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8 November 1976

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1316



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GOALS OF NVA HEALTH EDUCATION OUTLINED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German No 4, 1976 pp 180-184

[Article by Lt. Col. E. Pobbig, B.S. in Social Sciences: "Goal and Content of Health Education and Health Propaganda in the National People's Army"]

[Text] "The National People's Army, the border guard forces of the GDR... have the duty of always ensuring a high level of fighting strength as well as combat and action readiness for the protection of socialism and peace and to guarantee the territorial integrity, the inviolability of the international boundaries, and the national security of the GDR under all conditions" (1).

The members of the armed forces are discharging this duty by developing many-fold initiatives, amid firm confidence in the party of the working class, in an effort to increase their political and military knowledge and by striving, in their collectives, for military skill mastery in order to accomplish their internationalist class mission.

All members of the NVA must meet high health and performance requirements particularly in order to master their weapons and combat equipment and in order physically and psychologically to prepare themselves for the demands of armed combat.

Such tasks as the task of imparting the realization that people can be educated in health care, such tasks as the development of the sense of responsibility for performance capacity and the conditioning of the organism, such tasks are included in the assignments worked out by the minister of national defense of the GDR for the current training year. They help prepare the members of the NVA for new achievement tests during the year of the Ninth Congress of the SED (2).

Starting with the realization that health propaganda and health education belong to socialist health policy--a part of the general policy of the revolutionary working class and the socialist state--they must be incorporated as an inseparable component of class-oriented socialist education in the NVA. For the soldier who has the mission of consciously participating in the solution of political and military tasks of the NVA, it is indispensable that he systematically consolidate his health and increase his physical and psychological capacity.

His attitude toward health is fashioned along class lines, it is directed by basic convictions and it produces a way of behavior resulting from social and personal responsibility.

His health interests have nothing in common with individualistic daydreaming and do not absolutize individual health habits. Instead, they are a part of the society-related and task-related ways of thinking and behavior of NVA personnel. They contain his striving for consonance among social, collective, and individual interests in this walk of life. Socialist health consciousness and health habits represent an element of the fundamental ideological attitude of the socialist soldier personality.

The high requirements resulting from military service call for many-sided preparation for NVA personnel. This in turn demands a specifically militarily-oriented effort intensively aimed at health education because the demand situations, in which the individual and the military unit find themselves, differ from other social spheres and is in many respects more demanding.

The main directions and the main points of the content of health propaganda and health education in the GDR, such as they have been spelled out on an obligatory basis, serve as the foundation for work also in the NVA although they are further developed, as required, from the military viewpoint (3).

The everyday routine of political as well as military education and training of NVA personnel in the units means that one must understand and carry out the health education effort in terms of its manyfold relationships to the complex process of class-oriented education. Health education, with its specific possibilities, can make an essential contribution to the development of socialist convictions, it can influence attitudes and habits of soldier personality and it can support the development of military teams.

The relationships between class-oriented education and health education are made clear particularly through the interconnections between their objectives and contents. NVA health education objectives worked out in detail for military-pedagogic purposes reveal that they are closely connected with the goals of class-oriented education. To some extent they directly constitute one side or one aspect of the ideological position of the socialist soldier personality and, partly, they also represent the prerequisites or conditions for the attainment of the goals of class-oriented education in the form of certain personality qualities. In other cases one can realize that they rest on the goals of class-oriented education, that they are directed by them and, so to speak, that they are built on them.

We will make an attempt to clarify these interrelationships with the help of some examples. Here it must be noted that we are not dealing simply with two sides of socialist education. Instead, class-oriented education in the NVA represents the more comprehensive side, the totality of education, while health education is a part of it. Within the framework of socialist education, it forms that part of it which relates to health and performance capacity.

On the other hand, in the case at hand, we will not consider those questions which concern such specific parts of health education that are, so to speak, "far removed from ideology" and that involve, for example, knowledge on "purely hygienic" and other, more medical specialized questions, which belong within the sphere of natural sciences or perhaps even those parts which represent elementary components of "everyday awareness."

In working out the objectives, a subdivision was made into four groups of education objectives which are approached from the personality aspect and which represent personality qualities.

Connection Between Objectives of Class-Oriented Education and Health Education in NVA

Almost all of the objectives belonging to the first group, which include knowledge, concepts, moral principles, and ways of behavior, emerge as special sides or aspects of the goals of class-oriented education (Table 1). For example, knowledge as to the essence of health, the laws and conditions of its promotion and preservation, which among other things are expressed in the conscious implementation of hygienic requirements under garrison and wartime conditions as forms of behavior, are necessary components of the prerequisites for those ways of behavior which comprise military duty consciousness, military discipline, and the readiness to achieve the military strengthening of socialism. The readiness of carrying out any assignment given by the party and the government presupposes a striving for good health, the well-understood and executed duty to preserve health, as well as the fight against performance-reducing factors and conditions.

Table 1.

Knowledge, Concepts, Moral Principles, and Ways of Behavior, Fashioned Along Class Lines, as Objective of

Class Oriented Education

Knowledge of requirements arising from the oath taken on the flag and fundamental military regulations

Readiness to carry out any assignment given by the party and the government

Image of enemy fashioned along class lines

Proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism

Health Education

Knowledge as to the essence of health, the laws and conditions of its promotion and preservation in our society

Knowledge about personal and collective hygiene under garrison and wartime conditions as well as self-aid and mutual aid in life-threatening circumstances, injuries, damage, and accidents

Health-conscious way of life, readiness to exercise the right to health and to carry out the duty to maintain health; use of mental and physical strength for the sake of the accomplishment of political and military tasks assigned.

Class Oriented Education (cont'd)

Health Education (cont'd)

Military duty consciousness

Military discipline

Readiness to strengthen the GDR and the Community of Socialist States militarily

Active participation in health-policy and health-education work and in health protection measures

Sense of responsibility for weapons and combat equipment issued

Readiness to engage in the moral evaluation of health-promoting and health-damaging behavior, particularly within the military group

Worthy behavior as serviceman of the worker-and-peasant government

Essential sources of the behavior and action of the socialist soldier, in terms of consciousness, are represented by socialist convictions, attitudes, and habits comprised in a second group (Table 2). In this group we likewise realize that, for example, the attitude toward health must--as a significant social and personal concern--be included among the class-oriented attitudes toward society and personality. Convictions, such as those regarding the objective consonance between social requirements and personal needs for health, capacity, and joy of living, belong to the class-oriented convictions as to the victorious nature of socialism and the necessity of its protection as well as the attitude toward military duty performance. A responsible attitude toward health and toward increasing the performance capability in the interest of a constantly rising level of combat readiness must be termed a part of the overall attitude toward military discipline and the conviction that it is necessary as an indispensable element in victory.

Table 2.

Partisan Attitudes, Convictions, and Habits as a Goal of

Class Oriented Education

Health Education

Unalterable loyalty and devotion to the working class, its party, and the cause of socialism; conviction as to the victorious nature of socialism and the necessity of its military protection

Basic attitude toward health as a socially and personally significant concern

Conviction as to the objective agreement between social requirements and personal needs for health, performance capacity, and joy of living

Socialist-internationalist position and class-oriented attitude toward socialist arms comradeship; conviction as to the firm membership in the Community of Socialist States, as to the insurmountability of the class and arms alliance with the USSR and its armed forces as well as the socialist states and their army

Conviction as to the high social and personal value of health (conviction that socialist society needs each and every one of its members as a healthy, capable personality, particularly for the sake of military defense capability)

Class Oriented Education (cont'd)

Conviction as to the growing leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party as the most important source of the strength of the socialist armed forces

Conviction as to the aggressiveness of imperialism, its dangerous nature and its hopelessness as well as conviction as to the necessity for drawing a dividing line with respect to imperialist West Germany, including all consequences resulting from that

Revolutionary class alertness

Conscious attitude toward military discipline, conviction as to its necessity as indispensable element in victory

Team spirit and active promotion of military group relationships

Health Education (cont'd)

Responsible attitude toward health and toward the increase in performance capacity for the sake of a high level of combat readiness and fighting strength

Active participation in measures of preventive health protection through personal--especially educational--endeavor and support for such measures

Aggressive attitude toward inhibiting ideological influence on the development of socialist health consciousness and behavior (for example, fatalistic, destructive views or subjectivistic absolutization of health behavior)

Health-promoting and performance-increasing working and living habits (for example, active participation in the implementation of health-promoting collective relationships, striving for physical and psychological conditioning)

This kind of health attitude constitutes an objectively required component of the soldier's class-oriented education. The basic conviction as to the victorious nature of socialism and the necessity for its protection leads to the conviction that socialist society needs each and every one of its members as a healthy, capable personality. The sense of responsibility for health and performance capacity is included in responsibility for the military collective and its assignments, in responsibility for the military class mission in its full scope. Questions of alertness and offensive ideological disputes with anti-Marxist views belong within the responsibility. Here we might merely recall the fatalistic or destructive attitude toward health. The fighting attitude toward the class enemy and his ideological position also includes health-related views.

In military education we seek to develop habits which are aimed at the preservation of military discipline and order and which are important to military activities. Here, hygienic habits for example are very valuable from the viewpoint of health education. They represent a specific aspect in the process of the development of personality qualities which are considered to be the objectives of class-oriented education, especially the group relationships which concern the way of working and living as well as military order.

A third group of objectives comprises ideological feelings and motives in the soldier personality (Table 3). The need for health, well-developed, ideologically-oriented health interests and joy of living are elementary motives and constitute behavior-determining, significant emotions which are

of great significance to the member of the NVA, who has been educated along class lines, as well as his actions. They cannot and must not be construed in isolation from the feelings that sustain proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, the basic attitude of optimism, confidence in victory, and trust in the correctness and superiority of our policy because they belong to the valuable social and ideological feelings. Boundless confidence in the force and strength and the victory of our socialist cause so to speak represents the emotional basis which, supported of course by rational realizations, sustains the health-related emotions. Confidence in socialist health policy forms an important cornerstone of these feelings. The complicated reciprocal interaction of these feelings and motives is also expressed by the fact that confidence in our health protection, acquired in other ways, strengthens the confidence in socialist policy as a whole. Similarly, the feeling of socialist patriotism and internationalism can be developed in depth through well-developed health interests.

Table 3

Class Oriented Education	Ideological Feelings and Motives as Goal of Health Education
Confidence in Marxist-Leninist party and the correctness and victorious nature of its policy	Confidence in socialist health policy, especially health protection in NVA
Internationalist solidarity	Need for health, increase in physical and psychological capacity
Socialist patriotism	Well-developed health interests guided by basic convictions
Hatred for imperialism its mercenaries	
Striving for better personal preparation for war than the aggressor	Readiness to employ health for the sake of the struggle of the Community of Socialist States
Feeling of military honor and pride in membership in the NVA	Condemnation of health and performance reducing behavior, fight against health-damaging behavior (for example, against abuse of nonessential foods and beverages as well as medications)
Confidence in weapons, gear, and combat equipment issued	Optimism on questions of health, confidence in one's own capacity as well as that of the members of the collective
Military comradeship, respect for superiors	
Feeling of certainty about the future, confidence in victory, optimism	Joy of living

The feeling of military honor, the pride that comes from being a member of the NVA, these on the one hand represent a source in the fight against health-damaging or performance-reducing behavior. On the other hand, the feeling of military honor is strengthened by the striving for health-promoting and performance-increasing behavior. Health-oriented behavior is not an end in itself as far as the soldier is concerned, nor must it remain a purely individual matter; instead, the soldier must recognize it as being socially useful and necessary. He should be able to experience it as a way of behavior determined by class objectives.

Class-oriented behavior, as a whole, just like health-oriented behavior as a part of it, demands activity and resoluteness, it necessitates decisions and it demands that one overcome difficulties and obstacles. For that purpose it is necessary to develop character and moral qualities and especially willpower.

A fourth group of objectives includes such qualities (Table 4). This group of qualities is basically interconnected in the same way as the previously discussed qualities. Here it can be stated likewise that the health-related goals are a part of the goals of class-oriented education as a whole.

Table 4

Moral Willpower, Character and Conscious Properties as Goal of

Class Oriented Education	Health Education
Love of peace and military combat readiness	Sense of responsibility toward one's own health and that of the members of the collective as well as toward health-promoting development of environmental conditions
Fighting spirit and the will to win in all situations of military life, even under the severe stresses of war	
Determination to wipe out any aggressor, uncompromisingly putting one's life on the line	Active striving for preservation and increase of adaptability, resistance, and performance capability primarily through daily, dynamic training
Character strength, unconditional reliability, moral strength and self-control as character traits	Determination to perform in connection with the exemplary execution of military duties
Resoluteness, courage, and boldness as well as loyalty to principles in all political and military decision situations	Patient, persevering, and consistent attitude on questions of health promotion
	Steady effort to improve duty, working, and living conditions

Resoluteness and loyalty to principles in all political and military decision situations includes the fact that one must constantly seek to improve duty, working, and living conditions. Patient, persevering and consistent attitudes on all questions of health promotion can be considered to belong to the objective of character strength, reliability, and moral strength. The higher,

general properties of the character promote the specifically health-related ones.

The striving for optimum adaptation, for increasing performance capacity and toughening-up, resolute willpower aimed at exemplary military duty performance--all of these are properties which have a favorable effect on the consolidation of the character and the moral fiber. One condition here is represented by ideological orientation, by class-oriented motivation.

Reciprocal relationships between the contents of class-oriented education and health education in the NVA.

A procedure similar to the one employed in connection with the health education objectives covered so far is possible in order to explore their contents and to uncover their relationships to those of class-oriented education. As the essential content of health education one must emphasize the Marxist-Leninist view on health, on the public health system and on health protection, the basic principles of socialist health protection in the developed socialist society, as well as the standards of health-promoting behavior and a healthy way of life. They form the group of ideological contents of education (Table 9). They belong directly to socialist ideology and they are a component of it. The principles of socialist health protection in the GDR include its general social character. That means that care for the health and capacity of NVA personnel is a concern of the military and political leadership organs, of the social organizations, and of the NVA members themselves. The active cooperation of every enlisted man, NCO, ensign and commissioned officer in health protection and promotion likewise is a principle of our health protection system and demands a scientifically-based attitude on the part of each and every one of us. Consequently, health education for NVA personnel must contain corresponding ideological components and must be administered in agreement with the formulation of the class viewpoint.

Table 5

Class Oriented Education	Ideological Contents of Health Education
Idea of the character of our epoch, of the laws of the victory of socialism-communism, of the historical necessity of the integration of the community of socialist states, the policy of proletarian internationalism, especially in the military sphere	Marxist-Leninist view as to health and sickness, as to the laws and conditions of health promotion
Theory of socialist revolution, particularly the theory of the defense of the socialist fatherland and the security of international socialism	The basic health policy line of the SED and the GDR Government, as well as the principles of the comprehensive program of socialist health protection in the developed socialist society
Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and necessity of socialism's military superiority	Marxist-Leninist view of the personality, especially on the dialectics of social and biological matters and the changeability of man as well as the exertion of influence on biologically conditioned personality characteristics through practice, education, training, and experience

Class Oriented Education (cont'd)

Dialectical-materialistic concept of war and of the armed forces, especially regarding the character of a modern war and the role of war-deciding factors

Theory of growing leadership role of revolutionary party of the working class and its significance as most important source of strength of socialist armies

Basic issues of SED military policy

Content of oath on the flag

Class-oriented views regarding the requirements of modern war such as they involve army personnel, content of their military class mission and their assignments in the effort steadily to enhance the combat readiness and fighting strength of the major and minor units of the NVA

Marxist-Leninist view of the essence of imperialism, its dangerous nature and historical hopelessness, particularly its aggressiveness and the reflection of that aggressiveness in imperialist warfare and politics

Socialist morality, particularly proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, military ethics, the team spirit, discipline, responsibility for all-around preparation for war

Starting with socialist education, we must also mention social relationships and communications in the military collective with regard to the sphere of health education (Table 6). Such relationships are represented by military comradeship within the collective which is expressed through mutual confidence and comradely assistance as well as criticism and self-criticism.

Health Education (cont'd)

Scientific realizations regarding the all-around development of the physical and mental capabilities of the personality, especially its ideologically relevant aspects, such as, for example,

its social foundation, political motivation, and the interrelationships with need development,

role of practice and training as well as active independent endeavors for fashioning the personality,

value of group standards and their orientation function

Basic questions of connections between health and performance capacity of army personnel with combat readiness and fighting value of major and minor units

Basic principle of irreconcilability of theory and ideology of Marxism-Leninism with other social concepts, such as the bourgeoisie-imperialist and revisionist ideas about health, health protection, and the public health system

Important standards of health-promoting behavior and healthy way of life in the military collective in peace and war

Moral standardization of performance-increasing behavior, particularly systematic physical and psychological conditioning based on personal and social responsibility for the accomplishment of political and military assignments

That includes the relationship between superior and subordinate which contains not only unconditional obedience and subordination to the command given by the superior but also all-around care for the welfare of subordinates and their respect toward superiors. These relationships contain more or less well developed health components and are permeated by elements of physical and psychological capacity. In this group of content items it is particularly clear that health factors are extensively integrated into social matters.

Table 6

Social Relationships and Communications in Military Collective as
Content of

Class Oriented Education

Health Education

Relations based on the principle of individual military command and strict military subordination

Health and capacity related aspects of relationships between army personnel (military relationship between superior and subordinate, relations based on trust in military collective)

Class-oriented and developed relations between military superiors and subordinates

Hygienic and performance-increasing viewpoints of the military way of life, particularly in training and during the accomplishment of combat assignments

Relations of collective cooperation, mutual aid, and replaceability

Aspects of collective cooperation and mutual aid relevant to health and capacity involving

Relationships of military comradeship

military comradeship
criticism and self-criticism
collective discussion and decision
collective control and sanctions
socialist competition
military traditions

Military way of life in the collective

Criticism and self-criticism in the collective

Joint discussion and decision in the collective

Control and sanctions by the collective

Collective opinions and norms containing health care and increase in physical and physical and psychological performance.

Socialist competition in the collective

Military traditions and military ceremonies

Communications in the collective--such as they are to be viewed, especially in the form of collective discussion and decision, collective control and punishment--likewise contain health-related elements, to the extent that they are fashioned in a consistent socialist manner. As collective opinion and value criteria, their value in education must not be underestimated.

Health-promoting behavior to a great extent depends on this kind of contents of health education and collective standards which deal with health preservation and performance increase. Existing regulations and orders in the NVA cannot replace such behavior regulators. Instead, they must be brought into the most complete possible agreement with the demands of the military way of life through effective collective education.

The essential conclusions from the interrelationships pointed up between health education and class-oriented education in the NVA consist in the fact that the health-education activity in the major and minor units must be developed as a component of the overall process of class-oriented education. All education officers in the NVA must struggle to provide a foundation for their health-education influence through ideological-theoretical ingredients; the political-cultural aspects of health education must be made clear to every educator; moral-ethical problems are indispensable in the evaluation and standardization of health consciousness and health behavior; last but not least, military viewpoints determine health-education activity and finally it also reveals esthetic elements.

The deliberate tie-in of these content aspects of health education with overlapping ideological questions is a basic requirement for the education process and its management in the NVA. These considerations are of significance not only for education within the NVA. They at least alert us to the fact that high requirements are set for the young GDR citizen who is liable for military service and that military service also requires advance performance in the area of health education, particularly in the framework of premilitary training and socialist military instruction. From this there arise even more far-reaching consequences for the theory and practice of the class education of the rising generation.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz Publishers, Berlin, 1976, p 64
2. See MILITAERWESEN, Berlin, No 20, 1976, pp 3 ff.
3. See Paulus, N., Pobbig, E., "Thoughts on Health Education Work in the National People's Army," MILITAERWESEN, Berlin, No 18, 1974, pp 59 ff.

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EAST GERMANY

WOULD-BE EMIGRANTS NO LONGER AFRAID

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 42, 11 Oct 76 pp 76-78

[Unattributed article: "GDR--No More Fear." For related information see JPRS 68069, No 1308 of this series, 15 Oct 76 pp 17-19]

[Text] Some 100,000 GDR citizens wish legally to emigrate to the Federal Republic. The SED tries to stem the flood of applications, sometimes by severe sanctions, sometimes by bribery.

In the German Democratic Republic, SED chief Erich Honecker admitted to senior comrades of the Central Committee, there still are "some people here and there" whose "thoughts and sentiments" remain unenlightened because of "their inability fully to grasp the meaning of our efforts."

Every day of the week some 60 or 70 such uncomprehending Honecker compatriots throng the waiting room of Bonn's diplomatic representation in East Berlin. All of them want to emigrate to the Federal Republic. West German reporters in the GDR are confronted with a rising pile of folders full of life histories. Nearly every one of these ends with the words: Application for emigration submitted to the department for internal affairs at the competent kreis or city district.

Lately a confidential SED report, designed for comrades posted at the internal front, invited every cadre ideologically to battle the flood of would-be emigrants, and in particular to explain to the obstinate the hopelessness of such an enterprise.

In 1975 nearly 16,300 East Germans entered West Germany, more than 10,000 with official GDR blessing. By the end of August last Bonn's statisticians had recorded 6,152 legitimate GDR emigrants. According to a Federal official, just about half of them are "in the category of family reunification" in the meaning of the 1972 inner-German basic treaty.

Bonn's diplomatic representation in East Berlin registered 16,000 applicants for legal aid, "the majority," according to a caseworker, concern "applications by GDR citizens for emigration." In the 2 years since the

chancellery office opened its doors, several thousand East Germans have personally handed in their application for emigration to the building at Hannoversche Strasse 30. At the same time an increasing number of petitioners do not claim even distant relatives in the Federal Republic, let alone parents, spouses or fiancées.

A year ago East Berlin civil servants assessed at 20,000 the figure of applications for emigration pending with GDR agencies. In the meantime the numbers of applicants are reported to have shot up to a minimum of 100,000. This means that 7 out of every 1,000 GDR citizens have submitted a written application for emigration to the Federal Republic.

In Saxony's Riesa, home of the steel and match industry, 67 would-be emigrants decided in July last on a truly explosive action: They used a collective petition to give the widest possible publicity to the denial or lack of reply to their earlier individual applications, and they claimed to do so "freely exercising self-determination" and as "adult citizens." The Riesa dissidents, led by physician Karl-Heinz Nitschke, addressed themselves to the United Nations, the "honorable representatives of the countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe," national committees on human rights and "world public opinion."

A Frankfurt "Society for Human Rights" looked after the distribution of the GDR appeal in the Federal Republic. Gerhard Loewenthal, rightist commentator with the (federal) Second Television Program reserved part of a magazine program for the appeal, mindful of the slogan "Freedom Before Socialism," and even East Berlin's Ministry for State Security contributed to the publicity: Security police arrested spokesman Nitschke and put his co-signatories under pressure by interrogation and searches.

Despite these pressures GDR citizens appeal to their authorities with increasing frequency, citing the laws of their state and international agreements. Bautzen worker Monika Paul who wishes to join her fiance Gernot Mieth (deprived of GDR citizenship 2 years ago) in Hamburg and submitted these points to the kreis council in conjunction with her application for permission to emigrate:

- The general declaration of human rights by the United Nations ("Every person has the right to leave any country, including his own, as well as return to his country");
- The law on GDR citizenship ("A citizen...may, upon application, be relieved of the citizenship of the German Democratic Republic");
- The GDR constitution ("The generally recognized rules of international law, serving the peaceful cooperation of peoples, are binding on the state power and every citizen");

-- The final communique of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe ("The participating countries will benevolently and on the basis of humanitarian considerations study applications for the emigration or immigration of persons who have resolved to marry a citizen of another participating country").

Others, such as the Stralsund couple Brunhild and Werner Schoenherr, wrote directly to the New York U.N. Committee on Human Rights, because "we have exhausted all domestic constitutional channels." They also sent copies of this letter to Friedrich Dickel, GDR Interior Minister, competent for deprivation of civil rights. As one East Berlin departmental head put it: "Oddly enough, people are no longer afraid."

Two months ago a mechanic who had submitted an application for permission to emigrate, was to be dismissed by his factory on the request of the plant director--something considered quite normal in the circumstances. In this instance, however, the plant labor union executive board refused the necessary consent: The man was a reliable worker and his request for emigration his own business. The notice of dismissal had to be withdrawn.

Yet many would-be emigrants must expect severe harassment. In Stralsund the entire family was affected: Brunhild Schoenherr was summarily dismissed from her teaching post, Werner Schoenherr lost his job with the Stralsund People's Shipyard, and daughter Uta was expelled from secondary school.

Admittedly the GDR authorities just as frequently try to cajole the applicants by making them attractive offers. East Berlin beauty operator Kristina Heynert, for example, who had submitted three unsuccessful applications, was offered an apartment in a new house immediately after her first attempt--of course on condition that she stayed and broke off her engagement to Gero Hilliger, a graphic artist who had been deprived of his citizenship in early 1974.

On the other hand a State Security agent displayed unusual frankness when telling an applicant "we are not interested in you personally, but we are interested in the work you do, and you will have to stay as long as we need you."

The GDR leadership is increasingly haunted by the growing requests for officially sanctioned emigration to the West and the continued illegal drain. It is quite on the cards that East Berlin will soon revert to permitting only genuine family reunions.

Some state enterprises are already in difficulties. One East Berlin electronics plant used to transfer to the factory floor all engineers employed in the planning and development department, who submitted an application for permission to emigrate. In the meantime, however, the numbers of such unreliable bearers of secrets have increased to such an extent that they must be left in their jobs. Otherwise all development planning would have to cease.

As a consequence of the loss of physicians, several GDR hospitals are unable to keep wards open, accept emergency patients or provide certain medical services such as surgical interventions. At the same time, a young medic complains, those left behind are losing interest, and "not only in hospitals. People are tense--as if something were going to happen soon, which would provide them also with more freedom of movement."

Young GDR citizens increasingly consider their state at one remove, as if they were already sitting in the waiting room. The word "application" has become synonymous with the wish to leave. Nobody stops to ask now what it is that is being applied for--and that in a system where petitions and applications make up 50 percent of the lives of the citizens.

"Many young people consider this their kind of opposition," reports a Potsdam writer. "They just switch themselves off and say: 'I have lodged an application.'"

This development hits the SED leadership where it really hurts, psychologically and ideologically. Young skilled workers and intellectuals are giving notice to the GDR, although they are quite well off financially, have no relatives "on the other side" and know the capitalist West from hearsay only.

At the same time this trend must give pause to Bonn's politicians concerned with the German question, because the SED people could easily (and suddenly) lose any interest in further concessions for the improvement of inner-German relations--more visitors, more parcels, more telephone lines. A functionary at the East Berlin SED central office speculates: "Soon nothing will be permitted anymore, at least as far as emigration is concerned."

The SPD/FDP Government, only lately confirmed in office, will have to consider whether its policy should benefit those who want to leave the GDR or those who uphold Karl Liebknecht and want to remain "despite everything"--albeit hoping that greater normalcy in the inner-German relationship will also mean more liberalism in the GDR.

SED members think in national dimensions. They have long advised the Bonn Coalition not to seek confirmation of the success of their German policy in greater rates of emigration. Staff members of the federal diplomatic representation in East Berlin fear that they will soon have difficulty in maintaining the status quo and keeping the door open at least for humanitarian purposes.

11698
CSO: 2300

ORDER ON REPLACING DAMAGED EQUIPMENT EXPLAINED

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 9, 1976 pp 34-35

[Article: "Compensation for Damages"]

[Text] Soldiers on active military service are entrusted with high-value materiel. They are to use, maintain and appropriately employ it for continual high combat readiness with the greatest efficiency. Each comrade is thus obligated to take good care of and protect socialist property from damage. But a soldier can, for example, lose his steel helmet, damage an item of equipment or cause some other materiel or financial damage. What compensation is then called for? Is the soldier required to dip into his own pocket of all damages? Information on this is provided by the GDR Council of Ministers Reparations Decree (WGVO) of 19 February 1969 on the materiel responsibility of members of the armed forces. This legal regulation, which is discussed below, applies not only to the NVA [National People's Army] and the Border Troops of the GDR but also to the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry for State Security.

The Reparations Decree assumes that all NVA members are taught to and are capable of protecting public property such as weapons, equipment, instruments and the like entrusted to them from damage and loss. The decree applies only "when members of the armed services, to whom special service regulations apply, have inflicted damage to socialist property made available to them by culpable violation of duties" (Paragraph 1). It applies also to damage claims against former members of the armed services if these have caused damages during their active service.

It is also assumed that comrades know their duties and are aware of the legal, military and other interior regulations and orders and that they are also aware of the materiel responsibility.

Although the substance of the WGVO corresponds to other forms of responsibility (disciplinary, penal), a compensation claim is not a punishment. Although disciplinary or penal measures can be associated with it, this is not required in every case. The determining factor is the gravity of the culpable violation of duties and the amount of damages caused. The educational function of the WGVO is given priority. In addition to compensation for damages, an effort is made to educate those causing the damage to a higher sense of responsibility for public property.

Damage in the meaning of the WGVO occurs when the NVA or the Border Troops of the GDR have a materiel or financial disadvantage. This also applies when a comrade culpably causes damage which must be compensated to third persons while carrying out his duties or by unauthorized use of weapons, vehicles or other devices or equipment.

Anyone is culpable in the meaning of the WGVO who deliberately violates his duty and thereby knowingly causes damage or who knowingly acquiesces with the occurrence of damage without intending to cause them. He also acts culpably who thoughtlessly or negligently trusts that no damage will occur but nevertheless unintentionally causes it. He is also negligent who causes unforeseen damages without intending to do so if he could have foreseen and prevented them by conscientious behavior.

Servicemen who are absent without leave or absent themselves from another assignment location or position and must be returned to the unit are liable for complete compensation of all costs associated with this. This includes all costs for the comrade himself and for those tasked with the return, the use of service or private vehicles including fuel costs, public transportation, telephone calls, telegrams, per diem, lodging and the like.

All costs must also be fully compensated when a comrade so influences or damages his own state of health by alcohol abuse to the extent that medical aid, vehicle transport and other measures are necessary. Damage claims are immediately processed by order of the responsible regimental commander or chief of the duty station after the damage becomes known. A damage commission can also be used in this case. The WGVO obligates supervisors to thoroughly investigate damages including the sequence of events, causes and contributing conditions, the guilt of the participants, the motive for violation of duty and effects as well as the personality of those causing the damage. The person concerned is to be heard and his written explanation taken if necessary. If the investigation is conducted by the military public prosecutor or another investigative organ, the commander orders only the investigations necessary for compensation. The commander can decide how compensation is to be made only when airtight evidence of culpable violation of duty and the damages resulting therefrom is present. This must take place within 10 days after the conclusion of the investigation. The commander's order about compensation is to be made known to the person causing the damages within 14 days after the decision. At the same time this person is to be advised of his right of

complaint in accordance with Section VI, Numbers 108 to 129, of DV [service regulation] 010/0/003, Interior Service. The person causing the damages has to sign the notification of the decision and the instruction. If he refuses to do so, this is noted accordingly but the decision is then still fully legally effective.

The commander establishes the amount of compensation and the method of payment. In this he considers the entitlements received monthly by the person concerned at the time the damage occurred. The person causing the damage can pay amounts up to 100 marks voluntarily when his guilt has been proven beyond a doubt. As a rule the compensation sum is deducted and withheld from the monthly income. Only up to 25 percent of military pay may be collected from conscripts in basic military or reservist service. If the person causing the damage has already been released from active military service, the amount is to be requested from the finance department of the responsible kreis council.

In certain cases the commander can also make use of his right to partially or completely waive compensation of damages (paragraph 14). This is possible when the damages are caused during training or while accomplishing combat missions or when the overall circumstances justify the waiver or when the person causing the damages displays outstanding performance and service. A partial waiver is also possible when a sum has already been paid and the above-mentioned prerequisites are present. In each case the person concerned must be informed of the waiver.

A claim to compensation can be validated within 3 months after the damage and the person causing it become known if this does not involve violations of duty which simultaneously represent a punishable offense. If a punishable offense or offense is involved, then appropriate legal regulations on the statute of limitations for such offenses apply.

If the periods established in the WGVO are not observed, an example being failure to make notification of the commander's decision within the prescribed time, then a compensation claim is not possible. In this case the NVA member who, by his own negligence, prevented the person causing the damage from making compensation also can be obligated to make compensation. On the other hand, there is no established period for complaints against compensation claims which can be appealed in accordance with military regulations.

Our information is based on the decree concerning the materiel responsibility of members of the armed services--the Reparations Decree--of 19 February 1969 as published in the Legal Gazette of the GDR, Part II, page 159; correction, page 243.

8373

CSO: 2300

OFFICIAL EXPLAINS VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF GDR APPRENTICES

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1800 GMT 26 Oct 76 DW

[Interview with State Secretary Bodo Weidemann in the feature "Answers" by unidentified reporter, no place given--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Do we have enough professions?

[Answer] Certainly, we have 290 professions requiring vocational training of apprentices and skilled workers. This corresponds fully with the demands of our economy and our society. We have a training place for every apprentice, as has been mentioned. We do not know the problem of having no training places for our young people, or having a shortage of training places. It is of course important to see whether the young person has graduated from the 10th grade of the polytechnical secondary school, or whether he has left school earlier.

[Question] How has application been settled? There are 10th grade and 8th grade graduates.

[Answer] The 10th grade students will be trained in 224 professions with 550 special branches. They will receive their application cards by the end of this week. As of Monday next week they can apply to the enterprises. Of course we also have young people with physical and psychological problems. Support for them and their applications is under way with much active help coming from the departments for professional training and advice. Graduates of the 8th grade can apply for 66 professions. They will be trained vocationally in 66 professions to become skilled workers. Young people who have left school before the 8th grade can learn parts of a profession in vocational training with a training contract.

[Question] Would you advise people with a high school certificate to undergo vocational training?

[Answer] I must say that vocational training with a high school certificate has stood its test excellently and will be continued. More than 10,000 young people with high school certificates have been trained

annually to become skilled workers. This is in line with our economic and social demands for studies. Of course we are training them particularly for engineering high schools, technical high schools, technical universities, and officer's schools of the National People's Army. This worked excellently and it will be continued systematically and according to plan.

[Question] If you fill out such an application card, is it not advisable to mention two professions instead of one?

[Answer] Yes, we tell the young people not to concentrate on one profession only, but to mention a number of similar professions. The young person is well advised to suggest more than one profession to the enterprise. It will make it easier for the plant to decide if there are too many requests for one particular profession. Further talks with the young people can be avoided that way and even rejections of applications, if just one profession has been mentioned.

[Question] What happens if a first application has been turned down? What must you do then?

[Answer] Well, first of all I want to say that most first applications will be accepted. The enterprises are obligated to decide on the application of the young people within 2 weeks. In exceptions, when the application cannot be accepted, the young people must receive an answer within 14 days. It was very good that the enterprises advised simultaneously if there were similar openings in their plant, or if respective openings for apprentices existed in other plants. We advise the young people applying for a second time or more to approach professional advice centers of councils or kreise, or the department for educational training, because they have a wider picture about openings. They can most actively help the young people to find a training place to learn the profession of his choice.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

ORDER ISSUED ON VILLAGE CLUBS AND WORKERS' CLUBS

[Editorial Report] East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 36, 6 October 1976, pages 432-434, details an order, dated 31 August 1976, on the legal status, functions, and financing of the village clubs (Dorfklubs, in which the cultural and artistic life of villages and agricultural areas in the GDR is concentrated) and the workers' clubs. The order is broken down into the following sections:

- I. Purview
- II. Legal Status and Guidance
- III. Functions of the Club
- IV. Management
- V. Financing
- VI. Bookkeeping and Cash Accounting
- VII. Proof of Revenues and Expenditures
- VIII. Concluding Provisions

CSO: 2300

BRIEFS

INCREASE IN AGRICULTURAL VOCATIONS--According to the Rostock OSTSEE-ZEITUNG, a "regrouping" of the class and social structure is taking place in the GDR, induced to a considerable extent "by the influx of youth via vocational training." The newspaper states that in the years ahead this will be apparent in, among others, the field of agriculture, "with an estimated increase of 100,000 young people with vocational, technical, or advanced school educations." Further, according to the newspaper, a "complex social process" is hidden behind this figure; among other things, it is characterized by a "younger-age level among agricultural workers." At the same time the percentage of children of workers and members of the intelligentsia, even including many young persons from the city, is increasing in agricultural vocations. OSTSEE-ZEITUNG conceded that this process also involved problems: "the problems unwanted by the socialist society of spontaneity, which, for example, manifest themselves in the fluctuation of young people who, after completing their vocational training, leave agricultural work in order to accept work with more favorable working and living conditions in the city. The newspaper stated that "intricate tasks in prudent work" with the youth would arise from this. [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 5 Oct 76 p 2]

DISADVANTAGES ON NON-FDJ MEMBERSHIP--An official GDR study has conceded that youths join the FDJ communist youth organization because they fear they have to put up with disadvantages as non-members. These youths usually drop out of the FDJ when they have concluded their vocational training and have settled down permanently in terms of a vocation. In this regard, the study states that "some young people" decide to join the FDJ "because 'one cannot exclude oneself' or because one might possibly 'suffer disadvantages in vocational training'." According to the study, these young people "usually became inactive" after completing their vocational training and soon dropped out of the FDJ. The study sharply attacks this "superficial" behavior. Actually, FDJ membership plays an important part in the state-controlled assignment of apprentice positions. According to reports from the GDR, young people who are not FDJ members often do not receive the desired apprenticeship positions because FDJ members are definitely given preference by the major state enterprises. [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 4 Oct 76 p 3] 8664

MANDATORY ATHEISM COURSES--Hans-Joachim Boehme, GDR minister for advanced and technical school affairs, has announced in a speech to functionaries in East Berlin that by 1980, within the framework of the basic studies on Marxism-Leninism, all students in GDR advanced schools and universities must participate in special courses on the subject of atheism as well as on other philosophical questions of materialism. In so doing, Boehme stated, the increased requirements for the communist education of students would be complied with. According to Boehme, at the beginning of 1977, systematic scientific conferences are to be held at all GDR universities, advanced schools, and technical schools on the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. These conferences will serve to prepare for a central meeting on this topic, which is to be held in March 1977 in East Berlin. [Excerpts] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 4 Oct 76 p 2] 8664

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

HUNGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY SEEMS GOVERNED BY HELSINKI PACT

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 17/18 Oct 76 p 6

[Article by R. St.: "Preparations for 1977 Belgrade Conference--Selective Production Cooperation Offers"]

[Text] Budapest, 14 October. During the past several weeks and months, Hungary submitted proposals to various noncommunist countries regarding the bilateral implementation of the final act of the Helsinki Conference. The documents were submitted mostly on the occasion of official visits. The addressees so far have been, among others, Finland, Norway, Austria, and France. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry emphasized that corresponding notes would be sent to all other participants in the CSCE on suitable occasions. Regarding the content of these proposals, it is known that Budapest is obviously interested in translating into action some of the principles spelled out in Helsinki through bilateral means. This extends from easier travel conditions via the promotion of cultural exchange all the way to an appeal for closer economic cooperation with reference to the GATT nondiscrimination principles.

Utilizing the Leeway

A particularly comprehensive production cooperation offer, as we understand it, was submitted to Austria. There is no doubt that the proposals were made with Soviet approval; they also fit into the diplomatic concept of Soviet post-Helsinki diplomacy. Budapest diplomacy however seems to be making clever use of its leeway within the community of socialist states.

Deputy Foreign Minister Janos Nagy in an article explained what official Hungary was thinking, a year after the Helsinki Summit Conference, on the status of implementation of the Final Act and on the European situation in general. One may well be able to consider the recent publication, without too great deviations, also as the opinion of the other members of the Warsaw Pact. Nagy's article--in addition to remarks which one can also hear in Moscow, Prague, or Bucharest--also contains specifically Hungarian viewpoints and demands. Because Budapest in many areas, such as tourist travel, information possibilities for Western journalists, foreign trips by its own nationals, has a more liberal practice than other East Bloc

countries--by the way, not just since Helsinki--it is in a somewhat better position when it comes to criticizing the behavior of Western countries.

Different Evaluation of Basket No. 3

Quite generally speaking, one has been able to hear a reproach in the East for quite some time now to the effect that some NATO and EC countries are simply skipping over important parts of the Helsinki agreements and are concentrating rather onesidedly on the implementation of Basket No. 3, pertaining to cultural and humanitarian cooperation. In contrast, in the opinion of the socialist states, the Final Act represents a whole and is to be implemented as a whole. Furthermore, the West is accused of having violated the principle of noninterference in internal affairs in the case of Portugal. The existence of "Radio Free Europe" is also pictured as running counter to this principle. These well known objections have recently been joined by the reproach to the effect that a campaign had been unleashed in the West against the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries; on occasion, even official personalities increasingly frequently bring up the question as to the ideological struggle. But the ideological confrontation has nothing to do with peaceful coexistence. The latter is intended to regulate relations between countries having different social systems while the former is referred to as "objective law." In other words, the pluralist democracies must tolerate the ideological disputes because they have a pluralist structure whereas the people's democracies may reject this sort of thing as interference.

From various statements by Eastern politicians one can deduce that they register the rise of the so-called "antidetente forces" with discomfort, in fact, and consider this to be not only welcome subject matter for argumentation. It is hoped there that the responsible political leaders in West Germany and the United States will find their way back to "detente" after the elections in those countries.

Nagy's remarks regarding the Third Basket of the Final Act give us an insight as to the specific arguments with which the East Bloc will show up at the 1977 Belgrade Conference--although he does emphasize that this meeting must not be construed as "a day for complaints." According to the Hungarian view, the situation regarding cultural exchange features a disproportion which is to the disadvantage of Hungary. Neither translated Hungarian literature, nor theater plays or motion pictures are supposed to be anywhere near as widespread in Western countries as Western films and literature are in Hungary. The problem arising from the fact that there is no demand for Hungarian cultural products is simply not recognized; in this respect, the appropriate government agencies would have to seek to popularize these publications and to arouse public interest.

Compared to this exchange of "true cultural values," the author considers the sale of Western bourgeois newspapers to be of essentially lesser significance. By the way, he mentions the fact that the import of bourgeois press products, which are geared toward objectivity, is no longer a political issue. The ban relates only to publications which spread slander

about Hungary's system and the domestic situation or which tried to clarify the true conditions within the country, from the outside. Regarding the issue of tourist visas, various countries are accused of dragging their feet. The Western European gets his Hungarian entry visa in just one day whenever reciprocal rights are complied with by his home country.

The deputy Hungarian foreign minister generally holds the view that the Western countries have fallen short in some respects when it comes to the implementation of the third basket. On that score it must be noted first of all that the interest situations are obviously different--as pointed up by a comparison of high cultural values and mere information media. The latter are still available only in small quantities and only in selected locations. Nevertheless, one might visualize more consideration being given, for example, to Hungarian film production in the West. On the other hand, as we said before, Hungarian practice differs from those of other East Bloc countries, something which must be properly considered in any overall judgment.

5058

CSO: 3103

HUNGARY

ACZEL EXAMINES CHURCH AND STATE RELATIONS

Budapest VILAGOSSAG in Hungarian No 10, Oct 76 pp 601-607

[Article by Gyorgy Aczel: "The Socialist State and the Churches in Hungary"]

[Excerpts] State and church relations in Hungary could be succinctly characterized by saying that the representatives of the socialist state find them in accordance with our social relationships and our political principles while the representatives of the churches find them in accordance with the interests and calling of the churches.

In practice this means the following:

1. The separation of the state and the churches is complete.
2. In the national and international fields alike there are questions in the solution of which the state and the churches are jointly interested.
3. Pacts and agreements regulate state and church relations.
4. The open treatment of ideological problems and differences and the many forms of dialog have a clarifying and productive effect on socialist national unity.
5. The state respects the internal laws of the churches; on the basis of their own doctrines the churches appreciate and recognize the socialist society and state.

Many national and international historical experiences influence our contemporary contacts. The historic lessons of the development of Hungary and of other socialist countries are realized in the functioning of our socialist state. The churches also have learned from their own experiences and from the experiences of the churches of other countries in connection with changes in the social system. At the same time state and church relations in socialist Hungary are necessarily interdependent with the present world situation and with general ideological and political relations.

The year 1945 truly opened for the people of Hungary that road on which Marxists and religious people, democrats, socialists and communists could unite not only to heal the wounds of war but also to create a radically new social order. Even though there had been a certain degree of cooperation between Marxists and some progressive church people during the war too it was not easy for us to make use of the new possibilities.

The explanation for this can be found in part in our own historical past. Those publicists of capitalist countries who used to fault the socialist countries of central and eastern Europe for the lack of a multi-party system or the alleged lack of democracy are inclined to forget, for example, that in the case of Hungary it was the army of the French and, indirectly, the English bourgeoisie which offered aid to the counter-revolution for the defeat of the first Hungarian socialist power, the 1919 Republic of Councils, and for the silencing of Hungarian bourgeois radicalism and democratism, forcing their representatives into emigration also. Thus, between the two world wars, the semi-feudal structure of the country, the system of large land holdings, the rudimentary and one-sidedly developed industry and the public administration neglected in the hands of the gentry not only survived but also, within the extraordinarily narrow frameworks of the existing order, ruled out the possibility for social reforms and reduced the progressive inclinations within the churches also.

As a result of the unique historical development of the country the leading forces of the Catholic Church and of some of the Protestant churches themselves profited from this situation; the Catholic Church was the biggest land owner in Hungary, the churches had gigantic capital holdings in the country of 3 million beggars and they not only support the struggle against liberal democracy and communism but also supported discrimination at the state level between accepted, tolerated and unrecognized sects. Between the two world wars in this kingdom without a king their influence even increased due to their membership in the upper house and their medieval origins and they had direct influence on the decisions of state power too. This makes more understandable that refractoriness with which, after the liberation, Jozsef Mindszenty, archbishop of Esztergom, citing the feudal traditions and considering himself the chief dignitary of the country, opposed the land reform breaking up the system of large holdings, the democratic republic taking the place of the kingdom, the separation of state and church, and all those steps of democratic transformation which the bourgeoisie had long ago carried out in Western Europe but the realization of which in our country fell on the power of the workers and peasants. A similar, if not so violent, opposition appeared at the summit of other churches also. But all this was not able to hinder the fulfillment of the will of the millions, the social renewal of the country, on the contrary it contributed to the isolation in their own churches too of these representatives of the semi-feudal past.

The struggle for the democratic and socialist transformation sharpened the contradictions within the camp of believers too and the churches had to choose between their own earlier social stands and the sympathy of the majority of their believers. In this process, as a result of the stand taken by the great majority of the religious working people, those pastoral forces gradually gained the ascendancy even in the leadership which did not want to break from their flocks and gave sufficient importance to the well being of their believers and the common social goals of the great majority of workers, peasants and intellectuals so as not to absolutize the ideological differences which separated religious and non-religious people from one another. These more modern thinking church leaders increasingly approached the ideal of socialist and democratic national unity also.

Naturally, Hungarian history also has its positive traditions. Even the former retrograde leaders of the churches could not erase from the awareness of the Christian believers the memory of the progressive and even revolutionary Christian movements. At the time of the Hussite uprising in the 15th century there were similar movements in Hungary too--the peasant war led by Budai Nagy Antal. The Franciscan priest-ideologists of the Dozsa peasant uprising of 1514 were the political leaders of the people. Through the centuries, from the 16th to the 18th century, Protestant ministers had a significant role in the freedom struggles waged against the Habsburg rule. The priests receptive to the ideals of the enlightenment and the bourgeois transformation took a stand for the cause of the people too, for example Bishop Mihaly Horvath who took a stand for the 1848-49 freedom fight. There were even priests sympathetic with the 1981 democratic movement and the 1919 Republic of Councils who suffered martyrdom for the cause of the people.

After 1945 these memories began to revive. The churches also saw that it was useful to take into consideration the Hungarian historical antecedents of the democratic ideals of religious tolerance and freedom of conscience. Even in the middle of the 16th century the Transylvanian Principality was the first in Europe, if for a short time, to proclaim as accepted the Unitarian, Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic religions. Miklos Zrinyi, rising up against Turkish and German rule, proclaimed religious tolerance in the 17th century just as did Ferenc Rakoczi the Second in the 18th and Szechenyi, Kossuth and Jozsef Eotvos in the 19th century.

These traditions aided in the fact that in 1948 the leaders of the Protestant and Jewish sects and in 1950 those of the Catholic Church signed agreements with the state within the frameworks of which they recognized the legal order and Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic on the basis of the principle of the separation of state and church. At the same time the state guaranteed the conditions for the free preaching of religions and contributed to the creation of adequate living conditions and social security for the priests, to protection of church monuments and to the restoration of churches of historical value.

Parallel with this process of consolidation the Constitution of the People's Republic set down the principle of freedom of religion and conscience for citizens and there was an elimination of those discriminatory principles which had earlier separated the several churches and congregations from one another from the viewpoint of state law.

The Hungarian development of church relations drew international attention. It could not have been by chance that one of the most significant personalities of 20th century Protestant theology, Karl Barth, studied the situation of the Hungarian Protestants in many ways in the years after the Second World War, studied their positions in connection with social movements in which they strove for cooperation between believers and non-believers. In a longer and more complex fashion, but in the interest of peace and progress, the spirit of cooperation also gradually won ground in the Catholic Church.

But we should not forget that these positive aspirations could not be realized smoothly in the 1950's. The atmosphere of the cold war made it quite difficult to apply the correct principles. From the Catholic side one could strongly feel the pressure of those retrograde forces which had earlier supported in their way the fascism of Mussolini in Rome, had signed a concordat with Nazi Germany, and had neglected to use its prestige against the horrible genocide of Nazism.

From the other side there ruled in Hungarian political life a sectarian distrust, dogmatism and the personality cult. In this atmosphere there was a frequent confusion of the methods of political struggle against reaction and the methods of ideological confrontation with religion.

These negative tendencies strengthened one another and together with those other causes which led to the 1956 counterrevolution they naturally weighed on state and church relations.

After the counterrevolution the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the revolutionary worker-peasant government began a consistent struggle against both sectarian dogmatism and revisionism and gradually restored the national and international prestige of the Hungarian socialist leadership. The party restored the relations of trust among worker class and peasantry, physical workers and intellectuals and not only declared but also realized in the process of constructive work the political unity of workers with different worldviews in the interest of the socialist transformation of the economy and society of the country, raising the standard of living, a broad development of public culture, and solving the problems of women, youth and families. In this situation it became possible for people with different worldviews to unite for common goals and against the dangers threatening everybody.

Naturally the national unity thus created does not mean some sort of homogeneity. It is a multiplex dialectical unity in which Marxism-Leninism has hegemony ideologically, because in accordance with its

essence this scientific worldview can most profoundly uncover the problems of this age and give the most valid answers to them. For this reason the representatives of Marxism must constantly work and struggle so that the tasks standing before us are understood and debated in broad circles working out the true alternative decisions in a scientific, creative spirit, realizing the political decisions born in democratic debates with an awareness of the goals and with moral and material incentive for their realization. In this complex process, in which the party must constantly supervise itself, true progress would not be possible if the plans and proposals of all the creative forces of society were not used in the formulation of economic, political and cultural goals and it would not succeed if it did not inspire in a socialist direction common activity aimed at the good of all workers, while maintaining the worldview differences.

Let me quote here Janos Kadar, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP: "One cannot see into the souls of men. But I believe that there are more than a few believers in our homeland. When we speak of a general joining of forces and of socialist organizational unity we are thinking also of them; all of us must stick together. That is why it is a joy for us that in connection with the 30th anniversary of the liberation the churches also have taken a stand, gracefully and in a patriotic spirit in harmony with their own desires and goals, and are helping to see that this anniversary be a worthy celebration. They are thus giving the greatest aid not to the professional politicians but rather to the believers. During the past 30 years we have resolved that problem of conscience, that internal conflict, as to whether one belongs to the political forces working for the good and wellbeing of the people or to the church. This means a great deal from the viewpoint of our past and our future."

This political line has not developed from some tactical calculation or in the service of some manipulative idea. The great goals of developing Hungarian society and the other great problems of the world situation all presuppose such collaboration. Naturally, such a union is not a simple thing. The Marxist party is proceeding correctly if it sincerely demands this practical cooperation while unambiguously maintaining its scientific worldview of dialectical and historical materialism. It seems that it is clear to the leaders of the Hungarian churches that the realization of the great historical goals not only serves the good and happiness of the believers but also corresponds to the demands of their doctrines. For this reason among ever wider circles of the clergy, active support for the several tasks of the building of socialism is replacing mere loyalty or recognition of the status quo in the socialist social order.

In this regard the actual transformation of the social views of church members in the course of socialist construction can have a favorable effect on the Hungarian churches, in addition to their own progressive historical traditions. International effects certainly play a role too: the aggiornamento, that historic self-examination, the signs of which

could be seen in the past 2 decades in most of the great churches and their centers, in the Vatican and in the World Council of Churches. They have been influenced by the warning of John XXIII that believers must cooperate with those of other convictions "in the interest of the good and of things leading to the good," by the example of the Catholic Camillo Torres, who died a martyr's death in Latin America just as Ernesto Che Guevara did, by the words of Helder Camara, the bishop of Recife, who demanded land and a life worthy of a man for the exploited peasants, by the Protestant Martin Luther King and by the behavior of the French Catholic worker priests.

All of this warns the believers and the priests that in addition to the supernatural dimensions of the faith they cannot relieve themselves of the responsibility of the "here and now," to struggle on this earth against the inhuman world of exploitation and class oppression for another, better and freer possibility. Thus, in Hungary they should choose that road on which we are forming a more human life by building a developed socialist society, in not easy circumstances and even committing errors. From the church side this is formulated thus: Love of God and love of man must be practiced together.

Why should it be natural for the churches in our relations to see allies in the enemies of social renewal, in those who excommunicated Latin American Catholic revolutionaries, in the determined opponents of French and Italian progress? Why should they not recognize their allies in the ranks of those struggling against the idols of blood and money, in those forces which are not satisfied with proclaiming demands for half-hearted love in conditions which exclude love but rather fight for the actual creation of more just, more free and more harmonic relations?

It follows from the Marxist materialist view of history that in social struggles one must not start primarily from what people think about themselves, from their worldview or religion, but rather primarily from their objective interests and needs which outline common tasks for differing but allied classes and strata. Discovering these tasks strengthens the allies of the Marxists in their cooperation.

Starting from their most essential principles Marxists seek this practical union which bridges worldview oppositions. In our century Lenin represented (before Thorez and Togliatti) the policy of a hand extended to the believers; he felt it necessary to write an article about the "honorable priest" who stood with the movement and he protested against that agitation which would categorize the workers not according to participation in strikes but on the basis of faith in God. This same general union was aimed at by that famous statement of Janos Kadar, paraphrasing the gospel, according to which he who is not against us is with us, that even the believers can be with us. We cannot agree with those who consider someone an ally of the Marxists only if he agrees with us in every question, including ideology.

The alliance policy of the Marxists is strong because in the ideological dialog with their allies they strive to make themselves better understood, to understand their partners better and to spread the scientific worldview even outside the party.

The Marxists, simply because they respect the sincere convictions of their allies, consider it natural that the churches should carry out propaganda for religious views and strengthen the conviction of their believers. There is no peaceful coexistence in the ideological sense. And by this we mean that we cannot become reconciled to ideological indifference and its demoralizing effect. The cooperation is made honorable and based on conviction by the confrontation of ideals. In addition it is a fact of experience that the better the practical-political relations between believers and Marxists the more profound is the dialog over ideological questions.

Practice proves that what is necessary is also possible; worldview differences do not rule out practical cooperation between religious and non-religious people. We can have different opinions about the created or eternal nature of the material world, about the immortality of the soul, even about the source of moral values. But this difference in view does not rule out an agreement between religious and non-religious people in regard to the tasks of this world in all those questions the solution of which is necessary for prosperity and social development. Some might say to this that differing ideological foundations lead to debates not only in the philosophical sphere but also in the political and moral. Naturally this is true, but even so the debate, as our domestic experiences also show, is a debate not of enemies but of people progressing on a common road who exchange ideas from differing worldview foundations but out of a common responsibility and who are enriched by the exchange.

Socialist democracy, the development of which the most recent 11th Congress of the MSZMP so determinedly put in the foreground, demands a sincere exchange of views, attempts to convince one another and not overcome one another, in which all participants are enriched, which leads to the deepening of human contacts, the refinement of arguments and, last but not least, a better foundation for decisions. This democracy presupposes the freedom of thought and thus of personal and institutional religion and faith. Thus this democracy connects impulses from various sources into the current of united social action and liberates and unites social forces for the common good.

The Marxist considers the debate of ultimate worldview questions permissible only through the spreading and confrontation of ideas and not with the use of force. He refrains from this not out of tactical considerations but rather out of that principled view to which Engels referred in the debate with the Blanquistes and Duhring: Atheism must not be made a "forced article of faith."

Ideological debates including the debate between scientific materialism and the religions must be made harmonious with the struggle for the realization of the great historical goals of mankind. For this reason this polemic must be conducted with circumspection, because in our day there is a debate even within the churches about the concrete content of those moral values and principles which are intended to play a role in the regulation of action. It is not our task to give an answer to questions raised by the churches. But it is worthy of note that new aspects are appearing even in the debates taking place within the churches.

Every thinking and conscientious Christian knows that the commandment of love, just like the prohibition against stealing, killing or bearing false witness, has been interpreted contradictorily according to contrary interests for 2 millenia, that mankind has long been oppressed by the question:

Can one realize love of man in a society split by class interests, can love for our neighbor be made compatible with war mongering, with fascist ideas, with racial discrimination or, more concretely, with toleration for the Chilean bloodbath and the South African racial persecution, can simple, poor and impotent men love those who benefit from a lack of conscience? Or do not the struggles of our day prompt us to subordinate, if necessary, our own interests and the immediate church interests to the objective interests and active union of the community of working people just so that, by developing a more free and more harmonious society we can create better conditions for the development of a free, creative personality and human contacts, if you like, for the spread of the dimension of love and its realistic realization?

We do not doubt, indeed, with the words of Engels, we emphasize that "in Christianity there was a first expression of the negative equality of man before God, as sinner, and in a narrower formulation the equality of every child of God saved by the grace and blood of Christ." But the Christians themselves know that later the ancient idea of equality was forced into the background in Christianity itself to be reborn in the theory of modern socialism as the true, secular equality of men, as a new demand not for uniformity but rather for a more free development guaranteed by equal opportunities for differing human potentials. Can a religious person be indifferent to this great goal if he wants to satisfy his human tasks?

The gospels formulated for the believers the necessity of accepting the existing state power. In our socialist life the question does not arise in this manner, that one must render unto Caesar what is Caesar's, but rather in this manner, that one must undertake active service for the cause of the community for this community is no longer one of oppressors and oppressed and so one can and must support those state and social organs which act in the interest of the common cause.

The realization of the principle of freedom of conscience greatly encourages this activity in our homeland where a broad circle of citizens with different worldviews and convictions act together in public life. We could list the names of those religious men and women who deal with the causes of the community in important posts--in the National Assembly, in the megye and town councils, in the Patriotic People's Front and in the National Peace Council.

We feel that useful experiences have been gathered in Hungary in connection with the cooperation of people with different worldviews. We feel that it is our obligation to make use of these experiences in the future too and thus to serve the solution of national and international tasks which are common for believers and Marxists.

Naturally, relations in Hungary are not free of problems and contradictions. There are differences in view among the various churches, between some churches and the state, and it is also natural that not every question can always be solved to satisfy everybody. But mutual tolerance will help us through the difficulties.

There are various levels to this patient cooperation. One is the contact of workers with differing worldviews, religious and non-religious workers, in everyday life, in the factories, the producer cooperatives, the offices, the institutions and the schools. These contacts witness to a cooperative intent in essential questions too because the overwhelming majority of people listen to the command of their realistic needs and fundamentally common interests in their work and in organizing their lives.

Naturally it is not a matter of indifference for a Marxist what the worldview foundation for social action is, but he knows that amidst the conditions of socialism there are many people, religious people too, who while they approve of the practice of socialism and support the building of it have not adopted the Marxist theory of socialism. On the basis of their work and behavior these people can enjoy and do enjoy the full respect of the narrower or broader community.

Another level of contacts is drawn between the state and the various churches as institutions. The democratic separation of the state and the churches has realized in public life the sovereignty of the people's state and ensured for the churches the unimpeded conduct of devotional work excluding the possibility that anyone should have an advantage or disadvantage before the law because of belonging or not belonging to a sect. Naturally disputed questions arise from time to time between the churches and state organs, questions connected with guaranteeing conditions for the unique activity of the churches, and opinions may differ and sometimes do differ in regard to how they should be resolved. Experience shows that solutions for these problems serving the common good can be found with the method of a patient exchange of views and a mutual respect for principles.

Naturally both the Hungarian state and the churches here have contacts with the great church world centers. Since the agreement signed with the Vatican in 1964 contacts have gradually developed between the Hungarian Government and the Vatican which have made possible, among other things, the filling of all Hungarian bishop and archbishop positions including that of the archbishop of Esztergom, the reorganization of the Hungarian papal institute in Rome, and the settlement of other questions. With tact and patience and mutual understanding it has been possible to harmonize the just requirements of the Vatican and the competence of the Hungarian People's Republic in individual personnel and other questions. For decades the Hungarian Protestant churches have conducted effective and positive activity within the frameworks of the World Council of Churches, the Christian Peace Conference and other international organizations which from time to time have also held discussions with representatives of the Hungarian Government.

The third level of contacts is that of ideology. As is well known we do not consider it possible to ignore the boundaries between worldviews, for there to be a compromise between Marxist materialism and the religions. But the ideological concept of Marxism is not limited to the worldview sphere in a narrow sense; it includes, as projections of social interests, all those ideas which play a significant role in regulating political, economic and cultural activity. These ideals and norms, if with different emphasis and differing philosophical foundations, can be present to some extent in other ideologies too. The fact that the Marxist is ideologically opposed to the system of religious thinking and religious ethics does not rule out the fact that he agrees in some sense, going beyond economic and political questions, with, let us say, the moral demands of "thou shalt not kill" or "thou shalt not steal." It is true that the Marxist does not stop at the mere prohibition of moral evil, he wants social guarantees for the purpose of eliminating mass murder, the mass expropriation of the work and property of others, cheating, and "bearing false witness," he wants to show a positive road in the area of morality in the interest of developing higher order human contacts. In the midst of our debates we may be close to one another in these questions of principle even if we cannot forget the differing and opposed worldview background and content of the principles.

And even this worldview opposition merits careful weighing. In his introduction to "Towards a Critique of the Hegelian Legal Philosophy" Marx writes that "religion is eliminated as the illusory happiness of the people to the extent that the true happiness of the people is demanded." This succinct and very significant thesis of Marx, which illuminates an extraordinarily complex historical process, is valid during a long historical epoch. We can state in harmony with this Marxist truth that today, on the basis of suspected or already recognized interests, an ever broader circle of religious people is demanding the true happiness of the people in cooperation with the Marxists. Such religious people feel closer to the humanist atheism of the Marxists than they do to the behavior of hypocritical idealists and pseudo-saints.

Ideological confrontation will hinder the practical collaboration of communists and Christians only if they forget in the meantime the great, common historical goals which are defined today by national and international social relations in the shadow of the danger of thermonuclear war.

Naturally even today there are more than a few who still do not see clearly the relationship between worldview differences and the necessity for common social action with those of different convictions. Two things, however, seem certain. One is that Marxists and Christians must answer the same questions of the same world, must prevent the same danger of war, must form an opinion in their own way about the same capitalist system and the same socialist system. The other is that Marxism and religion will live beside one another for a long time still. Even if these systems of ideas cannot be harmonized the representatives of these systems can agree in those actions which they undertake, if even with differing worldview motives, in the interest of human prosperity, in the name of humanism and in opposition to war and the flames of hatred. On the basis of our experience we can say: This is not only necessary, it is also possible; It is not only possible, it is also necessary.

8984

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HUNGARY

CONSUMERS TO RECEIVE BETTER SERVICE

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Sep 76 p 5

[Interview with Dr Frigyes Molnar, president of SZOVOSZ (National Federation of Cooperatives) by Lenke Elek]

[Text] When we enter a store, we rarely pay attention to the sign over the door. Understandably so, since from the customer's viewpoint the important thing is not whether he is shopping in a state owned or in a cooperative store but whether or not he finds what he was looking for--and this is no minor problem, not even in the era of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Domestic trade must be made suitable to handle the traffic of goods, about 53 billion forints higher in value than during the previous plan period, and the increasing variety of selection.

The general consumer and sales cooperatives, which have increased in strength, will continue to carry a significant share of this task in the future. Though a major part of their network is composed of the stores in smaller settlements, their growth and cooperativeness is demonstrated by the establishment of such an institution as the SKALA [large new department store]. Lenke Elek of this newspaper has interviewed Dr Frigyes Molnar about the growth of the cooperatives, in anticipation of SZOVOSZ congress.

[Question] Cooperative commerce has concluded 5 successful years, satisfying those expectations which society had placed before it. Which are the most important results among the achievements of the consumer and sales cooperatives?

[Answer] I consider the most important result to be that the consumer cooperatives fulfilled the tasks assigned to them by the five-year plan of the peoples' economy and have concluded a dynamic stage of their development--as is also recognized by the congressional guiding principle of our national council. And this means nothing less than that the cooperatives have served well the accomplishment of the party's and the government's economic and standard of living policies in the localities--that is, in the villages and cities.

The progress made is witness to the competent and effective work of the workers of the cooperatives. But the democratic and increasing participation by the membership in the activities of the cooperatives, in the handling of matters and in the broadening of financial foundation were also very important sources of the results achieved. We are doing 42 percent of the retail sales volume in the districts. Cooperative retail sales, growing at a rate faster than the average of socialist commerce, has increased its output by a total of 58.4 percent. Growth has been similar in the first 7 months of this year also. Thus in summary we may conclude that, as a result of the party's and the government's correct general and cooperative policies, the consumer cooperatives are very important socio-economic elements of our system under today's circumstances of our socialist constructive labor as well as for the future.

[Question] Let us talk about the darker sides also. What are the problems of cooperative trade?

[Answer] The differences are very great in the capabilities of the general consumer and sales cooperatives, in the democratic operation according to enterprise and cooperative character. These differences multiply with certain areas, even for example among the individual cooperatives operating in some megyes. At the same time the problems are also indicators of the reserves of our movement. As a result of the mergers that have taken and are taking place, the number of cooperatives has decreased or is decreasing by 250, simultaneously the extent of operation has increased. Thus new demands come to the surface in connection with the management and internal operation of these working collectives.

Large tasks are awaiting us for example in better satisfying the vegetable and fruit demands. For the purpose of better supplying the population with merchandise we will give greater weight to protecting the interests of and representations by the consumers in our wholesale and industrial connections. To this end it is necessary to develop further the socialist character of the cooperatives, the democratism of their operation, the consistent enforcement of the rights and obligations of the membership, the system of control, the protection of property.

The more than 1.5 million membership of the cooperatives has recently conducted a wide-based exchange of ideas about this and about other similarly important problems. The final results of their conferences will be relayed by their representatives at the public meetings of the counties and at the congress in November. I am sure that their votes will be followed by deeds.

[Question] To what extent is there a plan in the Fifth Five-Year Plan's development program to expand the network in Budapest and in the smaller settlements and cities?

[Answer] By 1980 the cooperatives will have expanded by about another 400,000 square meters of sales area. Primarily they endeavor to improve the level of sales in their main area of operation in the towns by more modern stores. It continues without change to be more purposeful to establish the stores selling industrial items and general merchandise in the larger economic centers. We are also doing our share to improve the supplying of Budapest with merchandise and to develop our network further--even more so since many members of our cooperatives do their shopping in the capital. Thus it is expected that 32 percent of the concentrated investments will materialize in the large towns and cities, 43 percent in the megye administrative centers and 25 percent in Budapest. Under the auspices of cooperatives 4 major department stores will be built in the capital and 18-20,000 square meter ABC's [store chain] in the residential areas of workers.

[Question] Though the miscellaneous store name is still the fitting one for many smaller AFESZ [General Consumer and Marketing Cooperatives] stores, the difference between a larger AFESZ grocery store and a KOZERT [Municipal Food Trade Company, Ltd.] store of the capital is constantly diminishing. Where are they in the utilization of new sales equipment, tools, methods?

[Answer] At the present time 65 general or industrial items department stores and 301 ABC stores represent the modern units of cooperative sales effort. These fulfill today's demands by the shoppers and commerce, but they constitute only 17 percent of the area of the store network. Our national council and the majority of the megye associations consider it to be a special task to further improve and mechanize the organization of work in the cooperative stores. We cannot lose sight of improving the conditions at the place of work for the employees in commerce either.

[Question] The cooperation of councils and cooperatives can also play a big role in satisfying the demands of the population better than before. How can this cooperation be intensified and strengthened?

[Answer] Supplying the population better is our mutual goal. Our cooperatives have a traditionally good connection with the council organs. Work performed in the spirit of the council law has also made the cooperation better organized and more effective. I attribute much importance to the fact that our cooperatives have prepared their 5-year plans in harmony with the area and settlement imaginations of the local councils. As far as the future is concerned, I feel it serves the intensifying of cooperation if the leaders and workers of these two different organs will labor in the future even more consistently in the spirit of the council law and of the bylaws of the cooperatives and by using the local and national store of experience.

8584
CSO: 2500

ECONOMIC SETBACKS BAFFLE POLISH PARTY, GOVERNMENT

Actions of Protest

Cologne Domestic Service in German 1810 GMT 19 Oct 76 DW

[Ludwig Zimmerer Warsaw dispatch on the illegally circulating papers dealing with the latest disturbances, especially in Radom]

[Excerpt] These actions of protest arouse growing attention and sympathy among a considerable number of the Warsaw students who have remained calm for 8 years now. The protest papers have helped achieve most skillfully what all oppositional movements have failed to achieve in Poland since 1956: a certain solidarity between dissatisfied intellectuals and circles of the workers. Today those circles of the workers are filled with resentment and annoyance because of economic setbacks, a continuously more obvious leadership crisis, the lack of answers from the party and the government, and last but not least, because of the reprisals against fellow workers.

An early solution to the increasingly precarious situation is not in sight because the supply crisis will probably even aggravate in the next few months. Fortunately there are in the party leadership as well as among the oppositional people some leading forces which are perfectly aware that under the present circumstances Poland would not benefit at all from an aggravation of the conflict, and which deem a compromise--even a malodorous compromise--more desirable than a pure catastrophe.

Protest Letter to Sejm

Bonn DIE WELT in German 22 Oct 76 p 8 DW

[Article: "Document of the Day"]

[Text] In late September, 14 Polish intellectuals addressed a letter to the president of the Polish Parliament (Sejm). DIE WELT publishes the text of this letter, whose content has thus far remained largely unknown. The letter reached the Federal Republic via Berlin.

Warsaw, 23 September 1976

The Marshal of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic:

On behalf of the Committee for the Defense of the Workers--victims of reprisals in connection with the events on 25 July 1976--I submit to your care, for the Sejm and the authorities of the Polish People's Republic, the appeal of this committee and at the same time I report on its forming. Our appeal contains, among other things, amnesty postulates which we address, above all, to the Sejm.

With highest esteem, member of the committee, Aniela Steinberg

Appeal to the Society and the Authorities of the Polish People's Republic

The protest of the workers against exorbitant price hikes, which reflected the attitude of almost the entire society, resulted in brutal persecutions. In Ursus and in other cities demonstrators were beaten, maltreated by kicking, and arrested in masses. Most widely, dismissals from jobs occurred which severely hit the families of the persecuted.

As a rule the authorities linked the reprisals with violations of the law. Courts imposed sentences without evidence, dismissals were pronounced with disregard of the labor law. They did not shrink from extorting testimony by force. In our country, unfortunately, acts of this nature are not new. It will suffice to recall the illegal reprisals to which signatories of protest letters against amendments to the constitution had been exposed: Some were dismissed from their jobs or from their college, illegally interrogated, blackmailed. However, for a long time the reprisals had not been as brutal and numerous as they are now. For the first time in many years the arrests and interrogations are accompanied by physical terror.

The victims of the current reprisals cannot hope for any help or protection from responsible institutions such as the trade unions, whose role is pitiable. The agents of social assistance also deny any assistance. Under these circumstances this role must be taken over by the society, in whose interest the persecuted have acted. After all, society's only means of protecting itself against lawlessness is through solidarity and mutual assistance.

This is why the undersigned are forming a Committee for the Defense of the Workers to apply far-reaching forms of defense and assistance. Legal, financial, and medical help is indispensable. Just as important is full information about the persecutions. We are convinced that only public witness to the steps taken by the authorities can offer an effective defense. Hence, we are asking, among other things, that all those who have been persecuted or know about persecutions, to convey such information to the members of the committee.

As far as is known by the members of the committee about 2160,000 have already been collected or already used for aid purposes. The fulfillment of this purpose is possible only with the help of a broad initiative on the part of the society. Society is obligated to unite for the defense and aid of those persecuted anywhere in the country. In every area, at every work place, there must be courageous people willing to take steps toward common protection.

The reprisals directed against the workers touch upon the basic rights of man valid under international law as well as in Polish legislation: the right to work, the right to open advocacy of one's own convictions, the right to participate in meetings and demonstrations. This is why the committee demands amnesty for those condemned and arrested, as well as the return of jobs to all who have been persecuted, and with these demands the committee proves its solidarity with the decision of the Conference of Bishops on 9 September 1976.

The committee calls on the society to support these demands.

We are profoundly convinced that by founding the Committee for the Defense of the Workers, and by calling for action, we are fulfilling a human and patriotic duty, serving the good cause of the fatherland, the nation, and man.

The Committee for the Defense of the Workers, victims of reprisals in connection with the events of 25 July 1976

[Signed] Jerzy Andrzejewski; Stanislaw Baranczak; Ludwik Cohn; Jacek Kuron; Edward Lipinski; Jan Jozef Lipski; Antonin Maciarewicz [DIE WELT reports on page 1 that Antonin Maciarewicz, assistant at Warsaw University, was arrested on 21 October]; Piotr Naimski; Antoni Pajdak; Josef Rybicki; Aniela Steinberg; Adam Szczypioski; Parson Jan Zieja; Wojciech Ziembinski.

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END