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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
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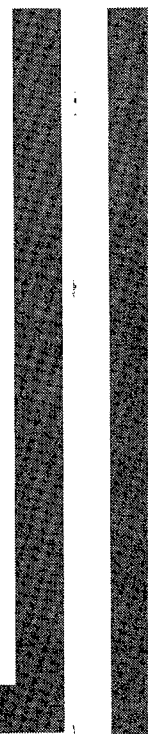
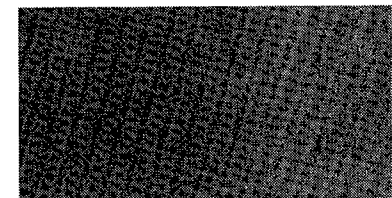
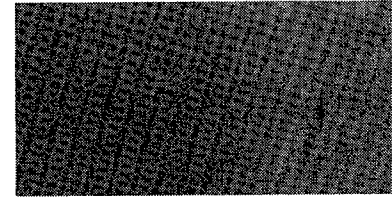
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRAGUE RADIO REPORTS ON 32D CEMA COUNCIL SESSION IN BUCHAREST

Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2200 GMT 29 Jun 78 LD

[Text] The 32d meeting of the CEMA Council, which ended in Bucharest today, discussed a report on the activities of CEMA between the 31st and 32d Council meetings and on the progress in fulfilling and concrete results in implementing the measures contained in the coordinated plan for multilateral integration measures by CEMA member-countries for the years 1976-1980.

It was noted that CEMA member-countries are successfully fulfilling their (?creative) tasks in the construction of socialism and communism and are raising their economic potentials. An important role in their successful results is being played by deepening mutual cooperation. On the basis of agreements reached by leading representatives of fraternal parties in 1977 in the Crimea and at other meetings, [word indistinct] on a multilateral and bilateral basis is being strengthened within the framework of CEMA in the interest of fulfillment of the measures of long-term target programs of cooperation.

The participants in the meeting noted that, thanks to the selfless and creative work of the working class, farmers and intelligentsia, led by their communist and workers parties, the tasks of the current 5-year period are being successfully fulfilled and that foundations have been laid for the fulfillment of 5-year national economic plans for the entire period. The national income of CEMA member-countries in 1977 showed a 12 percent increase compared with 1975, industrial production went up by 12.4 percent, and approximately $\frac{4}{5}$ of the increment in industrial output was achieved by raising labor productivity. The overall volume of foreign trade turnover of CEMA member-countries in 1977 increased, compared with 1975, by 24 percent and exceeded 158 billion rubles.

The steady dynamic growth of the economies of the CEMA member-countries, contrasted with the crisis phenomena and sharpening contradictions in the capitalist world, convincingly demonstrates the advantages of the social and political system of the socialist states and the effectiveness of their growing mutual cooperation. The volume of industrial production in advanced capitalist countries went up in 1977 by 7 percent compared with the precrisis level of 1973, while in the CEMA member-countries it showed a gain of 32 percent during the same period.

[words indistinct] economy, science and technology, and the expansion and deepening of general mutual cooperation build up the potential and the (?benefit) of the community of CEMA member-countries and strengthen its role and influence on the development of events in the world. The joint and individual initiatives of fraternal socialist states, aimed at consolidating, deepening and realizing detente, stopping the arms race and effecting transition to concrete disarmament measures, have been actively contributing to the maintenance of lasting peace in the world.

The participants in the meeting noted that CEMA member-countries and bodies of the council have done a considerable amount of work on fulfilling the comprehensive program for further deepening and perfecting cooperation and development of the socialist economic integration of CEMA member-countries. The jointly elaborated plans stipulating concrete measures for the development of mutual commercial exchanges, specialization and coordination of production, scientific-technical cooperation and development of joint projects are being successfully fulfilled.

[words indistinct] on mutual deliveries of goods; set in long-term trade agreements and in annual protocols on turnover of goods. The mutual turnover of goods of CEMA member-countries rose in 1977, compared with 1975, by 28 percent and reached a sum of 91 billion rubles.

On the basis of mutual cooperation [words indistinct] of scientists, graduate engineers, technicians and workers of CEMA member-countries, scientific research projects were carried out, (?many new types) of machines, equipment and instruments developed, and new types of materials and new technological processes introduced. Their introduction into production has had a considerable effect on the national economy.

Participants in the session described space flights manned by international crews from among the citizens of CEMA member-countries as an important event in the practical realization of the multilateral space research cooperation program. They also welcomed the first flight of the Soviet-Czechoslovak crew and the fresh step in space exploration, the joint flight of cosmonauts of the USSR and Poland.

The session approved long-term target programs for cooperation in the fields of energy, fuel and raw materials, agriculture, food industry and engineering extending to 1990. The programs approved at the session were elaborated in accordance with the resolutions of communist and workers parties of CEMA member-countries and signify a new, important step in the fulfillment of the comprehensive program for a further deepening and perfecting of cooperation and the development of socialist economic integration of the CEMA member-countries. The session stressed that in the fulfillment of long-term target programs it is generally necessary to proceed from the tasks of a gradual drawing together and balancing of the levels of economic development of CEMA member-countries and to give assistance and help in accelerating the development and raising the effectiveness of the economies of the Republic of Cuba and the Mongolian People's Republic.

The long-term target program of cooperation in the field of energy, fuel and raw materials treats as the most important measures of cooperation an

accelerated development of the nuclear energy industry, [words indistinct] better utilization of the CEMA countries' own resources of hard fuels, the guaranteeing of a further development of joint electric power systems of the CEMA member-countries, more effective processing of crude oil and gas, a limitation on their use (?for heating), the creation of new capacities for the production of metallurgical, chemical and microbiological products, and cellulose and paper through joint endeavors of the countries involved.

The construction of nuclear power stations on their territories with an overall output of approximately [words indistinct] kilowatts, as well as the construction of two further nuclear power stations in the USSR with an output of [words indistinct] deliveries of electric power to fraternal countries will significantly contribute to the solution of the energy problem in the European CEMA member-countries and in the Republic of Cuba.

For the fulfillment of these tasks the CEMA member-countries will organize vast, multilateral cooperation in the manufacture of equipment for nuclear power stations.

To better satisfy the long-term needs of CEMA member-countries for propellants, a set of measures is being prepared for cooperation in improving the processing of crude oil and in its more rational utilization. The program includes long-term scientific research in the utilization of new sources of energy.

The long-term target program of cooperation in agriculture and the food industry includes measures for assisting an intensive development in the production of grain, livestock and other basic agricultural produce in each CEMA member-country, the strengthening of the fodder base and the development of the production of albumen fodder.

On the basis of a more effective utilization of favorable natural conditions of CEMA member-countries [words indistinct] expansion of production and mutual deliveries of various types of agricultural produce and food industry products.

The long-term target program of cooperation in the engineering industry is aimed at insuring speedy development in the manufacture of modern types of equipment, machines and instruments in CEMA member-countries and better equipment in the fuel and raw material branches, agriculture, the food industry and engineering, utilizing the most modern technology and introducing progressive technological processes.

The session noted that the approved long-term target programs are important documents in the further expansion of multilateral cooperation of CEMA member-countries. The session recommended as the main task for member countries the fulfillment of these programs and enjoined CEMA bodies to elaborate, on their basis, multilateral and bilateral agreements on cooperation on concrete measures.

The heads of delegations of CEMA member-countries, aware of the great political and economic significance of long-term target programs of cooperation, signed a statement in which they expressed the readiness of their countries to actively participate in the drafting of multilateral and bilateral agreements stipulating concrete implementation of measures included in the programs, and to mobilize their respective national resources for the fulfillment of joint projects.

The session pointed out the necessity of accelerating the preparation of projects of long-term target programs of cooperation (?for) the satisfaction of the rational requirements of the consumer goods industries in CEMA member-countries [words indistinct] relevant multilateral and bilateral agreements.

The session described as purposeful, in the fulfillment of long-term target programs, a fuller utilization of reserves in cooperation for raising economic effectiveness and social production in each fraternal country.

The session noted that on questions of interest to Yugoslavia and CEMA member-countries, the respective Yugoslav organizations will take part in the preparation and implementation of measures of long-term programs of cooperation.

The session stressed that long-term target programs of cooperation, while meeting the interests of CEMA member-countries, at the same time are fully in keeping with their consistent and invariable policy of development of cooperation, on the basis of principles of equality and mutual benefit, with all countries irrespective of their social system, including the implementation of large-scale projects of international importance in the spheres of energy, industry, transportation, protection of the environment, and so on.

The session expressed a positive attitude toward the interest of the Lao People's Democratic Republic in extending multilateral and bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation with CEMA member-countries.

It was stressed that the CEMA member-countries are determined to broaden equal and mutually advantageous cooperation with developing states and thus help them carry out measures for socioeconomic and cultural development in keeping with their national interests, strengthen their position in the world economy, gain freedom from oppression by imperialist monopolies and eliminate all forms of colonialism.

In the course of the session opinions were exchanged on contacts and talks between CEMA and the EEC. The session expressed the common opinion of delegations of the CEMA member-countries and stressed that, on the basis of previous proposals for agreements on the basic principles of mutual relations, it is advisable to continue talks in order to elaborate an agreement between CEMA and CEMA member-countries, on the one side, and the EEC and EEC member countries, on the other.

An expansion of the extent and a deepening of the contents of cooperation of CEMA member-countries (?necessitates) a further perfection of mechanisms, forms and methods of activity of the CEMA Council. The session, (?guided) by the (?fundamental) directives of the central committees of communist and workers parties in (?questions) of directing CEMA, approved a set of measures for further perfecting the organization of cooperation between CEMA member-countries and its activities.

(?All activity) of CEMA bodies is aimed at a primary solution of tasks of cooperation in the sphere of material production, above all of tasks connected with the fulfillment of long-term target programs of cooperation, at further strengthening the principles of planning in CEMA activities, at raising the effectiveness, efficacy and capacity to coordinate [word indistinct] of all CEMA bodies and international organizations [?of CEMA member-countries].

The heads of government of CEMA member-countries expressed their firm determination to constantly further develop and deepen cooperation between CEMA member-countries in economy, science and technology, [word indistinct] as an important factor actively contributing to a successful fulfillment of the plans laid down for socialist and communist construction, to the strengthening of the unity and unbreakable friendship of the nations of socialist countries in the spirit of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity.

The 32d meeting of the CEMA Council took place in an atmosphere of friendship, complete mutual understanding and comradely cooperation.

CSO: 2400

ALBANIA

'THREE WORLDS' THEORY'S DANGERS CITED

Condemned at Canadian Demonstration

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Jun 78 p 4

[Excerpt] The newspaper, PEOPLE'S CANADA DAILY NEWS, organ of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) reports that on 30 April 1978 an international demonstration was held in Montreal. The demonstration, in which more than 3,500 persons participated was organized by the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist). A number of Marxist-Leninist communist parties and organizations and national liberation movements from various countries of the world sent representatives or messages to this meeting. The Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party sent a message of greetings. The newspaper reported that when the greeting from the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party was read, all present stood up and clapped enthusiastically. They also applauded the greeting of the representative of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), of the Portuguese Communist Party (Restructured), of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, of the Workers and Peasants Party of Iran and the greetings and messages sent by several Marxist-Leninist parties and national liberation movements in various countries.

The newspaper PEOPLE'S CANADA DAILY NEWS wrote that in the greetings of the representatives of the participating parties and movements and in the messages which they read, the successes achieved by each Marxist-Leninist communist party and organization which is fighting in its own country for the cause of the revolution and socialism are considered as common victories of the international proletariat. These greetings and messages stressed that the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement can be achieved only by resolutely opposing modern revisionism and opportunism of all hues and firmly denouncing the anti-Leninist theory of the "three worlds" as a counterrevolutionary theory, which is a complete falsification and revision of Marxism, a counterrevolutionary strategy, opposed to the interests of the proletariat and of the oppressed peoples, opposed to the revolution and socialism.

A film was shown on the Seventh Congress of the Albanian Workers Party and publications from the literature of the AWP and other sister parties were distributed.

Theory Termed 'Reactionary'

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Jun 78 p 4

[Excerpts] Many friends and admirers of socialist Albania in various countries of the world have recently sent letters to Radio Tirana and to some of the other central press organs. We are publishing portions of some of these letters.

Won Wooley, from New Zealand, writes:

I am happy to write to the review ALBANIA TODAY because by means of this review I am learning more and more about the correct principled Marxist-Leninist stand taken by the glorious Workers Party and its leader Enver Hoxha. The exposing of the theory of the modern revisionists and, especially, of the "three worlds" theory, by your great Marxist-Leninist party is a strong inspiration and guideline for all revolutionaries in the world.

The "three worlds" theory aims at sowing confusion in the ranks of revolutionary forces and all true Marxist-Leninists see it as revisionism clothed in new garments. Actually, it means capitulation to the most oppressive regimes in the world under the pretext of an alliance with American imperialism supposedly in order to counteract Soviet social-imperialism.

The corrosion caused by this very reactionary theory causes great damage to the interests of the working class and of the oppressed peoples and denies the struggle for the revolution and socialism. In this period of history, all true fighters who are on the side of the workers of the world should follow the example of the spirit of the Albanian people and take pride in the correct stand of the AWP and of its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

SRI LANKA CP HOLDS 'SPECIAL CONFERENCE' ON 'THREE WORLDS THEORY'

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Jul 78 p 4 AU

[Unattributed article: "The Theory of the 'Three Worlds'--a Totally Anti-Marxist-Leninist Theory"--"The Communist Party of Ceylon Declares"]

[Excerpts] At a special conference held in May 1978 the Communist Party of Ceylon debated the so-called theory of the "three worlds" and rejected it.

Not only is this theory not based on a class analysis of the international situation, but is also a caricature of the tactic of benefiting from the contradictions [existing] between our enemies. It is correct that we should exploit the contradiction between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. However, this should be done in such a way that it does not harm the interests of the international revolutionary and liberation movement. It can never become the main element of the foreign revolutionary movement. Nor must it become an end in itself.

The way to prevent the war being prepared by the two superpowers is not to support one imperialism against the other, but to support the revolutionary movements throughout the world, including the countries under the domination of the two superpowers. These revolutionary movements can be directed solely against the internal reactionary forces of each individual country. This is the reason why the struggle against the superpowers, the struggle against a new world war and the struggle for the victory of the revolution in a given country must all be combined. In case of a third world war between the two superpowers, the revolutionaries must work to turn such an imperialist war into a civil war, to accomplish the revolution in their own countries and to thus make the success of the world revolution possible. This is the internationalist task of all revolutionaries.

The conference stressed also that the concept of the third world being generally a homogeneous entity is a mistaken theory. Hostile classes exist in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In addition to genuine

revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, there are also reactionary forces, even fascist forces. The creation of a union of all these forces in a united front with their imperialist masters, who constitute the second world, against one of the superpowers, is a theory of class collaboration and lacks a class basis. Only the genuine anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces of these countries can be considered to be supporters and allies of the international revolution and a basis on which the strategy of the international proletariat can rest. Nor is it possible to consider the imperialist and monopolistic powers of the so-called second world to be allies of the world revolution, despite their differences with the superpowers.

To call for such a union means to betray the peoples and to serve the cause of the alliance of the imperialist countries of Europe with the ruling reactionary classes of the so-called third world.

The conference also rejected the attempt to include the socialist countries in the third world. Even if small Albania remains the sole country, the socialist camp would still exist because it represents the highest form of proletarian power--the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Finally, the Conference of the Communist Party of Ceylon stressed that the theory of the "three worlds" is not a strategy that has been defined in the congress of any Marxist-Leninist party; nor has it been worked out through consultations with other Marxist-Leninist parties. The theory of the "three worlds" is therefore totally anti-Marxist-Leninist and diverts the Marxist-Leninist movement from its genuine revolutionary path. We resolutely oppose it.

CSO: 2100

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ISSUES STATEMENT AGAINST APARTHEID

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jul 78 pp 1,2 AU

[Declaration of the Bulgarian National Assembly on the International Year of Struggle Against Apartheid adopted by the Eighth National Assembly Session on 5 July 1978]

[Text] The National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria discussed at its eighth session a UN resolution declaring 1978 the Year of International Struggle Against Apartheid. The inhuman policy of apartheid and racial oppression, which is the most insolent form of colonial domination and a disgraceful political anachronism in our time, has been justifiably declared by the worldwide organization to be a crime against mankind. Being the loyal spokesman of the Bulgarian people's aspirations and wishes for peace, international security and cooperation among peoples, in support of the peoples who are struggling for their national and social liberation, the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria ardently welcomes the UN appeal for an intensification of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

The struggle for liquidation of the system of colonial oppression, which received a powerful impulse under the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution, achieved tremendous successes after 1960, when, at the initiative of the Soviet Union, the UN General Assembly adopted a declaration on granting independence to the colonial countries and people. With the selfless moral and material assistance of the countries of the socialist community, with the support of all progressive forces throughout the world, and under the pressure of the national liberation struggle waged by the oppressed peoples, all colonial empires collapsed. Approximately 100 young states started along the path of independent development. The complete liquidation of the last remnants of colonialism, racism and apartheid became a topical task in international relations.

The racist regimes in the southern part of Africa, where basic human rights of the native population are being grossly violated and where repressive measures have been promoted to state policy, represent one of the most dangerous sources of tension and conflicts. Concerned about the racist rulers in the Republic of South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia, relying

upon the broad and systematic support of the multinational monopolies and certain Western states which are NATO members and which do not wish to accept the progressive development of Africa and are trying to preserve their interests and privileged positions in this area, are intensifying their terror against the native population and are trying to impose a neocolonialist solution to the problems of southern Africa and more and more frequently taking aggressive actions against sovereign African states. Thus, they are creating a threat to peace and international security. The attempts of the Republic of South Africa to obtain nuclear arms, the efforts of certain NATO member-countries to organize so-called "inter-African security forces"--all these are new elements in the dangerous game concocted against peace and security in this part of the world.

The United Nations has on several occasions severely condemned the policy of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa and throughout the southern part of the African Continent. On several occasions it has appealed to the international public to take concrete steps to assist the national liberation movement of peoples in their legitimate struggle to liquidate colonial slavery. At its last regular session the UN General Assembly once again resolutely insisted upon strict observance of the decision on banning military supplies to the Republic of South Africa and ending all forms of military cooperation with racist regimes.

Loyal to its principleminded policy of supporting the peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, as well as against apartheid, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has always rendered and will continue to render assistance and support to the national liberation movement in South Africa in its legitimate and justified struggle for the liquidation of colonial oppression, for freedom and independence. Bulgaria has not maintained and does not have any diplomatic, consular, political, economic, military, cultural or any other relations with the racist regime of Pretoria.

The National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria resolutely condemns the policy of apartheid and unanimously declares itself against the neocolonialist attempts, inspired by NATO, to create neocolonialist regimes in this part of Africa with a view to preserving the power of the racist minorities. In the Year of International Struggle Against Apartheid the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bulgaria appeals for the full liquidation of apartheid and for the implementation of the right of self-determination of the peoples in the southern part of the African Continent.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

REPORT ON ZHIVKOV TOAST AT OFFICIAL DINNER FOR KARAMANLIS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jul 78 p 2 AU

[Report on toast delivered by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, at an official dinner given in honor of Konstandinos Karamanlis, prime minister of the Republic of Greece, at the "Druzhba" resort near Varna on 6 July]

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his toast declared: It is my primary duty to express the satisfaction of us all that the prime minister of the Republic of Greece has accepted our invitation to pay this friendly visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

In you, Mr Karamanlis, we see one of the most distinguished statesmen of our neighboring country--Greece--a country with which we have always wished to live in peace, understanding and mutually advantageous cooperation, Todor Zhivkov stated. The people of Bulgaria highly appreciate your great personal contribution to bringing about a positive change in our two countries' mutual relations. Your present visit represents a new confirmation of our mutual will to consolidate the trust and understanding between us.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed that there are no controversial problems between Bulgaria and Greece. I think that we can declare with full justification that the relations between our two neighborly countries are a model of how the principles and agreements in Europe can be implemented in practical deeds, Comrade Zhivkov pointed out, and he went on to cite numerous examples illustrating the positive development of Bulgarian-Greek relations.

Dwelling on the opportunities for further development of mutual relations the two countries in the future, the State Council chairman stressed that these opportunities are far from exhausted and in certain respects are even inexhaustible.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov also pointed out that the positions of both Bulgaria and Greece on the main, cardinal questions concerning international life are either close or even coincide. He stated that in an epoch when the

principles of peaceful coexistence are increasingly being consolidated, when detente is becoming the prevailing trend in international life, the basic task of all the world's peace-loving forces is to wage an active and purposeful struggle to make political detente an irreversible process. This, however, means above all that detente in the political sphere must be complemented by adequate measures in the military sphere. The State Council chairman noted the significance of the 10th UNGA special session on disarmament.

He added that it is now the duty of all Balkan countries and peoples to devote all their efforts to transforming the old concept of "Balkanization" into a word signifying the establishment of mutual understanding, peaceful cooperation, creative labor and the constructive efforts of people to the advantage of all, in an atmosphere of trust, sincerity and friendship.

We think that the consolidation of peace and security in our peninsula depends more than anything else on the state of bilateral mutual relations among the Balkan states, Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared, and he stressed that the People's Republic of Bulgaria is conducting an active and peace-loving policy and is making every effort to insure that relations among the countries of the Balkan Peninsula develop in a spirit of mutual trust, good neighborliness and mutual respect. It is a consistent and deeply principled policy.

The chairman of the State Council stressed: Bulgaria's policy in the Balkans is based on the durable foundations of a peace-loving spirit and of a sincere desire to see constructive cooperation among all countries. We have declared on several occasions and we declare once again: The People's Republic of Bulgaria has no territorial claims against any of its neighbors. We have always based ourselves on the conviction that differences that may arise on one question or another among neighbors must be resolved, not through an exacerbation of the atmosphere, but in a process inspired by good will, a process of development characterized by the desire for mutual trust and mutual respect, a process based on mutual interest and mutually advantageous cooperation.

Not only have we always expressed ourselves in this spirit, but we have always acted thus, and we see no reason likely to make us change our policy, which is to the advantage of detente in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

Nevertheless, I cannot help pointing out that we are seriously concerned about the attempts of certain circles, including government circles, in certain countries to oppose detente and to complicate and bring about a worsening of the international atmosphere. We do not try to conceal our alarm, because these are actually attempts which hark back to the period well known in the recent history of international relations as the "Cold War."

Comrade Todor Zhivkov expressed our people's justified concern about the existence of hotbeds of tension in a number of areas of our world, both near and far, and he dwelt on the stand of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the Middle East conflict and on the situation in Cyprus.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov closed his toast by reaffirming his confidence that the present meeting will undoubtedly contribute to the further development of comprehensive relations between Bulgaria and Greece for the sake of the noble ideals of peace, understanding and cooperation among all people.

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR JOURNALISTS REPORT MEETING WITH AUSTRIAN PRESIDENT

Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Jun 78 LD

[Text] A delegation of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists returned home from Austria today. During their visit to our southern neighbors, Marcel Nolc, the general secretary of the union, and Kvetoslav Faix, member of the presidium of the union, were received by Rudolf Kirschsclaeger, the federal president of Austria.

Asked how he assesses relations between our two countries, the Austrian president replied that we are on a good course. "Visits that have taken place during the past few years on the level of ministers of foreign affairs and prime ministers show that on both sides there is good will to make progress in developing goodneighborly relations. I am very satisfied with this state of affairs and development," said Rudolf Kirschsclaeger.

He went on to stress that both Austria and Czechoslovakia must help to remove various obstacles and through their mutual, ever deepening relations contribute towards the improvement of the situation in Europe on the basis of the conclusions of the Helsinki Conference.

The Austrian president, who is to pay a visit to Czechoslovakia in the autumn, stated during the interview that he was very pleased to receive an invitation to visit Czechoslovakia from Gustav Husak, the president of our republic. He voiced his satisfaction with the fact that the relations between both states have improved so far as to make possible his visit to Czechoslovakia and voiced his conviction that the visit will be a useful one.

Rudolf Kirschsclaeger said that for a long time he has attached considerable importance to Czechoslovakia and its policy. He sees in the coming visit a happy event in the development of mutual relations, which will contribute to the improvement of cooperation between both countries.

The Austrian federal president recalled during the interview that he has a great respect for the history of the Czech and Slovak nations, he himself

recognizes the high, all-round qualities of our people in their creative work, in the development of the economy, culture as well as their humane feelings. The Austrian federal president said that by this visit to Czechoslovakia he wants to help insure that the peoples of both countries draw even more closer together and that both states, despite having different social systems, cooperate mutually as broadly as possible.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ DAILY REPORTS ON CHNOUPEK VISIT TO PORTUGAL

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jun 78 p 7 AU

[CTK report: "A Contribution to Intensifying Cooperation"]

[Text] On Thursday [29 June] the CSSR minister of foreign affairs, Bohuslav Chnoupek, concluded his 4-day official visit to Portugal and returned home. At the end of the talks a communique was adopted which states, among other things:

In the course of the talks, which took place in an open, constructive and friendly atmosphere, the foreign affairs ministers of both countries exchanged views on important international topics and discussed the current state and the possibilities of further developing multifaceted Czechoslovak-Portuguese relations.

While exchanging views on topical international issues, both sides pointed to the progress achieved in the relaxation of international tension and stated at the same time that further deepening of this process requires an active approach by all states.

Both ministers confirmed the two countries' faithfulness to the principles anchored in the UN Charter, above all those principles touching on the sovereign equality of states, their territorial integrity, the self-determination of nations, nonuse of force and threats of forces, and noninterference in the internal affairs of states.

Both sides also stressed the tasks of the United Nations in preserving world peace and developing international cooperation. They expressed their determination to continue the efforts to strengthen this organization as the universal and irreplaceable instrument of consolidating international cooperation and solving international problems.

Both sides stressed that the CSCE was an important landmark in the development of relations between European states and an important step toward consolidating peace and security and expanding mutual cooperation. They

agreed that it is important that all states that signed the Helsinki Final Act consistently adhere to and comprehensively implement all its provisions.

Assessing the Belgrade meeting between representatives of states which attended the CSCE, both sides stated that the meeting again confirmed the significance of the Final Act and the determination of European states to continue to develop detente in harmony with all provisions.

Both sides are convinced that halting the arms race is an extremely urgent issue in the current development of international relations. They agreed that the process of detente must be carried over to and be reflected in the military sphere through the adoption of effective and concrete measures to reduce the accumulated stock of weapons with the aim of gradually achieving universal and complete disarmament under rigid and effective international control.

Both sides positively assess the progress made to date by the UN General Assembly special session on disarmament and voice the conviction that its conclusions will be a substantial contribution to the adoption of a joint and universally acceptable approach to the issue of halting the arms race and adopting concrete disarmament measures pertaining both to nuclear and other mass destruction weapons and to conventional arms.

Both sides expressed the hope that the special session will contribute to materializing further negotiations on disarmament on a world scale with all UN member-states participating. The issue of a world conference on disarmament was also assessed.

Both sides stressed that the permanently tense situation in the Middle East represents a serious threat to world peace and requires a speedy solution. They believe that the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories, materialization of the legitimate right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, and respect for the independence, sovereignty and security of all states of the region are the necessary prerequisites for a just and lasting peaceful settlement in the Middle East. Both sides expressed the conviction that the Geneva Peace Conference is the most suitable forum for solving the Middle East conflict.

Both sides also advocated a speedy solution of the Cyprus issue on the basis of the respective UN resolutions while respecting the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and nonalignment of the Republic of Cyprus. They believe that the population of Cyprus must be granted the possibility to decide its internal affairs while duly respecting the interests of both national groups.

Both sides expressed the conviction that the achievement of positive and universally acceptable results at the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and arms in central Europe would contribute to further intensifying the process of detente on the European Continent.

Both sides expressed their determination to actively assist in restructuring international economic relations on the basis of the principles of sovereignty, equality, nondiscrimination and mutual advantage and to support the justified efforts of the developing countries to reach and consolidate their political and economic independence and to gradually create a new international economic order, thus contributing to the comprehensive development of trade and economic cooperation among all countries.

The foreign affairs ministers of the two countries also assessed the current situation in Africa. They believe that respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty, inviolability of borders, territorial integrity of the individual states and noninterference in internal affairs in accordance with the provisions of the UN Charter, correspond to the policy of detente and safeguarding peace in this area as well.

Both sides expressed their support for the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle for freedom and national independence in harmony with the principles and resolutions of the United Nations.

They stressed that the policy of racial and other forms of discrimination leads to the creation of situations that are a threat to peace and security on that continent.

Both ministers of foreign affairs discussed the overall relations between the two countries and agreed that the relations between the CSSR and the Republic of Portugal are developing positively and that conditions exist for further intensifying them in all areas of mutual interest.

Both ministers attach particular importance to developing contacts between the highest representatives of the two countries. Both sides also confirmed their interest in organizing, from time to time, interministerial consultations at the deputy foreign minister level on topical international issues and questions of further developing bilateral relations.

Both partners exchanged views on the current state and prospects of trade relations and on the possibilities of developing economic cooperation. They stressed the generally positive development of these relations in recent years and pointed out, at the same time, that possibilities exist on both sides for further expanding them.

The ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries also devoted their attention to cultural, educational and scientific contacts between the CSSR and Portugal. They positively appraised the existing cultural agreement and the plan for carrying it out. They called for further improving the quality and widening this cooperation and for intensifying the contacts between the two countries' radio, television, and film organizations.

Both ministers of foreign affairs signed an agreement on international road transport and an agreement preventing double taxation. They also expressed interest in continuing the negotiations on an agreement on mutual protection of trademarks and on an agreement on scientific-technical cooperation.

The ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries also confirmed their intention to exert all their efforts in the future to further developing cooperation between their countries. They expressed satisfaction with their talks, which they consider to have been a concrete contribution to developing Czechoslovak-Portuguese relations.

The CSSR minister of foreign affairs, Bohuslav Chnoupek, invited the Portuguese minister of foreign affairs, Vitor Sa Machado, to visit the CSSR.

The invitation was accepted with thanks.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PHILOSOPHER ANALYZES 'STABILITY' OF CSSR REGIME

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 24 Jun 78 p 14

[Essay: "Only One Party and Sole Truth," from an unpublished book by the Bratislava philosopher, Milan Simecka: "The Restoration of Order"]

[Text] If you watch the restored order in Czechoslovakia purely rationally, it appears to be a magic circle of absurdities, abnormities and frailties. Thus it is logical to ask why this system did not fall apart long ago. This question certainly provides intensive occupation for the strategists of balance, extremely well endowed scientific institutes, famous journalists and authorities in political science. I have already read many replies to this question. And even more often I used to rack my brains over it.

I happen to live in a country whose scientific, political and cultural life shows a number of daily absurdities and common sense must rebel against them. A man--whose brain is not yet totally dull--meets during a normal day dozens of situations which could force human reason to stop in silent disbelief. And it does not happen because I want to appear in a daily role of social critic who would carefully keep a balance sheet noting every single small failure. Every citizen who has not yet been fully overwhelmed by apathy faces these provocations of common sense. Millions of growling and swearing citizens are daily forced into the role of social critics. The bus does not arrive in the morning. If it finally arrives, it is over-filled and would not consider stopping. Because of this you will be 10 minutes too late at your work site and your name will be written down into the tardy-workers book. Nevertheless, you will spend the following hours with endless discussions over soccer and will finish your real work within 2 hours. The shop where you usually buy something for breakfast is closed because the manager has a sick child at home. The sun warms milk in bottles deposited in front of the closed shop and bread and rolls left here by the bakery turn dusty. You will be called to a totally unnecessary meeting and while sitting here, you doodle on a piece of paper in front of you. Through the window you see a group of construction workers, sitting around and drinking beer. It is certain that they did not receive some materials--tubes, concrete etc. It is also possible that their foreman aggravated

them and thus they do not care to work. The cafeteria's ice box is out of order, meat is spoiled and you receive a hard boiled egg with your lentils. You get a telephone call from your wife who complains that she does not have warm water in order to wash the laundry because the stoker is drunk. A fellow worker boasts that he finally got a tube for his refrigerator and you are envious because of it. While leaving your work you stand in a queue for melons because you would like to buy something for your children. Here you meet an acquaintance and he starts to curse the regime quite openly. Your discomfort visibly grows and you look around in order to be sure that no one is listening. It occurs to you that you have to decorate three windows because the national holiday is drawing near. Simultaneously you remember that you have forgotten to bring a magazine for your son, who is supposed to clip out of it some pictures for the wall newspaper in his school. When you arrive home, your wife tries to force you to write for her political education meeting an essay concerning the inevitable downfall of capitalism. In reality, she recalls under "capitalism" a 2-day visit to Vienna which put her into an ecstasy of consumerism. You read in a car magazine a detailed report on the technological parameters of a new car produced by the West German BMW Works. The author offers knowledgeable criticism of the somewhat eccentric appearance of the instrument panel. You do not care because you are not going to buy such a car, even if you should five times win in the lottery. It never appeared on the Czechoslovak market and it certainly will not appear in the future. You fall asleep during a TV commercial advising you that you should buy shoes in a shoe-store. Your last thought is that you will try to buy shoes at the butcher's next time.

At least 1 million social critics ask themselves after such a day how it is possible that a system whose stupidity is inferior only to its lack of ability and responsibility did not collapse a long time ago and that it--contrary to all expectations--shows all generally recognized symptoms of political stability. These 1 million--or possibly more--social critics have forgotten that although the system in its daily appearance denies common sense, it is exactly common sense which is the least important phenomenon in the world. Exactly these masses of critics--comprising 90 percent of adult men and women in Czechoslovakia--are not provoked into political action by daily offenses of common sense and they seek their satisfaction in endless complaints and private excesses of fury.

The motivation of their basic relation toward society is to be found much deeper and it has little to do with common sense. It is derived from their existential amalgamation into the system, their economic and essentially comprehensively human dependence on total power in the hands of a state of real socialism. Reason tries to defend itself and the conscience presents manifold warnings, but it appears too weak in countering that everlasting dependence on material conditions, under which suffers the overwhelming majority of all human existences. The material conditions have--in our case--their origin solely in the good will of a state which appears as the only distributor of basic conditions of life. In our modern civilization

these are not only the daily bread, a piece of cloth around the hips and a roof over our heads, but a complicated satisfaction of hypertrophic consumption needs of 20th century man. I do not know whether politicians of the real socialism are quite aware of it, they never speak about it, but it is certain that they act as if they knew this truth. Ignoring of common sense which we daily witness in the restored order reaffirms our conviction.

At the beginning of the era of restored order, I erred in believing that the absurdities cannot last much longer and thus the systematic violation of common sense must lead to some kind of catastrophe. I underrated one of the most powerful factors of the inner stability of real socialism, i.e., the factor of adaptation. The adaptation of citizens to the essential determination of human life under the conditions of real socialism. This adaptation, moreover, is not a new factor. It is the result of a historical process which, to our astonishment, took only 30 years in order to make 3 generations of Czechs and Slovaks into a cumulative part of a precisely determined social structure, considerably different from all previous structures. The populace of a country which almost in a model fashion developed along the main development lines of European civilization, adapted to a system which--in its beginnings--appeared to many as temporary, absurd, unstable and outright mad in its excesses. The adaptation was successful because the real socialist system was--in certain aspects--easy to survey, simple, comfortable and it did not demand too much from the adaptative capacities of the citizens. Pluralist systems demand a long span of attention, men lose in them the easy possibility of survey, pluralistic agitation causes confusion. The position within society cannot be exactly programmed, competition demands a high capacity of achievement. In order to live in the new system, it was necessary for the citizens to be aware of only few solid facts: only one party governs, there is only one truth, the state is the sole owner and employer, fate of man depends on the favor of this state, the world is divided into friends and foes, it pays to agree and it does not pay not to agree, nobody's head is harder than the wall, the state does not want all of man, but only the smaller part of man visible in public life and if you lower your head in agreement, then you may do in the non-public sphere whatever you like. The state let its citizens know that it does not need a citizenry fully convinced of its propaganda. Passive loyalty, recognition of basic rules of relations between citizen and state, the citizen as employee and the state as employer, the citizen as consumer and the state as monopolistic supplier of goods, services, culture, social security, education, etc.

A good precondition of the adaptation was the recognition that no alternative existed. This recognition gradually deepened together with withering away of the reactionary and reformist hopes which still survived in the 1950's--partly as an expression of an elementary experience of a particular generation of adults: this experience taught that regimes change within 10 years. Many people thought that the new system would not last, but the majority sought an accomodation.

Unbelievable adaptative capacities have been shown by the Czechoslovak farmer, who was forced to change his whole economic basis, together with centuries old tradition and way of life. Some 10 or 15 years sufficed to make the farmer totally at ease in the cooperative economy and thus it would not be easy to find nowadays a large group of farmers who still would like to return to the private type of farming. This process of adaptation is a peculiar phenomenon and constitutes up to this very day the only programmed process which has been totally mastered. The original tragedy of a whole social class has been transformed--because of fast adaptation--into a new, incomparably more comfortable, more secure and currently also richer form of existence. Craftsmen and tradesmen experienced an equally fast adaptation, but this sudden transformation caused a lowering of effectiveness in trade and crafts. The whole working class as well as employees in public services did not experience any real economic revolution and their adaptation found its expression in manners, style of living and their private existence.

The restoration of order in Czechoslovakia could be carried out in orderly fashion because essentially the whole populace was already accustomed to this type of order and considered a new tightening of rules a signal for using the adaptation stereotypes. Every person is employed somewhere and has to keep up the state rules pertaining to the employer-employee relationship. He must regularly appear at his work site but it is not absolutely necessary that he work there. The adapted man knows manifold possibilities of how not to work or to work only a little and still to enjoy the reputation of a good worker. His professional activity gives him basic social security. Only a minority--in demanding but attractive professions--has to pay for this security with public, serviceable loyalty toward the regime. One can live on a rather low salary on a rather low level of the general standard. Your adaptability can get you more money. It is not necessary to save for sickness and old age. Modest housing is cheap. The adaptation means facing reality for the consumer, since he cannot buy everything he would like to. A result of adaptation is the expensive "search" for goods, lost time while standing in a queue and going through many shops looking for one item, but also the inventive ingenuity of Czechoslovak citizens looking for attractive products.

As "fruits" of adaptation we might describe a number of admirable capacities of citizens which are almost unknown outside the country: their ability to go through Europe in a car filled with cans, to get medicines obtainable only in Switzerland, to cook wonderfully while using only one quarter of ingredients obtainable elsewhere, to have onions although there have not been any on the market for 1 month, to drive exotic cars whose spare parts are not obtainable in Czechoslovakia, to construct a house for 1 million crowns while your salary is Kcs3,000 per month. The adaptation nourished hundreds of such abilities of consumption and sometimes they deserve real respect, unfortunately diminished by our knowledge that energy of the nation could be spent in a more productive way. Cafes, taverns and restaurants are filled all day long, although everyone is supposed to work. You will find skiers in the mountains whose equipment could not be paid for by half of their annual salary, almost all young people are knowledgeable about

the rock groups's productions in spite of the fact that their music is never played on Czechoslovak radio, in the country with the most expensive gasoline all streets are jammed with cars driven by men eager to get to work. I observe phenomena of this type quite often and must admit that I am not able to explain them convincingly. This adaptation to failings of a system certainly could be used as evidence of national abilities, but it is saddening to realize how much initiative, ingenuity and time is used by the adapted man so that because of his desire for a falsely understood fashionability he may pursue a consumers' ideal, necessarily of second class.

The citizen uses much less time for political adaptation. Here the rules are too simple. The regime desires only passive loyalty from the masses and that can be pretended by keeping silent during all political discussions. The citizen is usually called to some manifestation or feast one or two times a year. The adapted people then fill a square or they march, they keep private conversations, try not to listen to what the speaker says, they applaud whenever the claque close to the forum starts, then they buy their frankfurters from a street vendor and have their beer. These people also sit with a dreamy expression in meetings and make an earnest effort not to hear the lustreless phrases, they vote unanimously, accept pledges, work contracts, plans without opposition, they condemn everyone who is supposed to be condemned, approve a protest and a thanksgiving address to the Soviet Union, they give their Kcs3 for Vietnam's benefit, despite the fact that they have forgotten what is happening there. It is sad, but one cannot be surprised because of it. The adapted citizens already experienced or they were at least close to those solutions of political conflicts which changed their or a friend's fate. They already experienced model situations in political life under the rule of real socialism. They already passed many cross-roads in life and are accustomed to pass on a green light, even if it clearly violates their sense of truth, reason and honor.

Nevertheless, there are social groupings--mainly within the higher strata of the social hierarchy--which have to pay for the adaptation with considerably complicated maneuvers. That is applicable to people active in economic and political leadership, people working in fields of ideology and culture. The restored order demands much more than passive loyalty in these fields. It provided for snares and traps, forced people into treason and self-denial. Still, the adaptation was carried out. One became accustomed to the more demanding rules and while respecting the line between permitted and prohibited thought, one acquired the behavior model which was of advantage. Everyone knows this model and the majority conforms to it. Whenever someone deviates from this behavior model, it is considered a sensation. The people around him look on wondering how this deviation toward another model will be corrected.

I spent years in this demanding sphere of adaptation and will not deny that I experienced a whole era of adaptation efforts. I have been silent while

listening to a lie or I cautiously demanded that it be made to sound as if it were truth. I saw the excesses of stupidity without having taken any action and in critical situations I calculated the risks of any deviation. Not unlike others I preferred the cautious tactics of strait approaches to taking a morally justified position. I used words which were not mine, stemming from the vocabulary of mild hypocrisy. And I always found a logical construction perfectly justifying such behavior. I saw a difference between general and concrete truth, general and concrete injustice, measuring the strength of my character solely only on my approach toward and understanding of concrete injustice within a concrete human fate. Consequently, I avoided pointing out the emperor, crying that he was naked. That was the most risky action to be taken. And I knew also and know it today that no general formulation of evident but suppressed truth can change the established political system. It changes only the man who voluntarily chooses such a position. Only in the restored order I refused to adapt myself, simply because the scales changed. It still shows the old ideals, but they have been transformed into mere words, nothing but dusty words. I could not any longer justify an adaptation by using political logic or handy rational arguments. The only justification would have been fears of persecution and manifold injustice which only an aggravated state can invent in order to punish man. And nowadays I know that my rejection of adaptation was motivated--as with many other people--by a psychological state called pig-headedness by the secret police. Nevertheless, it is a longing to preserve a good opinion of oneself for the remainder of our lives. It is a very simple motivation and I am repeatedly surprised that many people do not understand it, even if they have all the preconditions for it. Or perhaps they do understand, believing that it is of more advantage for them to see in this non-adapted position political speculation, unwarranted pride and other evils.

The number of non-adapted in relation to those who are adapted is only a drop in the ocean. Sometimes I think that the restored order could easily tolerate this drop, thus improving its international image. That it does not do it and--quite to the contrary--steadily persecutes the non-adapted with newly invented harassment, may serve as evidence that it itself is not deeply convinced of the firmness of adaptation among the majority of our population. And it is right that it does not trust the adaptation. It is an unbelievably superficial adaptation and comprises only that small part of man which may be seen in public. The adapted man pays his political tax and then he hibernates in his private sphere. The government has learned a lesson in 30 years: Not to disturb the citizen in his private life. That does not mean that the government became wiser, but it gave up in resignation its original plan to establish harmony between the private and public human existence. It is certain that this plan existed. Propaganda, literature and education used to serve this utopia in the 1950's. This plan failed within a short time and the restored order, realizing the instability of its own moral basis, is now satisfied with the public agreement of its adapted citizens and leaves them alone in their private lives.

This uncontrolled private sphere is rather spacious in the restored order. The state allows the adapted citizens to use their money--which they more or less honestly earned--the way they want to. They may construct family houses, cabins and acquire cottages and furnish them according to their will and possibilities. They may buy cars and travel. They may seek amusement according to their tastes. They may fill taverns, cafes and sports events. They may even travel abroad, provided that they have sufficient means to pay the fantastically high prices for hard currency. They may cultivate vegetables and fruits which never could be found in state-owned stores. It is true that they cannot read whatever they would like to read, but--on the other hand--the government installs for them a usable antenna enabling them to see the Vienna program. Of course it is not permissible to publish the Austrian TV program in newspapers and thus people are forced to mimeograph it. The adapted men may in private criticize their political leadership; laugh at political jokes; incite against the republic, smear and undermine it; tell fantastic stories about West Germany, Canada and Sweden, those legendary countries where unemployed people receive more support money than a Czechoslovak director has as his salary, legends about unbelievable careers Czech refugees have made, so totally different from these sad tragic stories in the official press.

The adapted citizens may curse, spit poison over the "allies", commit sacrilèges against the sacrosanct Soviet Union. As long as they do it in private, showing their adapted appearance in public, and as long as no evil compatriot denounces them to the police, the state is not interested in salvation of their adapted souls. The restored order willingly leaves them this vent because the private anti-communism of the adapted citizens is not heard in the heavens. Of importance is that they also come to vote and appear among the 1 Máj marchers.

I often listen to the adapted citizens in their private sphere and it appears to me that they are seeking revenge. They are furious and powerless and seek revenge for loss of their public face, for the humiliation, for their anxieties, for their permanent fear, for their own hypocrisy, for lies they must listen to and they must agree with. For all the small treasons they must commit against their fellow men. And still, they always will publicly agree, carry paper flags at meetings, pay their contributions to the Union of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship, show hands in meetings and sign resolutions. They are bound to their state quite existentially and should they refuse, they could lose the only thing left to the adapted man--the private sphere. Their limited but still attractive possibilities are merely a gift from the state. They are the salary for adaptation.

Adaptation in real socialism is a peculiar type of social contract which hardly could be invented by Jean Jacques. Nevertheless, it is a rather reliable social contract, working for many years as the basis of stability of real socialism. It guarantees order within the state more reliably than expensive and cancerously growing organs of supervision. The essential condition for this contract to work is the quantity of enjoyments which can

be offered by the state to the citizen within his private sphere. In other words, the citizen wants solid goods for his adaptation. And the stability is threatened the very same moment the citizens have to pay a disproportionately high price for enjoyments offered by real socialism.

CSO: 2300

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

POLICE CHECKING WORK TIME OF EMPLOYEES

Prague SVOBODA in Czech 30 Jun 78 p 4

[Article by Jan Masek and Jiri Cerny: "Our Research of Work Time Use"]

[Excerpts] It is a work day, Thursday 4 May 1978. The morning sun lured many people into the streets of Rakovnik. Together with the police sergeant Antonin Svitil, we want to find out how some of them use their work time. It starts with a request on the sergeant's part: "Your I. D. card please. Which shift do you work?" It ends with contacting personnel departments of plants in order to find out whether the checked persons spoke the truth.

"We already know spots visited by some members of this worthy company during their work time," says the sergeant. Around 1000 we enter a smoky tap-room with several high tables. Around them are men of different ages. The sergeant repeats his request and the majority of them do not react very joyfully. A worker from the Central Bohemian Energy Plants who refreshed himself drinking beer, in spite of his being ill, operated with a ticket entitling him to pick up his medicine from the pharmacy in 1 hour. In the meantime, he must be somewhere, or must not he? Even worse off are two young workers of the Okres Construction Enterprise. They do not have their ID cards and -- moreover -- they should be working the morning shift.

In spite of the sergeant's correctness, a worker of the Rako Mine in Luzna answers in a highly irritated way the question of how he can drink beer before going to work his afternoon shift. He does not have his ID card and when the sergeant tells him that he will be subjected to an alcohol test before entering the shift, he flatly declares that he will skip the shift and someone else should be responsible for it. He calms down only after a fine of Kcs 100.

In the park in front of the Okres National Committee sit in the full sun two young men in overalls. They do not get up when we approach them. We learn that these two workers at the agro-technical center of the Joint Agricultural Enterprise in Mutejovice arrived in Rakovnik in order to pick

up a gear box and now they wait here for the car which is supposed to pick them up. Obviously it is a fault of the work organization.

We visit another inn and find 4 railroad men from Beroun. They are here with a train and use their break in order to get a snack. The same is true for three workers of the State Farm in Jesenice who arrived in Rakovnik by truck in order to pick up material. We do not know how long they have been here, but they leave after having been checked.

Now we want to check the street traffic. Our attention is attracted by a truck with the Prumstav emblem. Next to the driver are two passengers. The travel order is not filled out. We hear that although the truck works in Rakovnik, travel orders are being issued only by the transportation center in Prague-Michle. The driver just left a repair shop and has to load material. Consequently, his travel order cannot be filled out. It is lack of organization to be solved by the enterprise.

In Palacky Street we check two cars with Prague licence plates. Their drivers are on regular business. Only the third car is questionable. It belongs to the People's Consumers Cooperative Unity, Rakovnik,. Its driver does not have a travel order, although -- being the transportation manager -- he himself is directly responsible for enforcing the order. He explains that he left only for a minute in order to pick up a necessary spare part at Mototechna.

What situation prevailed in the morning hours at the gate of the TOS Enterprise? Already at 0610 one of the workers leaves in order to visit the dentist. Nine minutes later another two workers leave the enterprise. Their reason? Someone let out the water from the Luzna pond. Shortly before 0700 several employees arrive, because they had to bring their children to kindergarten. The gate is busy. Visitors arrive, trucks come and leave. By 1100, 15 employees leave for the most varied reasons using their permanent passes. Most of them go to the branch plant TOS II. Six employees left on private business, 11 employees on official business and 2 employees had been called to see a doctor.

This year the TOS Rakovnik has to fulfill a target increased by 9 percent in comparison with last year. That is not little. Therefore, the management precisely evaluated absenteeism and accepted a resolution to improve the situation. Because of business trips some 4,504 hours were lost last year. Visits at physicians caused a loss of 2,488 hours. These factors alone represent a loss of almost 7,000 hours. Absences because of sickness and injury have to be added. TOS evaluates missed hours every 3 months.

Widely criticized are insufficient services in town. The distribution point for propabutane bottles closes at 1430. The Cedok office offers its services till 1600 and the currency exchange only till 1530. Also, public transportation should be improved. Most health institutions and offices want to see workers during morning hours.

While production of our plants increases and numbers of workers sinks, it is imperative to remove all disturbing phenomena. An asymmetry in fulfillment of production targets survives even individual decades and qualitative indicators are also lagging behind. The reasons are to be found in inefficient managerial, organizational, control and planning activity.

The only way to fulfill demanding targets of the Sixth Five-Year Plan is fully to use work time and to lower absenteeism. Even the state of shifts is not fully satisfactory. Only 75 percent of all employees appear for the morning shift.

High demands on complying with work time are necessary not only in industry, but also in agriculture, commerce, education and services. All managers have to be aware of this fact. It is the only possibility of how to fulfill resolutions of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE THEATER DIRECTOR DISCUSSES NEW THEATER LAW

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 78 p 5 AU

[Interview with Zdenek Mika, deputy of the Czech National Council, director of the Vinohrady Theater and official of the Union of Czech Dramatic Artists by Vladimir Hrouda: "For Today and for the Future"]

[Excerpts] Question: Why was the new theater law adopted?

Answer: On 1 July the new theater law comes into effect, not only in the Czech lands but in Slovakia as well. Why did the two national councils decide to adopt this legislative act? First of all it was necessary, also in the field of the theater, to complete the federal arrangement of the state. The last theater law, although it had all-state validity, did not take into account the different development of our national cultures. Moreover, the development of society in recent years has led to an improvement in the management of our entire society, which had to find its reflection in the cultural field. The law has thus opened new possibilities for the development of the Czech and the Slovak theater act.

The main shortcoming of the previous theater law--which was progressive in its time--was that it did not define with sufficient precision the rights and the duties of the controlling organs and allowed too many inaccuracies in the interpretation of what is a theater performance, who creates it and who is entitled to carry it out and be responsible for it. The newly adopted legal norm is virtually identical in the Czech and in the Slovak socialist republics, with the exception of slight differences resulting from the different development of the theater culture in the individual republics. It stresses the necessity of the socialist character of the Czech and the Slovak theater.

Question: What is the main purpose of the theater law?

Answer: First of all I would like to stress that the newly adopted law has the task of making the theater serve as the means of further increasing the standards of our socialist state's population. It is valuable because it understands our dramatic art as an organic whole. A great advantage of

the new legal code is also that it defines all professional theaters as cultural institutions which are taken care of, administered and managed by the state. This means that it does not allow so-called non-state theaters and at the same time creates the conditions for an organic growth--that is, the establishment and extinction of the individual theater organisms according to the needs of the society and the degree of its development.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

INCREASE IN EDUCATION LEVEL--Czech Council on Statistics discussed during yesterday's session fulfillment of resolutions passed by the 15th CPCZ Congress in the CSR organs in charge of statistics, the state and use of computer technology in CSR, the level of wholesale prices in CSR industry and construction enterprise and the second part of microcensus 1977 results. Among others, the analysis has shown the development of education of the CSR populace. There was a further decrease of persons with primary education and approximately one-third of the young generation's members received secondary and higher education within 1970-1976. Further decreased were differences between the female and male level of education. In 1961, for instance, there were 4 male graduates of higher education institutions for every female graduate. In 1976 there already were only 2.2 male graduates for every female. The percentage of females among secondary school students surpassed even that of males. [Text] [Prague ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Jul 78 p 4]

CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

EFFORTS TO SPLIT COMMUNIST WORLD MOVEMENT CONDEMNED

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 110, 9 Jun 78 p 1.

[Report from Berlin: East Berlin Warns Against Splitting the Communist Movement. A translation of the East Berlin HORIZONT article referred to below follows this commentary]

[Text] The semi-official East Berlin weekly HORIZONT, alluding to the course of the "Eurocommunist" parties, now warns against a splitting of the communist movement. The alliance and the cooperation of the communist parties is said to be an objective requirement "in the face of the further internationalization of the class struggle and the sharpening of the international dispute. Only the solidarity of the communists can guarantee that revolutionary achievements and successes in the class struggle will not be brought to nought or reversed." "Reactionary forces" in the West were accused by HORIZONT in this connection with striving "to create oppositions and contradictions between the communist parties of capitalist and socialist countries." Differing concepts and views in the communist movement [says HORIZONT], have been stirred up as much as possible, "in order thereby to provoke splitting tendencies." The aim of splitting the communist movement is served also by "playing up of the unscientific concept of 'Eurocommunism' on the part of bourgeois propaganda." It is one of the main components of the anticommunist strategy of the monopoly bourgeoisie to disintegrate and weaken the Communist movement by means of "Eurocommunism."

HORIZONT stressed in this connection the necessity of a "unification of the forces of the international communist movement on the basis of proletarian internationalism. At the same time the paper confirmed that in the Western countries socialism can be created via paths and through means of struggle which "in some ways" differ from those in the socialist countries. There may be "varying opinions" thereon among the communist parties. But the "rightist opportunist tendencies" of revisionist forces within the communist movement, against which they stand because the revolutionary struggle suffers damage thereby, is quite another matter.

Unity of Communist Movement Stressed

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 11 No 24, 1978 signed to press 5 Jun
78 pp 8-9

[Article by Dr Guenter Kuehne: "Basic Problems of the Revolutionary World Process: The Communist World Movement--The Most Influential Force of Our Time"]

[Text] The international communist movement is at present in a significant stage of its development. The determining tendency of its development at the present time is without doubt the increased influence on the course of the worldwide revolutionary struggle. It displays as a world-encompassing force its capacity to organize the collaboration and joint struggle of the revolutionary forces of our time--the socialist states, the working class of the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement, and to infuse content, goals, and direction into the revolutionary processes.

The conditions of the struggle and existence of the communist and worker parties are extremely varied and multi-faceted. Battle-hardened and experienced communist parties direct and lead the building of socialist and communism in the socialist countries; in the highly developed capitalist countries fraternal parties rich in tradition and proven in the class struggle lead the struggle of the working class and its allies for democracy and social progress; in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America the communists stand at the forefront in the struggle for national and social liberation.

With all the multiplicity and variation of the conditions of the activity of the communist parties in individual countries, regions, and continents, their struggle merges into a unified revolutionary world process.

It is testimony to the increased maturity of the communists, and of the movement as a whole, that they are able to give answers for the solution of the basic questions of our time in the interests of the peoples and in the sense of social progress. Equipped with the science of Marxism-Leninism they are capable of working out a comprehensive and realistic program of the anti-imperialist struggle, which gives the fullest expression to the interests both of the working class and other social forces participating in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The qualitative growth factors of the communist movement are also accompanied by a numerical strengthening of many communist parties and the emergence of new revolutionary parties. Today over 90 communist worker parties exist in the world. Since the international consultation in 1969 the number of organized communists has increased by about 10 million. In the countries of the socialist community the number of members of the communist parties has grown by 5 to 6 million, and since the beginning of the 70's the communist parties have been able to gain almost 1 million new

members in the nonsocialist world. It is testimony to the radiating power of Marxism-Leninism that parties are at present forming, especially in Africa, which profess belief in scientific socialism.

The previous course and development of the revolutionary world activity and the presently completing processes of the international class struggle reveal that the communist movement is the most influential political and intellectual force of our time. The power and strength, the activity and influence of the international communist movement as a whole and of the many brother parties as well have been further strengthened.

The ruling communist parties are steering and directing as a leading force the practical realization of the historic mission of the working class in their countries. With the successful fulfillment of the tasks of socialist and communist construction, the socialist states are influencing to a decisive extent the world revolutionary process, and giving our epoch the stamp of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

On the basis of their political power, their powerful economic potential, their social efficiency and radiating power, and their military strength, the socialist world system has contributed considerably to the change in the international balance of forces. The states of the socialist community are implementing an international policy which serves the interests of the revolutionary struggle of the working class and all workers in the capitalist world, and promotes the struggle of the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America for national and social liberation.

The key to the unity and solidarity of the socialist fraternal countries and their internationally coordinated policy is the increasingly close and universal cooperation among the ruling parties of the countries of the socialist community. It today literally embraces all spheres of social life.

The bilateral and multilateral meetings of leading personalities of the communist parties occupy a prominent place in party relations. In the period 1969 to 1976 there were 42 multilateral meetings on the highest level. The annual consultations for the secretaries for ideological and international questions of the central committees of communist parties of the socialist countries have become a tested tradition. The fraternal parties continually exchange study delegations. This collaboration naturally influences the development of the communist movement as a whole. The generalization of experience in the realization of the socialist revolution, as for example in the theory on the developed socialist society which is reflected in the new Constitution of the USSR, and the creative response to questions of world revolutionary development and the international class struggle help the fraternal parties in the nonsocialist world in their struggle, in the determination of their strategic-tactical line and in the achievement of their policy.

The communist parties in the developed capitalist countries were able in the 70's further to raise their positions and increase their influence. With the exception of the Communist Party of Turkey all fraternal parties in these countries struggle in legality. In several developed capitalist countries there are communist parties existing and working today which play a significant role in the political life of their country. Some of them possess considerable and stable voter potentials. In the capitalist countries of Europe over 11 percent of those eligible to vote vote for the communists in general elections. In Cyprus it is 40 percent, in Italy 34.4 percent, in France 20.6 percent, in Portugal 14.6 percent, and in Japan 10.7 percent. The communist Party of Finland has for the third time participated in a government led by the Social-Democrats. Of 25 communist parties in the developed capitalist countries 10 are represented by deputies in the central parliamentary bodies. Some parties have captured notable positions in elected local and regional organs of administration.

In these countries, where the ruling monopoly bourgeoisie has shown itself unable to lead society out of the deep crisis, the responsibility of the communist parties to convince the toiling masses of the necessity of basic changes in the social system and to show them the way to socialism is growing. In all the variations of the objective conditions of struggle in the individual capitalist countries the communist parties are struggling primarily for the solution of the most urgent tasks connected with the economic crisis and their effect on the workers. The powerful strike and labor struggles of the workers in many capitalist countries which no longer restrict themselves to economic demands but are oriented toward more far-reaching goals such as the guaranteeing and expansion of democratic rights of the workers, is testimony to the increasing influence of the communists on the course and content of the class struggle.

The communist parties are devoting heightened attention to the creation of broad alliances with leftist and other democratic parties and forces. The creation of such alliances is and remains a basic condition both for the establishment of unite of action of the workers in the struggle for their interests and rights and for the introduction of basic social changes.

The experience of all class struggles confirms that the strengthening of the party itself, not only in the sense of gaining new members, but also with regard to its subjective maturity, the stronger approach to the working class, and the organization of antimonopolist mass actions are decisive conditions for the attainment of success in the class struggle. It is thereby shown that it is necessary continually to take into account the lessons and experiences of the revolutionary struggle both in one's own country and in other countries and on the international scale.

Imperialism Works on Splitting the Communist Movement

The results and advances in the struggle of the communist movement contradict the judgment of bourgeois ideologists, "communism researchers" and representatives of the monopolist mass media. They want to make us believe that the quantitative and qualitative growth is not the determining and salient factor in the development of the communist movement, but its alleged decline, an allegedly unbridgeable split in its ranks. Behind such assertions that the communist movement has "burnt itself out as a joint historical force," is concealed the fear of the enemies of communism of the strength and growing influence of the communist parties. It is and remains the goal of imperialism to contain the worldwide growing influence of Marxism-Leninism and the force in which it is embodied--the communist movement.

From time immemorial the enemies of communism have been trying to counteract the influence of the communist parties, to eliminate them as a political force both in the national and in the international context, to damage their cohesiveness and solidarity, and if at all possible to render them ineffective. The reactionary forces apply various means and methods for this purpose. Wherever the balance of forces permits, naked violence is used. In many countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa, the communist parties are prohibited, their officials and members are persecuted, jailed, terrorized, and even physically destroyed. Of the communist parties in the nonsocialist world 35 are still condemned to fight illegally.

Where brutal persecution of communists is not possible for the reaction, it applies means of ideological influence and application of pressure more strongly, in order to keep the influence of the communists and their parties as small as possible. To this variant of anticommunist policy also belongs the introduction of differences into the communist world movement. Successes and advances, defeats and errors in the struggle of communist parties are equally exploited to set the fraternal parties against each other.

They especially try to create oppositions and contradictions between the communist parties of capitalist and socialist countries. The imperialist bourgeoisie and their mass media exert a colossal pressure on the fraternal parties in the nonsocialist world to cause them to turn away from the genuinely existing socialism and force them into revisionist paths. Different concepts and views in the communist movement are stirred up to the extent possible so as to inspire splitting tendencies.

Especially massive is the pressure of the monopoly bourgeoisie on the communists in the citadels of capital. Where even just a possibility is indicated that communists might participate in governments as a result of elections or that a government of leftist parties might be formed, international monopoly capital does not shrink from open interference in the internal affairs of the country concerned, threatening it with a boycott and sanctions.

The playing up by bourgeois propaganda of the unscientific concept of "Eurocommunism" also serves the purpose of splitting the communist movement. It is a main component of the anticommunist strategy of the monopoly bourgeoisie to disintegrate and weaken the communist movement by means of "Eurocommunism." As the FRG magazine QUICK revealed, it is to become a "fission fungus for world communism." The vast majority of communist parties, including our party, rejects the concept of Eurocommunism. They regard it as theoretically false and politically harmful. Communism as a scientific world view and doctrine for the struggle of the working class lets itself be regionalized neither in theory nor in practice.

Proletarian Internationalism--Tested Principle of the Joint Struggle

The cohesion and cooperation of the communist parties is an objective requirement in the face of the further internationalization of the class struggle, the sharpening of the international discord between the forces of progress and reaction. Only the international cohesiveness and solidarity of the communists, and on a world scale at that, can guarantee that revolutionary achievements and successes in the class struggle will not be brought to naught or reversed by the internationally organized forces of the great bourgeoisie. Profound changes, which are the expression of the international character of the class struggle, are being completed in the world at the present time. The enemies of peace and social progress are organized internationally. They are strengthening their attacks on the progressive cause, they are striving to counter the process of detente, and if at all possible even to reverse it, to carry on the arms race, to inflict damage on the socialist fraternal countries, where possible, to slander and defame them.

The great power chauvinist policy of the Peking leaders aims in the same direction. With their thesis of the unavoidability of a new world war and the monstrous assertion that the main danger to peace comes from the Soviet Union, they justify the forced armament and militarization in their own country, they strive for the creation of anti-Soviet alliances, including NATO, for the further escalation of the arms race, and attempt with all their might to block the process of detente and the consolidation of international security.

The unification of the forces of the international communist movement on the basis of proletarian internationalism, and the strengthening of the alliance of all revolutionary forces of our time is and remains an important basic requirement in order to prepare further defeats for imperialism and to help the forces of progress to new successes.

The striving of the fraternal parties toward closer collaboration and cohesiveness has become stronger in recent years. This was shown on the occasion of the worldwide honoring of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution. The celebration in Moscow, in which 123 delegations of communist, socialist, or social-democratic parties and representatives of the national liberation movement from a total of 104 countries participated, was the most representative conclave of the revolutionary main forces yet. It was there very clear what role and significance is attributed to the CPSU as the most experienced and strongest communist party, and what esteem its policy of peace, detente, and disarmament it enjoys throughout the world.

Development Problems and Differences of Opinion in the Communist Movement

In emphasizing the main developmental tendency of the international communist movement we do not in any way overlook the fact that along with significant historical successes and advances there are also retreats and defeats. Nor do we close our eyes to the dangers which differences of opinion within the communist movement can arouse. Since the time Lenin the communists have again and again pointed out that the transition to socialism is realized in different countries in many forms and methods. The emergence and formation of the socialist world system, and the realization of the socialist revolution in the GDR are a self-evident proof thereof.

In the countries where capitalism still rules, socialism will be created via paths, and through forms of struggle and methods which can differ in some respects from those in the countries where socialism is already a reality and which has led to victory. In the theoretical discussion and voicing of these questions quite varied opinions may exist among communist parties. That has nothing, but absolutely nothing, to do with the "Eurocommunism" pushed by the class enemy. Something quite different are rightist opportunist tendencies and attempts by revisionist forces within the communist movement to denigrate or even to scorn experience and lessons of the class struggle which have been confirmed a thousand times, to put into question the general validity of Marxism-Leninism, and to deny the achievements and advantages of the socialist countries. We are against it, because the communist movement and the unified revolutionary struggle can suffer harm from it.

It is understandable that our class enemy tries to exploit such manifestations in the communist movement. Nevertheless, to conclude from varied concepts and views in the communist movement a split or even its decline is speculation by the enemies of communism which is neither new, nor original nor likely to succeed. The communist movement is a living organism, to which differences of opinion are not alien. "That enlivens the discussion of the perspectives of socialism," said Erich Honecker in the well-known interview with the SAARBRUECKER ZEITUNG on 17 February 1977, and he added: "And it would be regrettable if no such discussion takes place in the face of varying conditions and differing opinion."

Neither the splitting attempts of the imperialist enemy nor the existence of differences of opinion in the communist movement were able to prevent the international collaboration and the solidarity of the communist parties from having been further developed and intensified. The forms of the international cooperation of the communist parties are very multifaceted today. Annually about 600 bilateral meetings of representatives of communist parties take place. The mutual participation in the party congresses and international scientific conferences of communist parties, the discussions in the periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, the direct contacts in the form of exchanges of study delegations, the holding of conferences of communist parties, such as that in Havana in June 1975, in Berlin in 1976, and those in the Arab area are today tried and true methods of a successful and effective collaboration of communist parties.

Anti-Imperialist Unity of Action in the Fight for Peace.

Detente and Disarmament.

The consolidation of the unity of the communist movement on a Marxist-Leninist basis is a continuing task, for unity grown in its action.

The communist parties, in jointly solving the tasks which today are in the forefront of the international class struggle, they strengthen at the same time the anti-imperialist front of the revolutionary forces and increase the effectiveness of the struggle. This concerns foremost the fateful question of mankind--the maintenance and ensurance of world peace. The communist parties agree in their ideas that there is a close connection between the fight for peace and social progress. Only when peace is ensured and an enduring and stable detente process is created, will it be possible to get on the road of social progress. Therefore the communist parties consider international detente, and the further realization of peaceful coexistence as a necessary external condition to reaching the goals of their national policy. That is an important basis for the international cooperation of the communists, for joint actions and activities.

The participants in the Berlin conference of communist and worker parties, which took place 2 years ago, worked out a political line which corresponds to these requirements. Some 29 fraternal parties collectively formulated a very detailed and realistic program of the further struggle for peace, security, cooperation, and social progress in Europe.

The time which has passed since the Berlin Conference proves the correctness of the orientation given by the communist parties and the timeliness of the assignment of tasks. It is no exaggeration to say that the basic goals set in the documents and programs of the communist parties exert a mobilizing effect on the forces interested in peace, detente, and disarmament. A convincing expression of it is the worldwide protests and actions against the imperialist arms race, namely against the production of the neutron bomb and its stationing in the NATO states, to which the appeal of 28 communist and fraternal parties contributed considerably.

The requirements of the international class struggle and the maintenance of world peace make a still closer cohesiveness of all communist parties precisely requisite. In this common struggle the unity and solidarity of the communist parties and of all progressive forces is growing. Successes on this road create at the same time further prerequisites and possibilities for the struggle for democracy and social progress.

In this sense the Socialist Unity Party of Germany will also in the future fulfill its class duty as a firm component of the international communist and workers' movement, develop and expand further cooperation with fraternal parties and continually support joint worldwide organized actions of the communist parties and all forces interested in peace and progress.

6108
CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

FRG GOVERNMENT ACCUSED OF COMPLICITY IN TRANSIT AGREEMENT VIOLATIONS

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 124/125, 29/30 Jun 78 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin Warns Against Misuse of the Transit Agreement." A translation of the East Berlin HORIZONT article referred to below follows this commentary]

[Text] East Berlin has once again warned the FRG government against tolerating a misuse of the transit agreement by refugee aid organizations. In its most recent edition the weekly HORIZONT, a mouthpiece of the GDR Foreign Ministry, said it was "a dangerous illusion to assume the GDR would take the constant violation of the transit agreement." The activities of the refugee aid organizations would rather, unless competent FRG organs would stop them, have to result in "that the GDR takes the necessary measures to insure its legitimate security interests." The time had come for FRG authorities "to make credible their respecting the spirit and letter of the transit agreement, without deleting any part of it."

HORIZONT claims in this connection that the refugee aid organizations' "trade with human life" in the transit sectors had "proceeded thus far with the toleration, even with the benevolence by the organs" of the FRG. FRG customs had in a number of cases failed to do its duty "by preventing transit misuse through appropriate checks." The "extremely conciliatory" clearance procedures introduced by the GDR, which merely checked the seals attached by FRG customs and their shipping documents, would presuppose, however, "that the other side by correctly meeting its obligations justify the indispensable measure of confidence without which such arrangements cannot last."

Transit Agreement Violations Detailed

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 11 No 27, 1978 signed to press 26 Jun 78 pp 8-9]

[Investigative report by Claus Wolf: "The Mierendorff Gang--Criminals as Shock Troops against Detente. Revelations on the Misuse of the GDR-FRG Transit Agreement by Traders in Human Lives. FRG Authorities as Accessories and Accomplices"]

[Text] There is nothing particularly conspicuous about this brick one-family house with its wide windows, their clear panes reflecting the firs in the frontyard. There are many such dwellings in the hamlet of Kellinghusen, northwest of Hamburg, located on express highway 206. To his neighbors, the owner of the house may appear as solid as the house itself. He is Kay Mierendorff, 32 years of age, a small businessman, according to his papers, and his demeanor, a man with energy who evidently is doing all right financially. His arrogant manner rather suits than upsets the image of a dynamic entrepreneur, and his egghead-type glasses do somewhat hide the brutality in his face.

Thus most people in Kellinghusen are probably unaware that this house actually is the headquarters of a dangerous criminal gang, the residence of its boss. FRG crime investigation authorities should have every good reason for devoting constant attention to this center of professional crime and to keep a sharp eye on its host. As it is, FRG citizen Mierendorff is no unknown quantity to them.

They know him fairly well through his criminal record which includes insurance deals in the FRG and West Berlin, illegal ownership of arms and arms trade through the arms racketeers Sendczig and Schlenker, possession of forged FRG passports, driver's licenses and other documents, and contraband with antiques. And they also know all too well that Kay Mierendorff is nowadays making money with activities that are classified as criminal in the FRG's penal code itself. It is by no means ignorance, therefore, that would explain the obvious passivity on the part of the FRG authorities. As we shall see, there is more than one reason for rating the remarkable tolerance FRG authorities have been showing vis-a-vis the "Mierendorff undertaking" as deliberate accessory, even complicity.

A "Hero" of the Western World

Mierendorff's enterprising gifts developed early. After he had developed criminal initiatives in various fields--as already mentioned--and thus gained enough business experience, he set up a radio towing service in West Berlin (one year after the signing of the GDR-FRG Transit Agreement) and, sensing the possibility for combining criminal with political trends, applied to the West Berlin Senat for a towing concession for immobilized vehicles on GDR transit routes. It was his record that made the West Berlin Senat turn down his application. However, tricky Mierendorff--alias Martin Benkmann--managed to get himself, fairly easily and without much trouble, all he needed for kidnapping people from the GDR, in a grand style, by misusing the Transit Agreement. To that end he organized an association of professional criminals, controlling it by intelligence methods. Mierendorff is totally unscrupulous. That is borne out by statements from his "associates" who were caught in the act and are now in detention in the GDR. Their "boss," so they say, permits no contradiction. He would have a "cartridge in store"--as he puts it--for any recalcitrant accomplices. The Mierendorff clan refers to that method by its colloquialism "Kay has placed a bullet." And Mierendorff also encourages the members of his gang to "place bullets" when engaged in their criminal activities in the GDR.

Not only that he supplies them with weapons, he also instructs them to have no hesitation to shoot when necessary--that is, when their trading in human lives becomes exposed, which shows how brutal he is.

Political Partners

Though Mierendorff is strictly seeing to it that his authority as the boss is blindly respected within the gang, he by no means operates all on his own. He looked for, and found, understanding patrons in the circles of the most obstinate enemies of detente whose criminal trading in human lives seems a suitable means for carrying out their political ambitions. And Mierendorff is all too willing to subordinate himself to those ambitions.

No wonder then that Mierendorff comes forth as a fanatical proponent of the CDU policy in the FRG. He would in person drive motor vehicles on which large campaign posters were displayed, campaigning during the 1976 Bundestag election campaign for the then candidate for the chancellery nominated by the CDU, today's Bundestag opposition leader Helmut Kohl. In Kellinghusen they are also asking themselves--certainly not without reason--whether Mierendorff's political commitment might not have been rewarded by the CDU leadership in passing on to him the leasing rights for the airport restaurant at Hartenholm--where several of those crooks of his have meanwhile been posing as restaurant personnel, pretending to be engaged in an honorable bourgeois activity.

Mierendorff found a very special bosom buddy in CDU functionary Dr Wulf Rothenbaecher of Diez/Lahn. He is known to be very close to the "Human Rights Society" in Frankfurt/Main, an ominous organization likewise under intelligence control. He also has been playing an active anticommunist role for a long time as the second federal board chairman of the so-called society of the victims of Stalinism. That organization, which is engaged in the conduct of psychological warfare against socialism, can for all intents and purposes be called Mierendorff's political home base.

And these are by no means all the political contacts Mierendorff maintains. This mafia chief also maintains various close relations with FRG government authorities. Among his promoters is, for example, the Ministry of the Interior of North Rhine-Westphalia. Members of the FRG police and Bundeswehr pilots have repeatedly let themselves be persuaded, it was found, to cooperate with Mierendorff in organizing and carrying out so-called towing operations. Nor is there any lack of hard evidence that these professional criminals are much in touch with organs of the FRG border protection service and FRG customs, using them for their criminal acts against the GDR--without the least interference from them. Some telling examples will be presented in the following.

Like Master, Like Man

The criminal nature of the Mierendorff gang is fully revealed by the composition of its membership. "Employer" M. has surrounded himself with a

team of "employers" preferably recruited from the underworld. That was once again revealed recently before the first penal chamber of the Potsdam bezirk court, when its agents Guenter Hack, Kurt Kuhn, Georg Reissberg and Horst Sachau were tried. What a "select quartet" was facing the judges there: Hack, an adventurer, as he says himself, within one year (1960-1961) changed jobs as between Canada, Iceland and British Columbia, tried dealing in race horses and in the carrying trade and is in debt up to DM 20,000 in the FRG, so that he is eager for quick money--by any means at all. Sachau, the son of a police officer in the FRG, has already been convicted for one year in prison and DM 218,000 in overdue taxes, got fines and lost his driver's license for driving while drunk, and is in the red with more than DM 50,000 in debts. Reissberg is under investigation right now in Hamburg for car theft; he too has already faced an FRG court on charges of driving without a driver's license, but full of alcohol. Kuhn, from a police sergeant's family, is practically "lily-white" by comparison--his "only" offense having been drunken driving.

There are (or were) much "heavier guys" still in Mierendorff's guild. Among them is Schimschar, meanwhile convicted in the GDR, one of the many drug addicted gangsters in this group, who undertook, on orders, a violent breakthrough at the Drewitz border crossing point, whereby the life and health of transit crossers and members of the border security forces were ruthlessly jeopardized. Other members of this criminal guard are the brothers Dieter and Peter Nickels, whose criminal record in the FRG includes theft, battery, illegal possession of arms and other offenses. As charges of Mierendorff's, Gerd Labuschin in Hamburg and Helmut Arff in West Berlin are exercising the functions of agency chiefs of the gang boss, the latter under the cover of being the owner of the firm Jara Elektromotoren G.m.b.H. in West Berlin-Tegel.

That Mierendorff uses for his dirty business also such elements as members of the notorious and widely branching international mafia in Italy and France makes the picture complete.

Trade in Human Lives as Profit Source

The "specialty" of the Mierendorff enterprise, its main profit source, is trading in human lives in the form of kidnapping GDR citizens. That is being supplemented by systematic espionage: permanent surveillance of the GDR transit routes and its border crossings leading to the FRG and West Berlin in terms of their police and military security and the handling of border-crossing traffic, the targeted recruiting and abduction of secret agents and the infiltration of such abducted persons for purposes of "intelligence exploitation"--as the technical jargon puts it--by the intelligence agencies working in the so-called emergency transit camps of Giessen and West Berlin-Marienfelde.

This trade--as it may be called--of necessity implies a constant and massive violation of the 1971 GDR-FRG Transit Agreement, a treaty between two sovereign states, and thus an infringement of international law.

And that is precisely what Mierendorff is doing with his gang--proceeding thus far with the toleration, even with the benevolence by the organs of a state which, were it to act in a properly understood self-interest, ought to protect this Transit Agreement against any violation.

Mierendorff's "methods arsenal" in his crimes against the GDR includes preferentially the following procedures:

In vehicles under customs seal (in accordance with article 6 of the Transit Agreement) the obligation to customs seal security is violated by installing in the vehicles camouflaged and partly electromagnetically secured loading platforms in the storage compartments, with the purpose of facilitating the misuse of the agreement (defined in article 16).

By false information deliberately given about the content of the shipment on the bills of lading, for the purpose of deception, the obligation to having the shipment agree with the data on accompanying documentation is broken.

The traders in human lives improperly make use of vehicles belonging to FRG and West Berlin firms which have been using the transit routes under customs seal without causing any objection--like for instance Alpen Express, Munich--or of rental vehicles of such creditable establishments as Interrent and Avis car rental companies, with such vehicles being specially prepared for smuggling out people, which violates the Agreement.

The trial of Hack and accomplices in Potsdam brought out once again how this gangster syndicate is operating.

The convicted criminals were involved in two operations (known to have been broken up). The basic procedure was the same in both cases.

The Hack/Sachau as well as the Kuhn/Reissberg group at an initial meeting in the airport restaurant of Hamburg-Fuhlsbuettel would get their basic instructions from gang leader Mierendorff personally, which would include agreeing on the terms of the honorarium and the allocation of the vehicles to be used. Both gangster team would then make a test run "without hot merchandise" to become familiar with the transit conditions.

Hack/Sachau drove a small Daimler-Benz van, license number B-M 6817, Kuhn/Reissberg a 21 VW, license number FU-AK 295. Both vehicles were put together identically for the criminal purpose. A plywood sheet behind the pilot seat could be removed by one hammer blow, and a wooden plate lying in the storage compartment could then be screwed back from inside by someone escorting the "live merchandise" and close it up again. (As an

alternative, the Mierendorff bandits would divide the side doors of such vehicles horizontally and convert the lower part by an electromagnetic bolting mechanism into a hatch.)

Many investigated crimes committed by the Mierendorff gang as well as other outfits trading in human lives have clearly revealed how they are getting their illegal freight. In the targeted recruiting of GDR citizens, preferably high trained specialized cadres in the medical and scientific-technical fields, any means that seem suitable are being used, from psychological softening up to corruption to pure blackmail. The "libertarian label" by which the advocates of such practices seek to embellish this trade with a semblance of political motivation is threadbare like anything. The Mierendorff people care for two things: mainly horrendous sums made from trading in human lives. Furthermore, by pulling out specialists, they seek to disturb the GDR's national economy and the medical care for our population, whereby to create political discontent. Their operations are unscrupulous, and they could not care less for their illegal passengers who in such adventures surrender themselves to the mercy of criminal scum. Kuhn and Reissberg, for example, shortly before loading up with the "merchandise" and then once again before they crossed the border, drank brandy, drove under the influence of alcohol.

FRG Customs Aiding and Abetting Misuse

Typically, neither on the test runs nor during the subsequent real situations FRG customs met its obligation to check. The officials at the FRG customs office at Lauenburg in none of these cases had the storage compartment opened, which would have immediately revealed that the actual freight did not agree at all with the fictitious bills of lading Mierendorff had made out in person. They also were blind to all obvious manipulations with the equipment that controls the customs seals security and promptly resealed vehicles that at the very least looked suspicious. The Transit Agreement, however, unmistakably stipulates that "exit customs authorities" (that is, FRG customs) will check in freight transports "whether the goods conform to the data on the accompanying documents" and that the FRG authorities see to it "that the transportation vehicles conform to the regulations governing their seal security."

Even though those stipulations contain the modifying clause "within the scope of their possibilities," it is perfectly clear: Not the least use has been made of the possibilities FRG customs has to prevent transit misuse by appropriate checks in the transports by Mr Mierendorff, who is sufficiently notorious over there too. There are quite a few FRG customs officials who know of this illegality and who would not accept it, were it not also known that superior authorities tolerate the unscrupulous machinations in the misuse of the transit traffic by Mierendorff.

Dangerous Illusions

As any other agreement, however, the GDR-FRG Transit Agreement can on the long run function only if both partners to the agreement strictly abide by it.

The GDR is living up to the principle of the agreement to facilitate transit traffic "in the simplest, fastest and most favorable manner," and the FRG is not denying that. Moreover, it has introduced an extremely conciliatory clearance procedure in which our customs organs merely check the seals attached by FRG customs and the shipping documents. Such generous conduct would, however, presuppose that the other side by correctly meeting its obligation justify the indispensable measure of confidence without which such arrangements cannot last.

It would be a dangerous illusion to assume the GDR would take the constant violation of the Transit Agreement. The activities of such gangs like Mierendorff's rather must have the result, unless competent FRG organs stop them, that the GDR takes the necessary measures to insure its legitimate security interests. The time has come for the FRG authorities to make credible their respecting the spirit and letter of the Transit Agreement, without deleting any part of it--an agreement the preamble of which says that it wishes to make a contribution to detente in Europe. And that is incompatible with anti-GDR operations by criminal shock troops.

Those, however, who let themselves be used as tools by gangsters like Mierendorff should clearly understand they have no chance. In recruiting his accomplices, who have now been convicted in Potsdam, Mierendorff personally had boasted the planned operations were "completely without risk." Hack/Sachau heard those bombastic words on 21 April, and on 29 April they were caught in the act. Kuhn/Reissberg let themselves be hired for that kind of "unrisky" undertaking on 10 May--and a week later they were behind lock and key. GDR security organs themselves have since 1977 secured nine of the trucks misused by the Mierendorff gang.

5885

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR OFFICIAL REVIEWS STATE OF INTERNAL SECURITY

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Jun 78 p 5

[Interview with Major General Jeno Foldesi, deputy minister of interior, by Jozsef Fahidy: "Our Order And Security"]

[Text] Major-General Jeno Foldesi was born in 1928 at Pali, in Gyor-Sopron County. His father is an agricultural laborer. Between 1948-1950 he was exempted party worker in Gyor-Sopron County. In 1950 he joined the Border Patrol (BP). He was first promoted to officer in 1951. From 1957 he was the Secretary of the Political Committee of the MSzMP Ministry of Interior, Border Patrol. He completed the two-year party college and the Lenin University. Between 1962-1974 he had an executive position in the Ministry of Interior. On 1 July 1974 he was promoted to Major-General and made Commander-in-Chief of the BP. He has been deputy minister of interior since 1 June 1976.

[Question] There is order and security in the country. Apart from the balanced political and economic progress of the country, this is due to the fact that the organs of the interior ministry carry out their work with circumspection and at an ever higher [professional] level. How does the ministry of interior evaluate the professional preparedness of its staff? What does the ministry do to promote training and continuing education of its staff? These were the questions directed to Jeno Foldesi by Jozsef Fahidy of our staff.

[Answer] The tasks facing the ministry of interior increased and changed qualitatively in the course of socialist construction. We articulated the demands as the unalloyed validation of socialist legality, prevention of crime, and the detection and apprehension of those committing the crimes -- in short, effective pursuit of crime. To carry out our tasks politically committed and professionally well-trained policemen are needed who like

their calling. The requirements of police service determine our tasks in the training of the staff. In the educational work of our teaching institutions we realize the unity of political and professional training. The professional preparedness of our personnel increased significantly in recent years.

The policemen who are appointed to the police captaincies must learn the basic rules of the service during their probation period. The basic training of the tenured officers and non-coms is done by the 10-month police training schools. The development of our school system makes it possible today to have trained policemen on duty at public areas. The population of the towns and villages knows the district policemen. Because this activity is more complex, the district policemen are trained at the Bela Kun Assistant Police Officer Training School (awarded with the Order of the Red Star). Our assistant officer training school assures a high level of preparedness for the policemen who serve on traffic and criminal details.

At the end of 1970 we established the Police Officer College which gives high-quality training to the officer staff. The cadre needs of the various special services are satisfied by the police officers taking correspondence courses at state-run educational institutes and by a significant number of scholarship recipients.

No single school can give a complete and final knowledge. This is why ministry rules oblige the leaders and staff to take systematic post-graduate training. It is also our goal to form and develop a desire for self-education in our staff.

[Question] This question carries us to the area of public education. Can you tell us about the cultural education in the organs of the Ministry of Interior?

[Answer] The workers in state security and criminal affairs service carry out an almost continuous struggle with the internal and external hostile elements and criminals. This struggle demands a high-level ideological, professional, and general knowledge as well as sacrifices from the affected personnel. The policeman meets the negatives of social, economic, and political life more often than the average citizen. This could cause a distorted view without the right amount of political preparation and a general education. Thus, we pay a great deal of attention to the many-sided training and constant knowledge accumulation of the officers working here.

It is a peculiarity of public order service that the staff working here is the busiest (in the 3-shift system) when the workers are at leisure or in pursuit of amusement and culture. The population meets the policeman serving in public areas most often and draws its conclusions on his education and professionalism from his expert or inexperienced moves. Therefore it is an important task of the commanders to raise the public security staff's

educational level. The importance of culture is also recognized by the non-commissioned officers; every year more of them obtain the high-school diploma. Of course, modern cultural knowledge can not be regarded as identical with school learning. We are aiming at having the desire for education to arise from an inner need rather than solely for the sake of promotion.

The BP occupies a special place within the ministry. The great majority of its personnel are conscripts who carry out their task along the border, far from the cultural centers. Here the educational work is done in close collaboration with the population along the border, especially its youth and its organization, the Communist Youth League (KISZ).

[Question] What you said so far proves that service in the interior [ministry] requires many-sided preparedness. How do the acceptance demands and hardships of the service affect the choice of police career? Why don't more people choose this career?

[Answer] Let us first focus the question. Police has several branches: traffic, public safety, crime, state security, and their auxiliary services are called, in totality, "police." Entrance requirements vary according to the complexity of the service activity.

In general, a satisfactory number of well-prepared, politically committed, youth experienced in public life and work apply to criminal and state security service. There are also enough applicants for traffic duty. Our greatest problem is to secure enough staff for public area and safety service [foot police]. For example, there has been a shortage in Budapest for years.

There are several reasons why there are not enough applicants for this calling. The dynamic progress of our social and economic life assures wide choices in careers and the youth go primarily to work in the trade they are trained in. It is well-known that our society's labor reserves are nearly exhausted for the present period. In the course of service in public areas the policeman comes into direct contact with the violators of the law; in many cases he has to uphold the requirements of the law at the risk of his life and bodily harm. This, of course, is accompanied by the tight service regulations, wearing of the uniform, and the constant state preparedness which is not attractive to everyone. As elsewhere, it takes years for our Ministry of Interior staff to have acceptable housing -- in spite of our efforts.

There is also room for improvement in pay. We know that the party and the government takes care of the staff of the armed forces and institutions to the extent that the economy permits. The ministry's leaders also constantly improve the service and make it easier with modern technical tools.

[Question] How does the ministry evaluate social help? I am thinking of volunteer policemen and border patrols and the population in the borderlands.

[Answer] In the manifold work of the organs of the Ministry of Interior, the population's support is indispensable. The more people support them, the better their work is. The population's support is expressed in different forms; for us the most important form is the work of volunteer policemen and border patrols. Their service obviates or complements the activity of several hundred policemen or border patrols. The decisive majority of the population recognizes them as the social guardians of legal order. On behalf of the ministry's leaders I can express the deepest recognition and most heartfelt thanks to those who work unselfishly, sacrificing their free time, toward the defense and strengthening of legal order.

The public knows little yet of the border communities although the border community patrol movement occupies a special place in the guard and maintenance of order on the frontiers. The basis of getting the title "border patrol community" is the pledge on the part of the total population of the community to undertake the safeguarding of a given border sector and cooperation with the BP. The title is the fruit of a long, effective cooperation. The acceptance of the duties is a shining proof of the socialist patriotism of the border population.

[Question] Many people visit our country and the number of our people traveling abroad also grows every year. This, understandably, also makes for a lot more work for the BP. How do they cope and what help do they expect from the population?

[Answer] The rapid and dynamic growth of tourism to our country is well-known. In 1977, the BP checked the papers of 4.5 million Hungarian and 12 million foreign citizens. Border traffic increased three-fold since 1967. The upsurge continues today and is strongly influenced by the abolition of obligation to exchange hard currency. For example, in the first quarter the crossings increased by more than 1 million, compared to the same period in 1977.

The BP understands the political significance of the task -- the entering foreigner meets the BP first. This determines the activity, service requirements (organizational and technical) and behavior of the BP service. At the border crossings, the BP cooperates well with Customs and Finance Corps, with other organs handling tourism, and with the BP of the friendly, socialist countries. For example, at certain crossings on the Soviet, Czechoslovak, and Romanian borders we carry out a joint passport and customs inspection.

The population has already been giving significant help in the work of the BP. We ask the outgoing travelers to check the validity of their travel documents before starting [from home]. The smoothness of traffic is also enhanced when the travelers scrupulously observe the laws that defend our country's economic interests.

HUNGARY

MILITARY ENGINEER EXERCISE DESCRIBED

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian 13 May 78 pp 8, 9

[Text] In Praise of the Engineers, A Useful Demonstration

Each branch of service and its specialized troops generally undergo one training and methodological exercise a year. Recently, it was the turn of the military engineers...

The program did not promise many novelties of particular interest: bridge building over shallow water and a demonstration of the use of mechanical bridge sets. On the scene, however, everything became much more exciting. Despite the fact that the bridging of low waters, for example is not a new "invention," it was also included among the earlier training tasks.

The Bridge

At this demonstration, the military engineers undertook to build a bridge with a load capacity of 60 tons and a length of 95 meters. What is new here? The bridge materials, the work, machines, the punts are all old "acquaintances." But, for example, as Colonel Ferenc Hunyadi, the chief surveying the demonstration, stressed: "By modernizing the means at our disposal and by using practiced and successful methods, we want to prove to everyone that although the time norms are very tight and demand hard and tiring work, they can be observed and fulfilled."

The working process is seemingly simple. Lined up at the same distance from each other, the engine-powered pile drivers drive down four pillars with an ear-splitting clatter. With the help of a crane truck, the soldiers lay down on these pillars the plans and bridge elements made of prefabricated and repainted board. There is no lack of innovations both on the water and on the ground! The platform of the KRAZ-type truck, otherwise capable of transporting a 20-ton pontoon, has been modified and in addition to its basic purpose, the vehicle can also be

used to carry four wooden bridge elements. The building of the bridge is begun at the same time from both river banks. The bridge materials arrive in a smooth flow at the building site. Not only the already mentioned modified KRAZ trucks are transporting more and more bridge elements, but the pontoons floated on the water also help in the interest of speed and to insure the resupply. Thus there is no time out, no stoppage, one must not stand about a single minute and wait, the several dozens of soldiers doing the construction receive everything on time.

The newest star is now the UCK, a piece of equipment which is actually old but has been "rejuvenated." This is no exaggeration. The experts cannot stop admiring this universal pile driving combine. The success is due to a trifle: the earlier manual fuel distributor has been replaced with an automatic one. The gas flow is regulated by a mechanical device. Now the size and frequency of the blows of the pile driver no longer depend on the training and "mood" of the soldier pulling the control lever, but on a precise and infallible device dictates the most ideal tempo.

The soldiers of Captain Batki demonstrating the building of a low waters bridge did not perform a miracle. They only proved their expertise by completing the bridge faster than the prescribed exceptional time norm.

The Bridge Builders

At another site of the demonstration, the program primarily drew attention to the varied possibilities of the use, permanently introduced for riflemen, of landing boats. The platoon of first sergeant Gyorgy Janosa lined up on the river bank "in company of" two boats and a boat engine.

"We transport the boats by truck," explains the NCO. "Before the launching in the water, they can be quickly opened and inflated. We generally attach two boats to each other, with room for 16 soldiers in one boat, and a 40 HP engine takes the boats to the other bank."

"We are amphibious well within the exceptional time of less than four minutes," adds corporal Zoltan Tornai, one of the squad leaders.

Another novelty--although the possibility for this also existed earlier--is that the boats which from a transport situation can become operational within a mere few minutes can also be used as catamarans. The boats can in fact be attached not only behind each other but also next to each other, even in pairs, and with a few expert and quick moves, a twin-hulled means of transport that can carry an increasingly larger number of soldiers and has a favorable position on the water has been put together.

It is an old experience that in a few rifle and armor units, the utilization of engineering equipment is not satisfactory. Commanders at various levels often "forget" to use the technical installations, machines and vehicles that facilitate to a large extent the performance of the tasks involved. For example, rifle and armored troops also have wheeled or tracked bridge layers at their disposal. And several examples have now been shown to demonstrate the many purposes for which these "prepackaged" bridges can be used.

The river bank is steep and the vehicles would topple over when driving down. One solution would be to even the ground and build a road but this is slow, complicated and exhausting. The bridge layering device, on the other hand, can assure quick success. A track path can be laid down within a few minutes time and with its help, wheeled and tracked vehicles can move safely even at a twenty percent slope angle.

In a similar vein, the solution that our engineer officers "stole" by watching from the national people's army of the GDR still counts as a novelty in our people's army. The bridge layer consisting of three tanks is used to bridge obstacles of a width of more than 20 meters by having the bridge sections cover each other and support each other. The precise laying down of the sections excludes any slipping and the danger of accidents. The load tests justified the preliminary calculations of the experts: the bridge elements laying on each other are able to support any type of wheeled and tracked vehicle of our army.

The following remark was often voiced in the course of the demonstrations: "Do not look for the solution just seen in the regulations currently in force. They are not yet included there and we are showing the most recent results and methods of how to use the various pieces of equipment. This remark also referred to the fact that it is not only possible but also necessary and most of all worthwhile to experiment and look for what is new, more rational and more useful than before. Which cannot mean, of course, any ill-advised, unjustified and unnecessary risk-taking; it can be based only on many-sized professional knowledge and in compliance with the prevailing requirements.

The various branches of service and specialized troops frequently hold exercises. How, what, why and when to do so has now been demonstrated by the military engineers!



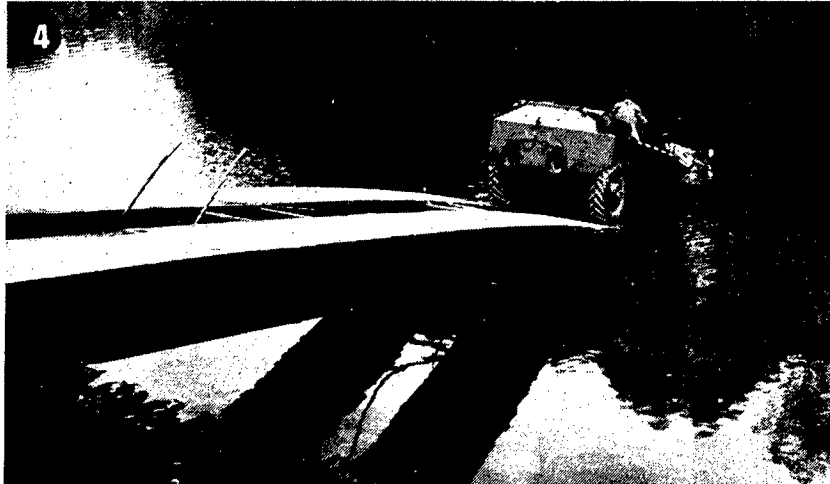
1. Construction of 60-ton, 95-meters long bridge.



2. The KRAZ-type truck was also made suitable for the transport of four bridge elements.



3. The soldiers of staff sergeant Janosa assembled the assault boat in less than 4 minutes time.



4. In case of a steep bank, the bridge laying device can safely be used up to a slope angle of 20 degrees.



5. The bridge elements covering each other can be used to overcome obstacles of a width of more than 20 meters.

2153
CSO: 2500

POLAND

DAILY SPECULATES ON RESULTS OF WESTERN MILITARY SUPERIORITY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Jun 78 p 7

[Article by Ryszard Drecki: "Detente and Equilibrium"]

[Text] The statement that the continuation of the arms race is contrary to the idea of detente is one of those most frequently encountered today in describing modern international relations. Although entirely true, this statement nonetheless fails to present the full harm which the arms race renders to the process of detente, because all that is evident in it is a very greatly abbreviated presentation in conventional terms of the situation in which specific achievements on the political plane are unaccompanied by progress in detente in the military sphere or in the difficulties stemming therefrom in relations in the world. On the other hand it does not speak at all to the fact that the arms race carries with it negative effects for the process of detente in the general political sphere, in the "climate" of detente, and indirectly, or that it also interferes directly and concretely in detente.

The Desire for Advantage

After all, let us consider what sort of logical reasoning underlies the successive rifts in the arms race, those of the sort which the Atlantic Pact countries are presently engaged in. Ultimately and basically, such a "rift" is always based on the hope -- even the illusory one -- of obtaining military advantage and thereby of disrupting the approximate balance of power which actually exists between East and West. For the moment let us adopt the theoretical assumption that imperialism could achieve such a military advantage, and let us consider the consequences which such a phenomenon would have for the process of detente.

It would obviously be an oversimplification to say that at the moment the imperialist world achieves military superiority it would somehow automatically have to assume armed aggression against socialism. There are a number of interdependent factors in the world today which determine the balance of power in the world, and the ratio of military potential is not the only one. On the other hand, there is no doubt that such a situation would mean the most reactionary groups in the West would enjoy an increase in power and influence.

It is not difficult to imagine how great an increase there would be in the circles which dream of "policy from a position of strength," or how great an increase there would be in the political arrogance of the groups which even today do not cease their efforts to meddle in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. It would somehow create a constant temptation to toward venturesomeness, to notorious "balancing on the brink of war."

On the other hand, for understandable and fully justified reasons, in the socialist countries there would be bound to be an increase in distrust of and fear concerning the intentions of the West. In an interview with the West German weekly VORWARTS, Leonid Brezhnev said: "Approximate equality and parity suffice for the needs of defense." The clear disruption of such equilibrium in testimony to aggressive intent would lead to the point where the countries of the socialist community would be forced to conduct their own international policy with a sense of direct threat to their security.

In other words, if imperialistic initiators of successive phases of the arms race achieved their goal, the acquisition of military superiority, then in a clear, noticeable, negative way this would also have to be reflected in the scale and momentum of the peace offensive conducted by the countries of the socialist community, and also the position and capabilities of the realistic forces in the Western world, those forces which accept with a great deal of hesitancy the socialist hypothesis that detente is the only possibility, there being no alternative.

Such a sequence of effects inevitably follows from -- if we can put it that way -- the causal structure of detente. Detente is not a voluntaristic process. Its previous progress was not the result only of the subjective good will of one of the parties. Obviously the wish for peace at one time in the Soviet Union and later in the entire family of socialist countries has always existed and has always been expressed in the foreign policy of our countries.

Objective Circumstances

This socialist peace policy, nevertheless, could only be reflected in the practice of international relations, in their real form, when there were objective circumstances making it possible to initiate and develop detente. We should mention in first place among these circumstances the basic shift in the world balance of power between socialism and capitalism, in favor of socialism.

This increase in the power of the socialist community has been created by such factors as the internal permanence of a new system in countries which have entered onto the road of socialist construction, the successful socio-economic development of the countries of our community, and also, last but not least, the tremendous increase in the defense potential of the countries of the Warsaw Pact, especially the military strength of the Soviet Union.

Because of this increase, a fundamental component of imperialist strategy for many years, politics from a position of strength, lost its sense. Detente could not begin before a breakdown in the philosophy of politics from a position of strength.

As we look at the matter from this side, we see the most profound and important danger which the arms race imposed by imperialism creates for detente. This race, or to be more precise, its goal, the attainment of military superiority over the socialist world, interferes with one of the basic objective premises of detente.

These observations lead us to a more general conclusion: we can think about the correct development of the processes of detente only if the military potentials of East and West are in approximate equilibrium. This is also the reason why we can see in the foreign policy and diplomacy of the socialist countries the desire to see that all talks on subjects related to a limitation of the arms race and disarmament are based on the principle of seeing that there is no detriment to the existing level of security of any of the countries taking part. On the other hand the efforts of the NATO countries recently again are obviously aimed at upsetting this balance and by their nature are efforts against detente.

The Only Direction

Today the problem does not lie in upsetting the balance but in its ceasing to be a "balance of fear," based on the accumulation of tremendous numbers of the most horrible agents of destruction. Reducing the level of the existing potentials while maintaining the ratios going together to make up this approximate balance of forces is today the only action in the field of military policy which is consistent with the spirit and needs of detente. It is also in this direction that the proposals of the socialist side are aimed, proposals made either in the Soviet-American strategic arms limitation talks, or in the Vienna deliberations on reducing arms and armed forces in Central Europe, or on other planes on which the dialogue devoted to the problems of military detente is pursued.

10790
CSO: 2600

POLAND

BRIEFS

NEW AERO CLUB OFFICERS--Main Board: President--Sobieraj, Jozef (Brig Gen); Vice Presidents--Jablonski, Jozef; Kania, Jan; Jancelewicz, Bohdan. Treasurer--Ablamowicz, Andrzej. Presidium Members--Kowalski, Jozef; Pawlak, Zbigniew; Prinke-Kusiba, Barbara; Wilinski, Edmund. Main Committee Members: Borkowska, Janina; Bzyl, Alfred; Czarnecki, Stefan; Drzewicki, Lucjan; Fedyszyn, Stanislaw; Jagiello, Wladyslaw; Jagodzick, Jan; Karwicki, Tadeusz; Kolasa, Stanislaw; Konieczny, Jerzy R.; Kuberski, Jerzy; Madrzycki, Zbigniew; Olko, Eugeniusz; Ozimek, Marian; Orsztynowicz, Edwin; Orzanowski, Zenon; Pazdzior, Julian; Plociniczak, Jan; Popiolek, Edward; Rokicki, Stefan; Rozanski, Jozef; Sielewicz, Wlodzimierz; Skalski, Stanislaw; Tetiurka, Wlodzimierz; Uminski, Waclaw; Wilanowski, Wlodzimierz. Main Revision Commission: Chairman--Sroczynski, Zygmunt. Vice Chairman--Ahl, Boleslaw. Secretary--Wegrowski, Marian. Members--Kosowski, Jan; Zuzak, Jozef. Main Honor Court: Chairman--Leja, Wiktor. Deputy Chairman--Kwiecinski, Stanislaw. Members--Kuczera, Jerzy; Radominski, Jan; Skarbek, Marian. [Text] [Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 20, 14 May 78 p 2]

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES RCP CC PLENUM 5 JULY

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Jul 78 pp 1, 3 AU

[Text of speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu at the 5 July RCP Central Committee Plenary Session in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades, the draft of the National Plan for socioeconomic development for 1979-80 insures, on the basis of its provisions, the fulfillment, under favorable conditions, of the targets set forth by the 11th RCP Congress, including the supplementary program adopted by the National Conference last December. Thus, we will achieve a production of approximately 120 billion lei higher than that envisaged in the five-year plan provisions, that is the maximal limit of the supplementary plan adopted by the National Conference.

In the first 2-1/2 years of the five-year plan, the results as a whole are good. We have achieved an additional output worth more than 40 billion lei. We also have insured conditions for all counties to achieve an industrial output of some 10 billion lei. Some comrades, on the basis of the additional achievements recorded thus far, have stated here that they will even be able to exceed these provisions.

At the same time, the plan insures the necessary material and financial means to implement the 11th RCP Congress decisions and those of the National Conference regarding the improvement of the material and cultural living standard and the 32 percent increase in wages compared with the 20 percent as initially envisaged. Actually, as is known, the first stage of the wage increase ended in June, that is 3 months earlier than envisaged. The second stage of this increase will take place in 1979 and 1980.

I do not want to make an inventory of what has been achieved in these 2-1/2 years. I believe that--as facts demonstrate--we have everything necessary available to fulfill and overfulfill all five-year plan provisions.

At the same time, I cannot help mentioning certain shortcomings and lags in a number of branches and sub-branches and some sectors of the economic activity. I want to draw special attention to lags in achieving the physical production plan, a fact that influences all economic and financial indexes. It is true. We have achieved additional quantities in certain products. Numerous high-quality and complex products have been achieved which made up for nonfulfillments, but this should not calm us down by any means. We must also take into consideration that in fulfilling the plan certain products are not in demand either at home nor abroad and, therefore, nonfulfillments should not be taken into consideration in an absolute manner. However, there are nonfulfillments in products we need such as coal, oil, cement and other such products, which are actually known as basic raw materials. Nonfulfillments are also recorded in steel products and rolled steel, in certain products of the machine-building industry and in certain products of the chemical industry.

Thus, taking into account the need for adjusting production to the requirements of economic development and export, there are still nonfulfillments in products which are needed by both the national economy and by foreign trade. However, it must be clear to all ministries, centrals, enterprises, party county committees and all party organizations that the fulfillment of the physical production plan--thus also recouping the nonfulfillments of the past--is a central problem of our activity in the next 2-1/2 years. We have available the appropriate production capacities and the necessary time to fulfill this task.

The fulfillment of this task makes it necessary for ministries, centrals, enterprises, county committees and party organizations and for working people's councils to work out precise measures required by each unit. We have given up overall production as a basic index and have proceeded toward net production and physical production to eliminate anomalies which made it possible to show the plan as being fulfilled while in reality large quantities of products had not been manufactured.

The second problem to which I want to draw special attention is the lag in fulfilling the investment plan, in putting into operation the production capacities envisaged. This is reflected in the nonfulfillment of the production plan. The nonfulfillment of the production plan for lignite, for instance, is due to the nonfulfillment of the investment plan. A similar situation is found in metallurgy, chemistry, the cement industry and other sectors. Had the production capacities been put into operation in time, we would have achieved an approximately 20-25 percent higher overall production and this would have increased both the means necessary for the national economy and those for export. This is why I insist on the measures that must be taken to fulfill the investment plan in time, namely by putting into operation all production capacities envisaged.

True, nonfulfillments in the investment plan are partly due to the non-delivery of certain equipment. However, this is not the reason why, for instance, the coal plan in Oltenia has not been fulfilled, although a large part of the equipment is not properly used. Therefore, if we make normal use of existing equipment, we will be able to completely fulfill the envisaged production plan and we may even exceed it. In metallurgy, too, nonfulfillments are not because of nondelivery of equipment. Had all rolling mills worked at their planned capacity, we would have completely fulfilled the plan for steel products and rolled steel. This is also valid in chemistry and in the fertilizer industry. In the machine-building industry, too, had large enterprises worked in three shifts, the envisaged programs could have been fulfilled completely. Thus, it is not only the lack of equipment that leads to the nonfulfillment of the physical production but primarily the inappropriate use of existing production capacities.

This is why our target must be the fulfillment of the investment plan under favorable conditions and, at the same time, the normal operation of the entire potential and of all production capacities. Thus we will be able to insure that the plans for the coming 2 years are fulfilled in keeping with what has been envisaged and that we also overfulfill the physical production plan, a fact that will be reflected in the overall and net output and that will positively influence all plan indexes.

A number of measures have been worked out for recouping lags in coal production. We will be able to fulfill the tasks that have been set if we will insure complete production shifts. Of the almost 25,000 personnel in the Jiu Valley only 5,000 represent the mining shifts. It is possible to fulfill the plan with those 25,000 people. At this time 4 out of 5 carry out subsidiary activities, certainly necessary and important too, but which do not produce any coal. We must take very firm action to first insure the number of mining workers and the transportation personnel and only then the personnel for the other services above the ground. Let us have fewer auxiliary and administrative personnel and more workers who give us coal. Both the director and engineer must also contribute directly to organizing the production process under optimal conditions. Thus and with the capacities we have available now we will be able to yield an additional coal production. The equipment we have now available and the mechanization degree and the current organizational framework will insure not only the fulfillment of the plan but also an additional output.

Generally speaking, I want to stress that the proper organization of work and the supply of the necessary labor force in all sectors of the basic production process are decisive factors.

In machine-building, while equipment is not operating at its full capacity because of the lack of shifts, there is a great reserve number of labor force concentrated in auxiliary activities. The necessary cadres must be rapidly trained and priority must be given to insuring the labor force for

the production process. The ministries, party organizations, trade unions and youth organizations must take all necessary measures to rationally make use of the labor force in basic activities--a decisive condition in fulfilling production tasks.

This is also true for investments. We have a great number of specialists active in bureaus who--as has already been stressed--must be transferred to designing and executive activities. We cannot tolerate that thousands upon thousands of engineers and other specialists in each branch of ministries are active in administrative positions while we lack cadres in basic sectors of technological design and production activities. All ministries and party organizations are obligated to immediately work out appropriate measures to resolve this problem.

I want to draw special attention to the measures that have to be taken in those counties in which the output will be increased 2-3 times over in the next 2-1/2 years and where this and next year important production capacities will begin to operate. Each ministry must put a deputy minister in charge of resolving the problems in these counties. The Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee must also take special measures to help these counties by sending them engineers, specialists and skilled workers who will insure that production capacities are put into operation in time and that they operate properly. I am referring to 7-8 counties in this respect. Special measures must be taken by the Ministry of Labor, trade unions and the Party Central Committee to assist these counties by supplying them party activists and cadres.

More determined measures are required for proper material-technical supplying of production. In conformity with appropriate norms and with tasks to reduce material consumption, the plan insures the basis for implementing the envisaged programs. For this purpose, the envisaged production plan must be completely fulfilled, including the plan on spare parts and subassemblies. At the same time, proper supplying requires firm measures to improve cooperation between enterprises. Action must also be taken to reduce material consumption and use materials according to the norms that have been established. I believe that these norms are not exaggerated. The utilization index for metal was set at 85 percent and I believe that we should strive toward 90 percent or even more. In metallurgy, this index is 85 percent and we could even exceed 90 percent. Similar situations can be noted in other sectors. The utilization norms and indexes of raw materials are therefore not above our possibilities, especially if we take into consideration the fact that we have supplied our industry with the most modern equipment existing at an international level today. It is necessary to take decisive measures to achieve these indexes.

A problem of the greatest importance is the energy problem. In conformity with the program approved by the Central Committee on reducing energy consumption, the plan insures the required energy resources in keeping with the set indexes. In this field, too, consumptions are above those at a

world level. Let us, therefore, view these indexes as minimal and let us do all we can to reduce energy and fuel consumption under any form and with a greater percentage than envisaged in the plan. I do not want to enter into details. I have discussed this problem before with the ministries, with the first secretaries and we will discuss it again. We will organize a number of discussions to show concrete means of reducing these consumptions. This problem must constantly be a day by day concern of all cadres in the economy and of all party and state activists.

As for construction materials, we have also planned that a study should be carried out this year on reducing the consumption of cement, reinforced concrete and other materials so that by autumn we are able to adopt cheaper solutions.

The problem of technical-material supply, including the energy problem, must be closely linked to observing the envisaged consumption norms and to a greater reduction of material consumption in all fields. We have great possibilities in this respect.

Another problem I want to draw attention to is that of better organizing transportation. The utilization index is unsatisfactorily compared with the number of railroad cars, automobiles and other means of conveyance. We must introduce greater order and discipline in the transportation field. Let us increase the degree of utilization of all transportation fields. Let us increase the degree of utilization of all transportation means, let us implement the 11th RCP Congress decisions and those of the National Conference on the optimal organization of transportation. Let us take all necessary measures to improve transportation both at home and in the export field.

At the same time, firm measures are required to improve the technical level of the production process and the quality of all products. We have achieved positive things in this respect in each branch. However, we still have lags in implementing the research program, especially as concerns the introduction of research results, of modern technologies and technical progress into the production process. Let us do all we can to eliminate this drawback and let us take firm action to practically resolve problems.

We have a huge research apparatus available today. Considering our country's size, we could state that from a numerical viewpoint we match the developed countries as regards the research personnel. We have capable people available who have demonstrated that they can perform very good things. We must organize the research activity better. We must especially shorten the duration between the conclusion of research work and the application of its results in production. We must not tolerate that years should pass before introducing research results into the production process, including the case of important technologies. This is why in certain cases when we introduce new technologies, they are already outdated.

I want to seriously draw the attention of the ministries, the National Council for Science and Technology, the research institutions and the party organs to their task to pay greater attention to this especially important activity for implementing our program and the decisions of the National Conference regarding the achievement of a new quality in all fields of the socioeconomic life.

I also want to draw attention to the problem of economic efficiency, of increasing profitability and, on this basis, of the net production and national income. Lags are noted in this respect. The plan provisions in this respect must be viewed as minimal. Even the tasks set by the National Conference are not to be considered as maximal. Let us act by all means to reduce material expenditures and, on this basis, to more substantially increase economic efficiency. In this respect, I also take into consideration the better use of raw materials and materials and the achievement of more finished products from a ton of raw materials and materials. Only thus will we be able to increase the national income--the only source of the country's socioeconomic development--and improve the general degree of civilization and material and cultural well-being of all our people.

These have been the few problems linked with the industrial activity to which I wanted to draw attention.

As for agriculture, seen as a whole the results are satisfactory. As you know, a relatively good crop is expected this year as well. We must certainly take action to insure a timely harvesting without any losses.

The plan provisions in all sectors of agriculture, but especially in the field of animal breeding, must be viewed as minimal. We have the possibility today to exceed the five-year plan provisions in agriculture if we organize work better and if work is performed at the proper time. Despite all unfavorable conditions that emerged at a given time this year, plan provisions will be exceeded in counties where the agricultural work was carried out at the proper time and where an appropriate density of crops was insured. It is also possible to increase the number of animals and to increase meat production and animal products. Let us show here that some counties will fulfill their plan tasks on increasing the number of animals and animal production one year earlier. I think that this should be an impetus for all counties to improve their activity in agriculture. I do not want now to insist on these matters. We discussed them in February and we will discuss them during the fall sowing campaign and at the end of this year.

We have made a decision, which proves to be very good, to fully insure food-stuffs for our people. There are no problems in this respect. But this is not enough. Agriculture must yield a greater amount of products for export. It must be well understood that we cannot import raw materials if we have not insured appropriate export prospects. Therefore, agriculture must also

be a source of covering imports of raw materials needed for the development of the national economy and for generally improving the people's living standard.

It is also necessary to pay greater attention to the questions of foreign trade, to exports and imports. As you see, the plan envisages increases both in exports and imports. Increased imports also depend on the nonfulfillment of the item specified plan and on the incomplete fulfillment of the plan in a number of fields. This is why the fulfillment of the item specified plan --beginning with raw material and fuel production--is necessary to maintain imports at the level envisaged in the plan. We must even try to reduce imports compared with plan provisions. The plan also envisaged appropriate increases in exports, especially in exports of industrial products. Therefore, all necessary measures must be taken to fulfill the export production. At this time, exports must be the question number one for ministries, the other central bodies, for the Ministry of Foreign Trade. For the party organizations and the people's councils and for all working people! All enterprises must give priority to producing in time and achieving the qualitative technical level asked for by partners of products meant for export. I think I do not have to insist on this question but I want to draw the attention of the ministries very seriously that they are directly responsible for the proper progress of the export activity. The Ministry of Foreign Trade is the sole body responsible for implementing the foreign trade program. Certainly, this does not mean that the ministers and ministries should do nothing and just watch the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The Ministry of Foreign Trade together with the State Planning Committee, is duty-bound to supervise and see that the ministries fulfill all their duties to insure the export plan. We proceed from the need to insure an equilibrium of the trade balance and balance of payments and we must do all we can to implement the plan provisions.

We must pay greater attention to production sharing with the socialist countries, with the developing countries, as well as with the developed capitalist countries. We have many cooperation programs with the CEMA socialist countries and with the other socialist countries. The recent CEMA session extensively discussed the question of production sharing. We have achieved good results with some countries, but we must take determined action so that, by means of production sharing, we will insure better solutions to the problems of our national economies and so that we are able to develop both imports and exports.

The plan insures the necessary means to fully implement the provisions on housing construction and the construction of other sociocultural establishments. We are considering giving priority to housing construction and afterward to concern ourselves with sports clubs and other various establishments. We even want to postpone the construction of some bureaus and headquarters for some time which are required by the production process to concentrate our forces on economic units and on housing. There are

lags in this respect as well. The measures we have taken both for insuring materials and for mechanizing work create conditions to fully implement the housing program in the next 2 years. I want to seriously draw attention to the fact that we must do all we can, in each county, in each locality, so that this program is completely implemented.

It is necessary to pay appropriate attention to applying the other measures too on improving the work and living conditions of the working people. The plan envisages the necessary means to implement the five-year plan provisions and the additional program formulated by the National Conference in this field. We have everything necessary available, we have all material conditions to implement the program on our country's socioeconomic development in all fields.

I want to draw your attention to the fact that in the next five-year plan we will concentrate more on certain major fields of the economic activity. Certainly, what we have achieved up to now in the field of electronics and in other technical fields could not be conceived of by certain people 10 years ago. In the next 2 years we will begin the construction of high-class airplanes and of equipment for nuclear energy. This sets great tasks to the industry and our technology and to all production and research branches involved in this activity. They must cooperate, by competing in implementing the above-mentioned programs which are of great importance for the Romanian economy since they will substantially improve the technical level of all our activity.

The great tasks that rest with us in the future require an improved organizational framework and a better management of the entire economy, they require that both the management councils, the ministries, as well as the other central bodies and the working people's management councils in centrals and enterprises and in all research units and educational establishments act in accordance with the competence and responsibilities they have in order to increase their responsibility in their entire activity. Actually, what is essential now to implement the program in the coming 2-1/2 years, is the organizational and management activity, the correct distribution of the labor force in all fields and to see that tasks are constantly fulfilled. We must strengthen both collective responsibility and individual responsibility. We must understand well that the responsibility of collective bodies does by no means lessen our personal responsibility at our work place.

It is also necessary to pay greater attention to improving the level of technical and professional knowledge of our cadres, from top to bottom, and of all the party and state aktiv. Let us sincerely admit that, unfortunately, we have deficiencies in this respect. Although we have positive decisions regarding improving the training and retraining of cadres, the supervision of how these decisions are carried out is not done properly. Some people think that they know too much and, therefore, have nothing more to learn.

That is why they get stuck when they really have to resolve one or another problem. The improvement of the level of knowledge and of technical and professional training of cadres is a problem of decisive importance for our activity not only in the next 2 years but also in the future.

It is also necessary to take firm action to implement the party's decisions of raising the cadres' political and ideological level and that of the party and state officials, of developing the socialist awareness of the masses of working people. Proceeding from the fact that between the technical-professional knowledge and the ideological-political one is a close interdependence. It is not enough to master a trade. Without properly understanding political problems--even if one has good technical and specialized knowledge--one will not be able to properly fulfill one's tasks in leading the socioeconomic activity.

Within this framework I want to again mention the importance of the decision of the Central Committee Plenary Session on improving our financial-economic mechanism, on increasing self-management and applying self-administration in all sectors of activity. Beginning this month, we will apply the next production index and we will strengthen self-management and self-administration throughout the economy. This will be a transition period up to the end of the year. Beginning with 1979 the respective principles will act in all fields of activity. I believe it is not necessary for me to insist on the requirement to firmly see that these measures are applied in practice. Any kind of reserve in this respect must be avoided. We can judge the activity of a collective and of an enterprise only on the basis of the value of its production, on the basis of the net production combined with the fulfillment of the item specified plan, with reducing material expenditures and with the other indexes that condition each other and are constantly linked with each other. Under no circumstances can we make concessions in the application of this decision set forth by Party Central Committee Plenary Session. This is an essential problem for our economy and for modernizing it, for implementing the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania. We cannot take into account any other question than the supreme interests of our nation, the interests of socialist construction and of communism in Romania. (loud applause)

I do not want to refer to one or another problem but in conformity with what has been established by the 11th RCP Congress and reiterated at the National Conference, I believe that our party, government and socialist Romania must take firm action to develop cooperation with all socialist countries, to surmount differences and strengthen solidarity with the developing countries and the nonaligned countries, against the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy, for resolving the complex problems of international life in a democratic manner with the participation of all states, regardless of size or social system. At the same time, we will continue to act to develop relations with the developed capitalist countries in the spirit of the principles of our policy of peaceful coexistence by even

We are also firmly determined to act to develop relations with all communist and workers parties, with the socialist parties and the social-democratic parties, with the national liberation movements and other progressive and democratic parties from all countries to resolve the complex problems of the present-day world.

Events demonstrate that the directives and guidelines formulated by the 11th RCP Congress and National Conference are fully correct and that we are dutybound, we, that is the Central Committee, the Executive Political Committee, the Government and the State Council, to do all we can to implement this policy that is in keeping with both the interests of our people and with those of the socialist countries, of all countries struggling for independence and of the cause of peace and international cooperation. (loud applause)

In conclusion, I would like to stress once again that, in adopting the plan that is being discussed today, it is necessary to act primarily toward fulfilling our tasks for the next 6 months under favorable conditions, because everything we have envisaged here is based on fully implementing this year's plan. That is why all necessary measures must be taken to implement the current plan provisions. Secondly, we must immediately--as of tomorrow, so to say--take measures to prepare conditions for fulfilling next year's plan. These measures consist of: contracting of products; resolving supply problems and all the other problems so that we can begin 1979 under much better conditions than this year. I deem it necessary to draw attention to the fact that at this plenary session we have adopted both the 1979 and the 1980 plan. Thus, we must work out all necessary measures for the preparation and proper progress of the socioeconomic activity, including the conclusion of contracts for the whole period of 1979-80. Let us spare no effort in completely implementing and exceeding the plan provisions for the next 2 years on which depends our socialist fatherland's continuous prosperity.

Trusting that the adoption of this plan will insure the implementation of the program formulated by the 11th RCP Congress and that this will raise our country onto a new level of progress and civilization, I want to express the conviction that the Plenum will unanimously adopt the program that has been discussed and that all our party and people will take firm action to implement it under most favorable conditions. (loud applause)

With this I close the proceedings of the Plenary Session and wish all of you success. Please convey these wishes to the party organizations and to all working people in your counties. (Loud applause which expresses the Central Committee's determination to take united and energetic action to implement the 1979-80 plan provisions and the recommendations given by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

CSO: 2700

SURVEY OF CREDIBILITY OF MEDIA ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1419, 19 Mar 78
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[Article by Sodobanka Ast and Teodor Andjelic]

[Text] In NIN's research project entitled "How Much Do You Believe in Newspapers," conducted last month in Belgrade, among the interviewed citizens (303 in all--148 female and 155 male), those with secondary education were dominant (three-fifths).

One quarter of the respondents has higher education, while every seventh one is a primary-school student.

The interviewers were instructed that roughly one-half of the respondents of each sex should be under 25 years of age, with the other half over 35 years of age. The results are the following: 154 respondents are under 25 years of age, 149 are over 35 (our sample comprised 196 primary-school, secondary-school, and university students, 9 pensioners, 10 housewives, 165 workers, and 23 Belgrade citizens holding official functions).

Reality is always more complex than anything one can say about it. It is illuminated daily by journalists. Occasionally, it is--"obscured."

"The papers wrote about cutting of oaks in Zagreb, while not a single one was cut"; "The radio allegedly broadcast the voice of Vuk Karadjic. Subsequently, an automechanic discovered that the late Vuk Karadjic, with the help of some Japanese, had borrowed this voice from Ljuba Tadic"; "On 20 February public transportation in Belgrade will be free...."

This is a quick selection of "journalistic hoaxes," mentioned by Belgrade citizens interviewed in NIN's research project entitled "How Much Do You Believe in Newspapers"?

Doubting Thomas, Seldom

"Hoaxes" are probably the least significant indicator in this research: the case is extreme, therefore transient, it is more ludicrous than objective and clever. It is said that our times are only superficially reflected in newspapers; journalism, on the other hand, has become deeply ingrained in our times. The self-managing system presupposes an accurately, timely, and fully informed citizen; the opposite results in manipulation. Without the press, radio, television, i.e., the mass media, we cannot comprehend the present, nor can we comprehend ourselves.

How much do people believe in the mass media--this is an enigma which is daily deciphered in various ways in numerous institutes, in almost every corner of our planet. Because public opinion has long been the modern deity of political life.

Which type of news do you usually mistrust? Which area would you like to be informed about most accurately by journalists? Economy, domestic policy, culture? Sports? Selections from the foreign press? Topical articles? According to our research, only every seventh respondent is a doubting Thomas, while every third one believes everything he reads.

A few are distrustful, many are begrudging. "Articles are written in that coded language of papers and conferences where language is seldom adjusted to the reader"; "Statements by workers are frequently polished, presumably for the purpose of adding weight to them. At present, prior to congresses, they are becoming an obligatory garnish of the mass-media"; "Journalists wrap data in thousands of wafer-sheets, so that the common reader cannot unriddle--what the writer intended to say." Younger readers are particularly grumpy when, according to their assessment, they frequently run across polished texts.

Reports on sociopolitical subjects are "heavy," "serious and too serious." They say that in this respect journalists are usually very careful, avoiding all sensitive subjects, while skirting conclusions with extreme caution. The pluralism of interests, well-known and acknowledged in our country, very seldom receives an evident manifestation in newspapers. Respondents observe that there are mentions of "some regions," "some factories," "some doubling of capacities." "Those who are familiar with these matters are able to decipher such texts, while those who are unfamiliar remain so. There is not a single matter about which the pop-press cannot say anything, including that which is nonexistent. Even mini-events here create maxi-sensations and sales."

These are repeated observations of several hundreds of interviewed Belgrade citizens.

As far as the subjective assessment of the credibility of information is concerned, there is no significant difference between men and women, young and old, working position and material status. In this respect, the only evident relation is: those who are more educated are more frequently distrustful. This conclusion is rendered even more serious by the fact that the interviewed Belgrade citizens are fervent readers of the daily press, particularly the "serious" one (four-fifths of them read the morning papers or combine them with the evening ones).

There is something nice and encouraging in the fact that distrust is greatest in relation to stories such as those about the abominable snowman, pythons walking around Petrovaradin, flying saucers and the "little green men" over Tuzla.

Expounding on subjects such as [singers] Gabi and Arsen, [actors] Milena and Dragan, [soccer players] Miljan, Dzaja, Praja are first on the top-lists of sections over which readers shake their heads in suspicion. It is confirmed that what is believed least, is read the most. After all, with respect to this, psychoanalysts and those learned people, the sociologists of culture, are already overworked.

If newspapers were devoid of headlines--it would be so much quieter in the world. Readers, however, do not appear to want quietude. Reports of catastrophes and road accidents, robberies and court (black) chronicles, sports dramas and scandals, are the most favorite reading material. They are nonetheless bound to be read without the "shaking of one's head."

Mistrust related to foreign policy, selections from the foreign press, and events is infrequent and moderate. ("Newspapers hastened to announce that the terrorists in Stammheim had committed suicide"; "We hear all kinds of things about certain countries, while the truth--only after their leaders are assassinated..."). The more the subject matter approaches that of culture, science, and events in domestic policy the more the emphasis moves from "I distrust" to "I believe."

The credibility of sports news and reports is doubted by as much as one-third of the respondents.

Following sports are accidents and crime (27.1 percent), selection from the foreign press (22.7 percent), events from the country and the world (21.4 percent). Least suspicion is directed toward information on domestic policy (11.9 percent) and news in the area of culture (7.9 percent). The interviewed Belgrade citizens are inclined to place topical articles at the very bottom of the "table of truth": these are neither expected to be accurate, nor do they inspire a great deal of mistrust.

TABLE 1.

СУМЊАЈУ У — СПОРТ!

	(1) У коју врсту новинских вести обично посумњате?	(2) Из којих области желите да вас најтачније информишу новине?
(3) Спорт	31,5%	47,5%
(4) Занимљивости из земље и света	21,4%	47,5%
(5) Спољна политика	19,5%	36,6%
(6) Избор из стране штампе	22,7%	29,7%
(7) Привреда	15,8%	22,1%
(8) Фелтон	9,9%	15,5%
(9) Несрећа и криминал	27,1%	31,3%
(10) Наука	8,9%	33,0%
(11) Унутрашња политика	11,9%	37,9%
(12) Култура	7,9%	42,6%

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Key:

1. Which type of news in the press do you usually distrust?
2. Which areas do you wish to be informed about most accurately by the press?
3. Sports
4. Events from the country and world
5. Foreign policy
6. Selections from the foreign press
7. Economy
8. Topical articles
9. Accidents and crime
10. Science
11. Domestic policy
12. Culture

The Fortune-Teller and Responsibility

In responding to the question of who is responsible for (in)accurate information--the journalist or the source of information--the respondents assess the responsibility of both as equal. Journalistic errors are usually explained tautologically ("They are responsible because they are responsible," or "It is their fault because it is their fault").

While offering various interpretations of errors, from officially announced price-decreases, to failure to announce increases, or pilgrimages to the

Philippines to visit the fortune-teller who can cure cancer, the opinions of respondents vary from: "The journalist pursues the goal of publishing the news as fast as possible, inevitably before other newspapers, without adequate verification of what he hears," to almost surrealistic conclusions: "Journalists add a great deal to what they hear, while also contriving a great deal." The second half of the respondents gave the following answer: "The journalist writes that which he hears officially"; "It is not easy for you, being pushed to react first, while commenting on all kinds of events"; "Some people have an interest in providing misinformation about their enterprise," while some of the respondents are simply of the opinion that "people like to tell lies, to boast, to be photographed for the papers...."

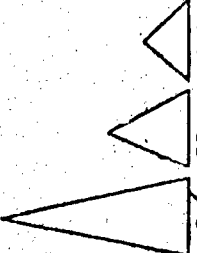
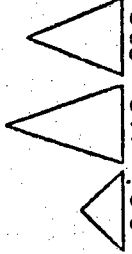
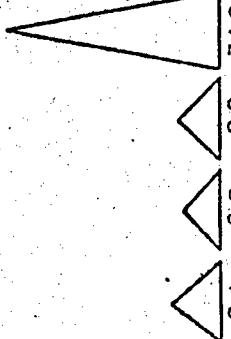
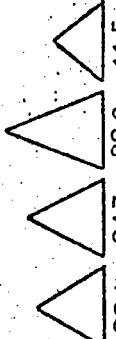
The Market-Place and the Institution

When the U.S. president, John Kennedy was assassinated, researchers in a public opinion institute asked the American public, immediately after the crime--how and from whom they had heard about the assassination of the president. It is almost incredible that in a country where television sets alone are operating almost 24 hours a day, it was established that the majority of the interviewed Americans had heard about the assassination from neighbors or acquaintances over the phone. Thus, the super-fast and all-pervasive system of the mass-media appeared to be slower and less efficient even than the ancient system of information by word of mouth. The results of our research, however, foretell that the hear-say system is disintegrating.

Assuming that they have received different or even contradictory information about the same event from the radio, television, newspapers, or acquaintances and friends, the respondents would believe television most frequently, and then the press and radio.

In such a situation--friends and acquaintances are trusted the least. Does this mean that the market-place is losing its previous power? Trust in the institutionalized system of information proves to be much greater than it is sometimes believed. Yet, what is positive and significant lies in the fact that, let us repeat, trust is combined with the detachment of a critical attitude.

[Figures on following page]

Television	Radio	Acquaintances	Press
 54 23.4 9.6 1.5 1. 2. 3. 4.	 8.9 44.2 39.6 5.6 1. 2. 3. 4.	 9.4 6.3 8.9 74.6 1. 2. 3. 4.	 23.1 24.7 39.6 11.5 1. 2. 3. 4.

The question was: "Suppose you had received different information about an event from television, radio, your acquaintances and friends, and the press...which would you believe first"?

The figure demonstrates the percentage of responses ranked according to the "rank-order of trust": the pyramid above (1) designates the percentage of first places (would be trusted first) given to the respective information medium; the pyramid above (2) designates the percentage of second places, with the pyramid above (3) showing the percentage of third places, and the pyramid above (4) the percentage of responses which place the respective information medium in the last place (would be trusted least).

According to our survey, television ranks highest, with the press and radio sharing the same average. This "competition" demonstrated that acquaintances would be believed last.

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CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

SWAPY DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH RELIGION, RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

Federal Conference Presidency Session

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 23 May 78 p 1

/Report by Fedja Zimic, DELO Belgrade Correspondent/

/Text/ Belgrade, 22 May--The Presidency of the SAWPY Federal Conference at today's meeting discussed the role of that organization in implementing the policy of relations with religion and the functioning of religious communities. Dr Ivan Peric presented the keynote address. In addition, the presidency determined that a SAWPY conference would be held on 26 May in Belgrade.

In the keynote address Dr Ivan Peric explained the materials that had been prepared after long work on that subject by the coordination commission, and directed attention at the fundamental political relationship toward religion, which stems from the position of President Tito on the neutrality of essential questions of human existence from the standpoint of religiosity or non-religiosity.

Despite the neutrality of vital human questions in regard to religion, Dr Ivan Peric stressed, that does not mean that in self-management and political processes believers must conceal their convictions. In other words, that means that we must enable believers to express the integrity of their personality in their active endeavors in associated labor, self-management, and the resolution of all essential questions that are dictated and given birth by the human community.

Participants in the discussion reported on the results of activities of the socialist alliance and noted that it is urgently necessary to further develop the relationships of religion, religious communities, and the socialist alliance.

At today's session the presidium took the position that at the coming meeting of the federal conference, scheduled for 26 May, there should be a proposal that the presidium continue its work until fall in the present contingent.

Peric Speech, Kucan Discussion

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 23 May 78 p 2

[Report by Fedja Zimic, DELO Belgrade Correspondent]

[Text] Belgrade, 22 May--The material prepared for today's session of the federal conference presidency on the activities of that organization in the area of relations with religions and religious communities was significant primarily or its institutional relationship, for the materials dealt largely with relations between church and state. Nevertheless, the keynote address and discussion contributed a number of innovations and confirmed the previous guidelines relating to that question.

In the keynote speech Dr Ivan Peric made the statement of principle that the tendency of social integration of people in religious communities is actually stronger when the processes of human integration into communities is not occurring in all forms that their vital needs require. The fundamental political stand of Yugoslav socialist society toward questions of religion and religious communities, Peric went on, stems from the wellknown positions of comrade Tito, who has stressed the neutrality of vital matters of human existence from the standpoint of religiosity or lack of it. Peric went on that this by no means signifies that such neutrality on questions of existence regarding religiosity extends to a neutrality and estrangement of the Yugoslav people in socialist self-management and political processes. On the contrary, the possibility must be considered that people as participants in the social process and as adherents of responsible socialist communities, in their dealings with others, in the processes of joint resolution of vital questions, are inspired and supported by those ethical standards that are dictated to them by their religious convictions. That means that it is necessary to enable expression of the personal qualities of integrity of religious believers in their active participation in associated labor, self-management, and the resolution of all the vital matters that are imposed and fostered by human society.

Religious convictions, however, in associated labor and the forms of community that are based on associated labor and that stem from it, should not be the cause of any exceptions concerning rights and responsibilities that are dictated by the nature of the working and living communities. In connection with that is also the matter of strengthening ethical and humanistic values that are to be found in religious systems, and efforts to present those values as the basis and point of departure of the self-management concept of social development. Peric stressed that it is necessary to reiterate that self-management finds its ideological and theoretical bases and points of departure in Marxism, in the revolutionary workers movement, in its strivings and accomplishments. These bases and points of departure are not dependent on the religiosity and value systems that have been formed in religious environments. That is not to say that the ethical values borne by religious

believers cannot be in accord or are not in accord with self-management as a process for resolving questions that are generated and imposed by social activities and the forms of social links that are inherent in us and in labor. That is not a matter of the conceptual foundations of self-management, but rather of processes for its implementation.

When speaking of the implementation of that relationship, Peric drew attention to two basic forms of resistance--clericalism and dogmatic sectarian views and conduct within subjective forces. In Peric's opinion the first as well as the second tendency are rooted in the overall historical patterns in which religious institutions and the organized forces of a socialist direction were in direct conflict, and which today we have not yet completely eliminated. Naturally, not everyone who is a part of a religious community agrees with those attitudes, Peric noted, and that fact must be considered in planning further political action.

In the discussion which followed, there was talk of the course of integrative processes so far in Yugoslav society and the role of the socialist alliance. A number of interesting positions and suggestions were presented. Ivan Lalic noted that the results and successes of the socialist alliance accommodate the discontinuity of the functioning of the socialist alliance, and the main question is how to remove politics from the church and make the church only the church. In Lalic's opinion that is at the same time a question about which the most pronounced disputes have arisen, and therefore it should be taken into account that the socialist alliance must first of all be an organization and a front that will not attempt to curtail or change the nature of believers. It is a vital question to satisfy the political needs of believers. Specifically, if believers cannot satisfy their political needs in the framework of the socialist alliance and other self-management structures, they will attempt to do so in the church. Therefore, the socialist alliance will be the strongest when it opens its doors to all people. In Lalic's words the socialist alliance should be the place where believers as well can readily pose all questions, including those from the realm of faith (eg., the construction of church buildings, and perhaps limitations of religious rights). Only in that way will the socialist alliance be able to gain the complete political confidence of the people and then we will with their help be able to deal with the clericalists and other hostile forms of church activity.

Among other statements, Milan Kucan stressed that we have proclaimed and implemented the position of religious believers and their involvement in socialist actions from the very start of the Yugoslav revolution. When we speak of Slovenian circumstances, it can readily be said that we have formulated this situation over a period of 40 years, since the manifesto of the Slovenian communist party in Cebini. On the basis of such positions the liberation front and later the socialist alliance were established.

On that basis there has always been a successful differentiation, for the majority have become actively involved in the revolution. Thus the question

of the position of religious believers has been posed to the socialist alliance as a moral question. The entire course of the revolution and social construction has been based on the realization that socialism means the involvement of the working people and the majority of the populace. Kucan went on that in all this it is significant that we are talking about the majority that accept socialism, self-management, and a non-aligned Yugoslavia as their vital interest and as their democratic responsibility in promoting the democratic institutions and rights of Yugoslav self-management society, from the right of self-management to the right of realization of the possibilities offered by the delegate system and on that basis, the system of community decisionmaking, negotiation, and self-management agreements.

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CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

ACTIVITIES OF SLOVENIAN OFFICIALS REPORTED

Celebration in Ljubljana

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 28 Jun 78 p 1.

[Excerpts] The Slovenian Republic celebrations of Yugoslav Self-Managers Day took place in Ljubljana on 27 June 1978. They were attended by delegates from basic organizations of associated labor, self-managed interest communities, and local community councils. Officials present included France Popit, Vida Tomsic, Lidija Sentjurc, Janez Vipotnik, Milan Kucan, Vinko Hafner, Vlado Klemencic, and Ljubo Jasnic. The main speaker was Emil Tomazic, Chairman of the Committee for Associated Labor of the Slovenian Assembly. Vinko Hafner, President of the Republic Council of Trade Unions of Slovenia, presented self-management awards to representatives of five organizations and to ten individuals.

Meeting at Iskra-Avtomatika

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 28 Jun 78 p 2

[Excerpts] A Celebration of Yugoslav Self-Managers Day was arranged by Iskra-Avtomatika on 27 June 1978; the celebration also honored the 11th Congress of the LCY and the Bezigrad Obcina Holiday. In addition to the 1,200 Iskra-Avtomatika employees, the festivities were attended by Marjan Orozen, Secretary of the Committee of the Ljubljana City Conference of the LC of Slovenia; Vinko Kastelic, Social Legal Self-Management Defender of Slovenia, Joze Hujs, General Director of the Iskra Combined Organization of Associated Labor; Lojze Novak, Secretary of the Committee of the Ljubljana-Bezigrad Obcina Conference of the LC of Slovenia; Marko Kocijan, President of the Ljubljana-Bezigrad Obcina Council of Trade Unions; and other sociopolitical representatives of Bezigrad and Ljubljana-Center. Stane Preskar, acting director of Iskra-Avtomatika, and Marjan Orozen spoke on the occasion. Orozen spoke on income distribution in a self-managed organization and urged the rejection of the income leveling mentality.

Visit by Hungarian Delegation

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 28 Jun 78 p 2

[Excerpt] The party delegation from Vas Medye, Hungary, headed by Miklos Horvath, Medye First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, was received in Ljubljana by France Popit, President of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, who acquainted the guests with the current tasks of the 8th Congress of the LC of Slovenia and the 11th LCY Congress. Ronald Strelec, Chairman of the Commission for International Economic and Political Questions of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, and Geza Bacic, Secretary of the Interolbcina Committee of the LC of Slovenia for the Mura area, also conferred with the Hungarians.

SAWP Cultural Conference

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 29 Jun 78 p 1

[Excerpt] A 2-day expanded session of the Council for Culture attached to the Presidium of the Republic Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia was held in Ljubljana on 28 June 1978. The meeting developed the theme of the tasks of the SAWP in the formation of socialist and self-managed cultural policy after the 8th Congress of the LC of Slovenia and the 11th Congress of the LCY. The introductory speeches were made by Franc Setinc, Secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, and Mitja Rotovnik, member of the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Republic Conference of the SAWP. The meeting was also attended by Mitja Ribicic, Beno Zupancic, Andrej Ulcic, Ivo Tavcar, Joze Humer, and representatives of cultural councils.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

MACEDONIAN SAWP HOLDS PROGRAM-CONSTITUENT MEETING

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 10 Jun 78 pp 1, 2

/Report by F. Tanaskova and V. Cvetanovski/

/Text/ Yesterday in Skopje the Republic Conference of the SSRNM /Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Macedonia--SAWPM/ held its program-constituent meeting at which it adopted the program for its sociopolitical activity for the next 4 years. The meeting was opened by former President Bosko Stankovski who greeted the attending guests, among whom were comrades Lazar Kolisevski, Vidoe Smileski, Blagoja Taleski, Blagoj Popov, Branko Trpenovski, and Lambe Mihajlovski.

Dr Aleksandar Donev gave an introductory speech, while, in the name of the SSRNJ /Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia--SAWPY/, those present were greeted by Vice President Marin Cetinic, who emphasized that one can rightly state that we are achieving great results in social, material, and cultural development, in further strengthening the equality, brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities, and in strengthening the stability, independence, and integrity of our country, which is the best proof of the vital force and continuity of our socialist self-managing course.

The conference, comprising 243 members, adopted the decision on the internal organization of the Republic Conference of the SAWPM, and the constitution of a conference for the social activity of women, elaborated by Metodi Zvrzinov.

In the program-constituent meeting the new organs of the Republic Conference were also elected: a presidency of 55 members, a supervisory commission, and presidents of the functional bodies.

Krste Markovski was elected president of the Republic Conference of the SAWPM, Dr Aleksandar Donev, Azem Zulfikari, and Vera Terzieva-Trojacanec vice presidents, and Metodi Zvrzinov secretary. Ana Goneva was elected president of the Conference for the Social Activity of Women.

The conference also elected the delegation to the Federal Conference of the SAWPY. Krste Markovski, Azem Zulfikari, Riso Dzunov, Klime Corbe, and Vasko Tegovski were elected members of the presidency of the Federal Conference.

While expressing his thanks in the name of the newly elected members of the presidency and other working bodies, President Krste Markovski in his concluding speech emphasized, among other things, that in the forthcoming period the Socialist Alliance is facing rather large and responsible tasks which require maximum engagement and a creative approach.

At the conclusion of the meeting a letter of greeting was sent to President Tito.

Following the meeting, the newly elected presidency of the Republic Conference of the SAWPM held a constituent meeting at which the new members of the secretariat and the presidents of its functional bodies were elected. The following were elected members of the new secretariat: Ljupco Ajdinski, Rade Gogov, Zore Gruevski, Milica Istocka-Knezevic, Lazo Krstevski, Krste Nedelkovski, Vlado Popovski, Emin Salih, Blagoja Stanoevski, and Janko Todorovski.

Introductory Speech by Dr Aleksandar Donev

Yesterday's program-constituent meeting of the Republic Conference discussed the sociopolitical activity of the Socialist Alliance for the next 4 years. The introductory speech on this subject was given by the vice president of the Republic Conference of the SAWPM, Dr Aleksandar Donev.

After emphasizing that the program of the Republic Conference of the SAWPM is a result of broad debate in the organizations of the Socialist Alliance and other organized socialist forces, Donev spoke in particular about the significance of the pre-congress and congress activity involving the conceptualization of this document. On this occasion he emphasized that the Socialist Alliance as a democratic volunteer alliance, the broadest form of linking the activity of the working people and citizens, developing the forms, organization, and linkage of initiatives and consultations, and the creative action of the working class and working people in all forms of associated labor, including their social organization.

In continuation, Donev spoke about further empowerment of the Socialist Alliance, emphasizing the need for its increasing expression and actualization as a place for developing common views and unity of all organized socialist forces, headed by the LCY.

Speaking about further empowerment for action of the organizations and organs of the Socialist Alliance, Donev stressed the necessity of further strengthening the Socialist Alliance at the social base.

"In the struggle for successful development and affirmation of the contemporary role of the Socialist Alliance, the sectional mode of activity represents a foremost organizational task," stated Donev. "The role, place, and development of the sections as an instrument for linking social factors in political action should be regarded as a logical consequence of the development of the political delegate system of socialist self-management, and the dominant role and influence of the working class and all working people in a responsible, direct, or delegated mode of decisionmaking involving true questions of social reproduction."

Donev dwelt on the most significant points toward which the attention of the Socialist Alliance will be directed in the forthcoming period. In this context he placed special emphasis on the necessity for further development of socialist self-managing socioeconomic relations in associated labor in the economy and social activities, concrete and continuous realization of the direct position of the working class in decisionmaking involving self-managing social development, further affirmation of the sociopolitical system of self-managing socialist democracy, etc.

Donev emphasized the special significance of activities in the area of self-managing information processes, the strengthening of the general people's defense and social self-defense, further enhancement of the equality of nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, brotherhood and unity between the nations and nationalities, and the realization of the international politics of the SFRY.

While elaborating on questions involving relations with neighboring countries, Donev emphasized that the Socialist Alliance strives for friendly relations and broad cooperation based on equality with all nations and nationalities in the Balkans.

In conclusion, Donev stated that the conceptual orientation of the program for the sociopolitical activity of the Republic Conference of the SAWPM is toward a continuous development and substantial enrichment. Accordingly, it is open to initiatives and creative activity of the working people and citizens, members of sociopolitical organizations, social organizations, and the organs of the Socialist Alliance.

Elaboration by Metodi Zvrcinov

In yesterday's meeting, the Republic Conference of the SAWPM adopted the proposal-decisions for its internal organization and the organization of the presidency, which were elaborated by Metodi Zvrcinov.

"The Republic Conference," stated Zvrcinov, "will constitute 3 separate functional bodies, 12 sections, 2 commissions, 3 coordinating boards, and 2 councils as its forms, while it is proposed that 7 commissions, 8 coordinating boards, and 1 council be constituted as forms of the presidency.

Accordingly, it is proposed that there be constituted 38 functional bodies of the Republic Conference and its presidency, which is 5 bodies more than up to now."

This orientation, and the concrete proposal to increase the number of functional bodies and to constitute bodies of the Republic Conference and the presidency, originate in the need for an even broader openness of the Republic Conference toward all organized and creative forces in society.

"The Decisions," stated Vrcinov in continuation, "are an attempt to ensure that, through the functional bodies, the Socialist Alliance will study, follow, and be actively involved in all questions of interest to the working people and citizens in all spheres of socioeconomic and political life. According to their number and composition, the functional bodies should create conditions for the development and affirmation of the delegate mode of activity, thus contributing to the affirmation in immediate practice of the frontline role and activity of the Socialist Alliance. The manifestation of delegate relations in the practical political action of all forms of organization and activity of the Socialist Alliance, and the mass participation of the working people and citizens in them, represents a necessary condition for overcoming, i.e., eliminating the forum mode of work.

Unlike previously, it is proposed that the number of members of the sections be smaller, for the purpose of preventing in practice the identification of secretariats with sections, i.e., their transformation into little forums. They should rather be objectified as part of the preparations for meetings of sections.

With the decisions, individual sections are for the first time enabled to form occasional working bodies which would follow and study individual questions, perform separate analyses, and prepare separate materials."

Concluding Speech by Krste Markovski

The newly elected president of the Republic Conference of the SAWPM, Krste Markovski, in his concluding speech, among other things, stated:

"Today's conference adopted a very significant document--the program for its sociopolitical activity, and that of its organs and functional bodies, from 1978 to 1982. The performance of this activity, with tasks set forth in this fashion, will bring about corresponding changes in the organization of the Republic Conference and the presidency, resulting naturally from the development of the Socialist Alliance in the past period.

"In carrying out the program we shall have a secure basis and more closely defined directions in the Resolution of the Seventh Congress of the SKM /League of Communists of Macedonia--LCM/, and the Resolution of the 11th Congress of the LCY, which will be held shortly. With respect to this

activity, several key questions are raised in relation to the work of the Socialist Alliance, and particularly that of the Republic Conference, in further developing the delegate system.

"In basic organizations of associated labor, local communities, self-managing communities of interest, communes opstina, and the Republic there is need for an organized, well-prepared, and synchronized democratic debate, resulting in positions which would enable delegations and delegates to truly participate in assemblies. Provided that by means of such a debate we can secure the consideration of a question from a number of aspects, particularly economic and political ones, and determine the individual, common, and general interests, one can expect the full initiative and activity of delegates in concluding debates and decisionmaking processes in assemblies.

"For these purposes it is necessary that the operating method of all organized social forces, including the Socialist Alliance, be changed essentially. These changes presuppose, among other things, the constitution of sections in local communities and communes, where a democratic debate would take place. In previous debates on the role of the Socialist Alliance and the trade unions in communes, Comrade Edvard Kardelj spoke about the need for creating a number of sections among which he indicated the following: social planning, economic policy, education, medical care, problems of culture, social and communal policy, local and self-managing communities of interest, and foreign policy. These sections, and other bodies in the commune, secure broad participation by many people--immediate producers, specialized workers from the economy and social organizations, and others.

"Such empowerment of the Socialist Alliance and other sociopolitical organizations will contribute to more successful cooperation with assemblies of self-managing communities of interest and their delegate basis. It will also contribute to the active participation of each delegation and delegate in the conduct of politics, which is a prerequisite for the more successful development of a self-managing society.

"The report of the Republic Conference shows that significant steps have been made toward rendering the Socialist Alliance a place for debating and seeking solutions not only for central questions relative to the development of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, but also for so-called small, minor questions from the everyday life and work of our people. These efforts should continue further. The role of local communities and the Socialist Alliance in resolving such questions is undisputed. However, the harmonization of the organs of the Socialist Alliance with newly established local communities is still not completed. This process should be accelerated, because the development of the basic organization of the SAWPM in local communities, and its empowerment to perform significant and responsible activity, will create conditions for the more successful development of self-managing socialist relations.

"The communal organizations of the SAWP should continue their reorganization in accordance with new needs and demands. The successful organization of sections and other working bodies will have great significance for and influence on the improvement of the work of the organization. Direct self-managing and social agreement, along with harmonization of various interests, will take place in the commune as a basic social-political community. Communal delegations to the Assembly of the Republic will come better prepared, harmonizing their interests more easily, and making decisions on developmental, economic, and other social questions. In these processes the Socialist Alliance will be one of the most significant forms of the linkage and democratic unification of political and other interests emerging in communes. In this fashion, the Socialist Alliance, together with the LCY, the League of Trade Unions, Youth, the League of Veterans, and other social organizations, will contribute to the unity of the commune and the achievement of greater results in overall development.

"Through the decisions on the organization of the Republic Conference and the presidency, as well as the election of leadership in respective bodies, the conference carries out necessary changes in its organizational setup. We have declared ourselves in favor of sections as standing working bodies of the Republic Conference as well. We now need to agree on the content of their work and structure, in which the CK [Central Committee] of the LCM, the Assembly, and the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia have a special significance and role.

"We must win the struggle for solid preparedness and a [kind of] culture in the work of the sections which to a large extent will prevent empty discussions and meeting-going. These should be working meetings with a clear orientation toward adopting positions.

"This setup in organizing the cooperation between the Republic Conference and other social factors excludes the possibility of interference with work, contributing to the fulfillment of everyone's responsibilities and rights. In this context the constitutional rights and responsibilities of the Assembly and the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia should be particularly observed."

Discussion at the Meeting

Numerous questions related to the past activity and further organizational setup of the Socialist Alliance, from the basic organization to its highest organs, were raised and pointed out during yesterday's debate at the meeting, in which the following took part: Vasil Dimovski, Mihajlo Manevski, Siljan Zaharievski, Kata Lahtova, Ago Arif, Memed Nureidinovski, Jelena Dimitrievic, Slave Patalovski, Jovko Jovkovski, Danica Atanasova, Vasil Gjorgjoski, Sami Serif, Stevo Filipovski, Iljaz Zendel, and Moris Romani. In fact, the program for the work of the Republic Conference in the forthcoming 4-year period inspired an evident interest insofar as it also indicates the principal points of action. As stated, the program is also a qualitative

basis for creative activity, enhanced and inspired by the continuous development of the mass role of the Socialist Alliance, and the fact that it is expressed as an all-inclusive association of subjective socialist forces.

In supporting the orientations of the program, the participants in the debate spoke in favor of a qualitatively enriched sociopolitical activity in which the goals and practice of our socialist self-managing effort will be further implemented.

Among dominant questions in the debate were those involving the content and organizational forms of activity, local communities, the delegate system, self-managing transformation of the village and association of farmers, the involvement of the younger generation, etc.

The local community, as a basic cell in the activity of the SAWPM and a center where the working people and citizens can realize their rights and responsibilities, became an agent and coordinator of almost all activities in the area of communes. Their involvement brought about the realization of a series of communal and other actions such as self-contribution, construction of various facilities, and supplies.

One cannot speak about the position and role of the youth organization without becoming aware of the critical activity and work of the organizations of the SSMM /League of Socialist Youth of Macedonia/ in local communities. This is all the more important, because the unity of the actions and interests of the younger generation, which through various forms and modes of activity should contribute significantly to the resolution of numerous social questions and those concerning the youth, can best be manifested within the frames of local communities.

In addition to data showing that since 1976 there were 1,409 local organizations of the SAWP in Macedonia, 73 being in cities and the remainder in villages, participants in the debate emphasized that this is a quality which contributes to even greater ventures in the further socialist transformation of the village.

The experience of communal organizations, presented by several delegates, also led to the conclusion that in the forthcoming period the SAWP is facing significant tasks on many fronts.

Biography of Krste Markovski

Krste Markovski was born on 26 February 1925 in the village of Nikiforovo, in the Gostivar area. Completed the Advanced Party School "Djuro Djakovic." Participant in the NOV /National Liberation War/ as of 1941 and bearer of a "Partizan Medal 1941" and a number of other decorations. Since 1945 he was a member of the SKOJ /League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia/, then member of its Central Board, and subsequently president of the Central Board of the PK /Regional Committee/ of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia

for Macedonia. In 1954 he became secretary of the District Committee of the KPM /Communist Party of Macedonia/ for Skopje up until 1959 when he was elected president of the District People's Board for Skopje. He was president of the Trade Union for Social Activities of Yugoslavia, vice president of the SSJ /League of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia/, president of the Republic Convention of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and a delegate to the Convention of the Republics and Provinces in the Federal Assembly.

At the First Congress of the Communist Party of Macedonia he was elected member of its Central Committee, while at the Second and Third Congresses of the LCM he was elected member of the Executive Council of the Central Committee of the LCM. At the Seventh Congress of the LCY he was elected member of the Central Committee of the LCY, at the Fourth Conference of the LCM (1973), member of the presidency of the LCM, and at the 10th Congress of the LCY, a member of the presidency of the LCY. At the Seventh Congress of the LCM he was elected member of the presidency of the Central Committee of the LCM.

Members of the Presidency of the Republic Conference of the SAWPM

Kamil Abdulhamiti, Ljupco Ajdinski, Dimitar Aleksov, Mile Arnautovski, Todor Atanasovski, Filip Brajkovski, Zivko Vasilevski, Dzemail Vejseli, Dusko Georgiev, Kiro Georgievski-Dejan, Rade Gogov, Ana Goneva, Milka Takeva-Gligorievic, Zore Gruevski, Boro Denkov, Jelena Dimitrievic, Vasil Dimovski, Dr Aleksandar Donev, Metodi Zvrcinov, Azem Zulfikari, Dimitar Iskovski, Iskender Jakupov, Slavko Janevski, Jovko Jovkovski, Ivan Katardziev, Lazo Krstevski, Kata Lahtova, Krste Markovski, Kiro Milev, Pance Mihajlov, Fimco Muratovski, Vladimir Nelovski, Krste Nelkovski, Dzodza Nikolovski, Boce Perovski, Tomoslav Petrusevski, Katarina Piperova, Vlado Popovski, Sulejman Ramazanovski, Beno Ruso, Servet Saliu, Emin Salih, Ljupco Serafimov, Temenuga Simovska, Blagoja Stanoevski, Cedomir Stojkovski, Janko Todorovski, Vera Terzieva-Trojacanec, Koco Tulevski, Gjorgji Uzunovski, Vanco Cvetkovski, Reis Sakiri.

The Composition of the Republic Conference of the SAWPM

The Republic Conference of the SAWPM consists of 243 delegates elected in the communal conferences, organs of sociopolitical and social organizations, and other constituent parts of the Republic Conference of the SAWPM.

Of the 243 delegates, 183 are male and 60 female. There are 8 delegates less than 20 years of age, 40 less than 30 years of age, etc. There are 197 Macedonians, 26 Albanians, and 9 Turks. According to educational structure, there are 33 highly skilled and skilled workers, including agricultural producers, 97 with higher education, 50 with secondary education, and about 10 are high-school and university students.

Members of the Delegation of the Republic Conference of the SAWPM to the Federal Conference of the SAWPY

Filimena Mihajlova Begovic, Milka Bozikova, Simo Bocevski, Kuzman Bundaleski,
Mate Volnarovski, Dr Vasil Grivcev, Firuz Demir, Stojan Gjorcevski, Azem
Zulfikjari, Krste Markovski, Jordon Pop Jordanov, Joana Popovska, Todor
Simovski, Dr Aleksandar Spasov, Taip Taipi, Vasko Tegovski, Elefterija
Cakarovska, Klime Corbe, Risto Dzunov, Moris Sami.

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CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

POPIT RECEIVES GDR'S KROLIKOWSKI--Ljubljana 5 July--France Popit, member of the LCY Central Committee and President of the Central Committee of the LC of Slovenia, held talks today with Werner Krolikowski, member of the Central Committee of the SED and First Vice-President of the GDR government, who came to Slovenia on a short visit. During the talks, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, mutual satisfaction was expressed over the successful development of relations and mutual cooperation between the LCY and the SED and between the SFRY and the GDR. [Text] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 6 Jul 78 p 1]

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