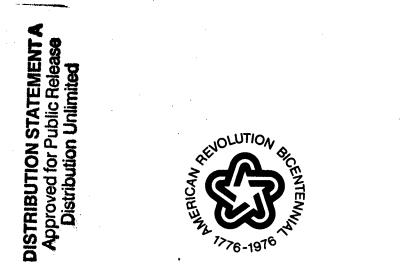
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

IDEOLOGY AND DETENTE AFTER HELSINKI

Budapest KULPOLITIKA in Hungarian No 3, 1976 pp 65-75

[Article by Jozsef Balazs: "Some Ideological Aspects of Detente Following Helsinki"]

[Text] Summary: One aspect of Helsinki is that both supporters and opponents of detente refer to it when explaining the current international situation or justifying their foreign policy. Detente reflects universal human interests as well as the two systems' specific interest in coexistence. Detente is not merely a subjective human desire but follows from the objective realities of the age. Acceptance of peaceful coexistence conflicts with the original "purely capitalist" interests of the capitalist system. For that reason detente has serious opponents, and its acceptance by the capitalist world is a slow process.

> The article argues against two essential elements of the bourgeois interpretation of peaceful coexistence. One cannot accept the notion that "nuclear interdependence" is the exclusive cause of peaceful coexistence. Nor does peaceful coexistence imply acceptance of the social status quo. It cannot apply to ideology, because an ideology is the theoretical expression of class interests, affecting the essence of every social system. Its objectives, therefore, continue after Helsinki. Political pluralism in part accords with capitalist social conditions, but it is alien to socialism where the toiling masses exercise actual political power. After Helsinki, Western political scientists increasingly propagate pluralism and national models of socialism. This is a manifestation of ideological struggle. Detente and coexistence are increasingly the dialectical unity of cooperation, regulated cooperation that is, and of struggle.

The first European Conference on Security and Cooperation was held in the summer of 1975, after more than 10 years of political and diplomatic preparations. Acceptance of the charter that regulates the international

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relations of the countries attending the conference has become an important part of Europe's most recent history, regardless of the subjective interpretations that are dictated by various interests and attempt to belittle the European and international significance of the conference. The impact and significance of Helsinki are evident also from the fact that both supporters and opponents of detente refer, from different points of view, to Helsinki when explaining the current international situation or justifying their foreign-policy aspirations and actions.

The internal content of the process of detente comprises international events and foreign-policy actions that reflect universal human interests as well as the two world systems' specific interests. Therefore it will be expedient to investigate what relationships exist between these principal interests and the process of detente.

Detente and the Conflict of Interests

L. I. Brezhnev, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, said the following in Helsinki: "It is typical of mankind to strive for continuity that manifests itself in initiatives and actions. This applies also to the great cause that the 35 nations represented in Helsinki are about to undertake. It is reflected in the fact that we have designated the further steps for the period following the first European Conference on Security and Cooperation, to solve and develop further the tasks of the conference."1 As a rule, "striving for continuity reflected in actions" is indeed characteristic of mankind, especially when the solution of its vital questions is involved. In our age, the avoidance of thermonuclear war, the securing of lasting peace, elimination or at least abatement of environmental pollutants that are jeopardizing the biological conditions of mankind's existence, development of mutually advantageous economic, trade, cultural and scientific cooperation with all countries of the world, independently of their social systems, unquestionably are such questions. The bourgeois supporters of detente, too, agree with this in principle. But when it comes to the elaboration and realization of practical measures in the interest of detente's present and future, then it turns out that significant differences can be found in the interpretation of Helsinki.

Helsinki is a result of detente, one of its important forms of manifestation, and simultaneously also a stimulus for its further development. "The transition from cold war, from explosive confrontation between the two world systems, to the relaxation of tensions, was related primarily to the changes that occurred in the international balance of power."²

In the expositions of certain Western political scientists, the political interests underlying detente are distorted. They present the avoidance of thermonuclear war--which obviously is a universal interest of mankind--as some peculiar specific interest, or even a conspiracy, of the world's two greatest nuclear powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, directed against the rest of the world. Soviet-American cooperation to avoid a conflict that could jeopardize mankind's very existence is characterized as the pursuit of world domination. According to these views, Europe is threatened by a "pax Americana," "pax Sovietica" or by a peace of "condominium" on the European continent. The policy of detente pursued by the Soviet Union and the socialist countries does not strive for hegemony. A peace imposed by force, by dictate, truly satisfies neither the principle of European security nor the interests of the peoples of the world, because such peace necessarily leads to war. Modern history--more accurately, the history of capitalism--abounds with such examples. Admittedly, Helsinki has not yet created a lasting and final peace--not even in Europe--but it is an important step along the road to such peace. Whose interest has been served by this step?

The following statement was made in Helsinki a few hours before the signing of the Final Act: "The results of the lengthy negotiations are such that there is no victor and vanquished, no winner and loser. This is a victory of reason. Everybody won: the Eastern and Western countries, the socialist and the capitalist states, the allies and the neutrals, the large and the small countries. Everybody won who holds dear the peace and security of our planet."³ Indeed, the universal interests of mankind prevailed in Helsinki.

Naturally, international imperialism's profit-oriented and global political interests do not coincide with mankind's universal interests. Wars threaten the lives and security of peoples, but they also produce huge profit and new spheres of influence for imperialist capital. This has always been so in modern history. The departure of monopoly capitalist interests from mankind's universal interests stems from the antagonism of the class relations -- and in a wider sense, of the production relations -- or basically from conflicts of economic interest. As Engels noted, "the economic relations of a given society appear first of all in the form of interests."⁴ The subject or vehicle of interest -- in the given case, the imperialist capitalist circles--is influenced by the objective internal social conditions, and by the likewise objective external conditions. In the final outcome the interest defined in this manner, in an unbreakable link with a real or imagined need, is the motive for all action. If the relationship between the interests of certain circles in the capitalist world, respectively between the interests of the socialist community, and mankind's universal interests is truly antagonistic, then the question arises whether indeed everyone was a winner in Helsinki.

The answer to this question may be in the affirmative because before Helsinki, in a historically brief period, very significant changes occurred in the international balance of power. These changes necessarily influence the international interest relations, modifying them. A new characteristic of the present international situation is that the capitalist world is able to relatively ensure its "purely" capitalist interests, and not mankind's universal interests (biological and social interests), as its vital interests in the international arena, in the struggle and cooperation between the two world systems, and also in domestic class struggle, only by assuming new features, by accepting new norms of conduct that not only stem from the capitalist world's inherent nature but also reflect the international balance of power. From the capitalist world's "purely capitalist" nature it would follow that the capitalist worlddestroys socialism and the progressive forces in the entire world, immediately and at all cost. The capitalist world is no longer able to do this, but it has not abandoned experimentation. In other words, if the capitalist world wants to preserve for some time the capitalist production relations, the possibility of exploitation, then:

It cannot strive for total military confrontation with the socialist world, because that would mean the end of its own existence;

It cannot reject the development of cooperation, which is the vehicle of mutual interests and of mankind's universal interests;

It cannot maintain the system of international political and economic relations that is based entirely on force.

This conduct does not stem from the nature of capitalism itself. It has been forced on the capitalist world by the unalterable change in the international balance of power, and inside the capitalist world by the complicated and perpetual contradictions and crises that cannot be resolved on the basis of capitalism. Real socialism's military, political, economic and ideological strength, its influence on international politics, the struggle for social progress and peace by the international communist and workingclass movement and by other progressive forces, and the anti-imperialist struggle of the national liberation movements imposed on the capitalist world the conduct that is asserting itself increasingly, albeit unevenly and with contradictions.

We cannot claim that the government of every capitalist country has come to recognize this fact. But recognition and subsequent action, the formation of new behavior are a trend-like process, against which also other aspirations assert themselves. In any case, this forced recognition is already included in Helsinki and in the progress of detente following Helsinki.

The attacks against the spirit and practical consequences of Helsinki and detente, and their malicious interpretation are a form in which an inimical attitude to historical progress manifests itself. This form partially reflects the capitalist world's original nature; and partially it is a protest, a counterattack against motion along a forced trajectory, against the historically final loss of capitalism's unlimited world hegemony. This reaction that is opposed to historical consequences is by no means harmless, but it would be a mistake to overestimate it. At the 25th CPSU Congress, the Central Committee's report evaluated this reaction as follows: "There are some complications also in our relations with certain European capitalist countries. According to indications, this is because influential circles in these countries do not wish to truly renounce the psychology of cold war and are unwilling to implement the policy of mutual cooperation and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other countries."5 This is true not only in relation to the Soviet Union but to the other socialist countries as well. Detente does not become irreversible automatically, only through political and ideological struggle.

The forces of international politics become polarized in the course of detente. This is what is happening at present. The international political situation has not become less complicated after Helsinki and is still full of contradictions. Nevertheless it is true that "the prevention of world war through the collaboration of all peace-loving forces has become a realistic possibility in our time."⁶

After Helsinki there has been no radically new and fundamental rearrangement of the opposite forces' relationship, of their system of relations. The policy of detente--despite the growing activity of its opponents--has become the principal direction in the development of international relations, in Europe as well as elsewhere. We have not established collective security as yet, but we have laid its foundation in Europe. SALT II, and the Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of arms and forces have not been successful so far and are continuing. But political tension has declined, the Soviet= American dialog has become permanent, the talks and personal contacts between politicans and statesmen are continuing. All this is a good sign from the viewpoint of detente's further development.

The fundamental problems of East-West economic relations--among other things, the question of most-favored-nation treatment--have not been solved as yet, but these relations, too, are developing. CEMA's initiative for organized cooperation between Europe's two economic integrations is in the spirit of the Helsinki document and serves the interests of both sides. Since Helsinki, there have been no border violations in Europe, but one section of the border between Italy and Yugoslavia has been changed on the basis of negotiations. This, too, is in the spirit of Helsinki. East-West cultural, scientific and personal relations have become more lively. Moreover, within the framework of the measures aimed at inspiring mutual confidence, foreign observers were able to attend certain military maneuvers, something unprecedented since the existence of the two military integrations. All this is an integral part of the unfolding new processes. However, the fact remains that anticommunist and anti-Soviet campaigns have been stepped up in some Western countries since Helsinki, and certain Western politicians have reverted to the tone of the cold war. Opposition by the CDU and CSU to the Polish-West German agreements was more than merely the "usual behavior" of a parliamentary opposition. NATO's secretary general revived the views regarding the so-called "Soviet threat," which General de Gaulle had rejected more than 10 years ago.

In most countries of Southern Europe there are very lively internal movements that point in the direction of progress or at least are demanding progress. This phenomenon is causing grave concern among a proportion of the capitalists, mostly among militarist circles. Among other thing, to counterbalance this, they are still obstructing solution of the Cyprus problem, which is a dangerous trouble spot in Europe. Detente, then, must be perceived as a long struggle that harbors complicated contradictions.

"In many respect, the results of the conference point into the future. The prospects of peaceful coexistence have been defined in many areas: in the economy, in science and technology, in culture and information, and in the development of interpersonal relations. Certain measures have been agreed upon, including also military measures, to strengthen mutual confidence between countries. And now the most important thing is the practical realization of the principles and agreements that were coordinated in Helsinki."⁷

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Identity of Interests in the Process of Detente

In recent years, detente has been interpreted in several ways. From a functional viewpoint--because it is used to designate the period replacing the cold war--most people interpret detente as the relaxation of tensions, and there is some truth in this interpretation. In the opinion of the socialist countries, however, detente is much more than this, or at least must become more. Detente is a new international relationship that arises in the course of applying to practice the principle of peaceful coexistence, a relationship in which states settle the conflicts of interest that necessarily occur among them not by the "traditional" means of force or the threat of force, rather by the establishment of new norms. Consequently the inherent substantive definition of detente is based inseparably on the logic of the period's fundamental contradictions. Because transition from capitalism to socialism is a historical process, and the struggle between the forces of war and those of peace is likewise a process, it follows that detente, as one of the forms in which the period's principal processes manifest themselves, is able to assert itself only in a trend-like process, i.e., it can be realized through struggle. The struggle for detente also means that the interests attached to the assertion of this process are not identical and equal, and that recognition of these interests does not coincide in time.

Socialism's interests regarding the present and the future objectively coincide with mankind's universal interests, but capitalism's interests do not, thus capitalist circles must be forced into detente. Capitalism is no longer able to exclude socialism from history, militarily, economically or by other means; hence capitalism is forced to coexist with socialism, which is a compromise of necessity so far as capital's basic interests are concerned. Socialism likewise is unable to sweep away, in a single world revolutionary attack, capitalism that represents the historical past in opposition to socialism. The change in the individual capitalist countries will come at different periods, as a result of the development of each country's revolutionary forces.

Official Western standpoints frequently specify the essence of detente as the absence of the direct danger of a nuclear conflict between the two big powers. This is a very important element of detente but is not everything. Other Western politicans and political scientists construct the following model of detente: detente--cooperation--alliance. The relaxation of tension and the development of multilateral cooperation among countries are in accord with the socialist countries' concept, with the principle and practice of peaceful coexistence. Indeed, the socialist countries are striving to establish--on a regional and continental scale--institutionalized forms and frameworks for this cooperation, by setting up security systems and through their optimal operation. Together with the security systems functioning on a regional and continental scale, the socialist countries also deem important the gradual establishment of international security guaranties, implanted in the process of developing the security systems. The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized: "We must strive for the conclusion of a worldwide agreement that prohibits the use of force in international relations."8

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An international agreement outlawing the use of force between countries or blocs of countries corresponds to the political, economic and military requirements of detente and is also in accord, or at least is compatible, with the basic ideological standpoints of the antagonistically opposite social systems. Between capitalism and socialism as social systems, however, there is no alliance and none can ever develop. For this would require that one party abandon its fundamental class interests, which would be unimaginable.

An alliance is qualitatively different than even the most advanced cooperation. An alliance is always directed against someone and serves some common interest. On what common interests could an alliance between capitalism and socialism as two antagonistic social systems be based, and against whom would it be directed? The forces of war can be found in the capitalist system. The enemies of social progress likewise must be sought within capitalist society, for that is where they hold positions of power. Contact and cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries are possible and necessary; besides mutually important particular interests, such cooperation has also a common objective foundation: prevention of a thermonuclear conflict and the preservation of the conditions for mankind's existence.

The history of World War II provides a good example for this concept of the relationship between socialism and capitalism. In 1941-1945, the relationship between capitalism and socialism was particular. The Soviet Union was waging war on fascist Germany. In this struggle it concluded a political, military and economic alliance with a group of nonfascist capitalist countries that likewise were threatened by fascism's aspiration for world domination. In this case the state interests of the Soviet Union and of a proportion of the capitalist countries coincided. The preservation of national sovereignty, the defeat of fascism, and the creation of lasting peace were a common interest -- and nothing more -- whose realization in the given situation arose as a vital necessity. This was not the reconciliation of socialism and capitalism, respectively of the two social classes behind them, rather the threat of fascism, a social phenomenon that posed a mortal danger, led to the establishment of cooperation with the nonfascist elements of capitalism. Class struggle did not cease, but the working class, respectively socialism, concentrated its every effort against the most dangerous detachment of the class enemy, against fascism.

It is imaginable in the process of detente that certain socialist and capitalist countries agree on the limitation of nuclear arms or take joint action against the intention of some country to unilaterally resolve an international dispute with the use of nuclear force. Such agreements have already been concluded, but they cannot be regarded as an alliance of the two opposite social systems. An alliance of this kind has no foundation and can never have one, because the fundamental interests of the capitalist class, and of the working class and other strata oppressed by the capitalist class are mutually exclusive, respectively in the final outcome they could be asserted only at each other's expense. An identity of interests that is limited in time or space will most certainly lead to more contracts and agreements between countries belonging to the opposite social systems. For this is what peaceful coexistence demands. In peaceful coexistence, however, the coexisting opposite systems will not be dissolved; they merely regulate the area and forms of their struggle, so that the intensity of their struggle will not jeopardize mankind itself. Cooperation and struggle are the dialectic of our time and simultaneously the foundation of why detente falls outside the ideological sphere, of why the socialist countries are unable to accept the Western concept of an "ideological armistice." For ideology formulates in their entireness the interests of antagonistic classes, and the objective identity of the social classes is expressed in ideology in a concentrated manner.

Relationship Between Detente and Social Revolution

After Helsinki, one of the principal issues of the ideological struggle waged on an international scale has become the different interpretations of detente and peaceful coexistence, the ideological "reconciliation" demanded by the West. No radical change has occurred in this struggle, but we do find important new elements, changes in emphasis. Certain leading capitalist circles have declared peaceful coexistence a strategic objective of their own foreign policy. This fact in itself is a peculiar product of the shift in the international balance of power.

The bourgeois concepts of peaceful coexistence differ from the standpoint of the socialist countries in two important respects. First, the sole and exclusive cause of peaceful coexistence, in their opinion, is "nuclear interdependence." Secondly, they express the hope that through peaceful coexistence they will guarantee not only the status quo among nations, but also the social status quo. Accordingly, peaceful coexistence means that the exploited classes renounce class struggle and revolution, and the socialist countries abandon their solidarity with the exploited and the oppressed. Were the socialist countries reluctant to abandon this solidarity, then a "dynamic status quo" would lead to a "modification of the balance of power," and this would not be real and lasting detente.

According to one of the most lucid expositions of the above standpoint, making the process of detente irreversible "simultaneously means confirmation of the status quo in the East, and the Soviet Union's use of its influence to establish a dynamic status quo," in other words, "to modify the balance of power in the rest of the world."⁹

The author's fear of internal social changes under the conditions of detente is so great that he regards possible--primarily progressive--social changes as the immediate upsetting of the "balance of power" that, in his opinion, would lead either to a world war or to a permanent shift in the international balance of power, in the socialist countries' favor. Therefore he rigidly rejects the idea of a "dynamic status quo," adopting instead the standpoint that only "class peace," or even a "pan-European peace" that disregards class considerations, can guarantee world peace.

The concept of a social status quo, which is being advocated with referecne to the Helsinki Final Act, must be rejected. The Final Act condemns and excludes an external change of the social status quo, by force. But it does not exclude the right of a nation to change its own social status. To the contrary, "every nation retains the right to determine quite freely at any time its internal and external political status, according to its own discretion, without external interference."10 Thus it is obvious that the people of Portugal had the right to overthrow fascism and have a right to further social progress. The Spanish people likewise have the right to overthrow fascism. The Greek people had the right to overthrow the power of the black colonels and to embark on the road to democratization. No democratic-minded person was outraged by the fact that France demonstratively supported the antijunta activity of Caramanlis. It is likewise natural that the people of Angola availed themselves of the socialist countries' assistance against those who, in the interest of foreign powers, opposed the will of the overwhelming majority of the people. Today it is already obvious which of the opposing sides in Angola represented the will of the people, and it is likewise obvious that the Soviet Union and Cuba have not violated the requirements of detente. To the contrary, the reaction attempted to force on the people of Angola a distorted status quo, through a distorted interpretation of detente. Which again goes to show that the debate over detente is not on abstract problems, rather it touches on the essence of the political processes in our time.

The concept that attempted to link the further progress of detente to the liquidation of the revolutionary processes was formulated before the Helsinki Conference. Janos Berecz wrote the following in this context: "Kissinger distinguishes the 'political and the revolutionary approach to the system.' The former is the United States approach that, in his opinion, creates international security, whereas the latter, the Soviet approach, jeopardizes international security. This concept is shared also by Willy Brandt in several of his works. In his opinion, Western Europe must support the policy of detente and cooperation because "thereby it could contribute not only toward a significant relaxation of the present tensions but also decisively toward directing onto "an orderly course of progress the revolutions that otherwise could be regarded as certain and would have tragic consequences for everyone concerned.'"11

The developments since Helsinki have been able to confirm neither Kssinger's nor Brandt's interpretation of the "orderly course" that detente provides and onto which revolutions and the demands for social progress could be diverted. Evidently this partially explains the fact that in the West there has been an increase in the writings, opinions and "critiques" presenting a twofold complaint: (1) that the Soviet Union and the socialist countries "do not allow" Western society, and their "pluralistic political strcture in particular," to exert their great and significant "appeal" on the socialist countries' citizens; and (2) that the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are supporting political changes in Western societies.

"The pluralistic structure of the countries and societies of Western Europe offers a most diverse picture, grasping points for attempts at foreign intervention. But this structure contains also the advantage that it has a certain appeal for the public opinion of the Eastern countries, through its opportunities for the individual's development. The Soviet leader's twofold

principle is to neutralize the West's appeal to socialist society, or simply to show more tolerance for public and social life, and at the same time to demand the right of exercising political influence on antagonistic In this way political changes will take shape in the long run systems. only in Western societies, in a direction that will adapt them increasingly to the socialist model."12 Thus if in Helsinki and since then the efforts to compel the socialist countries to accept, in addition to the political status quo, also the social status quo have failed, then it is necessary to frighten Western public opinion that these countries do not really want peace and detente, because they have not renounced class struggle and internationalism. Moreover--to make the effect even greater--Western writers have invented some sort of inverted "socialist theory of convergence," according to which the socialist countries, through detente, want to adapt the Western societies to the "socialist model." This is nonsense. The charge of exporting revolution never had any foundation, and this is increasingly true of the old charge's new version tailored to detente. Western societies' socialist transformation will be realized not by the socialist countries but by the Western countries' domestic revolutionary movements. Not because this will be in accord with the international interests of the socialist countries, but because only this will correspond to the interests of the working masses living in capitalist societies, and of the working class in particular.

According to this Western interpretation, detente would be realized if the socialist countries were not supporting, for example, the legitimate Angolan government's struggle for the preservation of national independence, if they were to renounce their solidarity with the Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian and other communist parties, and were to agree even to the internal erosion of the socialist countries. This would not be actual resolution of international tensions, rather capitulation to capitalism, which again would again enbolden the enemies of detente and of social progress, leading to the tension of another world war.

Kissinger, too, has recognized in one of his statements ideological struggle as a concomitant of peaceful coexistence by countries with antagonistic social systems, and he even regards "ideological hostility" as unavoidable. "We must face the growing necessity of confrontation on the political level, and of cooperation on the economic level. Ideological hostility will continue on the political level, but on the nuclear level everyone has recognized that there is no alternative to peace."¹³ In the same statement he also declared the following: "There is no doubt that American public opinion prefers peace to war, and anticommunism to communism."¹⁴

The foundation of ideological confrontation is obvious: communism and anticommunism, or in other words, socialism and capitalism. (It is quite another question how to interpret the extremely broad and obscure concept of "American public opinion.")

Actually, then, the developed capitalist countries on their part do not want to renounce ideological struggle, their anticommunist activity and behavior. They expect and even demand that only the socialist countries renounce ideological struggle, in the name of detente. In both its internal and external functioning, the capitalist countries' structure of government serves the interests of the ruling capitalist class by every available means, including ideological standpoints and influence. With the respective differences having been considered, this applies also to the socialist countries. But they do not deny this function, rather they speak of it openly, in accordance with reality. And this is the foundation on which they wish to base their policy of detente and peaceful coexistence with countries that have antagonistic social systems. Janos Kadar had this to say in Helsinki: "The Hungarian government is convinced that peaceful coexistence, the rapprochement and friendship of nations presuppose, and simultaneously make possible, fruitful international cooperation in the areas of science, education, culture, and information Hungarian society regards as its own every true value of human culture. Hungarian society realizes in practice the sharing of universal human culture when we publish or perform the works of Dante, Shakespeare, Moliere, Goethe, Tolstoy and other great writers and poets. We make available to everyone also the values of present-day Western culture . . . Ideological differences manifest themselves particularly in conjunction with cultural cooperation and the exchange of information. We conferees, too, represent parties with different ideologies, and countries with different political systems. But it is obvious that we have not come here to accept one another's ideology or state political system."

Following Helsinki, lively debate developed also on political systems. Just as in the debate on ideology or ideological struggle, also here the tendency is noticeable that certain bourgeois specialists are attempting to present the bourgeois system's acceptance as a condition for detente and cooperation. Propagation of pluralism by the West has received perceptibly greater emphasis in the development of East-West cultural relations. This has become an important element of ideological struggle and is related to the distorted Western interpretation of detente. "The capitalist system's political pluralism permits the movement of special interests within a channel strictly defined by capitalist conditions, within the framework of accurately determined institutions and forms. As a rule, no one may exceed this framework. The capitalist system's organs of oppression ruthlessly suppress and punish any outside attempt to question or jeopardize this framework from a standpoint that is antagonistically opposed to the given conditions."¹⁵

Even under capitalism the political pluralism recommended to the socialist countries is merely a relative opportunity whose limits, within the ruling class as well as on the part of the opposition classes or groups, are determined by the fundamental interests of the ruling capitalist circles.

More-active recommendation of political pluralism is supported by two arguments. One is the contention that bourgeois democracy offers the population greater freedom than socialist democracy, and on the basis of this false premise the gap between the two types of democracy must be narrowed, which obviously would result in the victory of bourgeois democracy, which offer "more freedom," over socialism.

The value of bourgeois democracy is indisputable when compared with feudalism and fascism, which deprive an individual of all his human rights. It is obvious that the rights extracted from the capitalist class provide favorable conditions for the working masses in class struggle. However, the bourgeois interpretations that extremely exaggerate the rules, procedures and techniques of government--in other words, the formal elements of the political system--cannot be confused with the actual degree of a society's freedom. Bourgeois democracy has not yet placed the people in power anywhere and has not deprived the capitalists of actual power, not even amidst the sharpest rivalry among the political parties. By contrast, it is socialist society where, for the first time in history, "democracy in the true sense has been realized, and the people exercise actual power."¹⁶

The other argument with which attempts are made to present political pluralism as a necessary developmental stage also for socialism concerns the evolution of socialism's "national models." According to this concept, elements stemming from the particular national character will become dominant within the structure of every socialist society, and this could lead to the evolutionary dissolution, disintegration of the external alliance's status, which in its turn could seriously influence a change in the international balance of power. However, socialism is simultaneously a national as well as an international phenomenon. Socialist society that is being built within a national framework realizes simultaneously the dialectic harmony of the various national characteristics, and of the international, generally valid laws. Consequently socialist society is a vehicle simultaneously of both the differences and similarities, which together comprise an integral whole. In the present international situation, the cause of building socialism--which in the given country is a national cause--is also the common cause of the revolutionary forces in all the countries. Thus the antagonistic counterposition of the "national model" and the "Soviet model" is meaningless and superficial. Such attempts can serve only to undermine the socialist community. The bourgeois principle and practice of political pluralism cannot be applied even to the so-called national models of building socialism. Since Helsinki, it has become fashionable among Western political scientists to contend that "there is conflict between the CPSU, and the communist and worker parties of the other socialist countries." This phenomenon, too, was linked to detente, and great hopes were attached to it after Helsinki. The 25th CPSU Congress adopted a standpoint also on this issue: "It is common knowledge that on many questions the individual parties hold different views, but the general trend is unquestionably the greater unity of the socialist countries."17

After Helsinki, of course, many other ideological questions also have arisen and will continue to arise in the relationship between the two systems, a relationship that is characterized by the dialectic of detente, cooperation, and struggle. This is an objective phenomenon, a reflection of the contradictions of our time. Confrontation of the two ideologies is unavoidable.

FOOTNOTES

- 1. NEPSZABADSAG, 1 August 1976.
- "Az SZKP XXV. Kongresszusa" [The 25th CPSU Congress], Kossuth Publishing House, Budapest, 1976, p 21.

- 3. From L. I. Brezhnev's Helsinki speech, NEPSZABADSAG, 1 Aug 76.
- 4. Marx-Engels, "Muvei" [Works of], Vol 31, p 286.
- 5. "Az SZKP XXV. Kongrsszusa," p 25.
- 6. Ibid, p 521.
- 7. Ibid, p 24.
- 8. Ibid, p 34.
- 9. Pierre Hassner's study in LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, August 1976.
- "Az Europai Biztonsagi es Egyuttmukodesi Ertekezlet Zarookmanya" [Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation], Kossuth Publishing House, 1976, p 15.
- 11. TARSADALMI SZEMLE, No 7, 1976.
- 12. Charles Zorgbibe's article in LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, August 1976.
- 13. "Toward a New World," interview with Henry Kissinger, U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 23 June 1976.
- 14. Ibid.
- 15. Dr Artur Kiss, "Marxizmus es Demokracia" [Marxism and Democracy], Kossuth Publishing House, 1976, p 196.
- 16. Ibid, p 34.
- 17. "Az SZKP XXV. Kongresszusa," p 11.

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OPERATION OF PENAL SYSTEM EXAMINED

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 2, Apr-Jun 76 pp 16-27

[Article by Grigor Gjika: "Respect for Penal Procedural Norms Is a Fundamental Requirement of Our Socialist Justice"]

> [Text] 1. Prominent and forcefully expressed in the new draft constitution, which reflects the revolutionary political line of our party, is the profoundly democratic character of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the path for the further development and deepening of democracy and the continual strengthening of our state and social order.

This document of extraordinary historical importance, which contains a synthesis of our party's teachings, its unshakable line, and which affirms the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, also sets new tasks for the justice workers in further strengthening socialist legality, and organizing their work better so that the ideas of the draft constitution may be propagated on a broad scale and become the property of the working masses.

Revolutionary socialist legality, as a method of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a fundamental principle of the activity of the state organs, the social organizations and official persons, and of the behavior of citizens has been stressed clearly in many provisions of the draft constitution. Article 12 states: "It is the duty of the state organs, enterprises, institutions, organizations, government representatives and employees to respect and apply the constitution and the laws, which express the will of the working class and the other working masses." Regarding in particular the courts, as organs for the administration of justice, the draft stresses that they are established solely on the basis of the law (Article 107) and that one of their basic duties is to educate the working masses in the spirit of socialist legality (Article 105).

As a result of the work to revolutionize the whole life of the country, for ideopolitical education and the participation of the masses in the activity of the state organs, the growth of their culture and juridical selfawareness, the demands for observance of our legality are constantly growing. A feature of our socialist legality is that it is developing and growing stronger in the fight against the violations of it which are the work of the enemies of the party and government, of antisocial elements, dishonest men, individuals who act under the influence of alien psychology, under the presure of reactionary ideology. But it does not operate solely when there has been a violation of the law which has to be set aside. Socialist legality, with a content that is constantly being enriched more and more, is a great force for the further economic and cultural development of the country, for the strengthening of discipline and the shaping of the new man.

In the capitalist and revisionist countries, legality is in decay because the necessary social and political guarantees for its enforcement do not exist there. On the other hand, the classes in power themselves trample upon it and when they find their grave in the legal situation which they have created and, as Marx says, they cry in desperation "la legalite nous tue" ["legality is killing us"], legality is death for us, they issue still more savage laws and change the whole Penal Code into a mass of rubber. (K. Marx, "The Class Struggle in France," Tirana 1954, pp 31-32).

Quite the opposite in our country, where legality is a fundamental principle of our state and social life: here the growth in its role and importance in the building of socialism is an indispensable condition.

2. Respect for legality in our socialist society, the enforcement of the laws by the masses in a generally voluntary manner, is explained by the fact that they understand that the norms of justice protect their vital interests. More and more every day, the citizens see violations of the law as detrimental to the common interests of society and their personal interests and react against them in a resolute manner.

In the fight to defend socialist legality--aside from strengthening the job of persuading and educating the citizens, which is a fundamental line in this area--the application of penal measures is inevitable. The interests of society demand that hard and effective blows be struck at the authors of serious crimes, all those individuals who desert the ranks of the builders of socialism and commit socially dangerous acts. The scientific development of penal institutions, the drafting of the most perfect possible penal laws correctly reflecting our social reality, the provision of precise and just repressive measures for the various types of crimes in accordance with the party's directives and policy, are certainly one of the main guarantees in the struggle to eliminate dangerous social acts.

But this is not enough. To insure the proper enforcement of the penal law it is also necessary to regulate the activity of the state organs charged with the task of fighting crime in such a way that the facts and circumstances determined in each concrete penal case will correspond to the reality. Unless this requirement is fulfilled, the enforcement of the penal law cannot be either complete or precise. However perfect the penal law may be and however precise may be the formulations of that law, it will not have full value if its enforcement is partial. In general, the law has value only to the extent to which it can be applied. This function of full and just enforcement of the penal law is created by penal procedure.

Material penal justice and penal procedure are bound together in an organic manner. The one is a condition for the existence and enforcement of the other. Penal justice determines what acts are considered crimes and what are the penalties and measures that can be applied to the persons who have committed them. The right to impose penalties originates at the moment when a crime is committed, regardless of whether the person who committed it has been discovered or not. It is a relationship (material penal relationship) between the state government and the person who committed the crime. But the imposition of a penalty upon the authors of crimes is done by special state organs, which are obligated to clarify everything necessary, all the facts and circumstances, on the basis of which the perpetrator, the causes and motives for committing the crime, the degree of guilt and responsibility of the culprit can be ascertained. To perform this task, the investigating, prosecuting and court organs act on the basis of the law. During this activity certain relations (penal procedural relations) arise between those organs and between those organs and the citizens to which that activity extends.

From this it follows that the penal procedural relations serve as a means of determining the penal material relations. As a consequence, penal procedure and penal material justice are directed toward the achievement of the same objective, the conduct of the fight against crime, against acts detrimental to the interests of the state and society, which do harm to the socialist judicial order.

Penal procedure provides the order to be followed in investigating and trying penal cases to the end that the enforcement of penal justice may be effected in such a way as to respect fully the principle of socialist legality and the judicial guarantees for all those who take part in the penal proceedings.

This close connection and mutual conditioning between material penal justice and penal procedure has been expressed in a characteristic manner by K. Marx: "Procedure and justice are closely linked with one another, as, for example, the shapes of plants are linked with the plants themselves, and the shapes of animals with the flesh and blood of the animals. One spirit must pervade (inspire) procedure and law (material), since procedure is only the shape of the life of law, and consequently the manifestation of its internal life." (K. Marx, F. Engels, Works, vol 1, p 158).

This important thesis of K. Marx expresses the fact that the two branches of law, material penal justice and penal procedure, have the same political importance since both have the task of protecting the judicial system established by the class in power. In our society they serve to preserve and strengthen the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist judicial order. A common essential characteristic defining the connection between these two branches is their class nature, their class spirit. The norms of material penal justice and the norms of procedural justice are pervaded by socialist democratism, by the demand for the defense of the interests of the class and the working masses in general.

This union and connection between these two branches are general for all justice. The norms of justice in general and of each separate branch of it, its content, principles and institutions have been formed in the fire of the class struggle and are inevitably subject to class tendentiousness. But what is specific for the connection between material penal justice and penal procedure is that the defense of the interests of the class in power is achieved by prosecuting and condemning the authors of crimes. This task is served by penal justice with the aid of procedure, and penal procedure performs that task through penal justice. The sanctions provided by penal justice are applied by the courts as a result of the activity carried on in accordance with the penal procedural norms. Hence, penal justice cannot exist without penal procedure, or penal procedure without penal justice.

In the above quotation from K. Marx, procedure is considered as the form of internal life of the law (material) and it is stressed in the same passage that "material justice has its own necessary procedural forms, which are characteristic of it." Therein is expressed the like class nature of penal justice and penal procedure: that the content and forms of these two branches of justice are subject to the same class aims and political tendencies, and that the changes in the principles and institutions of penal procedure in different historical periods and political-social formations have been and are conditioned by the interests of the classes in power.

From a superficial study it might appear that penal procedure is the form of material penal justice and that it itself has no content of its own, and consequently material penal justice is the content of penal procedure. This is erroneous. In general, justice and each branch of it has its own form and content, and hence penal procedure has as its content certain ideological relations which, sanctioned in the procedural norms, become penal, procedural, judicial relations as well as the form of it, likewise special, which is expressed in the manner of regulating those relations. Penal procedural relations originate from material penal relations. The common cause of their origination is socially dangerous acts, and their common task is to combat them, and to remove the causes and conditions which originate them. Penal justice and penal procedure, then, complement one another, but do not absorb one another. There are essential differences between them, and they retain their relative independence.

3. The norms of penal procedure are the will of the class and the masses on the basis of which the social relations relating to the investigation, judgment and decision of penal cases are regulated. They determine the most effective ways and means of combating crime and preventing it. The competent state organs--inquest, the public attorney's office, the courts--especially charged by law with putting into effect the party's policy in this important field for the interests of society and the citizens, perform their duties in the forms prescribed by the law and by the measures provided by the law.

The order in which the participants in penal proceedings carry on procedural activity, the particular ways of beginning, investigating, judging and resolving penal cases, represents an effective method which must be used skillfully as a weapon in the fight against crime. This method insures the discovery and punishment of the perpetrators only, their sentencing according to the degree of guilt, the guaranteeing of innocent persons against undeserved prosecution and condemnation, the procurement of a maximum educational effect through procedural activity.

The precise and complete regulation of procedural activity is a necessary guarantee of the effectiveness of that activity in the fight against crime and the achievement of the other tasks of our socialist justice. This regulation is a crystallization of wide experience in this field. "Practice, the material life of people, in all degrees and in all cases, is what sets tasks for cognition and raises problems for it to solve. It thereby becomes a source, a motive force for cognition; in essence, it is nothing but an explanation of the tasks set by practice, the solution of the problems raised by it." ("Dialectic and Historical Materialism," Tirana, 1971, p 101). In laying down the rules governing the activity of the organs of justice, in investigating and judging cases, the experience accumulated directly or indirectly, the historical social practice in society's fight against socially dangerous acts, has served as a basis.

In the process of the people's revolution, the former penal procedural norms were considered nonexistent, the old forms were discarded, and new methods and institutions with socialist form and content arose in their stead. With the further development of our state and society and of our revolutionary practice in the construction of the socialist society, the structure of our organs of justice, the order of development of their activity in investigating and judging penal cases have undergone essential changes which have improved to a large degree the quality of the organs of investigation, public prosecution and justice and have increased the political-social results of that activity.

Apart from the changes which have been sanctioned in law, the principles, forms and methods applied in daily work by the investigators and judges have been enriched and perfected, and, at the same time, on the basis of generalization of experience, general theoretical theses have been elaborated and formulated which have been reflected in the decisions of our Supreme Court and in the guidelines of its plenum, acquiring the importance of obligatory norms.

The precision of the penal procedural norms and the theses elaborated in our penal procedural science in accordance with the teachings of our party has

been verified in practice as an objective and sole criterion of the truthfulness of the results, the knowledge. The procedural rules, institutions and principles of procedure rest upon the experience of many generations, generalized in a well-argued scientific manner, and also upon the exploitation of the achievements of the various sciences. This course of laying down procedural rules represents a necessary guarantee that the tasks of our socialist justice will be achieved through them. Inasmuch as those rules find confirmation in social practice having an absolute character, and since they themselves have this same character, they have the weight of absolute truth, and therefore their strict application is obligatory and a condition for the discovery of the truth in each concrete case. Curtailment or violation of the procedural norms by anyone is a violation of legality, punishable and dangerous to the interests of the state and the citizens who take part in the penal proceedings. The need to sanction and supplement the procedural norms as well as all laws, decrees and orders must--as Comrade Enver says--"emerge from a recognition and profound scientific materialist analysis of the conditions of material life." (Enver Hoxha, "Let Us Learn Marxist-Leninist Theory in Close Conjunction With Revolutionary Practice." Tirana, 1970, p 19). Practice is constantly developing, and hence, with its forward march, it may dictate the withdrawal or alteration of the existing procedural norms or the establishment of new norms, but all these things are done by the competent organs in accordance with a procedure that guarantees their conformity with the political-social requirements, with the guiding principles of our social justice.

"Whenever the course of events," says Comrade Enver, "creates contradictions and new problems, this must be accompanied by a review and amendment of our decrees and orders. Any idealization and fetishizing of what was established yesterday under given conditions becomes an obstacle to development and leads to bureaucratism when those conditions have changed." (Ibidem, p 19). This naturally does not mean that whenever the organs which have been authorized to enforce the law deem that a certain provision of a law, either in part or in its entirety, does not correspond to the demands of life, they have the right not to enforce it. The enforcement or nonenforcement of the law has not been left to the competence of the organs or official persons. The observance and enforcement of the legal norms in accordance with their true spirit is obligatory for all. If it is deemed that the law should be revised, everyone has the duty to address himself to the central organ of government which is competent to judge whether there is nonconformity of the norm with the demands of life as it develops and to give the proper resolution to the case. If the right to revise the laws were left to every state organ or official person, we would have dissolution of it and anarchy instead of the strengthening of legality.

4. There have been cases in practice where action has been taken in investigating or judging penal cases without taking into consideration some penal procedural norm or contrary to it. with the argument that the rules which this or that norm contains are "bureaucratic" or "formal." Such stands are contrary to the true interests of our justice. Penal procedural

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form represents the best means and method, confirmed by practice and resting upon the achievements of the various branches of science, to find the objective truth in every case, to guarantee to the highest possible degree the interests of society and the citizen who takes part in the penal proceedings in the capacity of defendant or any other.

Therefore, the violation and disregard of penal procedural form is a violation and disregard of the basic guarantees for society and the citizens. To resolve a case properly, it is not enough to have proletarian conscience, the desire to apply the party's policy in the fight against crime, the readiness to strike a merciless blow at the class enemy, but one must succeed in discovering the culprit, clearing up all the necessary circumstances in order to apply a suitable measure of punishment to the authors, in keeping with the degree of danger of the crime and its author, and in aiding in perfecting the system of prophylactic measures to prevent crime in the future. These requirements can be filled if the procedural rules are observed and enforced correctly and unconditionally.

The guidelines of the plenum and the decisions of our Supreme Court constantly emphasize the obligation to observe legality in rendering justice, and they require that the order prescribed by procedural law be followed in every concrete case so that the decision of the court may reflect the objective truth and convince the masses of its rightness. The penal procedural norms are connected with the political content of the duties of the investigating, prosecuting and judicial organs. They help to enforce penal policy without error and promote success in the fight against crime. Good organization of the work of the investigating and judicial organs and the insurance of accurate results require the observance of penal procedural form.

Penal procedural form is the whole set of conditions provided for by the law, on the basis of which the investigating, prosecuting and judicial organs exercise their functions in the fight against crime, and the citizens who take part in the penal proceedings exercise their rights and perform their duties. Procedural form, whenever in force, expresses the most effective regulation of social relationships, in the sphere of investigation, judgment and the decision of a penal case provided for by the norms of procedural law.

Penal procedural form has its own content and is at present the best and most effective method in the fight against crime. Therefore, it must not be considered as an empty formality, or as bureaucratic. Form is an expression of the existence of the content: it exists as a function of the content. Form becomes a useless formality, or formalism, when the procedural rules are violated, when its essence is disregarded. There are such manifestations of formal application of the procedural rules in cases, for example, where, at the beginning of the penal case or the apprehension of a person as defendant, the investigator does not adhere to the requirements of the law, according to which procedural action is dropped when there are not sufficient verified data. Penal procedural form is reduced to a bureaucratic rule when it is applied in a manner that impedes the development of the proceedings and does not serve the purpose for which is was established.

Beside the obligation to strictly enforce the procedural norms, the law also provides for wide operating autonomy, which leaves it up to the organs of justice which put them into effect to take into account all the peculiarities of concrete cases. This autonomy enables the said organs to act according to their appraisal of the concrete circumstances of a given case. This naturally does not mean that the competent state organ has the right to enforce or not enforce the law, but to enforce it in a more appropriate manner in a concrete case, to act always within the limits of the law and on the basis of it. For example, the investigator, the prosecutor or the court appraises the evidence in accordance with their inner conviction since no piece of evidence has a necessary prescribed value. The probatory value of the statement of a defendant and of any other kind of special evidence is appraised by taking into account the concrete circumstances of the case. Or the taking of security measures and the decision as to the type of that measure have been left to the discretion of the investigator, prosecutor or court. With such a regulation, the enforcement of those measures which are connected with the restriction of the liberty of a person can be effected more correctly and only in cases where it is necessary for the investigation of the case. In any specific case the investigator, proceeding from the concrete circumstances, may judge whether there is any danger that the defendant may impede rapid, complete, objective and comprehensive investigation of the case, whether the defense of the interests of society demands the taking of that measure, and so forth. Or the district court has the right, according to Article 19 of the law on the courts of the villages, the cities and the wards of cities, to take over and try any case which is within the jurisdiction of the village, city or city ward court when it deems that the dangerousness of the person or act is not small; and so forth.

The scope which the law recognizes for an investigator or court to act with initiative in applying the procedural norms is limited solely to the cases mentioned in the law. They are not permitted to question in any case whether this or that norm is or is not appropriate, whether it should or should not be applied in a concrete case. Where the legislator has seen fit to enable the investigator or judge to apply a procedural form in the way that seems the most proper to them to perform the duties of socialist justice, he has so stated in the law. Apart from these cases, the procedural form must necessarily be applied with precision.

Violation of the penal procedural form may lead, among other things, to consequences of a procedural character. Thus, the court of the second instance has the right to quash a decision of a court of the first instance for a serious violation of the rules of procedure. The law defines as serious violations those which in the final analysis have influenced or might influence the rendering of a correct decision (Article 316, Paragraph 1 of the Penal Procedural Code). This provision does not speak of violation of procedural norms of a serious nature, but of the seriousness of the violation. The norms of penal procedure, as norms of justice, as an expression of the class will, are important and obligatory. These norms define the work methods, the forms which insure the discovery of the truth and guarantee the lawful rights and interests of the parties in the penal proceedings. There are, then, no obligatory norms and norms whose application is optional. However, since the penal procedural form is not an end in itself to guarantee the performance of the duties of justice, it is left up to the court of the second instance, primarily in order to render a just verdict, to appraise from case to case whether a given violation has influenced or might influence the rightness of a concrete decision. With this liberty of the court of the second instance to judge, on the basis of the concrete circumstances of each case, whether a violation committed in the inquest or judicial examination of a case is or is not important: the aim is to apply the procedural forms in the most appropriate and rational way and to eliminate unjustified delay of cases. But even in those cases where the court of the second instance judges that the violation of the rules of procedure has not and could not have influenced this concrete case, its correct resolution, it is obligatory to draw up a separate decision on it pointing out the violations noted and the organs which have permitted them. Regardless of the distinction which the law makes with regard to the consequences of violation of the procedural rules, it remains and must be regarded as such, as a departure from the law. It may be an expression of gaps in ideopolitical training, defects in vocational and scientific schooling, undervaluation of the procedural rules, carelessness on the part of the one who committed it; and so on. For this reason, a stand must be taken toward him and the other cadre who had the duty to expose and remove him but who did not perform this duty scrupulously in exercising control, and so on. This is of fundamental importance as a work method for rooting in every worker's mind the spirit of unconditional observance of the law and intolerance toward any violation of it.

The Code of Penal Procedure provides for another category of violations of the procedural norms which invariably cause the annulment of a decision. When a court of the second instance ascertains that one of these violations has been committed (those mentioned tentatively in Article 316, Paragraph two of the Code of Penal Procedure), it is obliged to decide to annul the decision. Because of their nature, violations of this category always compromise the justness of the decision. For this reason, the law does not recognize the right of the court of second instance to act according to its judgment of the violation, and there is no need for it to verify whether a violation of this category has or has not been reflected in the final resolution of the case. When there is such a violation (for example, the court has not been regularly constituted, the case has been tried without the participation of a defending attorney in those cases where the presence of a defending attorney is obligatory, the defendant has not been informed of the accusation, and so forth), the decision is considered illegal and must therefore be annulled forthwith.

The growth in the demands of prosecutors and courts upon themselves, 5. the strengthening of the control of the public prosecutor and the courts of the second instance in the matter of observance of the laws is in accord with the natural law of our social order. Penal procedural law has the duty to resolve practical questions of the construction of socialism in our country. The detection of crimes, the imposition of just punishments upon the persons who have committed them and, at the same time, the elimination of errors against innocent persons are political duties confronting our whole society and the special organs charged with the fight against crime. Their performance can be accomplished by respecting socialist legality without concessions. Every concrete question, regardless of its importance, must be resolved in keeping with the requirements of the law in general and of the procedural norms in particular. Violation of the procedural norm under any pretext is violence done to the class will, a compromising of the fulfillment of the duties of justice in the fight against crime.

The incessant fight that the party has waged and is waging strengthens legality more and more, and is increasing and achieving more fully the guarantees of the observance of the rights and interests of the citizens who take part in penal proceedings. The opposite is the case in the bourgeois and revisionist states. In those countries one notes an unfolding process of dissolution of legality, of the denial of procedural guarantees in practice. "The judicial process," wrote Marx, "is only a safe conveyer, which is to take the adversary to prison, a mere preparation for execution, and where the process demands something to be more we silence it." (K. Marx and F. Engels, Works, vol 1, p 157.) In the bourgeois and revisionist countries, the penal process, however masked, is a weapon in the hands of the minority to strengthen its dictatorship. Behind "the tinsel of constitutional legality" and the formally democratic institutions, behind the liberties and the guarantees of citizens' rights that are trumpeted so noisily must always be seen the harsh class struggle, the struggle between capital and its government and the proletariat and the other oppressed social masses.

In the administration of justice, essential changes have been made on the basis of a generalization of experience, the revolutionary practice of the construction of socialism in our country. Developing on an ascending course, our penal process has acquired new features. Its democratism has become deeper, procedural guarantees have been strengthened, and their tasks have increased and their content has been enriched. A source of strength and inspiration, a decisive factor in the successes achieved in this field, have been the party's teachings and its constant leadership.

The creation of the judicial councils under the district courts was dictated chiefly by our party's general line on strengthening the ties with the masses, and facilitating their participation in the administration of justice. In performing the task of fighting and preventing crime, it is necessary to mobilize the masses and their colossal strength. Activation of the masses also serves to strengthen the procedural guarantees of socialist legality as well. An especially important step in developing and deepening the line of the masses is the creation of the village, city and town ward courts. In this social organism there is a correct and original intermingling of the selfaction of the masses with the activity of the state government organs, of the force of mass influence with the force of state restraint, of the initiative of the masses with the fundamental requirements for organizing the activity of the state organs, of the illustrious traditions of our people in discussing and resolving matters of common interest with the principal requirements of procedure. By their very nature and peculiarities these courts are not bound by all of the procedural forms applied in the activity of the other courts. The masses and the courts are thus freer to act according to the requirements of the concrete case in order to achieve the aim of influencing the persons under trial and all others. But here too, the fundamental principles guaranteeing the rightness of the final decision are applied.

The 1975 decree "On Some Additions and Amendments to the Code of Penal Procedure of the People's Republic of Albania" does not represent a simplification of penal proceedings to the detriment of procedural guarantees. The additions and amendments made by that decree have the purpose of freeing proceedings from unnecessary procedural actions without in any way infringing the guarantees established to ascertain the truth and to protect the rights and legal interests of the defendant and the other participants in the trial. Quite the contrary: those amendments increase the responsibility of the judicial organs and the public prosecutor's office for a more correct conduct of procedural activity, for organizing their work to a higher degree in order to achieve fully the purposes of the proceedings and obviate any impression that might be created by a departure from the former procedural order.

6. To achieve the purposes for which the penal procedural norms have been issued, they have to be put into effect. The legal sanctioning of the rights and liberties of the citizen, the provision of forms serving to guarantee those rights and interests are not enough to insure their just and effective enforcement. Our political-social order is the foremost guarantee for the application of the procedural norms and the achievement of the aims which they pursue. Without political and social guarantees, the legal rights and interests of the citizens can have no real character.

Under the conditions of our social order there is a whole system of guarantees making it possible to protect the person of the citizen, his rights and interests. Thanks to those guarantees, to our political-social order, the rights of a person are real and not a judicial fiction. Declarative, purely formal norms are alien to our socialist society.

Justice among us is administered on the basis of the constitutional principle of the equality of citizens before the law. We recognize no limitation or privilege in the rights and duties of citizens for reasons of sex, race, nationality, education, social position or material situation. The proceedings in our courts are conducted on the basis of a single order, on the basis of the same procedural forms; the character and volume of the guarantees for the persons taking part in a trial are identical. The court is independent and decides solely on the basis of the law. A fundamental political guarantee in the observance of socialist legality and the protection of the rights and liberties of citizens is the leading role of the party, the sole political guiding force for state and society. It leads and controls the activity of the organs of justice by the most varied forms and methods without replacing state control.

Intrinsic importance in applying the penal procedural norms attaches to the cadres, the representatives of the investigative, prosecuting and court organs involved in the decision of concrete cases. They have the responsibility for the correct and principled resolution of all the problems that may arise during the investigation and trial of a case. Success in performing their duties depends upon a thorough understanding of the party line, upon the active directing and organizing activity which they conduct in applying the procedural norms. The independence of the court in examining cases, as sanctioned by the Constitution, the independence of the prosecutor's office, the strengthening of the autonomous status of the investigator effected by unifying the investigator's office in recent years, have had the purpose of insuring enforcement of the law, and resolving cases in accordance with their free conviction resting upon socialist judicial conscience without any influence from others. This increases their authority but also their responsibility for the obligatory enforcement of the laws according to the spirit and true understanding which they possess. The said organs or cadres do not have the right to act on the basis of personal considerations instead of applying the legal norms strictly, without taking into account the precepts of those norms; or, instead of the solutions permitted by the law, to render other solutions that seem more correct and useful to them. No justification, no pretext whatsoever can legitimate attitudes and actions that are contrary to the law.

Our legislation in general and penal procedural legislation have the purpose of achieving performance of the duties of our socialist justice. Departure from the demands of the law can only bring harm. Violation of the law undermines the authority of it and of the organ which permits the violation, renders difficult or impossible the discovery of the truth, impairs the rights and interests of the defendant and the parties to the trial. The concrete circumstances or the alleged special interests in the case which may be adduced as arguments to justify the nonapplication or the irregular application of the procedural norms in some instances are false pretexts which have their origin in the inability to apply the law correctly, in a lack of sense of responsibility, in a distorted understanding of the interests of society. The proper enforcement of the law absolutely requires that the concrete circumstances of the case, the class struggle situation, the dynamics of the type of crime committed in general and in that district or region, the personality of the defendant, and so forth, shall be taken into account. The laws are a live expression of the will of the class and the masses. They can be properly applied and achieve the purposes for which they have been laid down when consideration is given in each instance to the concrete peculiarities of the case and all the other circumstances manifesting the class spirit, the spirit for the construction of the new society which

permeates our laws. The opposite practice, that is, the disregard of the conditions and peculiarities of a specific case or the resolution of a case on the basis of other considerations, outside of the requirements of the law, is harmful formalism, illegality, judicial pragmatism wholly foreign to our justice. There is no ruling out of cases where certain persons or districts of the injured party, the defendant or other persons who have an interest in concluding the case work on public opinion regarding the character and importance of the case, the guilt of the defendant, and so forth. As a consequence, the investigator, the prosecutor or the judge may encounter interference and demands that create a climate unfavorable to a calm and objective resolution of the case. The negative influence of this atmosphere must absolutely be eliminated with the aid of the party. Nothing must be out of tune in the generally sound political atmosphere prevailing among us. No one is allowed to make concessions in the matter of legality. The principled and partisan stand of the organs of investigation, prosecution and the courts, the resolution of every case solely on the basis of the law is the most vivid example for educating the masses in a spirit of respect for the law.

Our penal process has been built on principles and institutions which insure the performance of its duties. But the provision of democratic principles, of institutions and procedural rules alone does not guarantee the attainment of the objectives. Of importance for this is who applies them and how he applies them. With the great job done under the party's leadership, the justice workers too have gained the necessary political maturity, the proper professional and cultural level to appraise correctly the importance of their tasks and to understand the political importance of respecting legality in investigating and trying penal cases and the damage that may come from a nihilistic and irresponsible attitude toward the procedural norms.

Of course, the procedural norms must not be fetishized. They do not have in themselves the power to guarantee the achievement of the objectives. The discovery of the objective truth in every penal case, the insurance of the educational effects on the masses, the effective protection of the rights and liberties of citizens during the penal proceedings require as a condition an enforcement of the procedural norms that is not formal, passive and lifeless, but a creative and vital enforcement in accord with the content and the purpose which they pursue. Concerning a number of fundamental questions the investigating, prosecuting and court organs have full power to decide them according to their appraisal of the concrete circumstances, in conformity with the interests of justice. The correct use of that power requires good professional training, a well-developed sense of responsibility and self-confidence. When the investigator apprehends a person as a defendant and decides upon his detention without the presence of the conditions required by the law, or when he sends a case to court without being fully convinced of the guilt of the defendant, he is applying the procedural norms in a formal manner and is trampling the principle of the presumption of innocence, according to which a case must be dropped if the guilt of the defendant has not been confirmed with certainty. The same principle is violated by the courts of second instance when, instead of dropping the case for lack of sufficient evidence, they return it to the investigator's office

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or to the court of the first instance; or the court acts irresponsibly and violates the rights and interests of the defendant when it fails to appoint a defender for him, chiefly in those cases where the case is complicated and it is obligated by law to do so; and so forth.

Our penal procedure has been and is being developed by strengthening legality and democratism. The party's teachings and directives are being substantiated ever better in the improvement of the organization of penal proceedings and the performance of the duties of justice in the frontal fight being waged to educate the masses in the revolutionary class spirit, and to eliminate violations of the laws and other antisocial manifestations. A clear indication of that process, which is general for all the state organs and organizations, is the success in the fight against the old bureaucratic practices, the conclusion of cases in a short time, the defense of the rights of citizens taking part in penal cases, the protection of people who live and work according to the norms of communist morality, who apply the party's teachings everywhere. Penal procedure is, in this sense, a charter for the rights and liberties of our citizens.

10002 CSO: 2100

BULGARIA

ECONOMIST ACCUSED OF FOREIGN CURRENCY DEALS, DISCLOSURE OF SECRETS

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 30 Oct 76 p 3

[Article by G. Buchvarov]

[Text] We have sought counsel from this man. He has participated in social discussions. Through him we wanted to seek truths. They say that now, when the entire guilt has been unloaded upon his shoulders, he has changed. Nothing remains of the proud, scientist commanding respect. No matter how cruel, this change in him does not inspire compassion. After all, in order truly to understand it, we are obligated to preserve his image as it had been when he was committing that which the law calls crime, and society--downfall.

This man is Professor Rumen Yanakiev.

Head of the Department for Economic Management and Technical Data Processing, Management Theory and Modelling Social Systems at the Karl Marx. Higher Economic Institute he was also Director of the National Center for Social Labor Productivity, Professor of Statistics in the Advanced School of Economics in Berlin for many years. Through the United Nations he was appointed as expert on industrial statistics for an African government, he was also the recipient of a Ford Foundation fellowship....

This man turned out to be in possession of secret or, to be more precise, "black deposits" in the Swiss banks Lloyd and Societe de Banque Suisse.

Why was it necessary for Rumen Yanakiev, a man who doesn't need anything, to conceal thousands of Swiss francs in Western banks? Why was it that a man who has been entrusted with great authority and confidence by our government, in order to express himself both as a scientist and a human being, felt that it was necessary to conceal secret personal accounts from his state? Our country provides facilities and guarantees for every citizen possessing foreign currency to preserve it as well as to use it. As is known, our country has a financial system which protects the interests of Bulgarians from the short-term changes in the Western monetary market and, very often, under far more advantageous conditions, ensures for each family the necessary goods for personal use, purchased with foreign currency.

Rumen Yanakiev has benefited from these facilities as well. His deposit in the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank exceeds \$20,000. He has purchased, through the foreign trade enterprise "KOREKOM,' three automobiles, household appliances, and other goods. He has used foreign currency to purchase a garage in the exclusive Zaimov housing complex and a villa in Kokalyane.

Once again, the question which has become nightmarish for Yanakiev arises--Why did he need the other deposit? His explanation is that this was money on which he relied in the event of need for medical treatment abroad. People like him are familiar with the "weakness of our society" to assess every fact from its human aspect. Thus, their first attempt to defend themselves is always on the basis of humane reasons.

Yet, reality is somehow more prosaic.

If one calculates the amount of money given to Yanakiev through legal channels, the amount which he had spent and the amount he saved, one would not get the expected equation. Furthermore, according to documents of the Swiss banks, within a period of several consecutive months he made foreign currency deposits which far exceeded his monthly income.

At this point the intervention of the organs of investigation and justice becomes necessary. Yanakiev, naturally, has a number of explanations, but we cannot disregard his statement that he acquired the foreign currency through his work.

This already concerns the honor of all of us as citizens. He has been sent abroad both as a representative of our country and of Bulgarian scientific thought. Sufficient resources have been allocated to him to live well and to have no need of supplemental income, to be able to preserve, within a society founded on different principles, the dignity of a Bulgarian scientist even with regard to his income. However, he constantly made certain personal calculations which preoccupied his thoughts and motivated him toward actions alien to our moral standards, thus lowering the scientist to the level of a petty cheat. Occasionally he concealed the resources allocated to him by the state, compelling his hosts to absorb his expenses abroad. He maintained systematic contacts with persons and institutes, fully aware that they were engaged in hostile activities toward our country, yet with their assistance he increased his income. In his aspirations toward enrichment he crudely neglected his official responsibilities; he took out and published in Western journals facts and information without the knowledge of the competent organs in our country and in this fashion he disclosed official secrets.

Nonetheless, is this sufficient to erase the large question mark standing before his unaccounted for income?

Let the specialists tell us!

Regardless of what type of morals a person may have, provided they rest on sound social principles, one could hardly find a single good word to justify Yanakiev's actions. There is something in those principles which man detests, which has long been alien to his nature. And to us this is even more terrible because our society builds its criteria upon virtues and dignity.

The road chosen by Yanakiev leads to the complete degradation of man, because in the final analysis, greed leads to crime.

Co-workers and colleagues of Yanakiev relate that frequently even the grades and knowledge of students, graduate students, and assistants were turned by him into a mechanism for enrichment; he was creating favorable conditions for settling personal accounts. He demonstrated a lack of principle. He emerged as the representative of foreign science which has little applicability in our country. Many people expressed their dissatisfaction that the Center for Labor Productivity, directed by him, had been transformed into a representative center of Western scientists instead of being a place for the solution of prospective problems of our economic development. His attention had been focused exclusively on the arrangement of personal contacts with scientists from capitalist countries and business trips abroad, unrelated to his immediate official activity.

It is natural that shades of suspicion might arise: Aren't these the usual blows inflicted on a man fallen in disrepute? For this reason we do not dwell on the details, and we do not open the way to opportunities for the expression of passions and feelings. We are presenting only established facts which lie in the logical connection with his unbridled selfishness, portraying him as a man who had proclaimed himself omnipotent and had begun to live with the idea that he could act as he pleased.

This is the way he was before he was called to account. It appears now that the change is only external. These days he has turned into an eager defender of his criminal acts, presenting in false light a series of facts concerning his actions, belittling them, and justifying himself with "lack of knowledge" of the law.

By means of these actions, his tendency is to involve a number of his acquaintances so as to seek sympathy and collaboration threatening with the might of "powerful people," yet in the long run he always encounters his own helplessness.

Unfortunately, no one has yet come forth to stop him, to save at least a fraction of his dignity.

8989 CSO: 22200

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

FDGB-DGB RELATIONS--According to Heinz-Oskar Vetter, [West] German Labor Union Federation (DGB) chief, "no subject was omitted" during the talks held in East Berlin between the GDR's Free German Labor Union Federation (FDGB) and the DGB. At the conclusion of a 3-day visit on 10 November 1976, Vetter confirmed that there were considerable differences of opinion on the part of both delegations at the conference. These differences reportedly consisted of ideological matters as well as the development of the relations between the two German states, including the matter of family reunions. Even FDGB chief Harry Tisch admitted at a joint press conference that there was a disparity of views. Both trade union leaders welcomed the planned continuation of the dialog between the DGB and the FDGB. Vetter took the view that the dialog would contribute toward establishing further contacts between individual trade unions within the two German states. Harry Tisch, who is also a member of the SED Politburo, gave an evasive reply to the question of a West German journalist as to whether there would be increased travel to the West by GDR citizens. The FDGB chairman irritatedly referred to the current East-West travel, commenting that the intensification of such travel was up to the state organs and not the trade unions. [Excerpts] [Bonn DIE WELT in German 11 Nov 76 p 2]

CSO: 2300

JABLONSKI POINTS NEW PROFESSORS TO 'TRUTH,' 'EXAMPLE'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 76 pp 1, 3 AU

[Report on speech by Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council, during the 10 November Warsaw appointment of new professors]

[Text] Speaking of the impact of scholars on the development of the nation's spiritual culture, H. Jablonski stressed that it is impossible to speak of spiritual culture without defining a set of ethical norms that a given community regards as binding, without examining the extent to which these norms are applied in practice, and without explaining the criteria of the values resulting from the philosophy adopted by the community in question. The same principle applies to the problems of aesthetics, even though differences are as a rule much greater. The greater the development of democracy, the more important is the political and legal culture of society. The greater the degree of economic development, the greater is the role of the culture of production, which is part of material as well as spiritual culture.

It would be erroneous, H. Jablonski continued, to draw from the correct statement that the character of a nation is expressed through its spiritual culture, the conclusion that this culture is unchangeable. It is true that changes occur slowly, and that history affects the present times more than it affects other periods, but changes in the material base of society's life, in the development of production forces and production relations, in the social and political system, in the spread of knowledge, and in the growth of the role of science, influence the character of the nation and its culture. The more profound these changes, the greater is their impact and the more enduring their results.

However, this also means that in the periods of a special intensity of social, political, and economic transformations, a sharp confrontation occurs between the old and the new in culture, and struggles over the form of the transformation of the nation's character takes place. This was so in the past, and this is all the more so now when the scientifictechnical revolution is spreading throughout the world and is intertwined in our area with the social revolution. If this struggle takes place in

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a haphazard way, and if those who seek to raise the material and spiritual standards of the nation and who, because of their functions, occupy particularly important places in science and culture, do not pursue their activities in complete knowledge of what was valuable in the past, of what should be preserved with the greatest possible care, and of what is now a liability, checks progress and hinders development, the cost paid by society is bound to be great. This imposes considerable research duties on those versed in the humanities and, in a broader sense, on all those who exert a decisive impact on training and developing highly skilled cadres. This poses tasks with regard to schools, the teaching system, and the methods by which pupils and students are trained for practical activities.

In this context, H. Jablonski drew attention to the role and tasks of information, the ever increasing riches of which apply not only to technology or science; they also apply to politics, economic problems, arts.... We must be able to find our way in all this, and to sort the wheat from the chaff. There is plenty of chaff because the information flow is accompanied under conditions of confrontation between the old and the new by a flow of disinformation, which also uses modern mass media, assuming a false and protective coloring to hide its real nature.

As internationalists and fighters for the peaceful cooperation among all states and nations, we want true information, H. Jablonski stressed. However, if the various enemies of the truth dare to call out for "freedom of the flow of information and ideas," comprehending these "ideas" as propaganda of racism, militarism, national or religious hatred, the struggle against international detente and the praise of violence of pornography under the guise of a sui generis culture, then they must meet with rebuff in the name of the highest ideals of humanism of all mankind.

Addressing the new professors, H. Jablonski stressed that educational work is a most important part of professional activities. On most occasions we say in the same breath: instruction and training. This should be so, but must go further: if we fail to train man in the right way and develop aspects of his character such as the hunger for knowledge, the desire for constantly developing his skills in acquiring and selecting information, the self-dependence in thinking or the aspiration to act creatively, then we will have to fear that even our greatest achievements in the area of science or arts will not produce the necessary results and will not play the necessary social role.

Of all the forms of influence, example is of particular importance. If a pupil or student has no doubts whatever that his professors are sincerely and profoundly convinced that they are part of the working masses, and that the words such as nation, state, motherland, and socialism sound on their lips as supreme values, such an example will certainly make its enduring impact, which means that a valuable contribution has been made to developing the spiritual culture of an important section of our community.

H. Jablonski congratulated the new professors on their appointments, and wished them further success.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

JOZEF TEJCHMA ADDRESSES PORTUGUESE CP CONGRESS FOR PZPR

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13-14 Nov 76 p 2 AU

[PAP report from Lisbon: "The Chairman of the PZPR Delegation Speaks at the Eighth Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party"]

[Excerpt] Friday, 12 November, was the second day of the Portuguese Communists' congress. The delegates continued their discussion on the theses and the accountability report submitted by the Portuguese Communist Party Central Committee. The congress also heard speeches made by representatives of the other communist and workers parties whose delegations are attending the congress.

One of the first speakers at the afternoon session of the congress was Jozef Tejchma, chairman of the PZPR delegation and PZPR Politburo member. His speech was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic applause and shouts: "Poland, Poland."

J. Tejchma extended to the congress delegates the cordial wishes and greetings from the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and from all Polish Communists. He stressed that the Eighth Congress of the Portuguese Communists was a great event in the life of the Portuguese party and the entire country and that, in view of the profound revolutionary changes in Portugal in the past few years, it was also a very significant event for the entire international communist and workers movement.

Inspired by the spirit of proletarian internationalism, J. Tejchma said, we express our solidarity with the struggle waged by your party and other progressive and democratic forces in defense of the Portuguese revolution's achievements. International solidarity and strengthening the unity of the communist movement are a source of its strength as a whole and the chief condition for success in the struggle of each of its members.

The socialist countries' unceasing progress in all the areas of life constitutes a reliable reaffirmation of the truth that the problems of our times can be solved for the benefit of the working masses only along the road to socialism. The PZPR, J. Tejchma continued, is continuing the construction of socialist society in keeping with the eighth congress resolutions. Our party's strategy subordinates all economic and political measures to the supreme aim of increasing the quality of life in our society with the help of the ever-increasing quality of work.

The successful development of socialist construction in Poland and the interests of the workers class, the masses and nations throughout the world are inseparably linked to the struggle for detente, security, peace and the development of mutually beneficial cooperation among the countries with different social systems. The CSCE results, to which our two parties made a crucial contribution, serve this cause. The Polish People's Republic attaches great importance to developing friendly cooperation with the Portuguese Republic. We are pleased with the progress already achieved in this regard. We wish to further deepen and expand this cooperation for the benefit of our two states and peoples. This is because the Polish people have a great affection for the new Portugal.

The PZPR and the Portuguese Communist Party are linked by the common aim of socialism, J. Tejchma said in conclusion.

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

PROFITEER SENTENCED FOR DIVULGING ECONOMIC SECRETS

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 7 Oct 76 p 24

<u>/</u>Article by A. Dohotaru: "Sentenced for Disclosure of Economic Secrets and Illegal Possession of Valuta<u>"</u>/

<u>/Text</u>/ From inertia, from boredom, from superstition, from the fear of perhaps touching the memory of one who suddenly disappeared behind bars, as if this disappearing person had had a secret pact with the devil, the following details continue to be recorded to the right of the name Holtzman, Hans Friederich in the register of addresses and telephone numbers kept by the secretary of a design institute: chief design engineer, grade 3, No 26A Vatra Luminoasa Street, apartment house C-1, staircase A, 5th floor, apartment 26, sector 3, telephone number 62 16 25. But, obviously, Hans Friederich Holtzman has not answered at this telephone number for a long time.

Who, in fact, is this Hans Friederich Holtzman, a discreet tenant and a traveler through several streets in Bucharest, distinguished, elegant, stunning, smoking scented cigarettes, breathing noisily like a long-distance runner and inspiring an air of prosperity and impertinence capable of upsetting even the compasses of the airplanes that flew over him? Who is this man of medium height, with blond hair and eyes of an indeterminate color, bronzed, playful, although age has put several deep wrinkles at the corners of his eyes, and several famous stomatologists worked at restoring his nonchalant and winning smile? Who, in the final analysis, is the chief design engineer, a specialist with experience and good manners, skillful in professional and private conversations, a man about town, sought insistently by visitors, a walking collection of jokes that go around the world, a bridge champion and a tennis player with diplomatic opponents, the possessor of an apartment completely furnished in a Florentine style, inundated in luxury and in champagne?

Who is therefore, today, 7 October, this Hans Friederich Holtzman? Neither more nor less than a sad and despondent convict in prison for disclosure of economic secrets and illegal possession of valuta! Hans Friederich Holtzman knew the German, French and English languages to perfection. In addition, he juggled with the vocabulary of several less widely known languages, useful to a tricky man and a reveler, determined to live well from linguistic contortions and from treachery. Thanks to his worldly bearing, thanks to his ability in conversations with foreigners, the lively chief design engineer was appoined to various institute delegations that participated in secret dealings with foreign firms. (A man who knows many foreign languages and who, moreover, is familiar with the problems that are discussed is sometimes extremely valuable during the dealings.) However, one must bear in mind the fact that such talks have a character of a marathon, last sometimes months, sometimes years, that the wearying sessions of discussions continue for hours in a row, with cigarettes and coffee, with mineral water and antineuralgics. We want to say that economic talks of this sort are not like a cocktail party, with a mutual exchange of compliments, but become careful and stubborn struggles. During the talks, the people, breathing and living together, looking one another in the eyes, talking to one another, sometimes escape from the zone of calculations on the order of millimicrons, open the windows to breath fresh air, tell jokes to one another, laugh, clap one another on the shoulder, go to lunch or supper together, see a show together, but always return to the worktable, preoccupied, serious, sometimes glacial and sullen.

It is certain that the representatives of the firms that offer their services try to gain the trust of our delegates from the institute, to draw attention to the quality of their designs--in short, to sell their merchandise under profitable conditions. (Bear in mind that in such cases countless firms participate--separately, obviously--in such dealings and that each time the discussions must be taken back and carefully corroborated. Here no mistakes can slip by! Each extra word can cost lei valuta!)

These representatives of the foreign firms are very good psychologists, know well the stratagems of economic dealings, can find out the weaknesses of the people whom they approach, and sometimes attempt the impossible: a weak collaborator, a collaborator disposed to offer information about the competing firms or about the throughts of the institute delegation that is participating in the talks. During the talks regarding a certain foreign design, extracted from a gallery of designs made available by other competing firms, Hans Friederich Holtzman himself became, stealthily, one of these informers.

How? Longing for money, apparently inattentive and with unpredictable behavior, the representative of the institute was overwhelmed at first by words, then by invitations to dinner, to walks, and found himself, in his turn, obliged to invite his friends home, to listen to music, to drink a glass of wine and to show what an important person--without whom the institute would collapse--he was! From this to the pathological eagerness to tell all that he knew, to give information about the competing firms, to reveal the plans of the delegation of the institute, was a step that Hans Friederich Holtzman made with the dexterity and elegance of a step of a Viennese waltz. So he went, as a reward, on a month's trip to the West, on the money of his well-wishers, then returned with a Fiat 125, and likewise, it seems, ascended by elevator to the 5th floor of an apartment house on Vatra Luminoasa, where he had a privately owned apartment. However, the game became more complicated. Caught in the spider's web of obscure interests, subjugated, and disposed to open his heart to the representatives of the foreign firm that enlisted him, Hans Friederich Holtzman took as his profession the trade of "clandestine peddler of information." From a reveler he became a polished, skilled informer. He began to work with alibis. He no longer took his interlocutors from the hotel, so as to not be conspicuous. He met with them in a car, on side streets, on romantic, shady streets. where the discussion seemed shielded by darkness. In the daytime, during the talks. Mr Hans Friederich Holtzman was the same worldly fellow who waited on the guests with Romanian and foreign cigarettes (at one's choice), joking, impulsive, and at night, under the shelter of darkness and his privately owned car, a common thief who sold secrets and received money! The rest of the time he played bridge! The rest of the time he played tennis on inconspicuous courts. The rest of the time he rushed around by car, pressing the accelerator to the floor. At first in a Fiat 125, a year later in a Lancia, and another year later in a late-model Ford.

Until the evening on which he was arrested, in his own residence, while he was initiating several representatives of the foreign firm into the secrets of the game of bridge and especially into the secrets of the transaction that was to take place the next day. It was the evening on which the elevator descended from the fifth floor of the apartment on Vatra Luminoasa, underground, to a less bright and more discreet place.

And so, the bridge players lost one of their champions, the tennis players one of their impostors, and the design engineers one of their traitors. Ultimately it was proved that the engineer, who was not even an engineer, but a dilettante with university studies unfinished and with the school of life graduated on false certificates, was a common-law criminal.

12105 CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

CHANGE IN ORGANIZATION OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY COUNCIL

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 91, 1 Nov 76 p 3

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole article--Decree No 275/1973 on the organization and operation of the National Council for Science and Technology, which became Law No 91/1973, with subsequent modifications, is amended as follows:

1. Article 6 paragraph 2 will have the following content:

"The following members, by law, of the National Council for Science and Technology: the chairman, the first vice chairman, the vice chairmen, and the state secretary of the National Council for Science and Technology, the chairman of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the chairmen of the academies of sciences, the chairman of the State Committee for Nuclear Energy, and the directors general of the central research institutes."

2. Article 9 letter a) will have the following content:

"a) the chairman, the first vice chairman, the vice chairmen and the state secretary of the National Council for Science and Technology;"

3. Article 11 paragraph 1 will have the following content:

"Between sessions of the executive bureau, the activity of the National Council for Science and Technology is directed by a chairman, assisted by a first vice chairman, vice chairmen, and a state secretary."

4. Article 12 paragraph 2 will have the following content:

"The first vice chairman, the vice chairmen, and the state secretary of the National Council for Science and Technology are appointed by decision of the Council of Ministers."

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 1 November 1976

YUGOSLAVIA

RESEARCH ON ALCOHOLISM IN INDUSTRY AND MINING

Belgrade NARODNO ZDRAVLJE in Serbo-Croatian No 7-8, 1976 pp 224-230

[Excerpt from article by Joko Poleksic, doctor of science and chief staff physician, "Epidemiological Research on Alcoholism in Industry and Mining in Yugoslavia"]

[Excerpt] Research Into the Peculiarities of Working Conditions in Various Industries

Much attention is being paid in present-day studies of the etiology of alcoholism to studies of the peculiarities of working conditions in various industries, that is, of the specific work situation and of its pathogenic effect. Studies are made of numerous physicochemical factors of the work environment which are assumed to favor abuse of alcohol: CO and trichloroethylene, and then climatic conditions, air pollution and many other factors. The worker in modern industry is moreover exposed to numerous psychological pressures, which are customarily referred to as occupational or industrial psychological stresses. It is particularly important from the standpoint of the worker's emotional and adaptive balance that he feel safe and secure at his work station, that he have good interpersonal relations, the appropriate outlook on the part of the foreman from the standpoint of mental hygiene, and then the worker's feeling that he belongs to a particular group and the feeling of stable occupational status and assured earnings.

In some economic activities, in mining particularly, the adverse conditions of the physicochemical environment are accompanied by numerous psychosocial pressures, above all the feeling of constant threat at the work station. K. Horney pointed up the importance of the external hazards which create certain fears in every subculture and are common to all the members of that group. Those basic fears are what a majority of miners have in common in their experience of their work environment, but they do not hinder the effective work and social adaptation of most members of the group, but in vulnerable individuals they can give way to some mental disturbance. Alcoholism is one of the frequent pathological manifestations of the interaction of these environmental (socioecological) factors and of individual psychological factors in an industrial population, particularly miners, exposed to hazards; by means of the anxiolytic and sedative effects of ethanol the workers strive to counteract the emotional tension which has occurred because of the basic environmental fears and in part from their intrapsychic conflicts as well.

Thus the psychological aspects of work have assumed special dimensions with the very rapid development of industry, making industry, as a phenomenon of the age in which we live, an interesting environment in which to conduct various types of research. In our country the process of very rapid industrialization, urbanization and migration of the population affords an opportunity to study in statu nascendi the mechanisms of the occurrence and prevalence of alcoholism and other mental disturbances and aspects of inadaptability in a limited social space and in the small social communities represented by industrial workplaces.

For a long time we unfortunately neglected research into the problems of alcoholism in the workplace, its distribution and spatial dimension, and the correlation between industrial and other factors relevant to its occurrence. For a long time the health service, which is an explicitly public institution, did not maintain a sufficient awareness of all these dynamic events in the country's postwar transformation, so that our professional literature, particularly our established medical journals, contained very few articles on the psychological factors which were present in all aspects of life and work while these processes were taking place.

Yet even in the medical literature of the industrially developed countries there was no mention for a long time of the epidemiological problems of alcoholism in industry. It was noted here and there that the prevalence and incidence of alcoholism were on the rise in certain industries and that this was greatly affecting the morbidity rate, absenteeism, and the turnover rate of the work force, and even the rights, duties and responsibilities which are part of the work relationship, but for a long time no precise and pinpointed epidemiological studies were done on all these problems, and frequently controversial and unreliable conclusions were drawn.

There was a great interest in the problems of alcoholism in industry not only on the part of physicians, but also on the part of numerous other specialists, for quite understandable reasons, but the focus of this interest was not unfortunately on determining the spread of alcoholism among workers in different industries. There was a considerably greater interest in the relationship between alcoholism and various aspects of work (on which numerous studies were done), such as the relationship between alcoholism and the industrial accident rate, the ability to perform a job, productivity, interpersonal relations, and then the relationship between alcoholism and difficulties in adaptation, the relationship between alcoholism and changes in the social organization and social environment resulting from industrialization, the turn away from agriculture, and so on. For that reason the data on the spread of alcoholism in specific industrial environments are scanty and insufficient.

A particular point is made of the importance of alcoholics in the early stage of the disease (prealcoholics), who are thought to be inevitable in present-day industry and who in Franco's opinion account for more than half of the alcoholics in the workplace. In the industrial workplace they are in all occupational categories and industries, beginning with auxiliary personnel and continuing through the management team, so that they represent a significant problem in all parts of the firm. Some American authors even say that prealcoholics are most numerous among managers in industry, but simply are not recorded anywhere, since even if they seek medical help, they go to physicians and institutions who will guarantee them full anonymity. According to other statistical theories, prealcoholics in the United States show a relatively uniform distribution in almost all industrial occupations, while certain other reports indicate that the share of unskilled workers is all of 70 percent. The statistics of certain other industrially advanced countries also show that the overwhelming majority of alcoholics in industry are recorded among workers with the lowest qualifications and the lowest social status. Thus we do not have data with even a modicum of reliability concerning either the share of prealcoholics in present-day industry or concerning the losses which industry and the economy in general suffer because of them.

The results of research on the prevalence of alcoholics in industry are not particularly numerous either. Barte found that 16 percent of a sample of 1,100 workers were suffering from alcoholism, while research done in recent years in French industry indicates that between 13 and 15 percent of all workers in certain categories are suffering from alcoholism.

Alcoholism in Yugoslavia

In Yugoslavia we do not have even the most basic data on the number of prealcoholics in industry. What is more, we do not have reliable data on the incidence of alcoholism among industrial workers, nor from the few articles dealing with this problem can one learn whether alcoholism is uniformly distributed in all industrial regions and industries. The reasons for this should be sought not only in the different diagnostic criteria and different attitudes in different communities toward socially acceptable consumption of alcoholic beverages, but also in the positions taken by a large number of workers toward studies concerning the incidence of alcoholic habits and alcoholism conducted in their workplaces. When given questionnaires, whether because the aims of the study were not clear or because they feared that accurate responses might complicate or threaten their job status, marked the answers offered in the questionnaire at random or returned the blank questionnaires. This unresponsive attitude was much rarer in cases when the examiner or foreman explained the purpose of the study to the workers and made clear to them

the importance which it had to their lives, so that a common interest was established between the researcher and the subject.

Aside from the rare epidemiological studies on the incidence of alcoholism in Yugoslav industry which were done by the method of depistage [tracking] (which yields realistic data on the prevalence of this phenomenon in the total population or in some specific segment of it), we also encounter in our literature data on epidemiological studies of alcoholism in industry which were concerned with determining alcoholism's share in the total morbidity of industrial workers. It is thus asserted that in Croatia between 1961 and 1965 alcoholism was in sixth place for males and ninth place for females in the breakdown of the total morbidity of industrial workers, even though there are numerous reasons why this diagnosis is arrived at very reluctantly in industry.

The first epidemiological studies specifically aimed at the incidence of the habits of consumption of alcohol and alcoholism among industrial workers were conducted in various Yugoslav industries by Savicevic and his coworkers and Stojiljkovic and his coworkers.

Stojiljkovic et al. found in their questionnaire survey of 11,740 industrial workers in 33 Belgrade firms that 79 percent drink alcoholic beverages. Brandy is the most frequent drink (46.3 percent), while 22 percent of the workers drank beer. Seven percent of the subjects drink during work, and 6.6 percent before work. A total of 11.4 percent get drunk once a week on the average. While 2.5 percent are frequently absent from work because of alcohol, 4.5 percent consider themselves alcoholics.

Kapamadzija et al. made a questionnaire survey of a sample of 2,668 workers in 13 firms in Novi Sad and found that 80.8 percent of the men and 19.2 percent of the women drank alcoholic beverages. Whereas 13.8 percent of the men and 4.1 percent of the women drink every day, 5.5 percent of the respondents drink during working hours.

Bamburac et al. used questionnaires to survey 119 workers of the Tool Factory in Nova Gradiska and found that 78.2 percent of the workers drink frequently.

Mujcic et al. found that 10.5 percent of the total work force of the petroleum refinery in Bosanski Brod suffer from alcoholism. Other results were that 81.4 percent of the respondents drink alcoholic beverages, and 55.8 percent get drunk. Alcohol causes problems for 20.4 percent of the workers, usually family and health problems, but also occupational problems. Most drink in the company of others (74.8 percent), but 25.2 percent drink alone.

Lazarov et al. studied the drinking customs and habits of 714 industrial workers in Sombor and Apatin. Among them 82.9 percent drink alcoholic beverages, 31.2 percent drink daily, 19.1 percent drink on the job, and 22.5 percent drink before coming to work (which means that 41.6 percent perform their job in an acute alcoholic state). At the shipyard in Apatin 33.0 percent of the respondents feel that alcohol is bracing and enhances the ability to work and productivity.

Smajkic studied the incidence of alcoholism in 200 workers in the metal manufacturing industry (10 percent of the total work force), taking as the diagnostic criterion the frequency of the consumption of alcoholic beverages and of drunkenness (those who became intoxicated at least once a week or who were unable to let a day pass without drinking were classified as alcoholics). The number of potential alcoholics obtained by this methodological procedure was very high, since of the 91 respondents who drink, 46 percent become intoxicated at least once a week, and they are classified as alcoholics. Of those classified as alcoholics 10.9 percent have been drinking excessively for less than 5 years, and 56 percent more than 10 years. While 20.1 percent see a doctor once a month, 70.9 percent see a doctor several times a year. Most of the respondents (72 percent) live in rural areas.

Ceh et al. studied the problem of the incidence of alcoholism in the Zenica Steel Mill; they studied the subpopulation of alcoholics, using the documentation built up during their treatment. Whereas the steel mill has a work force of about 10,000, 635 workers have been treated for alcoholism, which is a share of 6.35 percent, and 2 died in a state of acute alcoholism.

Bratanic made a questionnaire survey of 608 workers of the Split Shipyard in Split and found that 82.6 percent of the respondents are steady drinkers, and 45.3 percent drink large quantities of alcoholic beverages. Most drink beer (which is not considered to be alcohol) during the lunch break because of the large amount of liquid lost (perspiration) during work. Wine which the workers bring from home is also drunk during the lunch break; just after the war the workers even received a free daily "ration" of half a liter of wine.

The most important epidemiological study of the incidence of alcoholism in our country's industrial population has been conducted in recent years by Savicevic, Hudolin and Zarkovic et al. as part of an extensive research project concerning neuroses, alcoholism, injuries and adaptation of industrial workers. The study was done in four industries (the chemical industry, the textile industry, metal manufacturing and ferrous metallurgy) in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. The study's principal aim was to establish the incidence of neuroses, alcoholism and injuries, as well as the occupational adaptation of the workers. All the respondents went through a standardized general medical and neurological examination, a psychiatric and alcoholic exploration (done with a special questionnaire filled out by a physician who explained each question to the worker in advance), an exploration into social background and medical history, and an evaluation by the worker's immediate superior. An agreed terminology and standard principles of classification and diagnosis were adopted for this study. In Croatia Hudolin et al., studying the incidence of alcoholism in a statistical sample of 2,300 workers, found alcoholism in 15 percent of male production workers between the ages of 20 and 50, while persons who drink excessively represented another 15-16 percent. Zarkovic et al. studied 1,492 industrial workers in Bosnia-Hercegovina and found that 12.1 percent of them were alcoholics, and 8.3 percent drank excessively. Cucic and Savicevic found in a population of 2,219 industrial workers in Serbia that 3.3 percent were definitely alcoholics and 8.3 percent were suspected alcoholics, which is considerably below the percentage of alcoholics found in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, although identical research instruments were used in all the communities.

Miners and Alcoholism

Some authors say that miners represent an industrial population that is particularly threatened by alcoholism. Because of the difficult working conditions and numerous hazards to the workers' life and health, mining has for centuries been a branch of the economy in which intensive studies have been made of various diseases and in which a number of steps have been taken to protect workers' life and health. Even in the Middle Ages one of the measures recommended by Elenbog (1437) was that miners drink wine as protection against coal dust. Paracelsus (1531) wrote about the diseases of miners and their prevention; it was in fact the first monograph on the occupational diseases of a particular vocation. Agricola (1556) published a 12-volume study of the diseases, hygiene and personal protection of miners. In his important work, which represents the foundation of industrial hygiene and prevention ("De morbitas artificum diatriba") Ramazini systematized all previous experience and knowledge concerning the occupational diseases of miners and their prevention, while 200 years ago Scopoli (a well-known botanist and the physician at the mercury mine in Idrija) wrote that alcoholism was the most frequent occupational disease of miners.

Nevertheless, the alcoholism of miners is not mentioned at all in a number of monographs on the pathology of miners and in a number of textbooks on industrial management, and this applies not only to the classics, but also to contemporary books. There are also few specialized studies pertaining to the problem of drinking habits and alcoholism among miners.

The comparative study made by Bresard in the Loire mining basin is frequently cited among the specialized epidemiological studies concerning the incidence of the consumption of alcoholic beverages among miners. He found that the miners in that basin drank on the average 1,430 cubic centimeters of wine daily, while office personnel in the same region drank an average of 444 cubic centimeters of wine daily. Mention is then made of the studies into the relationship between acute alcoholic states and alcoholism and job injuries in Slovak mines which were made by Vamasi and Apostolov's studies of the causes of alcoholism among miners in some Bulgarian bituminous coal mines and its prevention. The problem of the abuse of alcoholic beverages among Yugoslav miners was first studied more than two decades ago by Savicevic as part of a study whose primary concern was detection of miner's nystagmus. The study covered a statistical sample of 4,500 miners in Zenica and Aleksinac (brown coal), Stari Trg (lead) and the Bor mine (copper). The results of this study showed the high incidence of the abuse of alcoholic beverages and of alcoholism in all the workplaces studied; the percentage of miners drinking regularly and occasionally becoming intoxicated ranged from 60 percent (the lead mine at Stari Trg) to 75 percent in the Aleksinac coal mines. In addition to the unfavorable working conditions, traditions and the adverse influence of older miners on workers entering the occupation had an important role in the spread of the habit of drinking alcohol in these communities.

In another specialized epidemiological study on the incidence of alcoholism among workers at the Trepca Zinc and Lead Mine Smeltery, Savicevic found the percentage of alcoholics to be 3.7 percent. Moreover, among all respondents who drank there was a tendency for the consumption of alcohol to increase with age. In the age group between age 20 and 24 50 percent of the respondents drank, the percentage was 61.5 percent between the ages of 25 and 29, and 79.4 percent in the over-50 age group. Workers with smaller income and larger families drank more, as did subjects who were dissatisfied with working conditions and their social status in the work group. Among Albanian miners the drinking habit was several times less frequent than among Serbs, 70 percent of whom drank.

In the sixties Stojiljkovic et al. conducted an epidemiological study with a questionnaire concerning the problems of alcoholism among miners; the study included 1,291 miners in the Bor basin and 1,384 miners in the Kolubara basin. It also included an analysis and interpretation of the clinical, psychological and social aspects of the cases of 102 miners from these two basins who were treated as alcoholics in the Institute for Alcoholism in Belgrade. Of the great number of variables covered by that study we will mention only those pertaining to the customs and habits of drinking alcoholic beverages. Regular drinkers made up 62.25 percent of the miners, and 36.95 percent of them said that they drink to quench their thirst. Beer is the principal drink of 41.6 percent, 34.46 percent drink all types of alcoholic beverages, 17.8 percent drink brandy, and 6.12 percent drink wine. While 7.28 percent of the miners drink before work (2.38 percent in the Bor basin and 12.18 percent in the Kolubara basin), 16.69 percent drink during work, and 69.25 percent after work. Most drink in the company of others (64.39 percent), 22.99 percent drink at home, and the other 12.62 percent drink both in company and at home. The miners treated for alcoholism in the Institute for Alcoholism in Belgrade were usually in the group between the ages of 31 and 40. Most drank brandy (48.2 percent; a large number drank a liter or more per day), 31.57 percent said that they drank because of the hazards of mining work, 31.32 percent said they drank from habit, and 20.33 percent said they drank because of the influence of other miners.

Milojevic studied the phenomenon of alcoholism among miners in the Macedonian lead and zinc mines at Zletovo and Sasa and at the chrome and antimony mines at Lojane. The average age was 3⁴ years, and most were in the group between the ages of 21 and 30. Almost all the respondents had been brought up on farms. Alcoholic beverages were drunk by 82.7 percent of the miners, 50.8 percent of whom were regular drinkers and 49.2 percent occasional drinkers. Eighty percent of the respondents became intoxicated. Miners who drink regularly usually consume as much as half a liter of brandy daily, usually before meals and immediately after coming out of the mine. The number of "notorious" alcoholics was small in the population studied; the majority had already managed to achieve some occupational and social equilibrium in spite of the almost daily excessive consumption of ethyl alcohol. Miners who drank excessively were not looked upon as either alcoholics or potential alcoholics by their fellow workers.

Smajkic studied the incidence of alcoholism in a statistical sample of 510 miners at the brown coal mine in Ljubovija and at the Zenica steel mill. He used Maxwell's questionnaire for early depistage [tracking down] of alcoholics in industry. The most frequent characteristics were regular drinking of alcoholic beverages before and during meals (57.6 percent), tremor of the fingers (50.0 percent), the overlooking of details during work (48.4 percent), absenteeism (47.0 percent), lower labor productivity (43.5 percent), the drinking of alcoholic beverages before work (39.6 percent), while in the studies which Maxwell himself conducted with this scale the early indicators of alcoholism in industry were primarily absenteeism, superficiality in job performance and changes in behavior (31.32 percent).

Studying the incidence of alcoholism among miners at the brown coal mine in Ljubovija, Zarkovic and Smajkic found that 10.5 percent of the respondents were definite alcoholics, while 6.4 percent were suspected alcoholics.

We studied the problem of the incidence of alcoholism among miners in the Kolubara basin. The basic hypothesis of our study was that the occupational activity of miners is closely bound up with alcoholism. The partial hypotheses were that alcoholism is more common among Kolubara miners than among gainfully employed ensured persons in the Sumadija region of Kolubara employed outside mining, that miners are exposed to greater pressures which are potential factors in the occurrence of alcoholism, and, finally, that the social and medical consequences of alcoholism among miners of the Kolubara basin are more frequent and intense than among other alcoholics in the Sumadija region of Kolubara.

Two methodological procedures were used to verify the hypotheses which were framed: 1) continuous longitudinal followup of all alcoholics whom we observed and treated over a 10-year period (from 1 January 1964 to 31 December 1973) in the Dr Djordje Kovacevic Health Center in Lazarevac; 2) cross section epidemiological study (the method of systematic observation), which was done in June 1965. We used the chi-square test to verify

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the statistical significance of differences found in the parameters within the framework of the hypotheses that were framed.

Both methodological procedures were used in the epidemiological study of drinking habits and the incidence of alcoholism among the miners of the Kolubara basin, that is, the testing of the first hypothesis. The cross section epidemiological study of a statistical sample including 748 miners at the Junkovac deep mine and the surface mine at Rudovci revealed that 76 percent of the miners drink regularly and occasionally become intoxicated, while 27.0 percent are absent because of abuse of alcohol, 21.2 percent regularly drink before and during work, 25.9 percent have seriously disturbed family relations because of alcohol, and 25.6 percent of the respondents showed incipient signs of occupational deterioration. The incidence of alcoholism was 10.4 percent among the miners of the Kolubara basin and was twice as high as the incidence of alcoholism among ensured persons employed outside mining in the Sumadija region of Kolubara, who displayed a 5.3 percent rate. Finally, in the breakdown of psychiatric morbidity among miners of the Kolubara basin the percentage of treated alcoholics was 34.3 percent, which is almost triple the level of the entire population of the Sumadija region of Kolubara, for which the scale was 13.2 percent.

After establishing that alcoholism does occur more frequently among the miners of the Sumadija region of Kolubara, we undertook to test our second hypothesis. On the basis of the entire exploration we classified all the respondents covered by the follow-up study into primary and secondary alcoholics according to Bacon's etiopathogenic classification. A significant difference, which reached the level of confident discrimination, was found between the group of alcoholic miners and the control group, which included all the other alcoholics; there were considerably more primary alcoholics (61.6 percent) than secondary alcoholics (38.4 percent) in the miner group, while the breakdown showed the reverse pattern in the control group.

The primary alcoholics were put in three categories according to Despotovic's classification: in the first the prevalent factors in the occurrence of alcoholism were customs and social factors, in the second occupation (so-called "critical" occupations), and in the third exogenic stresses affecting the personality with particular intensity. The pressures of the workplace were the leading etiological factor among primary alcoholics in the miner group; they were felt by 77.1 percent, while customs and social pressures had the dominant role for 84.9 percent of the primary alcoholics in the control group.

A detailed study was made not only of the customs and social factors, but also of occupational pressures, revealing that in the miner group there were considerably more respondents who had had to take a job in mining, who were dissatisfied with their work, their earnings, and the physicochemical conditions of the workplace, and also considerably more who were working on the night shift, which was confirmed very discriminatively by the results of the statistical testing. A study was also made of the psychological pressures of the work environment, which arouse in miners a feeling of insecurity, a feeling of threat while they work, and a fear of suffering an accident. The results of the statistical testing showed that there were differences among the groups which reached the level of highly significant discrimination both with regard to the assessment of safety on the job and also the feeling of anxiety during work and a permanent fear of an accident on the job. Large numbers of miners in the Kolubara basin use alcohol to ward off these basic fears.

The exposure to pressures was considerably greater among the alcoholic miners than among alcoholics employed outside mining; these pressures contributed greatly to the occurrence of alcoholism or to its reinforcement if the respondent was already in the evolutionary phase of alcoholism when he took employment in mining.

Testing of the third hypothesis established that the social consequences of alcoholism (disturbances of marital and family interaction, malfunction, absenteeism, injuries on the job, job changes, etc.) were more pronounced among the miners of the Kolubara basin than in the control group. However, the medical consequences of alcoholism were more pronounced in the control group; the size of this difference was affected most by alcoholic farmers, who usually began treatment very late, precisely because of the mental or somatic complications of alcoholism.

The hypothesis concerning a positive correlation between the environmental aspects of mining work and alcoholism among the miners of the Kolubara basin, which we checked in this study, was proven at a confident statistical level. This correlation, expected though it may be, is actually very complex, which became obvious when we tried to explain the composition of that relationship or the mechanism of the interaction. A number of statistical data in this study indicated that the alcoholism of Kolubara miners was closely bound up with their occupational activity, and we posited that the conditions of the miner's work were one of the most essential correlates in the occurrence and maintenance of this sociopathological phenomenon; which is very important in opening up opportunities for prevention and treatment.

The prevention of alcoholism in industry and mining covers a very broad field and is not only aimed at early detection of potential alcoholics and their immediate reference groups, but also tries to cover a broader occupational and sociocultural scene. Aside from the industrial position and his coworkers in the dispensary for industrial medicine, which is the epicenter for preventive work, these activities also involve health and safety engineers and the management team and all the staff services in industry and mining. The principal aims of preventive actions are to mitigate the obviously adverse psychological and physicochemical influences of the workplace environment and to create better conditions for the workers to have more civilized leisure and recreation and to improve their education.

One of the most significant ways of preventing alcoholism in industrial environments, and in mining above all, is to investigate the pathogenic factors and cofactors of the workers' general and workplace environment which tend to encourage the spread of the habits of drinking and alcoholism, since to a large extent they can be effectively prevented. By outlining the pathogenic effect of everyday life, this research undoubtedly has both preventive and epidemiological importance.

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