horses, as ordered. (The fact that they had been consumed by their masters was never mentioned).

It is only necessary to add one more fact. During that year a certain blind youth made the following prophecy: "An even worse time will come to pass and the hunt for official horses will become even more intense. Moreover, in that period the steeds will be made of steel so that no master will be able to consume them for lunch, be he ever so willing. And then it will be anybody's guess as to what to do about it."

EAST GERMANY

HONECKER SPEAKS AT LUNCHEON FOR PARAGUAYAN CP DELEGATION

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jun 78 p 3 AU

[Speech by Erich Honecker given at 15 June luncheon for visiting Paraguayan Communist Party delegation in Berlin: "In Solidarity on the Side of the Paraguayan Patriots"]

[Text] Dear women and men comrades! It was a moving hour for every communist, it was one of the most beautiful victories of international anti-imperialist solidarity when early 1977 our comrades Antonio Maidana, chairman of the Paraguayan Communist Party [PCP], and comrades Alfredo Alcorta and Julio Rojas were liberated in a struggle, liberated from the dungeons of one of the most sinister dictatorships of the world after 19 years of imprisonment, torture, isolation and terror. Liberated in struggle several weeks after Comrade Luis Corvalan, the general secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, was successfully wrenched from the hands of the fascist Pinochet clique.

Once more, everybody felt what international solidarity can achieve when all the democratic, anti-imperialist and antifascist forces unite in a powerful manner. Everyone felt the gigantic strength inherent in the internationalist thoughts and ideas of millions of people.

Steadfastness and Determination To Fight Were Victorious

We take great pleasure in welcoming Comrade Maidana in our midst today; and comrades Alcorta and Rojas, the proven champions of popular resistance to the hated Stroessner dictatorship. Permit me, dear Paraguayan comrades, to most cordially welcome you in the socialist GDR once again.

In your liberation we see at the same time a triumph for communist conviction and for steadfastness. Your fighting will, your unshakable trust in the workers class and all working people, your avowal of Marxism-Leninism could not even be broken by 19 years of incarceration. On behalf of the 2 million communists, on behalf of the GDR people I would like to express to you our respect and everlasting affinity.

When in 1958 the Stroessner dictatorship threw you into jail it intended to inflict on the PCP a blow from which it would never recover. But with this the rulers themselves produced a fiasco. Today Stroessner sits hopelessly isolated in the dock of history together with Pinochet, Vorster and Somoza. He is trying in desperation to save his regime through fascist terror, demagogery and persecution. But the demands made by millions of people the world over are becoming louder and louder that an end should be put to the terror in Paraguay, that the thousands of political prisoners should be liberated and democracy be restored.

Dear Paraguayan comrades, during the 19 years you spent in prison the world was further changed in the spirit of our joint ideals and aims. The strength and influence of socialism on the globe have grown tremendously. It has been proven in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community that social security, a steady growth, rising prosperity of the people and the all-round development of personality are only possible in a society in which the exploitation of man by man has been ended forever.

Profound Transformations on Four Continents

Our exchange of views today has already given us a chance to acquaint you, dear Paraguayan comrades, with the successes achieved, our people's successes in the now almost 30-year history of the GDR, with the progress in implementing the decisions of the 9th SED Congress. You will be able to see this for yourselves during your visit to our country.

Socialism has taken a firm foothold on the American continent, too. With socialist Cuba a thriving state has emerged there which has overcome capitalism and centuries of independence once and for all. The imperialist colonial system in Asia and Africa has finally collapsed. Young sovereign states have emerged which are embarking on combining national liberation with their peoples' social liberation by passing the capitalist road of development.

Internationalism Links Us Inseparably

Dear Comrades!

The SED and the GDR will in the future continue to stand in solidarity by your side, by the side of all your country's patriots and democrats. We are certain that it will be of great benefit for your struggle if we, together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, strengthen socialism and consistently continue our peace policy. Loyal to proletarian internationalism we shall vigorously support the peoples' struggle against fascism, imperialism and racialism also in the future.

Dear Comrades! Let us raise our glasses and drink to the health of the PCP Central Committee, of our friend and comrade, Antonio Maidana, the party chairman; of our comrades Alfredo Alcorta and Julio Rojas as well as of all Paraguayan Communists,

--To the antifascist struggle of the Paraguayan people,
--to proletarian internationalism, which links us inseparably.

EAST GERMANY

SED IDEOLOGIST PRAISES LENINISM IN LECTURE ON DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jun 78 p 3 AU

[Report on SED Politburo member Kurt Hager lecture on 13 June at the Berlin Scientific Conference on the subject: "Materialist Dialectics--Laws of Development--Awareness in the Developed Socialist Society" devoted to 100th anniversary of the publication of Friedrich Engel's book "Mr Eugen Duehring's Transformation of Science"]

[Excerpts] The "Anti-Duehring" is a masterpiece of polemics. But it is more than that. Engels himself declared that the dispute with Duehring provided him with the opportunity to positively develop the views of scientific socialism on the philosophical, natural scientific and historical problems. [passage omitted quoting Engels as saying that the negative criticism thus became positive and that polemics turned into a more or less comprehensive presentation of the dialectic method and communist world outlook represented by himself and Marx]

From this results the great topical significance of the "Anti-Duehring," on which Kurt Hager commented as follows: "At the center of the 'Anti-Duehring' stands the all-round substantiation of the historic mission of the workers class that constitutes the main content of scientific socialism. Engels depicted the three component parts of the scientific world outlook of the workers class as a compact whole and demonstrated their mutual interdependence and interlinking. The great historic and topical importance of 'Anti-Duehring' lies in its organic unification of the philosophical, economic and political doctrines of Marxism into a comprehensive world outlook.

"The scientific world outlook of the workers class is uniform and indivisible, it is an expression of the class interests of the proletariat that is free of restricting class barriers and of social prejudices. The content of this world outlook is being outlined and explained systematically, logically and in accordance with the then existing state of natural and social sciences. For the first time Engels substantiates the position of Marxism on such questions as the material unity of the world, the

connection of matter and movement, space and time, the fundamental laws and categories of materialistic dialectics. The statements on the subject matter and the categories of political economy, on the laws of development of the capitalist social system and the fundamental principles of the communist social system also make the 'anti-Duehring' a work of lasting value."

After Kurt Hager had outlined the history of the international effect of the "Anti-Duehring," he dealt with the attempts of opponents of Marxism-Leninism to construe "differences" between the positions of Marx and Engels, "between the theoretician Marx and the tactician Engels." The very "Anti-Duehring," however, is an important theoretical work and at the same time an example of the collaboration and the complete unanimity of Marx and Engels. [Passage omitted quoting Engels statement from preface of the 1855 edition of "Anti-Duehring," expressly stressing that he read the whole manuscript to Marx before it went to print, and that Marx himself wrote the 10th chapter of the section on economy, in line with their practice of helping one another in specialized fields.]

Kurt Hager then referred to the fact that Lenin stressed the complete identity of the views of Marx and Engels on materialism and dialectics, and that he specifically referred to the "Anti-Duehring" in this report. Kurt Hager said in this context: It is a characteristic trait of Lenin's theoretical and practical struggle that, like Marx and Engels, he always consistently rejected any attempts of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologists to water down the scientific world outlook of the workers class, to revise it and to deprive it of its revolutionary nature. He defended the teachings of Marx and Engels against opportunists and revisionists in the international workers movement and relatively further developed Marxism under the new historic conditions of our century.

Leninism provides universally valid answers to the problems of revolutionary strategy and tactics of the workers class and its party in the epoch of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution, in the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism. With Marxism, it constitutes an inseparable whole. This applies to all its component parts and to its revolutionary nature.

Anyone who departs from Leninism is making a futile attempt to disintegrate the scientific world outlook of the workers class whose unity and coherence was so brilliantly proved by Friedrich Engels in his "Anti-Duehring."

"Engels, as well as Marx," Kurt Hager declared, "always attached great importance to the natural sciences, followed their latest research results and used their findings for their own theoretical works. In no phase of their activity was there an abstract separation between social and natural sciences. Naturally, they could not constantly deal with these problems with the same intensity. A certain division of work between Marx and Engels developed, under which Engels gave priority to analyzing the natural

scientific problems. But by no means is there any truth to the much-used assertion of bourgeois "Marxologists" that only Engels dealt with dialectics in nature, that he thus deviated from Marx's "original intentions" and that he unduly expanded Marx's philosophy of man to nature.

Such views not only deny the historic facts that exist and can be checked in large number but they also falsify the nature of scientific communism founded by Marx and Engels.

[Passage omitted on Hager statement depicting the "Anti-Duehring" as a textbook of materialist dialectics proving the inseparable unity of materialism and dialectics and stressing the objective nature of dialectics.]

Again and again, for example, in the chapter "Negation of the Negation," Engels points out that dialectics is not a schema to which reality can be trimmed but that it is necessary to uncover and prove the dialectic character of things and events.

"Nevertheless," Kurt Hager continued, "the opponents of Marxism to this day spread the worn-out fairytale that dialectics was for Marx and Engels a schema to construe reality. As, for example, when they assert that Engels attempted to 'clap the schemata of Hegel's dialectics over the given results of natural science' although he actually demonstrated the objectively dialectical nature of the natural phenomena and of the natural sciences. For Marxism-Leninism it is always necessary to find dialectics in nature, society and thinking--only in this manner are the laws and categories of dialectics, the dialectic methods consciously applied to new fields of examination, to find new results.

It is altogether significant that the opponents of Marxism-Leninism make materialist dialectics their favorite target.

Thus, it is not astonishing, Kurt Hager declared, that Bernstein today experiences a renaissance in the FRG. The spread of the antidialectic and revisionist views of Bernstein obviously serves the purpose of denying the historic outdatedness and transitoriness of imperialism, of glossing over the class contradictions and of keeping awake the belief in a change of the capitalist rule through reforms.

Kurt Hager concluded the chapter of his lecture called "Materialism and Dialectics" by saying: "It is understandable that dialectics in its rational, that is, materialist, Marxist form is detested by the bourgeoisie and its philosophical spokesmen. For, by uniting philosophical materialism with dialectics Marx, Engels and Lenin came to the realization of the objective laws of social development. They recognized the economic structure of society as the concrete foundation of the entire political, legal and ideological superstructure, the state of development of the productive forces and production conditions as the actual cause of all

historical struggles and changes. This recognition was a necessary prerequisite for clarifying the world-historic mission of the workers class to be the gravedigger of capitalism and builder of the new socialist and communist society.

For the SED the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the dialectic and historic materialism, and especially the materialist dialectics is the indispensable compass in working out the strategy and tactic of the struggle for implementing the goals set by our party program, for the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, and for safeguarding peace."

"The successes of the workers class in building socialism and communism were possible only because under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist party it gave from the very beginning high priority to the development of productive forces, to the quick and stable growth of the socialist economy.

"Relying on the findings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism and on the practical experiences in socialist construction, the communist and workers parties of the socialist community have further concretized the theory of the communist society and its two development periods in the past years. In this way the fundamental development trends have been worked out which characterize the shaping and perfecting of the developed socialist society. The developed socialist society proves to be a logical step on the road to communism.

"Life itself, the revolutionary practice, have taught us that the shaping and perfecting of the developed socialist society are objectively in the nature of a law-governed development, that they constitute historically unavoidable maturity stages of the first phase of the uniform communist society formation, of socialism. It is the objective dialectics of this growing and maturing process, it is the tasks, problems and contradictions ensuing from, and to be solved during, this process that mark our joint work, our efforts to implement the meaning of socialism.

"The Marxist-Leninist theory as well as all our experiences clearly show that the socialist society is nothing static. Its movement is not oriented toward any growth limits or stages of perfection. The more we advance in implementing our economy and social policy, the more it becomes clear that socialism is in a constant upward development. It possesses a great historic dynamics of its own that finds expression in the creative work of the workers class and the other working people under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.

"The shaping of the developed socialist society, as our party program says, is a historic process of profound political, economic, social and spiritual-cultural changes. To understand these changes and the resulting tasks of ideopolitical work in their historic magnitude it is necessary to comprehend the dialectic nature of the changes in the current development phase. This is why Comrade Erich Honecker, our party's general secretary, in his Dresden speech and in his speech before the first Kreis secretaries of the

party referred to the revolutionary character of our social development and why he stressed that thus the revolutionary processes of our development after 1945 are being continued under the changed conditions.

"At the center of our work is the struggle to solve the main task, through a constant and stable increase of the capacity, productivity and effectiveness of the national economy to constantly better satisfy the material and cultural needs of the working people, to improve working and living conditions, and to create constantly better prerequisites for the all-round development of the personality and the development of the socialist way of life."

Kurt Hager literally continued: "Freedom in socialism is real freedom for the working people but it can only be constantly perfected through the active, creative action of all working people. Freedom--as conceived by Marxism-Leninism--is an active practical relationship of the people with their natural and social living conditions. As you know, Hegel was the first to correctly define the relationship between freedom and necessity. Marx and Engels adopted this achievement of classic German philosophy, but went far beyond it. They brought Hegel's definition of freedom as recognition of the necessity into accordance with their materialist world outlook, by defining freedom as the rule of man over nature, over society and over himself, founded on the recognition of the necessity.

"As far as political freedom and human rights are concerned, we have always proceeded from the premise that--as Lenin stressed as early as in his polemic with Kautsky in the pamphlet 'The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky'--there is no freedom per se, no democracy per se. The issue at stake in the class struggle is freedom and the human rights for the workers and the other working people, which only socialism can implement. For the enemies of freedom, for those who want to do away with the rights, the achievements of the working people, who want to liquidate socialism, there can be no freedom. This is precisely the tenet that is observed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states."

In the concluding part of his lecture--"Lessons [lehren] of the communist movement"--Kurt Hager declared: "One of the most important phenomena in the development of international class struggle is the fact that the communist movement as a whole has consolidated its position and has increased its influence on the masses. This is also evidenced by the growth of the communist party member figures in the capitalist countries. Many fraternal parties are playing a great and increasing role in the political and social struggles.

"Among the monopoly bourgeoisie this advance of the communist movement has caused great concern. With violent counterattacks it attempts to get out of the ideopolitical defensive and to check a further movement to the left in the capitalist countries. In its counter-strategy it combines open

threats, direct interference and the massive application of political and economic pressures with an intensification of its ideological attacks on the Marxist-Leninist foundations of the communist movement.

"This includes primarily the systematic slandering of real socialism. With the aid of the bourgeois mass media nowadays every possible model of socialism is being propagated--from the so-called 'democratic socialism' of the Social Democrats to the ultra-leftist and anarchist utopias--with the aid of which the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin is to be refuted and the real socialism in the Soviet Union, the GDR and other countries is to be 'improved' or--to put it more clearly--to be eliminated. All these models are presented a la Duehring, as an embodiment of 'higher ideal' values.

"If Engels described socialism as propagated by Duehring as better kind of rubbish and as a childhood disease indicating the beginning of the German learned man's conversion to socialism, what would he have said about the concoctions of those who over the radio transmitter or in press impute to us a 'deep crisis and petrification' of real socialism and who announce the necessity of 'modernizing' the socialist society? These concoctions are not a better kind of rubbish nor do they reflect genuine endeavors but we rather hear the drums of the cold warriors who hope to evoke a response in the GDR, who by 'decentralization,' 'restructuring' and 'modernization' actually mean the liquidation of the GDR.

"If, for example, the FRG DEUTSCHLANDFUNK declares on 17 April that the GDR economic system was not able to develop the new 'unselfish, responsible man who thinks only of the welfare of the state, then one would really have to be completely blockheaded to assume that this reflects love of socialism. It is necessary to resolutely reject such and all other attacks on real socialism, following the example of the 'anti-Duehring.'"

Kurt Hager concluded his lecture by saying: "The October Revolution, the establishment of real socialism and its development into a workd system in the historically short period of 6 decades, the growth of the forces of peace and of social progress in the world are practical proof of the truth and the revolutionary force of the views and findings of scientific communism that were formulated by Friedrich Engels a century ago in the 'anti-Duehring.'"

"In the embittered ideological struggle between socialism and imperialism, in the controversy with the falsifiers of Marxism-Leninism, with the opportunists and revisionists of the present it is necessary to effectively use this keen weapon. Thus--and only thus--we will fulfill the legacy that Engels left us with the 'anti-Duehring.'"

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY CONTINUES TO AFFECT INCREASING SEGMENTS OF SOCIETY

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 5, May 78 pp 28-35

[Article by Minister of Culture Imre Pozsgay: "Socialist Democracy--Democratization with the Party's Guidance"; passages enclosed in slantlines italicized]

[Text] In socialism, democracy is not a closed, finished, or rule-bound order but a continuous process of liberation. Its essence and content can be perceived not only from the earlier historical forms of democracy but primarily from the society in which it was created--socialism. This democracy does not look for its historical precedents among the governing forms and methods of the liberal bourgeoisie (which were appropriate for their times) because, although it appreciates their importance, it has little in common with them. Its predecessors and examples are the movements of the oppressed masses in which the main question was the question of power. Its examples are the communities of workers which regulated their internal, communal affairs successfully and humanely, even during the difficult conditions of exploitation and class struggle. The true examples of history in this respect are the organizations of the workers movements. But those plebeian and peasant communities and progressive bourgeois strivings that created a democratic, cohesive power in spite of the existing rule are also predecessors of socialist democracy. Hence, although its essence and content are new, socialist democracy is not a new type of democracy without historical prefiguration.

It is necessary to know this truth--and repeat it if necessary--so that we will not slide into the cul-de-sac of comparisons which are unacceptable to the nature of our democracy. It is not our mission to satisfy the norms of a world which is alien to us, to be accepted by a value system of a different social order. We must satisfy ourselves in accord with the true essence of our system. /The real question is whether this democracy which we created and will develop further, is or is not for us./

We can make our contribution to the worldwide discussion of freedom and democracy if we give a convincing answer to the above question, if the social order and political practice of socialism gives a real alternative to all of

humanity to contrast with the political practice carried out in the capitalist part of the world, and with capitalism itself. It can give such an alternative when, on its own territory--as created by history--existing socialism is accepted and actively supported by the whole population. In effect, the crucial criterion is that politics be able to show results in very special circumstances and thus prove some kind of lesson of universal validity. Universal laws should be so proven that others, on other historical paths, be able to find them to be their own--in their own, specific societies.

All of the above does not mean that we have nothing to say about human rights and the personal freedom of the individual. It only means that we are not forced to apologize when the question comes up. To realize this, we must not accept as battlefield that narrow area our opponents staked out for us to do combat when they started the human rights campaign, manipulating the principles of natural rights and the term "freedom" as defined by bourgeois democracy. The whole matter must be placed on a wider social context where the dynamics which determine the movements of the various social systems become more obvious. If we do this, it becomes obvious that the political system of socialism satisfies quite different needs through institutions whose content is quite different from capitalism's political institutional system.

Still, why is it that the bourgeois political ideologies influence the masses of the capitalist countries with their ideals--and, at times, even the citizens of the socialist countries, to an extent? And why do we want, occasionally, to counter the effect of the bourgeois political ideology on the masses by insisting rigidly on how much we fulfill the demands which are formulated on the other side? There are many reasons for this. I would like to illuminate two important ones here.

First. In modern times, the masses of people obtained political experience in the institutions created in the bourgeois revolutions in the European and other developed countries. This experience, amassed through the centuries, strongly influences today's views. The value of citizens' rights is indisputable. Originally the citizens' rights to freedom represented a real political freedom, as compared to earlier right-deprivation and emptied out of meaning only later as a result of all-encompassing and all-smothering political manipulation--yet leaving the illusion of freedom to the citizens who are exploited by capitalism. This process coincided in the era of imperialism with the construction of mass communication and superhuman election machinery and with mass consumption whose extent has never been seen before. The possibility to choose between the various channels of TV and the offerings of the various parties--regardless of their content--gave the feeling of true freedom rather than a deprivation from freedom. But how characteristically subordinate even the bourgeois conception of freedom is in the era of monopoly capitalism can best be illustrated by the history of fascism and the still-existing possibility of it in some of the capitalist countries. The seizure of power by German and Italian fascism proved the

the Leninist dictum that monopoly capitalism is able to function even in the darkest, most oppressive regimes--and in fact creates such a regime if its interests demand it. This proves that bourgeois freedom is not necessary or essential to its operation. The above illusion keeps existing in the larger part of the citizens of the capitalist countries because the workers parties and workers movements defended (and keep defending) the bourgeois freedoms against the very real alternative of fascism and terror. This is the only correct attitude toward fascism and terrorism. However, in this complex situation, where there is a struggle on several levels the bourgeois freedom ideals undoubtedly appear to be very valuable. Thus, a feeling of threat comes handy to the manipulative machinery.

The second reason has to be found in the socialist countries. The fact is that although bourgeois freedom is only illusory it still has real value in the eyes of the masses. Especially in those countries--ours is one of them--which started from early stages of capitalism, whose very limited or distorted bourgeois democracy was the immediate past prior to the road to socialism. The new society paid most of its attention, while relying on the guarantee for national independence and sovereignty on the community of the socialist countries, on the provision of the basic means of life for its people, the creation of a secure life, elimination of exploitation and helplessness and a radical change of living style. It wanted, and managed, to progress on the essentials. But to progress on the essentials the freedoms of certain human groups had to be limited. The bourgeoisie and past ruling classes could not get the right of political organizing. The views that were hostile to socialism and progress could not get the right to free dissemination. Politics and publicity began to operate by other norms and rules.

They call us to account on the old rules. But this discussion is not for us. If we go into some apologetic responses we could confuse even ourselves. To avoid this, our answer can only be that we must produce a better democracy.

Will we not be prisoners of illusions if we assume that this is merely a decision we can make? Will we not oversimplify the events occurring in world politics if we begin to believe that our answer fooled the imperialists? These are very important and unavoidable questions. It is even more important whether we commit the mistake of sectarianism (which has already caused a lot of trouble) if we assume that the illusions believed by the masses are indications of their political immaturity. Should we not rather think that the historical movements of the masses of people are determined by deeper laws of behavior which cannot be influenced by the actions invented by our opponents?

No matter how the questions are phrased, the answer must be based on the accurate knowledge of the laws of socialism, using today's reality and, in it, the reality of today's capitalism. In other words, we must know, among other matters, that it is not solely our decision whether we pose unpleasant questions to others or they ask them of us. This is also determined by what soil

our questions fall on. Can this soil bring forth the answer that is to our satisfaction? The human rights campaign is closely connected with a very concrete change in world economy and new events of world politics. It deeply touches interstate contacts. Looking toward the outcome, from the world historical perspective of socialism gives us optimism but in the short run, here and now, disadvantage can accrue to us. Even as we are in the right, our truth is effective only to the extent it inspires the masses.

All we did or did not do for the development of socialist democracy became a part of a specific, new world political dimension in the second half of the seventies. The movers of the imperialist manipulating systems believed they found the Achilles heel of socialism and aimed for it. Even though the sting was felt, their lance landed off the mark. It is undeniable, however, that the confusion-generation was not completely ineffective.

Once we start with the premise that the comparison with the political system of capitalism is unacceptable for us then the corollary is that what we create is more valuable than the offerings of all other societies were before us in this respect. We must prove this to the world through our own masses. It is not disputed that socialism, in the interest of the community, had to curtail individual freedoms in the beginning. The victorious revolutions started the poorest European countries on the road to socialism. At first, taking and keeping power and, in economic life, the creation and accumulation of socialized property was the first order of command here in the political life. Yes--we had to subdue free economy (in the capitalist sense) and had to end free enterprise. All this was done so that with the help of the political power of the working class we could create an economic base to liberate man and to satisfy his most important human needs.

There was an era in the building of socialism when, regrettable, virtue was made of necessity here and the limitation of democracy also applied to the working classes. This practice had grave consequences in our country. It is undeniable that a memory of this has a role in today's arguments. The MSzMP drew the appropriate conclusions from the bitter lessons and worked out a far-sighted program for the development of socialist democracy. This program, and the results of its execution, are well known and are part of the everyday experience of the whole nation.

To return to our original question: Is this democracy for us? /Yes, it is, the socialist democracy created under the MSzMP's political guidance is appropriate to the working class, the laboring classes and layers of our society, the whole Hungarian nation./ But we also said that our democracy is not a finished order with rules of game but a continuous process of liberation. If this is true then we have to face a few political facts in the present stage of socialist construction. To do this we must leave the world arena of socialism and capitalism and the sphere of theoretical problems associated with them and descend to the questions of Hungarian development. While it is correct to juxtapose the political experience of the socialist community with the world-wide manipulative moves of imperialism, it is

incorrect to examine the concrete tasks of democratization of a country divorced from its concrete experience. The socialist countries become a community as the people of each country realize the universal laws of socialist construction, among them the laws of the development of the political system, as it relates to their unique historical-social conditions under the party's guidance.

We said that this democracy fits us, fits our people. This needs some clarification. It fits us because /it is a situation adequate to our social relations./ But democracy here is at the same time /a democratization process./ In the movement of social progress continuous democratization is a part. In the era of classic capitalism the spirit of bourgeois liberalism created the basic institutions of democracy "once and for all" to produce "total freedom." Depending on the changes in the political situation they add or take away freedom and correct either with legislation or the tools of repression this erstwhile "freedom." Socialism, too, appreciates values such as personal freedom, security, order, and public calm but connects these values to the peoples' living conditions, puts them into the realm of social necessities, and solves the problems connected with them on a communal basis. Thus, beyond the merely political freedom it provides a more human freedom which is free of life insecurity. The development of the political system of socialism links to basic social movements and relates to them. This, in turn, presupposes the existence of a program which embodies these goals and the encompassing social planning that is built onto the program. For this, an organized, conscious political power is needed which, due to its program and methods, can enthuse the majority of the people and later the whole nation.

Due to well-known historical reasons, in Hungary the party is the guiding organizing and intellectual power and the depository of political and human liberty and democratization. The party and, within it, the individual communists, are, therefore the carriers of great responsibility. They can carry this burden only if their strivings and politics are adopted by all the organizations of the whole nation and society, if the citizens and the state, economic, and political organizations share the responsibility with them. Only those can share the responsibility who have a role and partake in action. People with different social situations and views can identify with the politics and social aims of the communists only when their everyday experiences in basic questions do not differ from the principles enunciated by the party.

In its more than two decades of practice the MSzMP proved itself capable of leading the country, organizing large social undertakings, and guiding the democratization processes--because it possessed and consistently used social knowledge to the highest order, namely the theory and methods of Marxism-Leninism. It was made right for its functions by its openness which was matched with its theoretical, political, and organizational unity and its theoretical consistence which was free of dogmatism and revisionism. It ejected every sectarian tendency from its application of the policy of unity

with the masses but without putting its commitment to the primacy of the working class interest in doubt. It succeeded in convincing the whole population to see its long-term interests in the interests of the working class.

/Thus, the party was able to accumulate huge reserves of political trust. This political trust is not dead capital though, no "party treasury" to be preserved unchanged but is a form of energy which must be used as a spring for new initiatives and undertakings./ By the acceptance of the program declaration of the 11th congress the party proved that by coordinating short-term and long-term goals, using and adding to the confidence of the people, it is able to solve new tasks.

This problem complex is closely connected with the democratization process. The communists must know that without the understanding and explaining of international and domestic corollaries of universal historical movements a confusing loss of perspective can take hold of people, making them unable to recognize their true needs and interests. Therefore democratization and trust are mutually dependent concepts. Democratization is also an unceasing process of enlightening and illumination of the people. Enlightening is, of course, not only a purposeful pedagogical activity but a responsible and conscious act, a creation of participation opportunity for the citizens. This is the greatest enlightening power and the pedagogically transmitted knowledge takes true roots through these.

When democratization under the guidance of the party comes up our opponents say that it is impossible to guide democratization and it is an even bigger impossibility that this would be done by an organization which is in power, is sovereign, and is autonomous and therefore uncontrollable. Those who say this fail to notice the essence. They do not want to see that the guidance is not forcing but is bringing to the conscience of the people their own needs and interests that they were not aware of because of various historical and other reasons. The significance of the party can really be understood if we consider what an inhuman size of state, economic, and other organizations were created by modern civilization--all of which are full of threats to the individual and community. Our socialism produced the organization, embodying progressive political power which is able to humanize the above-mentioned organizations through the influence of the communists working in them and operate them in accordance with the common interest of people living and working in the society. The party realizes the political power and aims of the working class and is able to defend society from being overwhelmed by the organizations which were created to serve the people. The party is, naturally, sovereign in the sense that it forms its organizations, guiding principles, and politics itself. It is autonomous because it rules its organization by itself, in accord with the principles and rules of party democracy. But it is open to social influences and is not independent from the working class and laboring masses. Its members derive from these self-same classes and is replenished with newer generations of these classes. It, thus, synthesizes and uses the experiences of several generations. /It

follows from the historically given role of the party that its inner life is not a party affair but a public matter of basic significance to the whole society.

/The party's ethical quality, democratic organization and atmosphere, and political flexibility which is matched with ideological consistency are essential in fulfilling its guiding functions./ The party which was created to serve the masses cannot make itself independent of the opinions and feelings of the masses. The party influences the society when it understands the people's problems and answers them in accord with its own principles, expressing the historical goals of the working class. The quality of party cadres is important not only for the purpose of placing into positions leaders who get results but also to insure that faithful, attractive, and convincing communists work with nonparty people on the various posts in society. In areas where there are large numbers of low-quality cadres forceful methods become visibly evident and unprincipled or voluntarist solutions are prominent.

Forceful methods can be effective in the short run but "do not pay" in the long run. The party pursues a far-sighted approach and thus it bases its guiding methods and practice on the understanding of historical essence and current reality. It does not want to see the justification of its policies in each single instance of social phenomenon but in the direction of progress and basic processes. This attitude shielded it from a moralizing grumbling and occasional distress when unfortunate phenomena occurred during the very uneven, controversial progress of socialism. No small role was played in the formation of this correct attitude by the realistic view, based on principles, of interests which helped to understand the motivating springs of the people living in socialism.

The party--due to its situation--has an irreplaceable role in the integration of situations. This touches on the essence of the democratic process. In this role it functions as an arbitrator, along with the interest-representing groups and represents the interests of the working class and thus those of the society. By the recognition of the varying interests that exist in socialism it helps the institutionalization of interests and makes it possible not only to keep these interests in the political forefront of socialism but makes them the spring of actions serving the common good. The effectiveness and, at the same time, the irreplaceability of the party's leading role is shown by the fact that it has always moved effectively in the defense of society's interests when a special interest departed from its appointed and socially appropriate, optimal area of action.

And here we again find ourselves face-to-face with the problem of right of freedom. Who curbs and appoints the optimum area of action of the various special interests? Even the bourgeois liberals ask this question. Their answer acts as though there were no curbs in the systems represented by them although one of the most important functions of the whole capitalist state machine is to delimit spheres of action in the combat of interests. This is nothing but curbing. What, then, is the difference?

The difference is that there the basic interest of the capitalist determines and controls all the other interests and the political mechanism also sanctions this view. In capitalism this order of interest integrates the whole society into one illusory community. This community survives until the working class community recognizes its illusory nature, i.e., until the workers and laborers who live under capitalism recognize this, with the help of their political organizations, and become convinced of the need for change.

In contrast, in socialism the interest of the working class delineates the place of all the other interests and forms that political system which, while consciously and progressively transforms the society, defends this position. Here, the integration of the society is based on the interests of the working class. This is why the party, the most consistent representative of the interests of the working class, can fulfill its integrating function. All this is inseparable from the democratization process whose result is that in socialism the people become a true community.

The party, therefore, grasps the whole democratization process at its essence, through interest relations. Naturally, the calculation of interests into political decisions is problematic and occasional conflicts occur. A utilization of technocratic simplification of interests which regards the working man as a mechanism, motivated by simple material interest, whose motion needs no other tool but a clever recognition of incentives, would be a great mistake. This kind of view is satisfactory only to those bureaucrats or technocrats who, as Marx would say, regard man as merely their object to handle and do not recognize the many sides of man's material, cultural, emotional, and spiritual needs and the complex links of interests based on them.

The democratization process, guided by the party and extending to all the basic social relations, progressed in the great state and social-political organizations that embrace the whole society. It also made decisive steps in the local workers organizations. This progress was noted by the party's 11th congress and the April, 1978 resolution of the Central Committee. As a result of this progress, further changes are occurring in our institutions. The institutions of socialist democracy are becoming ever more suitable for the solution of the collaboration between the individual and the community, having a new content. The qualitative, mass change observable in the attitude of citizens is due to this. Beyond the political identification with the program of socialist national unity, there is a growing number of people who are active participants and builders of democratic institutions.

Freedom here is not an abstract ideal to which the legal system has to be adjusted but a liberation that includes (and points beyond) liberty of a socialist content in which the legal system, due to the socialist character of political power, supports the satisfaction of human needs that are more valuable than private enterprise and capital accumulation. In the thousand year history of the Hungarian people, now, in socialism, is the first

opportunity and possibility to create a communal form that is right for it, in which the demand that the happiness and advancement of the individual will be in harmony with his personal efforts for his community can be realized although still imperfectly perhaps. The strengthening of the community creates the true opportunity for the blooming of the individual and a contemporary, developing socialist democracy in which the people's political power means, instead of regimentation, increasingly the spiritual, moral guidance of society.

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HUNGARY

HUNGARIAN CULTURAL CENTER'S ACTIVITIES IN AUSTRIA DESCRIBED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 May 78 p 11

[Interview with Dr Ervan Pamlenyi, Dr Jozsef Dori, Dr Ferenc Foltyn, and Dr Jozsef Bayer, directors of Collegium Hungaricum by Andras B. Balint: "Our Spiritual Treasures in Austria"]

[Text] From the other side of the Danube Canal, from the Franz-Joseph wharf, there looms the modern eight-story building, the Collegium Hungaricum, or as its colleagues and the Viennese Hungarians call it, the "C-H." Than one walks over the short Salztor Bridge and there he is at the gate of the institution.

The Viennese Hungarian Cultural Center was formed in 1923, its main aim being to assist Hungarian scholarship students. Before the war it fulfilled its mission as expected but in the chilly atmosphere of the fifties it simply existed, but did not really play the role of cultural integration. Since 1964 the institute, has been partly responsible for the Austrian Hungarian programs as well as the organization of cultural days and weeks, the organization of performances, exhibitions, etc, and language courses. Since then life here has become very lively. Also we would not mind if in the future it would be even more lively, says Dr Ervin Pamlenyi, the director, summing up the aims of the "C-H."

We spoke in his upstairs office. Around the coffee table sat his immediate colleagues: Dr Jozsef Dori, Dr Ferenc Foltyn, and Dr Jozsef Bayer.

Scholarship Students

Let us speak first of all about the primary task of the institute to this day which is the reception of scholarship students--proposes the one in charge of the subject, Dr Jozsef. Our scholars and researchers do not participate in the scholarships on the basis of an intergovernmental agreement. Their support and work expenses are covered in their entirety by the Hungarian government. This is a sort of tradition and it is one of the best. Every year about 50 people apply for scholarships at the scholarship council. We can accommodate eight persons at one time.

[Question] And how long do they stay?

[Answer] Each one according to the nature of his research. The shortest time is 30 days, and the longest a half year.

The young, scarcely 27-year-old Jozsef Bayer directs the library, and also the film and record collections, and he is the main organizer of the popular film programs of the institute.

In the library we now have 12,000 to 13,000 volumes, and each year the collection grows by about 150 books. On the average from January to December a thousand people take out books, many of them Hungarians living here, but there are also Austrians among our regular readers. Many come in to read newspapers and periodicals, or to look through magazines. The Vienna Hungarian Workers' Union and the Culture and Sport Union have their headquarters in the building and their members also visit our library regularly.

[Question] And the records and films?

[Answer] We possess 600 records, from Bartok to Locomotive-GT, all kinds of recordings can be found here. They can be listened to here, or if someone wants to take out a record there is no difficulty. If someone wants to, we lend out films although more often we hold film showings in the "C-H" theater.

In the past half year nine Hungarian works were used for programs, mostly films made a few years ago: "Wisteria," "The Labyrinth," "Nine Days," "The Haiduk," etc. The audience likes color historical films, and lyrical stories the best. For example, most of the Viennese Hungarians did not really understand Makrat. You see, they have lived a long time far away from the critical problems at home. Hungarian film shows are organized not only in the institute, but also in the Vienna movie theaters. When the Hitler cult reared its head in the FRG, and one or two Fuhrer films were taken over to the Vienna theaters, the Aktion Cinema brought in Hungarian, Bulgarian, and GDR anti-Fascist films, which played for weeks.

Cultural life, naturally, does not go on only in the capital, but also in the provinces, Ferenc Foltyn puts in. From Burgenland to Karinthia, from Styria to Salzburg, we arrange all kinds of Hungarian days, but not exclusively for the Hungarians. Our aim is to evoke the interest of the Austrians in the values of Hungarian culture.

[Question] And is the aim realized?

[Answer] We have to throw in things which interest people. In the program for Hungarian week next year in Salzburg, we will show three one-act plays by Bartok, we will arrange a literary evening, and we are planning exhibitions, film programs, etc. The Austrians like modern music. In Graz there will be a performance of the works of Rexso Sugar, and in Klagenfurt recently they showed a musical work written to the Ady poems of Sandor Szokolay. For all of this, of course, we have to function closely together with the cultural institutions at home, and with theaters and artists who should be invited.

There are times when we sorely miss the mark, interrupts the director. Recently we held a performance about Hungarian hamlet life, thinking that this would interest the Austrians; in fact many people here live in hamlets. It did not interest anybody. The hamlet life there is a weighty problem, but here not at all. The performances designed for teacher training, on the other hand--I myself would not have believed it--was a huge success. It excited the Vienna educators in an exceptional way, how the colleges and universities are training people in Hungary. At the end, a serious discussion arose...

[Question] I have experienced that our common past strongly occupies the Austrian intellectuals.

[Answer] That is true. In this area we strive to seize the positive tendencies, such as the progressive features of the enlightenment and Josephinism [church politics of Kaiser Joseph II], and the participation of the Viennese volunteers in the freedom struggle in [18]48, as well as the joint actions of the Austrian and Hungarian worker's movement. We have many similar progressive traditions.

Quality Goods

This year the C-H launched language courses for the first time, for adults and especially degree holders. (The Hungarian cultural associations deal with the teaching of children.) The period of training is 2 years; and more than 40 came to the first course. Hopefully there will not be less than this at the final examination...

Austria gladly accepts Hungarian culture, so we must respond to the demand, said Ervin Pamlenyi at the conclusion. For success "quality goods" are demanded. There is competition, there are many similar foreign institutes in Vienna and if we do not offer something interesting the people will go elsewhere. We should strengthen cultural relations, this is dictated by the Helsinki spirit too. And then ... it is particularly fitting that the residents of two neighboring friendly countries should know each others' spiritual treasures.

8419
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CONCRETE INTERNATIONAL TREATIES ON DISARMAMENT SOUGHT

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 May 78 p 5

Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Karoly Szarka by Gyorgy Halasz
--portions within slantline printed in italics]

[Text] Karoly Szarka was born in New Pest in 1923. Until 1948 he worked in the Lang Machine works. In the course of his Foreign Ministry work, he fulfilled service in London, New Delhi, and Washington. In 1955 he took part in the work of the UN General Assembly Session (when we were admitted into the UN). He led the first Hungarian delegation. Between 1956 and 1968 he was deputy foreign minister, and then ambassador to Cairo, and between 1970 and 1974 he fulfilled service as the [our] permanent UN representative in New York. In the course of this mission he filled the office of president of the UN Economic and Social Council and presiding officer of the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly. Since 1974 he is once again Deputy Foreign Minister.

In the present international situation the most important and urgent task is the completion and strengthening of political detente through military easing of tensions. The nations of the world are spending \$45 million an hour on arms, and it has been impossible to date to stop the sharply rising spiral, pregnant with dangers.

On Tuesday in New York the UN General Assembly will begin a special session dealing with disarmament questions. The most comprehensive discussions on this topic in the history of mankind. On the eve of the session, our colleague Gyorgy Halasz asked Deputy Foreign Minister Karoly Szarka about the precedents, significance, and possibilities of the New York forum.

[Question] Six and a half years ago the Soviet Union presented to the UN General Assembly a proposal for the convening of a world conference on disarmament. The initiative found great response and broad support all over the world. Now important consultations are beginning on disarmament in the world organization. How similar and how different are the nature and tasks of these two forums?

[Answer] The Soviet Union first brought up the convening of a world conference in the United Nations in November 1951 at the Sixth Session of the General Assembly, and later repeated this initiative on numerous occasions at various forums. The renewed taking up of the proposal came about in the terms of the peace program adopted at the 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1971, which was thereafter supported by the great majority of UN member states. In 1972 the UN Secretary General presented to the General Assembly the positions of the member nations in connection with the world disarmament conference. It became clear that in all, three states, Albania, the Chinese People's Republic, and the United States definitely opposed the convening of the world conference. The General Assembly created a committee to study the opinions and proposals of the member nations in connection with the world conference. We are one of its members.

The non-aligned nations supported the idea of a world disarmament conference from the very start of the movement. At the 1976 Colombo summit conference, along with supporting the convening of the world disarmament conference, they approved the convening of a special disarmament session of the UN General Assembly. At their initiative the General Assembly adopted on 21 December 1976 the resolution on the convening of a special session dealing with disarmament questions, which is to begin now on 23 May. We became also a member of the preparatory committee of the special session.

From the above-mentioned the integral connection between the two disarmament forums is obvious, but one must also see the differences there are between them. /The special session is a significant forum in the sense that it gives a chance to the governments of the member nations to express their views concerning disarmament./ It can create favorable conditions and the proper atmosphere for the participating states to turn their full attention and all their efforts to measures serving the ending of the arms race and disarmament, and to the forwarding of the convening of the world disarmament conference. The special session can really be an event of great political and moral significance. It can strengthen the belief that the governments and peoples of the world are capable of changing the present situation, and it can disclose those forces who with their charges of the hopelessness of disarmament are covering up their interests in the continuation of the arms race.

The special session, however, has its own limitations. By the nature, the working methods, and the possibilities of the United Nations, /the resolutions adopted at the session are proposals/, even if they correctly note the most urgent chief directions and tasks of disarmament. /But for the concrete valid fulfillment of disarmament there is a need for a valid international treaty or agreement binding on every participating state./ In the preparation, elaboration, and adoption of these, the world disarmament conference proposed by the Soviet Union can fulfill a leading role, along with the multifaceted other international disarmament forums, such as the Geneva Disarmament Commission or the Central European Arms and Troop Reduction Talks going on in Vienna.

[Question] With what concepts and plans are the representatives of the socialist countries traveling to New York?

[Answer] One of the central issues of the foreign policy of the socialist countries is the halting of the arms race and actual disarmament. /The Soviet Union, we, and other countries of the socialist community have been champions of the cause of disarmament from the first moment of their existence./ It is thus natural that in this spirit they will step forward at the session of the UN General Assembly which is dealing exclusively with this vital issue. The session of the foreign ministers committee of the Warsaw Pact members held in Sofia at the end of April also took the position that the socialist countries should go to the special session with the firm commitment to effectively advance its successful arrangement.

The results of the deliberations of the special session will be brought together by a /concluding document/ as we foresee. It will consist of four sections by content: an introduction, the disarmament manifesto, the disarmament action program, and a section dealing with the question of the international mechanism for disarmament deliberations.

In the joint working paper of the socialist countries the positions in connection with disarmament issues were summarized and presented to the preparatory committee. The two working papers submitted by the socialist countries serve the purpose of enabling the documents adopted at the special session to substantially advance the cause of disarmament, to summarize the most important things to be done, and to show the possibilities and means of solving these problems.

[Question] The changes in international power relations and the extent of detente is also indicated by the fact that today no one openly opposes disarmament. At the same time the experience of the various disarmament and arms control negotiations show that many obstacles and attempts at foot-dragging interfere. In such cases one can note actions which tend to confuse the international lines of power. On the basis of the various previous positions it appears that the special session of the UN General Assembly now about to open will not be free from similar occurrences...

[Answer] The raising of this question is justified. The strengthening of the process of international easing of tensions demands, but at the same time also assures, greater possibilities for progress in the area of disarmament. Together with this we must be aware that the camp of the opponents of easing of tensions and disarmament is strong and active. Those people are playing into the hands of the opponents of disarmament who by virtue of attempts at frustrating the world disarmament conference block the actual advancement of disarmament. One of the well-known largest obstacles to nuclear disarmament is the fact that among the five powers possessing nuclear weapons, two have to date not joined in the disarmament discussions. But those people are carrying the debate into a blind alley who, by placing in the forefront the less important aspects of disarmament under the slogan of the "reform" or "democratization" of the international deliberative mechanism, degrade the effective disarmament measures into forums for boundless debate. Much discussion has been heard to the effect

that the pace of disarmament talks is not satisfactory. At the same time numerous UN members have not yet signed the existing disarmament agreements. The above-mentioned will surely appear as factors in the work of the session.

[Question] What can we expect from the New York discussions, what result can the disarmament session reach in the present international situation?

[Answer] Within the present circumstances of the international situation we are justified in expecting that /the special session may strengthen the realization of international public opinion and of the governments of the UN member states that disarmament is the most burning question of our time, and that without progress in that area the solution of the imposing problems facing mankind is inconceivable./ For this it is necessary that the inter-relationship of disarmament and development appear with the proper weight in the concluding document. We hope that the special session will strengthen the consciousness of the fact that the reason for the unsatisfactory progress of disarmament talks is not in the structure of the existing forums, but is to be sought in the lack of readiness for agreement in certain--already mentioned--circles.

We expect the session to advance the formation of an indispensable creative political atmosphere, and will objectively summarize the results of disarmament efforts to date. With the circumspect determination of the basic ideas to be followed in the course of disarmament talks and the designation of the tasks most ripe for solution, it can helpfully forward the fruitfulness of further negotiations. It would be useful if the session would call the concerned states to join forces with the existing disarmament agreements.

It is our conviction that the session will also raise its voice against the further continuation of the arms race and for the banning of nuclear and other large-scale destruction weapons and of conventional weapons systems of great destructive power. The special session will have to condemn such attempts as the manufacture and deployment of neutron weapons, by which certain extremist circles wish to force the world a qualitatively new age of the arms race.

The session must push through effective measures to prevent the dangers of nuclear war and the strengthening of political and international legal guarantees concerning the security of states, the most effective means of which would be the concluding of the international treaty proposed by the Soviet Union on the banning of the use of force in international relations.

Finally I would like to mention again the most important thing which we expect from the session: /that it should advance the convening of the world disarmament conference as soon as possible./

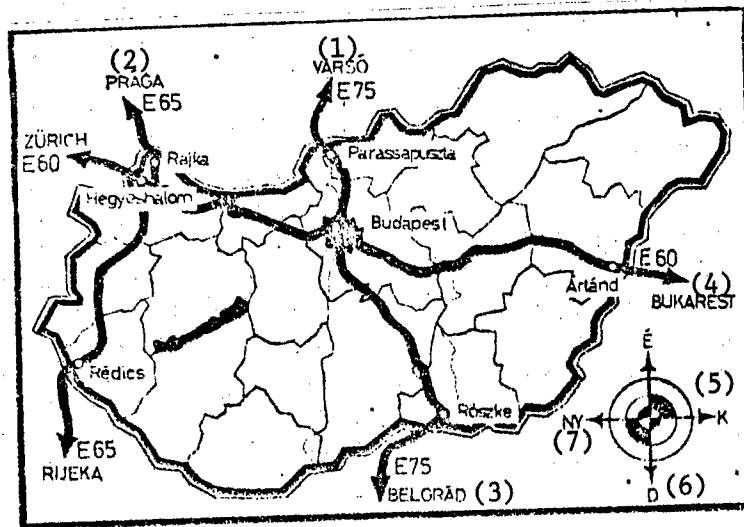
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HUNGARY

SLOW PACE OF HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION DECRIED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 May 78 pp 1, 6

[Article by Dezso Pinter, part of which is interviewed with main department head Jozsef Novoszath, coordinator of the OMF (National Technical Development Committee)-concept, by Dezso Pinter: "Slowly Creeping Superhighways"]



[Key to map] [City names as shown; 1 Warsaw, 2 Prague, 3 Belgrade; directions of compass: 4 N, 5 E, 6 S, 7 W.]

The length of roads for high-speed traffic in this country is 181 kilometers: compared to the surrounding countries we have fallen behind in the construction of superhighways and highways. The OMF has prepared a concept which serves as a foundation for working out the land preparation and construction planning measures. Our article on p 6 deals with this concept. The designated Hungarian paths of the new European E highway network are shown on our map.

Squeezed by the European Highway Arteries Network

[Text] If we inquire about the new domestic superhighways, the answer mostly is silence. Understandably, since there is no approved development plan for Hungary's superhighway network. Even though this would be timely, if for no other reason than because the neighboring countries have worked out their ideas and coordination cannot be delayed long. The OMFb has worked out a concept about the domestic superhighway network. According to the general opinion this can serve as foundation for working out land preparation and construction planning measures. The concept provides assistance to the medium and long range branch planning work and to the planning of the people's economy, by designating the high-speed traffic system's network system--that is, superhighways and highways. The superhighways must ease not only the already strenuous problems; they will also have to stand up at the turn of the century, when according to estimates there will be 300 cars per 1,000 inhabitants.

Today, transportation and travel distances are still relatively short. In 1963 a passenger car trip averaged approximately 24 kilometers in length; today it is 30 to 35 kilometers, and rapid growth is expected.

I read in a foreign tourism report that last year 1.6 million foreign cars visited our country. This number will be 4 million in 1990! Today 800,000 cars are recorded in the country, 300,000 are awaiting car deliveries and annually about 100,000 become owners of cars.

They Avoid Us

According to OMFb's concept, two solutions offer themselves. On sections threatened by "traffic attack," high speed traffic roads must be built. (This is justified especially where traffic is composed of long-distance trips and high speeds can be expected.) The already existing roads with two traffic lanes must be widened and their load-bearing capacity increased. (This solution serves to ease the shorter distance trips with relatively low speed requirements.)

Naturally it is extremely important to follow with attention the European arterial network. In several neighboring countries, construction of superhighways is proceeding at strenuous rates. The superhighway under construction between Prague-Brno-Bratislava will connect to the Hungarian M-1, and to the E-5 and E-15 roads. In line with the Hungarian E-5, the Belgrad-Novi Sad and the Belgrad-Nis superhighways are already completed or are just ready for completion. It is sufficient to glance at the map: the Zagreb-Karlovac path connects to the direction of the Hungarian M-7. In the Austrian section of E-5 the 2x2 lane highway has been ready for a long time as far as Vienna; how soon it will run to the Hungarian border, depends also on the rate of the Hungarian superhighway construction. A rapid-traffic highway is being developed between Vienna's southern 2x3 lane superhighway traveling in the direction of Wiener Neustadt and Graz and the territory

of Burgenland province--sooner or later a Hungarian connection will be needed to these also. The 16 authors of the study serving as basis for the OMFB concept say it right out: we must connect into the international superhighway network in time, because the continent's traffic can simply avoid our country and this would mean heavy damage to the people's economy. (Decreasing interest also means shrinking tourism.) Therefore we must really pay attention to the E-5, which fulfills the role of a bridge between Western Europe, the Balkans and the Near East. But since it is extremely overburdened, Austria and Yugoslavia may perhaps successfully negotiate such a road system the development of which draws the traffic away from our country.

The network of European roads was reworked internationally in the recent past. (E-roads, which are denoted by two-digit numbers.) It is definitive for our country that the importance of North-South and East-West connections is becoming stronger. The E-60 runs from Zurich to Bucharest, reaching our country at Hegyeshalom and, touching Budapest, runs toward Artand, that is, the Romanian border. The E-71 (the current M-7) connects to it at the capital city; this reaches Yugoslavia at Letenye, and before Zagreb connects to E-65, the main North-South road connecting Prague and Rijeka, which also dissects our country between Redics, Kormend, Szombathely, Mosonmagyaróvár and Rajka. (It meets the E-60 at Mosonmagyaróvár.) The other main North-South route cutting through our country is the E-75, which starts out in Warsaw and runs to Belgrade. It reaches Hungarian soil at Parassapuszta, runs through Budapest and Kecskemet and leaves the country at Roszke. Connecting and supplemental roads connect to all main roads, but not only to the ones listed but also to the E-70 between Turin and Belgrade, and the E-50 between Prague-Kosice-Munkacs. The E-68 would carry the Austrian traffic to the E-65 at Kormend, than at Aliga [Balatonaliga] this would connect to the E-71. The E-73 would lead a good portion of the traffic between the two countries from Budapest to Yugoslavia through the Udvar border station. The E-64 would branch off from the E-75 at Szeged and proceed toward Arad. The E-77 is designed to connect the E-60 with the E-50 between Puspokladany and Uzhgorod. (This road is connecting to Nyiregyhaza, and only auxiliary from there.) The Budapest-Miskolc E-71 also connects with the main Prague-Munkacs road at Kosice.

All calculations prove that our country has an extremely important role also in foreign tourism among the socialist countries, considering that foreign traffic between the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Romania and Bulgaria mean transient traffic here.

With the Capital City and With Each Other

So much for international demands; it is time to talk about domestic ones. Extreme centralization around Budapest will end, as a natural consequence of five selected top-level junctions designated in the national settlement network development concept: Miskolc, Debrecen, Szeged Pecs and Győr. Besides them, important roles await the major junctions like Szekesfehervar, Szombathely, Kaposvar, Kecskemet, Szolnok, Bekescsaba and Nyiregyhaza. These junctions need proper road connections, not only with the capital city, but also with each other, and in a few decades this will really thoroughly change the map.

Nevertheless, drafters of the concept did not forget to take into consideration: even though the significance of the provincial industrial development centers will gradually increase, Budapest's role will not change but remain dominant in the next two decades. Raw materials, the semifinished products, the merchandise must be shipped at all costs.

What the connection of the capital city's traffic will be like with the superhighways continues to be the topic of debate. What the experts do agree on, however, is that Budapest's internal city traffic on public roads is so great that even independent of the superhighways leading into the city, there is a need for a municipal rapid-traffic road network, more precisely a central road network. A link must also be created between the national external superhighways and the capital city's internal road network. Construction of an approximately 37-kilometer superhighway ring around Budapest is planned; it is still possible that with minor modifications of the plan it could be ready in 15-20 years with relatively small amounts of clearing of its path. As far as the near future is concerned, the 15th [capital city] district council's executive committee discussed just this week, how the construction of the Budapest section of M-3 will connect to the ring around the city. By the end of the year the main traffic section will be completed to the city limits, and the section leading into the city, which will run to Hungarian Blvd, will be ready by 1982. Until then the M-3 traffic will be divided through the capital city, five large bypass routes will be developed.

[Beginning of interview] Main department head Jozsef Novoszath, coordinator of the OMF B concept:

"Construction of the high speed roads must be placed 'on track' just like [construction of] the subway, just as tight plans, just as disciplined work is needed. We have fallen far behind, but it can be made up. There is no sense at all in building a superhighway as was done in the case of the M-7: the authorities agreed from time to time how much to add on to it."

[Question] At the present time, what is the length of our rapid-traffic roads?

[Answer] We cannot brag that it is 181 kilometers, but this distance will increase to 750 kilometers by 1990.

[Question] Where is work the most urgent?

[Answer] By 1990, the M-1--to use the "old" but publicly known numbering system--must be completed as far as Hegyeshalom, or Rajka. The work is in progress now also, bypassing Tatabanya. Half of the M-2 superhighway between Budapest and Vac will be built, for the time being a main road runs from Vac to the Czechoslovak border, to Parassapuszta. Hopefully by then the M-3 will run all the way to Leninvaros; Miskolc, Barcika [Kazincbarcika], Emod, and in general also the Borsod [megye] industrial region will also be covered by a network of high-speed roads. It is possible that the work will

be completed in this district before the superhighway will reach there from Budapest: the order of importance will be decided on the basis of traffic volume. At the start of the eighties, half of a superhighway will link Budapest and Szolnok. By then there will also be a high-speed road between the capital city and the Yugoslav border, at Rozzke. The M-7 will run to the end of Lake Balaton's southern shore, to Keresztur [Balatonkeresztur].

Tolls Not Proposed

[Question] What costs are we speaking about?

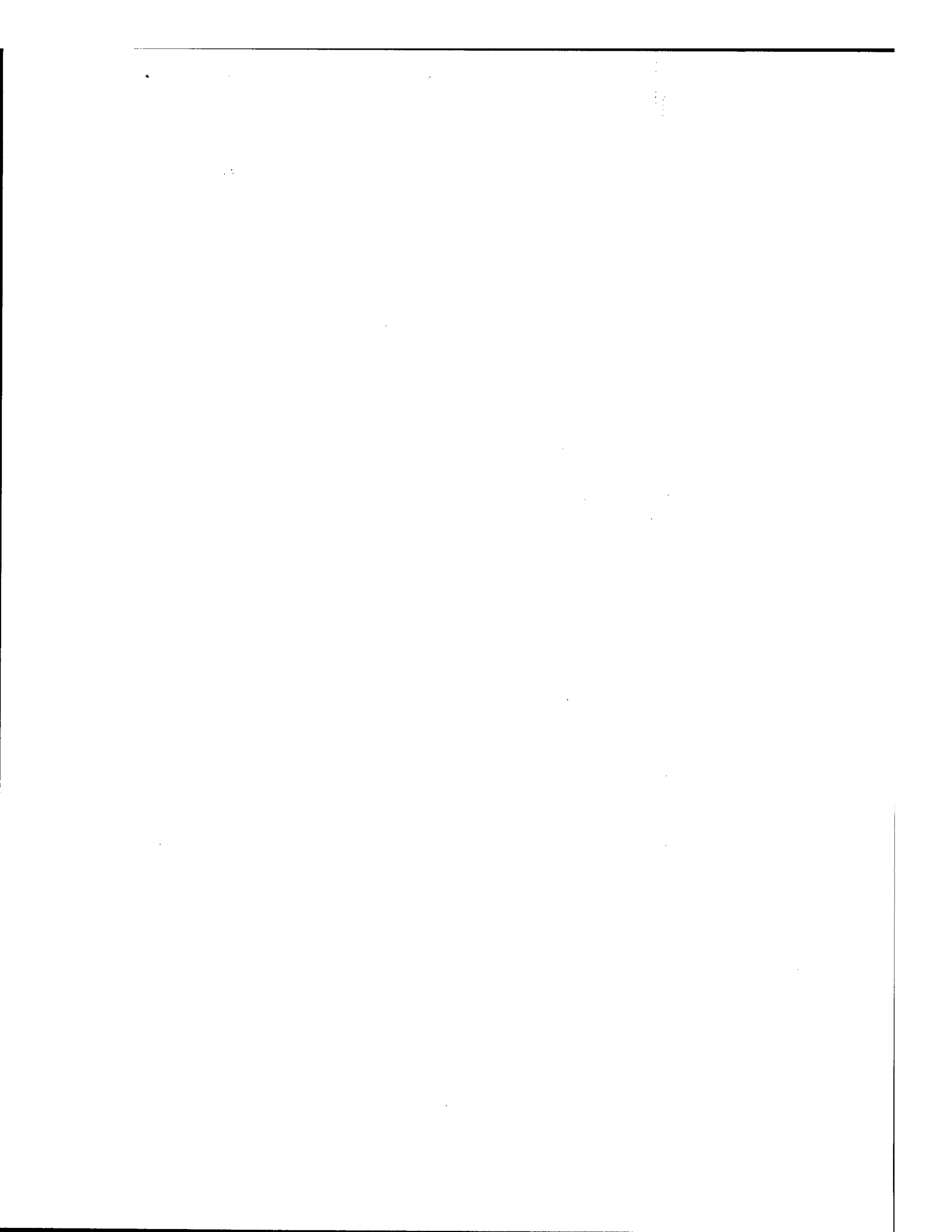
[Answer] One kilometer of superhighway costs 50 to 60 million forints on the average. In our concept, we examined how they tried to offset the costs abroad, more accurately part of them, since construction to high-speed roads heavily taxes the economy of all countries. At several places motor vehicle taxes were increased, overweight vehicles were taxed, cost of fuel and lubricants were increased, extra taxes were levied against enterprises doing vigorous highway transportation, monetary fines derived from pollution and damaging public roads were mercilessly collected, tolls were collected--and I could keep the list going.

[Question] What opinion have the authors of the concept developed about tolls?

[Answer] Expensive electronic equipment is needed to collect tolls, operation of these increases the operating cost of the superhighway two-and-a-half times. Each row of toll gates costs as much as half a kilometer of superhighway. But we also had other heavy arguments when we decided that another method must be selected to contribute to the costs. We did not propose the introduction of the toll system.

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POLAND

ARMAMENTS INDUSTRY TASKS, PRODUCTION VIEWED

Industry Assessment

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 6 Apr 78 p 1

[Text] Labor honesty ensures high quality of military equipment. Under this motto a meeting took place between the chief inspector of technology of the Polish Army, the vice minister of national defense, Gen of Arms Zbigniew Nowak, and the leading activists of the organizations of technology. Also participating in the meeting were the deputy of the Chief Inspector of Technology of the Polish Army, Gen Bde. Jan Zielinski, and Gen Bde. Marian Knast.

The main problems touched upon during discussions concerned the realization of deliveries, defensive problems of modernization, and production economics, as well as improvement of the quality and reliability of military equipment.

The activity of the defense industry in the past year was comprehensively presented, focusing attention on the quantitative and punctual realization of plans. The progress made recently in production realized for the needs of the army was expressed, among other things, by modernization of the machinery stock and the factory space, as well as by the introduction of many modern methods of manufacture. The present scientific-technological base of the defense industry is in position to undertake the realization of technically complex tasks resulting from current requirements of the army. This concerns also the possibilities of the manufacture of products based on modern technology.

During the meeting it was ascertained that the favorably shaping collaboration between the organizations of technology of the army, industrial enterprises, institutions and research-developmental centers brings great advantages in regard to the organization and effectiveness of the production and technological progress. The saturation of the modern army with technology is at present so great that realization of the fighting tasks on the modern battleground would be impossible without possession of an industrial support

base with adequate technological level. The fighting value of the armed forces, besides the human factor, the level of training and moral-political values, is determined--as was stressed during the discussion--by the industrial potential of the country, the quality of technologies applied and the machinery stock, the general and professional knowledge of technical cadres, as well as the adequate organizational structure permitting integration of the efforts of all branches of industry toward defensive readiness of the country.

Summing up there was pointed out the basic directions of activities for the near future, with particular attention paid to proper and well-organized technical control of equipment produced, as well as to the care for insuring smoothness and punctuality of its deliveries. Moreover, the problem was discussed regarding the training and inflow of specialists to satisfy the needs of the defense industry.

This meeting constituted one of the undertakings of the Department of Technology aimed at preparation of materials, conclusions and proposals for the forthcoming Central Conference of Rational Management of Armed Forces of the PRL.

Production Facility Tour

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 30 Mar 78 p 4

[Article by Lt Jerzy Markowski]

[Text] The Military Repair-and-Production Enterprises, dealing with repair and modernization of military equipment, have a considerable share in insurance of the fighting readiness of the army. "We are fully aware," says Col Stanislaw Merklinger, "that we are responsible for the length of the 'dead period' of the military vehicle sent to us for overhauling. We are trying our best to return it as rapidly as possible to its home unit, to the roadless testing ground. How do we do this? Please, see it in the workshops which conceal the secrets of production successes."

I visited Military Motorization Plant No 3 after being informed that this plant was awarded the title of the best enterprise in the field of inventive-innovative activity in the year 1977 among military repair and production enterprises. The practice shows that the technological progress is at present one of the basic factors stimulating the growth of labor productivity, and therefore the growth of production, even when it is a matter of repair. The assumption proved to be right. Let us have a close look at the basis of production successes.

What Is Being Done Here?

The province of the Military Motorization Plant No 3 (WZMot-3) are repairs even though production, too, together with the export production, plays a great role. Repairs are being done on all types of trucks used in the army

and on a great number of "Star-66" cars for the national economy. Every year lines are introduced for the repair of new types of vehicles, including imported ones.

Another direction is taken by the production, for example, of lubricating vehicles not manufactured in any country, indispensable for insuring mechanized units the freedom of maneuver required by tactical norms. Beginning this past year, in cooperation with civilian enterprises, bodyworks are produced for field power stations. A considerable share in the production of WZMot-3--which is after all a repair plant--is contributed by tools and devices that alleviate technical servicing of vehicles in the units and under field conditions. The specific requirements are being dictated here by the nature of the equipment and the complexity of tasks to be performed.

The multi-ton mechanical and hydraulic lifts, shock-absorbers for "Stars," high-quality chromium-vanadium car wrenches, and other complicated equipment for field and stationary workshops represent only a modest part of a wide assortment--taking into account the troubles arising because of spare parts which, in repair work, create a bottleneck and which the plant manages on its own. Production was also undertaken of containers for the municipal economy. For the time being these are supplied to Warsaw, but in the near future other cities will be supplied as well.

Output is Function of Production Growth

In the production workshop there are rows of vehicles. Strict military order reigns here. At one end are armored personnel carriers; at the other "Star-66" stand next to imported trucks waiting their turn to be repaired. Successively they enter the belt where they are dismounted to the last screw, and only chassis-frame or external body reminds us of the former vehicle. A detailed verification of the usefulness of each element follows. Brush and paint are being used. A part or sub-assembly are marked white if serviceable, yellow for regeneration, and red for scrap. Only here can we see fully the specificity of a repair plant, which is so different from the production belt turning out new products. Here a young worker just out of technical school is not enough. High qualifications and experience are needed. The high degree of automation of work makes it necessary for decisions to be taken almost instantly. Further on we can see groups of vehicles marked by placards suspended on special stands. These vehicles are being sent in various directions, to be found eventually at the end of the belt in the position of assembly.

Most striking is the economic use of space, the optimal ways of intra-operational transport, the functionality of non-typical devices and auxiliary tools. "Thanks to a good organization of work, rhythmical execution of plans, devotion of workers in uniform and in civilian overalls," stresses Col Wlodzimierz Dabkiewicz, the deputy production chief, himself a very good organizer of work and since 10 years connected with the plant, "it is

possible to achieve from year to year greater output, and thereby we can repair more vehicles. The mechanization of disassembly, modernization of the technology of repair and modernization of work stations by joining them, wherever it is possible, into production lines, speaks for itself. The high mechanization of work is exemplified, for example, by testing engines after general overhaul. In muffled booths, from a central dispatching room, the engines are automatically filled with lubricants, which in a closed cycle are at the same time regenerated. Therefore we have the economy of time, materials and human labor--characteristics that can be noticed here at each step."

The installed modern washingstands where the sub-assemblies are cleaned and dried have decreased labor consumption considerably; they have also improved the quality of cleaning, and, in the first place, industrial safety conditions. Added to this is the automation of office work in the form of the creation of a data-processing unit which will make possible current and rapid use of economic and material indices. The chiefs of departments are equipped with shortwave transmitters to improve the management process. We could quote many more examples. Those quoted show that the comprehensive struggle for output in the WZMot-3 is characterized by concern for production growth.

Inventiveness and Rationalization

In the WZMot-3, especially valued are people with an open mind. I think here of rationalizers, inventors, innovators, and of the popularity of the rationalization idea among the work force. Here on this spot we have proof that the cup of the chief of Military Repair and Production Enterprises for taking first place with inventive-innovative competition has gotten into worthy hands. For example, W. Markiewicz has invented a unique scrap-press "Smoke" [Dragon], which by crushing truck-cab size scrap into packages permitted 100 percent utilization of railroad-freight car capacity and facilitated loading without causing demurrage. The savings resulting from its introduction amount to one million zlotys annually.

There are also other rationalizers in WZMot-3. Mirosław Lesczyński--a technologist who realized during the past period of time 71 projects on production, regeneration and repairs, which brought about savings to the amount of 1.5 million zlotys. Henryk Rzesny--manager of the Regeneration Department, working for 24 years in the plant, one of whose more interesting projects is a device for turning the internal arms of shock absorbers, which was highly appraised. He is also a very good specialist and organizer, highly valued by his superiors and subordinates. The trainer of young rationalizers is Stanisław Kraszewski--one of the senior--in age and experience--workers of the Plant who has to his credit 43 projects on production and repair of devices and equipment. Among the leading rationalizers of the WZMot-3 should be named, among others, B. Hucko, M. Goraj, S. Promiński, H. Topolski, J. Matusiak, J. Marciński and many others. Suffice it to remember that the savings from rationalization projects introduced in the plant during the 25 years of its existence amount to 5 billion zlotys.

The creative initiative of rationalizers made it possible for labor to become easier and more effective in many work places, at the same time bringing about the improvement of industrial safety conditions and environmental protection as well as considerable improvement in the quality of repaired and produced equipment.

Care for the Work Force

The matters of social and living conditions of the work force, including rest and recreation, are a constant concern of the management of WZMot. In noting production successes of the plant we cannot ignore these questions which exert an important influence on the effects of production.

Protection of workers' health is insured by the modern, thoroughly equipped intra-plant dispensary organized by WZMot. Its head, Jan Urbaniak, does not conceal his pride when showing me around rooms, studies and laboratories. He sums up by saying, "we provide complete protection of health and prophylaxis to our workers and to the other four smaller plants."

There is an active factory club which has, among other things, a movie theater, the only one in the small town of "Metalowiec," offering to workers various interesting cultural performances and the development of their own interests in specialized sections.

The most important problem--as I am informed by the deputy director for economic affairs, Barbara Gawronska, is the problem of housing. At present 510 families live in factory blocks, but over 100 still wait for improvement in housing conditions. Our own workers hostel does not, after all, manage everything. The plant fully covers the rest requirements of the work force, using its own rest facility in Wapnica, near Miedzzydrojow, and the renovated palace in Wiejce, in Gorzow Voivodship, where most of the work was done as a social gesture by workers. For 2 years an exchange has been carried out among youth groups, within the framework of cooperation, with a plant in Czechoslovakia. The plant has its own sports club and factory center of aquatic sports, situated nearby, with complete sports and recreation-rest possibilities for the work force. It is not too little, taking into account that there are also systematically organized tourist excursions to theaters in Lodz and Warsaw, mushrooming parties, etc.

Strolling through production workshops and noting the achievements of the enterprise, I understood where lie the secrets of production successes of WZMot-3, nurtured everywhere, at every work place, by the selfless efforts of the work force.

PHOTO CAPTION

- p4. The assembly of an armored personnel carrier, designed by Wieslaw Pakulski, is as usual precise and reliable.

YUGOSLAVIA

'PRAVDA' CARRIES ACCOUNT OF TITO REPORT TO 11TH LCY CONGRESS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jun 78 p 4 LD

[Dispatch by unnamed TASS special correspondent on the report by Tito on 20 June at 11th LCY Congress: "Comrade J. Broz Tito's Report"]

[Text] Belgrade, 20 June--Delivering a report at the 11th LCY Congress which opened today, J. Broz Tito, president of the LCY and president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, said:

The Yugoslav Communists are greeting their highest forum with great achievements in all spheres of public life, labor and creativity. The period between the congresses have been one of the most fruitful in the country's development--which is vivid confirmation of the stability of our society. Our major successes since the 10th LCY Congress have been achieved thanks to the efforts of the working people and thanks to the ideological unity and activeness of the LCY. The LCY--the leading ideological-political force--has acted as the vanguard of the working people and as a social force entrusted with a very great responsibility for the destiny of the revolution and for the strengthening of Yugoslav socialist society.

The speaker went on to swell on questions of international relations and described the foreign political course of Yugoslavia. Mankind, he continued, is at a historic turning point in connection with the major revolutionary transformations and changes which it is experiencing. The processes of comprehensive national and social liberation are constantly expanding and deepening, encompassing all countries and all regions of the world. The crisis of capitalism has deepened and exacerbated--and, moreover, in all spheres--and it has become a crisis of the system in the full sense of this word. There can be no way out of this crisis with the aid of old ways and means, especially with the aid of those ways and means which are proposed by the forces of reaction and neofascism, and still less with the aid of political and other kinds of terrorism. The contemporary situation dictates the need for curbing dangerous reactionary trends and requires more rapid progressive social changes in the direction of democracy and socialism. Neither a return to the past nor the creation of a threat to

the achievements of social development, for the sake of which so much effort has been made by the working masses and progressive movements, can be tolerated. The working class and other democratic forces must pool their efforts and struggle for social changes, taking into account national conditions and the needs of each country.

Socialism has long been a world process, and it is irrepressibly growing stronger and progressing. The achievements and experience of socialism in individual countries are exerting an influence on developments in other regions, especially in international relations.

In various regions of the world the national liberation struggle for the total elimination of colonialism and for the implementation by the peoples of their right to self-determination is being waged increasingly successfully. The front of the forces of freedom, independence, peace and progress has become broader than ever before. Hence, the need for cohesive action by this front.

The struggle of the peoples and progressive democratic forces and movements, and above all of the working class and working people, for freedom and independence, for the independent adoption of decisions concerning their own development, for new and more just international economic and political relations, for equitable international cooperation on the basis of active peaceful coexistence and against exploitation is developing increasingly strongly.

At the present time, J. Broz Tito continued, a new world is being shaped-- a world of freedom, socialism, democratic and equitable relations among nations and people. This world is blazing a trail for itself, despite all resistance and difficulties and numerous contradictions.

It is essential that all progressive and democratic forces of the world resolutely and actively oppose instances of confrontation and threats of the outbreak of new military conflicts. It is impossible to rule out the danger of a war being unleashed not only on a local but also on a world scale.

Nevertheless, the speaker stressed, war is not inevitable. Peace can be preserved and strengthened if all the peoples of the world and all democratic and progressive forces make the greatest effort and struggle jointly for these goals. Peace must be preserved because it is a condition of the existence of all mankind and each country individually. We are living in an epoch when it is no longer possible to put the world to rights by war and when there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence other than nuclear catastrophe. Therefore, a tremendous historical responsibility rests with anyone who starts toying with the fate of peace for the sake of his own narrow, egotistical interests and privileges at the expense of the freedom and independence of other peoples. We are convinced that no international problem exists that cannot be solved with the aid of negotiations and peaceful settlement, provided that this is done on the basis of the UN principles and other norms commonly accepted in the international community.

We have always attached great significance to relations between the greatest powers--the Soviet Union and the United States--and we have supported the relaxation of tension between them as a vitally important precondition of the process of the relaxation of international tension as a whole, of the preservation of world peace and of the development of international relations in line with the principles of active peaceful coexistence.

Following a period of improvement in relations between the USSR and the United States there have recently been signs of their deterioration. Efforts have to be made to overcome this unfavorable situation. This is not only in the long-term interests of the USSR and the United States, it is also in the long-term vital interests of the entire international community which wants peace throughout the world and sees lasting peace as the basic condition of mankind's general progress.

At present the whole world needs new international relations and the stable development of peoples and countries. This presupposes the liquidation of the sources and conditions which give rise to contradictions and conflicts.

Relations in the workers movement and in the progressive movement in general, the speaker went on, are an inseparable part of development in the modern world. In our view, positive processes and trends have deepened and strengthened in the workers movement in recent years. Many communist and workers parties have developed into significant national political forces. They are creatively formulating concepts of struggle for socialism under the specific historical conditions of the present-day crisis of capitalist social relations.

In some countries communists, socialists and social democrats are establishing cooperation on individual questions. The further development of this cooperation serves the interests of the working class and working people and the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

The Berlin Conference of European communist and workers parties, J. Broz Tito stressed, was a major step forward in the development of their mutual relations and cooperation. It was an important event in the struggle for peace and equal cooperation in Europe. The free and frank exchange of opinions at the conference enabled it to adopt a document which, in our view, is of long-term significance. I am thinking, above all, of the principles adopted there which constitute a basis for the development of fruitful cooperation and solidarity among the communists and workers parties and all progressive forces.

The conference imparted impetus to the discussion of a number of important questions of the struggle for socialism, mutual relations among the communist and workers parties, their attitude toward other democratic and progressive parties and movements and the struggle of the developing countries' peoples and other problems. This is a very positive phenomenon. We have always believed and said, in particular at the Berlin Conference, that fundamental discussion of all questions of interest to communist and workers parties and to the development of socialism is essential to the further development of revolutionary theory and practice.

Concerning the situation on the European continent the speaker stressed the significance of the conference on security and cooperation in Europe. This conference, with the final act signed at it, he said, is an exceptionally important achievement in the matter of relaxation of international tension since it is the result of equal talks and the consideration of the interests of all participants on the most important questions of peace, security and cooperation. At the same time it is a long-term program for the development of new relations in Europe.

The Belgrade meeting took place in a more complex international situation. However, despite all the complications it confirmed the vital forces of the Helsinki Final Act and was able to insure the continuation of this process. Any underestimation of the results of the Belgrade meeting--and this sometimes happens--mars further efforts aimed at strengthening security and cooperation in Europe.

Questions of security and cooperation on the European continent should be seen not only as a matter for governments but as a matter for all the peoples of Europe. They express the vital interests of the broadest strata, the working class and all progressive and democratic movements and forces in this part of the world. Therefore, anyone who tried to halt these processes and to return Europe to a state of Cold War would be taking on a very grave responsibility.

International relations, the speaker noted, are clouded by centers of crisis in the world. Most dangerous is the Near East crisis, in which the Palestinian question is the central question. By its aggressive and expansionist policy is thwarting the quest for a lasting, stable solution on which virtually the entire international community is insisting. This can be achieved only by means of a comprehensive settlement of the crisis with the involvement of all interested sides, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. This solution inevitably presupposes the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, the Palestinian people's exercise of their national rights, including the right to their own state, and also the guaranteeing of the independence and security of all states in this area. One essentially important prerequisite is the achievement of solidarity among Arab countries, since only Israel and the enemies of the Arab cause can gain from strife among them.

Two dangerous centers of crisis exist in Africa--in the south and in the horn of Africa region. The only solution to the problems of southern Africa is the final liquidation of the remaining strongholds of colonialism and racism there, the insuring of the independence of Namibia and Zimbabwe and the liquidation of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa. In the horn of Africa region it is necessary finally to put an end to armed conflicts and find political solutions to disputed questions by peaceful means, proceeding from the principles of the United Nations and the OAU.

The speaker went on to dwell on the role of the nonaligned countries, noting the great successes of the nonaligned movement. This movement, he said, is becoming an increasingly influential factor in international relations, without which it is no longer possible to resolve the chief questions of the present day.

Overall development of late convincingly confirms the value of the theses and initiatives of the Fifth Conference of heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries in Colombo. Then we said clearly--and this is by no means less topical at the present time--that the relaxation of tension must not be limited to relations between the great powers or to Europe alone. It must extend to all countries and regions and must embrace all vitally important international problems, in resolving which all countries must be involved. The speaker emphasized here that Yugoslavia will continue to direct its efforts toward strengthening the unity of all nonaligned countries, the purposefulness of their actions and their role in international relations.

The question of disarmament, J. Broz Tito declared, is one of the most important problems, which is closely linked with the overall development of international relations, particularly on questions of international peace and security. The international community as a whole is interested in ending the arms race, which is devouring tremendous material, economic and human resources of both developed and developing countries on an ever increasing scale. Of course, general and complete disarmament under effective international control still remains the final goal, which it is necessary to seek to attain.

The holding of the Special UN General Assembly session on disarmament is a very important step among a number of attempts to embark on resolving one of the key issues in the modern world.

The speaker noted Yugoslavia's energetic and consistent foreign policy activity in insuring peace and developing international cooperation and in strengthening mutually advantageous relations with other countries. Our cooperation with the socialist countries, J. Broz Tito emphasized, is developing fruitfully, following a rising curve and growing constantly in the spirit of the principles which we have always upheld in relations among socialist countries. Yugoslavia's cooperation with Western countries is also developing successfully on the basis of mutual respect and in our mutual interests.

We have devoted exceptionally great attention to relations with neighboring countries, and they have invariably occupied a priority place in our policy. These relations have developed quite successfully.

We are marching in the front ranks of the struggle of the world's socialist forces, J. Broz Tito went on to declare. We give all-round support to all the democratic, progressive and liberation desires of peoples and countries. The LCY maintains broad and fruitful cooperation with communist, socialist, social democratic and other progressive parties and movement. This cooperation will continue in the future.

Yugoslavia's international position is now stronger than ever before, J. Broz Tito pointed out. Yugoslav foreign and domestic policies are founded on identical principles. In all respects the Yugoslav working people act as the masters of their future and of their independent development. Various speculations about Yugoslavia's future are all the more senseless. Our country remains precisely how the Yugoslav peoples have built and are building it.

The 11th Party Congress, J. Broz Tito went on to say, will outline the general directions of the country's further development. In the period between the two congresses the volume of industrial production has increased by one-third. At the present the industry, which is the leading sector of the Yugoslav economy, produces in 1 month as much output as was produced in 1 year 30 years ago. Impressive results have been achieved in agriculture. Record harvests of corn, sugar beets and sunflowers were gathered last year, as well as a high wheat harvest.

The main tasks set by the 10th LCY Congress for the further development of socioeconomic relations are continuing to be fulfilled successfully. We have all the preconditions, J. Broz Tito said, for further developing our socioeconomic and political systems and our modern national economy with a view to raising the population's living standards.

Speaking of shortcomings and problems in developing the economy, J. Broz Tito pointed above all to "instances of a falling growth rate and even stagnation" in labor productivity, unjustified duplication of industrial capacities and irrational capital investments. The constant raising of labor productivity, he continued, is the only real basis for economic development as a whole.

In this connection we are faced with an important task: to improve the system of distribution according to labor so as to make it the chief stimulus of all economic activity. Inflation, which must be decisively eliminated or at least reduced to a level insuring the exercise of control over social reproduction, is a great evil, J. Broz Tito pointed out.

In this period it has been possible to restrain the rise in prices in the country within definite bounds, J. Broz Tito noted. The main tasks of the 10th Congress in the sphere of job placing have been fulfilled. Nonetheless, unemployment remains a serious economic, social and political problem which requires to be resolved.

The report notes certain unfavorable tendencies in trade exchange with foreign countries which are expressed in a slowing down of the export growth rate and an increase in the country's debt. At present, the speaker said, the predominant part of Yugoslav foreign trade turnover falls to Western markets. But we do not always meet with the necessary understanding from our biggest partners, with the result that the deficit in trade with the West is becoming extremely serious. We must show concern for our long-term interests and orient ourselves increasingly toward markets in which it is possible to cover the predominant part of imports with exports.

Moving on to tasks in the sphere of Marxist education, J. Broz Tito stressed the need to study in depth the revolutionary creativity and theoretical thinking of Marx, Engels and Lenin and to follow modern Marxist research in the world. As Marxist education in the LCY develops, the speaker indicated, the necessary conditions are being created for communists to be armed with Marxist knowledge and for them to be the ideological vanguard of the working class.

The LCY has always advocated and fought for freedom of creativity in the sphere of science and art, the speaker noted. In the sphere of scientific activity and in the sphere of culture in general instances are still encountered of individual groups, on the basis of their own selfish interests, restricting creativity and hindering in particular the establishment of young people in science and culture. Frequently these groups substitute behind-the-scenes struggle, in pursuit of monopoly positions for ideological struggle on theoretical questions.

The LCY, J. Broz Tito went on to stress, is the leading and guiding ideological and political force of Yugoslav society. Thanks to persistent work we have been able to strengthen the LCY's ideological and political unity and its unity of action. At the present stage of socialist development the League of Communists is critically analyzing the path which has been traveled and the experience which has been accumulated, defining the prospects for social and material development and indicating ways and means in the struggle for a better and better life for the working people. The development of new socioeconomic and political relations on the basis of the constitution and the law on associated labor must result not from spontaneous action but from the conscious and organized ideological and political activity of the socialist forces of society, headed by the LCY.

The LCY's ideological and political unity and its unity of actions, based on the principles of democratic centralism, will continue to be the guarantee of our successes and victories. This is a very important condition of the further development of society on the basis of socialist self-management and the consolidation of equality, fraternity and unity among the peoples of Yugoslavia. In this period, J. Broz Tito stressed, the LCY Central Committee has been and remains united on all substantially important questions of building socialism and of Yugoslavia's foreign policy.

We must further strengthen ideological unity and unity of action in our ranks, and, above all, in the process of day-to-day work to fulfill the tasks which have been set.

Democratic relations within the LCY itself are of particular significance for its leading role. That is why democratic centralism will remain the basic principle of the LCY's internal relations and all its activity. It insures the broadest democracy in elaborating policy and making decisions and the most lasting unity during their fulfillment. The manifestation of the broadest initiative and creativity on the part of each member and every primary organization and leading organ of the party is thereby insured.

J. Broz Tito stressed that particular attention must be devoted to the work of LCY primary organizations. Since the 10th Congress, he said, the process of creating numerically small primary organizations has continued. This has had a positive influence on the development of initiative and activeness among communists and has led to an intensification of the PCY's ideological influence. In the period between the two congresses the number of LCY members has increased by nearly 700,000. By the end of 1977 1.63 million communists were numbered in its ranks. Young people predominate among the newly admitted party members. The social structure of the LCY is changing for the better, albeit rather slowly. Since the 10th Congress about 170,000 workers have been admitted. At present about one-third of party members, that is, nearly half a million people, are workers.

Since the 10th Congress, widespread activity has been launched in the sphere of the ideological and political training of communists and of all working people. Thanks to this communists are becoming purposeful, conscious fighters for the further transformation of society.

In conclusion, J. Broz Tito expressed confidence that the LCY will continue to achieve new victories in the struggle for socialist self-management and all-round progress in Yugoslavia.

CSO: 1800

YUGOSLAVIA

VLASKALIC REVIEWS FOREIGN RELATIONS AT SERBIAN CONGRESS

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 May 78 pp 1-6 AU

[Report by Slavoljub Djukic, Zika Minovic, Pavle Kosin, Slobodan Lazarevic, Petar Ilic and Dragoljub Pajic on speech by Timonir Vlaskalic, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, at the Eighth Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia in Belgrade on 29 May]

[Excerpt] We have achieved great successes in economic and social development, both within the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in our entire country. However, we can say that the positive role of socialist and nonaligned Yugoslavia in international relations is equally very significant. This significant role is due to our ideological orientation toward the development of socialist self-management and because of the results we have achieved in its realization.

We live in the very complex and restless period of a transitional historical epoch in which the global relationships of social and political forces have been changed through socialist and anticolonial revolutions and socialism has become a world process. But imperialist, reactionary and hegemonist forces which strive to stifle the liberation and revolutionary processes remain strong.

The international situation is still burdened by serious threats to world peace, bloc divisions and mistrust, various forms of the policy of force and interference in the affairs of independent countries, dangerous hotbeds of crisis in certain parts of the world, the arms race and the constant deterioration of the economic position of the developing countries.

Both a daring revolutionary vision and a feeling for concrete political reality are needed in order to secure in such a world all the prerequisites for a free life in peace and for an independent socialist social development. Tito's statesmanlike vision of the policy of nonalignment and the constant adherence of socialist Yugoslavia to this policy contain and express such a historical alternative.

I wish to stress that the communists, the workers class and all working people of the Socialist Republic of Serbia are deeply aware of the fact that full independence in international relations and adherence to the policy of nonalignment are an expression of the deepest interests of our country. Our social and political practice in this period, just as in the course of the preceding decades, has confirmed a close interdependence of the internal system of socialist self-managing Yugoslavia and its independent and nonaligned foreign policy.

Struggling within the nonaligned movement and in our international cooperation in general for peace and active peaceful coexistence, for relations among peoples on the principles of independence, sovereignty and noninterference, for a free and independent economic and social development of every nation, we struggle for our own more successful economic and social development as well as for social progress and socialism in the world.

In the struggle for peace and equal international relations, our country has developed comprehensive and constructive cooperation with almost all countries of the world, regardless of differences or similarities in socio-economic systems. Its international position is extremely stable now, and its international influence by far exceeds its size.

Independence and Nonalignment Are An Expression of the Deepest Interests of Our Country

The initiatives and activities of our country therefore directed at strengthening the possibilities for action and the unity of the nonaligned movement in the struggle to overcome the bloc divisions of the world, for a democratization of international relations and a new international economic system, and for a peaceful solution of burning world problems are an expression of the current and long-term interests of the workers class and all peoples and nationalities of our country and of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as well. With the growing participation and responsibility of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces in the building and realization of a unified Yugoslav foreign policy, the realization of these interests is, of course, proportional to the concrete contribution made in this respect by the League of Communists of Serbia, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, associated labor organizations, and other organs and organizations in our republic in their international cooperation. In this respect our tasks and responsibilities are even greater in the period ahead.

Our country--and the Socialist Republic of Serbia within it--pays special attention to the development of good-neighborly relations, advocating in this context respect for the rights of elements of the peoples of Yugoslavia who live in the neighboring countries as national minorities.

The LCY now occupies a very important place among the workers and other progressive movements, not only because of the historical scope of its ideas and the originality of its experience in the development of socialist self-management, but also because of its consistent struggle for new

relations in the workers movement, and it occupies it more widely among the progressive and socialist forces in the world because of the relations based on the principles of independence, equality, noninterference and responsibility to one's own workers class and peoples. Our party began the battle for such relations with the struggle for the defense of elementary national independence of socialist Yugoslavia and the authenticity of its revolution. The realization that a variety of roads and forms of struggle for socialism, independence and equal cooperation and solidarity among those waging this struggle is a law of the development of socialism as a world process is strongly confirmed today in all the positive processes in the communist and workers movement and especially in the affirmation of new relations among parties.

We may say, therefore, that the LCY and the League of Communists of Serbia as its component part are a dynamic and creative factor among the socialist and generally progressive forces in the world. With their multifarious links with progressive forces and tendencies, with their very ramified international cooperation and with their consistency in the struggle for new relations in the workers movement and for a new content of international solidarity of progressive social forces, the LCY and our other sociopolitical organizations and socialist Yugoslavia as a whole make their contribution to revolutionary and socialist processes in the world.

At the same time, such cooperation is a factor in the independence and security of our country and in the strengthening of its role in international relations and among democratic, progressive and socialist forces in the world.

Constantly strengthening its ideopolitical unity and its direction of action toward the realization of the decisions of its seventh congress and the 10th LCY Congress, the League of Communists of Serbia in the past has achieved great results in the overall development of our republic. With our unity and activities we have contributed to the unity of the LCY and the further development of our entire community.

I am convinced that our eighth congress will run with a firm determination that we shall attain new great results in the period ahead of us, following the policy of the LCY and of Comrade Tito.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

GENERAL MATIJASEVIC DIES IN PRAGUE FOLLOWING SURGERY

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2026, 25 May 78 p 19 AU

[Text] Maj Gen Savo Matijasevic died on 21 May at the surgical clinic in Prague after undergoing surgery.

He was born in 1922 in the village of Brnjeuska, Banija, the son of a poor family. Before the war he attended secondary school in Glina.

He joined the national liberation struggle in the first days of the uprising in 1941, and as early as November of that year he became a member of the Yugoslav Communist Party. During the national liberation struggle he demonstrated exceptional bravery in performing many war tasks. He was wounded several times. He performed all types of duty, from fighter to political commissar of the 2d Brigade, 7th Banija Division, whose commander he became in November 1943.

After the war he held several responsible posts on the general staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, in the military-diplomatic service and on the staff of high military schools. At the time of his death he was serving with the general staff of the Yugoslav People's Army.

General Matijasevic held the Partisan Medal 1941 and a large number of high wartime and peacetime decorations.

With the death of Savo Matijasevic the Yugoslav People's Army and the LCY have lost one of their prominent fighters and zealous workers.

The burial of the last remains of the late Maj Gen Savo Matijasevic will be held at the new cemetery in Belgrade on 24 May.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

ARRESTS IN CROATIA--In the past 3 weeks "at least two dozen" students have been arrested in the Croatian cities of Zagreb and Split for "illegal political activity." It is unclear of what particular political tendencies they are being accused. One speaks of connections to terrorism and contacts to right-extremist emigre organizations, but one also hears the version that leftist students had tried to conduct a kind of "commemorative celebration" on the 10th anniversary of the 1968 demonstrations. There has been no confirmation of the wild rumors alleging a connection between these arrests and an alleged encounter in which a commando action by Italian Red Brigades recently attempted a landing from a yacht on the Yugoslav Adriatic coast and became involved in an exchange of gunfire with Yugoslav police officials. [Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 20 Jun 78 p 6]

NEW SECTION AT SOCIETY OF CROATIAN JOURNALISTS--A new section of journalists specialized in following all-people's defense and social self-protection was founded on Monday at the Society of Croatian Journalists. One of the most significant tasks of this section is to follow this field in the most qualitative and systematic way as possible. The following representatives were present at the founding meeting along with numerous journalists: representatives of the Commission of the CC of the LCC and of the Coordinating Council of the Republic Conference of the SAWP of Croatia for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection, of the Republic Headquarters for Territorial Defense, of the Republic Secretariat for National Defense and Internal Affairs, of the Command of the Zagreb Military District, of the Society of Croatian Journalists, etc. [Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 30 May 78 p 6]

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CSO: 2800