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CONTENTS

PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Joint Language Research, Literature Developments Reported  
 (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 30/31 Oct 76)..... 1

GDR-USSR Language Training  
 GDR-USSR College Textbook Exhibit  
 GDR-USSR Literature Conference, by Klaus Schueler  
 Joint Socialist Conference on Dictionaries

ALBANIA

Political Changes Expected in Albania Following Mao Death  
 (TA NEA, 6 Oct 76)..... 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Agit-Prop Deputy Chief Explains Socialist Election Process  
 (Juraj Varholik; ZIVOT STRANY, Sep 76)..... 9

EAST GERMANY

Recent Top Government Reshuffle Analyzed  
 (Friedhelm Kemna; DIE WELT, 30 Oct 76)..... 17

FRG Paper Comments on Vatican's Concessions to GDR  
 (FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 26 Oct 76)..... 21

Independent Bishops Conference  
 Vatican Not at Fault

Information Provided on Border Troop Duty  
 (Ernst Gebauer; AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU, Oct 76)..... 24

CONTENTS (Continued)

Public Health Sector Faces Increased Manpower Shortage  
(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 2 Nov 76)..... 31

HUNGARY

Problem of Nationalism Examined  
(Various sources, various dates)..... 32

Romanian's Nationalistic Interpretation of WWI Peace  
Treaty Criticized, by Pal E. Feher  
Historian Cautions Against Dangers of Nationalism, by  
Zsigmond Pal Pach

POLAND

Briefs  
Conference on Warsaw Higher Schools 38  
Charismatic Renewal Movement 38  
Bishop Wosinski to Rome 39  
Police Action Against Critics 39

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JOINT LANGUAGE RESEARCH, LITERATURE DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

GDR-USSR Language Training

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30/31 Oct 76 p 4

[Article by Dr H. G.: "Language Studies in Friends' Country--Greater Opportunities for Advanced Training of Russian-language Instructors at Colleges and Technical Schools"]

[Text] More than 1,200 instructors at our colleges and technical schools are currently teaching Russian to students and a generation of new scientists of all disciplines. The number of participants in translation competitions at the annual Student Days is increasing as much as is the level of the Russian Language Olympics which also are scheduled and held every year at the central students performance exhibits. Russian language evenings are sponsored at many colleges and technical schools, which help improve linguistic knowledge as much as deepen the friendship with the Soviet Union.

In order to improve qualification possibilities for Russian language instructors and better coordinate their interests, an institute for advanced training for Russian language instructors at universities, colleges and technical schools was founded at Karl-Marx-University in Leipzig in September 1975. This is the second central institution of this kind, with the Franz-Mehring-Institute, the central advanced training establishment for instructors in basic Marxist-Leninist studies, being the first and previous instance of it. When founded, the institute was given the task to develop new forms of advanced education, along with taking care and safeguarding advanced education possibilities that have already been in existence for years, and to make use, particularly, of the great potentials of cooperation with the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Union it is the Pushkin Institute for Russian Language in Moscow which has been accepting correspondence course students from all over the world since 1974. This year, approximately 200 Russian language instructors from all GDR educational institutions -- from the general education polytechnical high school up to the university -- began their correspondence courses with that institute. With it, the correspondence students are also under the care of the Institute for Advanced Education for Russian Language Instructors in Leipzig.

The Pushkin Institute of Moscow itself is in charge of the contents of these studies. It sends out the lessons in phonetics, grammar, vocabulary and composition in the modern Russian language as well as on problems of teaching methods for Russian, Soviet literature and geography. For language drill, the students get tape cassettes. The Leipzig institute furthermore organizes conferences at regular intervals which take place under the direction of Soviet colleagues. The major emphasis in these conferences lies in language exercises in phonetics and intonation and in developing linguistic skills and facilities.

The correspondence course always begins in September or October and, as set down by the competent ministries, lasts one or two years. It terminates in a written work, 15 to 20 pages long, on a topic in methods which a correspondence student may pick out from a list of suggestions.

Another form of advanced education, only for Russian language instructors at colleges and technical schools, however, came into use in September 1976. For the first time the Leipzig institute accepted students for an intensive course lasting 4 months. This course aims at advancing conversational skills.

Participants are made familiar with topical problems of linguistics, the methods of Russian language instruction and literary science. Prominent scholars of Karl-Marx-University and other academic institutions provide the lectures. The Pushkin Institute for Russian Language, on the basis of a joint working plan, sent experienced instructors to Leipzig to be in charge of this advanced language education.

#### GDR-USSR College Textbook Exhibit

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30/31 Oct 76 p 4

[ADN report from East Berlin: "Joint Textbook Exhibit Successful"]

[Text] Further possibilities for intensifying the collaboration between the USSR and the GDR toward developing and publishing student literature were demonstrated at the exhibition of college textbooks from both countries which closed in Berlin on 29 October. That was the conclusion expressed to ADN by the chiefs of both sectors in the exhibition, V. G. Artyomov and Werner Kuhlmann. Occasioned by the 25th anniversary of the scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries, the exhibition, showing approximately 1,700 publications, presented a survey on what is currently available in textbooks in both countries in 10 different disciplines.

## GDR-CSSR Literature Conference

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30/31 Oct 76 p 5

[Article by Klaus Schueler: "A Literature With Its Own History-- Germanists From GDR and CSSR Conferred in Greifswald on 'Literature of the GDR' Volume"]

[Text] At long last, here it is: Volume 11 of the "History of German Literature" published by the Volk und Wissen publishing house, that volume which deals with the "Literature of the GDR." The fact by itself can safely be called an event. Granted, there already are the 2-volume lexicon of "GDR Writers" and the "Literatur der DDR in Einzeldarstellungen." What has been missing up to now, however, has been the large-scale survey, the synoptic orientation along representative cultural-political guidelines. For the first time in this volume a large authors' collective gives a cohesive presentation of the development of GDR literature from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint. Under the direction by Horst Haase, Hans Juergen Geerdts, Erich Kuehne and Walter Pallus, who also are the main authors, a work has been created which is also internationally of vital interest.

### The Worth and Daring of the Publication Pointed Out

That interest was also demonstrated by the recent 2-day scientific conference of the GDR-CSSR Germanists Committee sponsored by the department of Germanics, Art and Musicology at Greifswald's Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University. The subject matter of the conference was the "history of GDR literature." In a friendly atmosphere promoting mutually enriching cooperation, the conference dealt mainly with matters pertaining to volume 11 of the history of literature.

Is it altogether possible in the first place to write a history of contemporary literature? That question was raised, deliberately as a rhetorical question, by Prof Elemir Terray (Bratislava). And yet, it seemed to me, some thoroughly understandable skepticism came with that question pointing as it did to the worth and daring of this history of GDR literature from 1945 to the early '70's. After all, what we are facing is a continuous up-to-date literary process. What authors are writing about today had to be presented, often including incomplete work by some authors who might meanwhile have already gone farther in striving for new horizons.

The debate made clear that the attempt of presenting such a process was urgent and necessary. In conceiving of the present as a part of history, there could be no other possible approach, Prof Dr Siegfried Streller (Berlin) pointed out.

Prof Dr Hans Juergen Geerdts (Greifswald), who spoke about some theoretical and methodological results in the work on the history of GDR literature, said among other things that the outcome, while not sensational, had been



impressive. "For it became evident that GDR literature is not merely 'socialist contemporary literature' but has developed its own history in 30 years, a product of developmental processes which, at the same time, articulates in esthetic terms the various phases of the process." A cohesive mode of writing making allowances to periodic changes in nuance, he said, articulated the historical nature of this literature.

Prof Dr Walter Pallus (Greifswald, in Prague at present) spoke of the relationship between contemporary developments and historical premises in literature. In emphasizing the historical view, he pointed out, among other things, that in contrast to previous years many authors today give more discriminating treatment to their characters and also treat the conflicts and problems in a more complex and profound manner.

Periodization is an essential matter in all endeavors in literary history. How is one to gauge developmental stages? Where does one place caesuras? Which criteria are to be used as basic ones? The periodization of volume 11 means to testify to the close connection between society and literature. There was of course no mechanical relationship between social and literary development yet -- the point was made -- it was found time and again that it was appropriate to relate reflective processes in literature to social change.

To the authors of the volume the history of GDR literature is a history of search as well as a history of an altogether successful penetration into the wealth of opportunities for socialist realism. The authors thought it important to illuminate that dialectics in their first complete presentation of the difficulties and successes in the literary treatment of the new socialist processes of life.

#### Depicting the Process Remained Decisive

Several times attention was called to the theoretical search for identity by authors observed frequently in recent years. Dr Joseph Pischel (Rostock) in particular talked about that. And time and again during the conference the literary scholars expressed their desire to make their own cooperation with the authors still closer and mutually more beneficial.

What is a history of literature? What is its function? This is a question the authors of the volume have kept asking themselves. Volume 11 is not meant merely as a reference work. And yet, it was pointed out, the readers should be reminded of the wealth of achievements, many of which are already nearly forgotten today. Nor could the volume be a sequence of authors' profiles. As one had to approach the various stages in the development in terms of the traditional literary species, which continue to be structurally decisive, the work of many authors often had to be "torn apart." Still, the main point in the efforts of the contributors was to present the entire literary process.

The guests from the CSSR enlivened the discussions by several contributions. Prof Dr Elemir Terray discussed interesting aspects of portraying reality in using as example the dream motive in Fuernberg's poetry. Dr Ivan Cvrkal and Milan Zitny (both of Bratislava) gave an impression of how greatly our neighboring country was interested in GDR prose and poetry. Other interesting contributions came from Dr Ladislav Simon (Presov), Dr Jan Chytil (Olomouc), Dr Rudolf Toman (Prague), Dr Leos Houska (Usti), Dr Jiri Munzar (Brno) and Peter Zajac (Nitra).

#### Cooperative Work Also in an International Framework

Prof Dr Hans-Guenther Thalheim (Berlin), the chairman of the editorial board of the "History of German Literature," made the point that the history of GDR literature was a part of this overall effort. Now there was in several volumes a complete period available -- from 1830 to the present. Professor Thalheim called this the thus far most extensive literary science project by the GDR Germanists. This great cooperative project also had revealed that there were still quite a number of unsettled questions. One should have to give further thought, among other things, to the problem of periodization, that of the relationship of reciprocity between artists, their work and the public, and to the problem of how to tie national literary developments to world literature on the whole.

This conference with Germanists from the CSSR demonstrated once again that the cooperation among the socialist states has become closer also in the field of literary science. Back in 1973 there had been a discussion with Polish Germanists in Greifswald and Lubmin about matters concerning the present volume. And consultations with scientists from the Soviet Union also have proven most useful and productive in the project.

#### Joint Socialist Conference on Dictionaries

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30/31 Oct 76 p 4

[ADN report from Leipzig: "Dictionary Conference Drew Up Impressive Balance Sheet"]

[Text] Working on a long-range survey for the dictionary program and for cooperative projects of the participating publishing houses is one of the recommendations made by the 10th International Dictionary Conference of Socialist Countries concluding a 5-day session in Leipzig on 29 October. The conference participants, representing publishing houses in Bulgaria, the CSSR, Romania, the USSR, Hungary and the GDR, reached the conclusion that the development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the field of dictionaries and related linguistic aids has been successful. Many cooperative editions have come out of this collaboration embracing the entire area of bilingual and multilingual dictionaries.

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## ALBANIA

### POLITICAL CHANGES EXPECTED IN ALBANIA FOLLOWING MAO DEATH

Athens TA NEA in Greek 6 Oct 76 p 13

[Text] Rome, October--A discovery from developments which have occurred in recent years in the countries of Europe:

At the European Helsinki conference, all the countries were present except for one--Albania.

At the conference of the communist parties in Berlin, all countries were represented except for one--Albania.

At the conference of the Balkan countries in Athens, all of the countries took part except one--Albania.

Why this abstention? Why this isolation?

Before an answer can be given to this question, it must be recognized that the Albania of Enver Hoxha has not been completely isolated from the world: Ideologically, it had linked itself with the China of Mao. And it should also be stated that no one isolated it so much as it isolated itself. It wanted to be shut up within itself and unapproachable, not only to its neighboring countries but also to all European countries.

Without Mao

Now, however, Mao has died. And in all of the articles and journalists' dispatches which have been written on the subject of the succession to Mao, about the new Chinese policy, and about its domestic and foreign-policy changes and orientations, one question is still raised: What will pro-Maoist Albania do following the death of Mao?

"The death of Mao," writes (Frane Barbieri) in the newspaper *GIORNALE*, "Has become a domestic issue in Albania. There are certain anxieties in Tirana in connection with the policy which is going to be followed by the successors to Mao. This issue assumes even larger dimensions if it is

remembered in this connection that within 2 years there have been three purges in this country and that a clash is in the process of developing even now. Nothing precludes the possibility that these conflicts will take on a dramatic character. One fourth of the Politburo has already been replaced, while one third of the members of the council of ministers have lost their posts."

#### New Currents

Albania is following a line of isolation and self-sufficiency which is now being questioned by both the right wing and the left wing of the party. New currents have appeared which seek to improve relations with Moscow and to stand clear of Chinese influence. Within the struggle which is now being waged, the first who went over to the attack are the pro-Soviets. Mr Balluku, until a short time ago minister of defense, had stressed at a conference of the Central Committee the need to follow a more flexible policy and to achieve new openings in foreign relations to the greatest extent possible.

"China," he said, "is very far away, and every so often experiences its periodic internal crises. The Soviet Union is nearer, and we feel it to be even more close. If we take into consideration the fact that Albania is located in Europe and not in Asia, then we ought not to provoke Moscow, in order to thereby avoid a frontal attack. Moreover, this same policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union is the one being followed by all of the governments of the European continent."

Minister of Defense Balluku, who used to be considered the probable successor to Enver Hoxha, was perhaps looking at matters in an objective manner. But by this new reassessment which he had made, he essentially sided with the pro-Soviets. And the result was that he was removed from his position. It is reported that those officers whom he himself had appointed were also dismissed.

Reports speak about Enver Hoxha returning to power, despite the state of his health, but this time he is becoming a target of his former associates and of the pro-Chinese, who insist on remaining faithful to the line which Peking gave to Albania: "Remain isolated, avoid very many relationships with foreign countries."

Within this framework of opposing parties, a new proclivity is now emerging which is represented by the former vice president of the government, Kellezi, who is also president of the State Planning Commission. This frame of mind ought to be considered as having the same import as that which had been displayed in China under Chou-En-lai and his friend Teng. Its objectives are: More cooperation with countries abroad, and advancement of the technocratic order at home in order to improve the economic situation and develop trade and tourism.

Those who, like Kellezi, wanted reform lost their posts, and Enver Hoxha effected a "cultural revolution" which restricted the bureaucrats and intellectuals. Many white-collar workers were sent into the countryside to work, while those who watched foreign television broadcasts were threatened with punishment, with the charge that "the antennas of their television sets have become flags of capitalism and of revisionism."

In the articles in the press and in expository statements about events within the socialist camp, the Albanians are manifestly inimical to Moscow and to the European communist parties. In speaking about "European communism," they say straightforwardly that the communist parties of France and of Italy want to accommodate the middle class in order to overcome the present economic and political crisis. As for the Soviet Union in particular, they say that it has expansionistic plans. As for Yugoslavia, they state that Albania has no relationships with it.

The question for Albania is: What will happen after Enver Hoxha? One report is that he faces a health problem, that he has suffered a partial paralysis, and that his probable successor is Shehu, 65 years old. It can now be added that the death of Mao will make the position of Enver Hoxha even more difficult.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AGIT-PROP DEPUTY CHIEF EXPLAINS SOCIALIST ELECTION PROCESS

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 20, Sep 76 pp 15-18

[Article by Juraj Varholik, deputy chief of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee's Department of Agitation and Propaganda: "Election Preparations in the Second Stage"]

[Text] The first stage of the preparations for the general elections to the representative bodies ended with the third session of the CPCZ Central Committee, on 15 and 16 September, and with the subsequent meetings of the highest National Front organs in Czechoslovakia and the two national republics.

These meetings summed up the experience gained to date during the first stage of the preparations for the general elections, and they oriented the attention of the party organs and organizations, of the organizations in the National Front, of the national committees, and of the state organs and institutions on the most important tasks awaiting them in the second and last stage. These tasks are by no means small. The preparations for the general elections are duly graduated, which in the final outcome is as it should be.

Evaluation of the level of the preparations to date is clearly favorable. The work done by the entire party, by all party organizations and individual party members, by the social organizations united in the National Front, and by the national committees and state organs has produced positive results. Very favorable conditions have been created for future political organizing work and for the course of agitation and propaganda before the elections.

Preparations for the general elections have become the cause of entire society, the cause of our entire political system. The workers' activity and initiative at their workplaces, in conjunction with realizing the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress, have developed on a wide scale. They have found expression in the many new movements such as, for example, the Mlada Boleslav challenge for the high quality and efficiency of the completed work. More than 200 enterprises in all krajs of the republic and in every branch of the national economy have accepted this challenge. With their pledges they are striving to resolve the decisive question of efficiency and quality. The honest and selfless work of our blue-collar workers, farmers and other workers to fulfill the tasks in the first year

of the Sixth Five-Year Plan indicates that the overwhelming majority of our workers fully support the program adopted by the 15th party congress.

The results to date show that this year we will be able to fulfill successfully the planned tasks in industry, construction, transportation and in other important areas of the national economy. The party highly appreciates also what our farmers have achieved in their heroic struggle with this year's bad weather. Thanks to their exceptional efforts we have been able to harvest good grain yields per hectare, practically under the same climatic conditions as in the catastrophically bad year of 1947.

Realization of the conclusions adopted by the 15th CPCZ Congress has become, without exaggeration, the real political base everywhere in the preparations for the general elections. The spontaneous attitude of the people toward the policy of our party creates a favorable domestic political atmosphere for the elections' taking place amidst joyful creative work in all areas of our society's life.

The completed first phase of the preparations for the general elections revealed the profoundly democratic nature of our socialist election system. Evaluation of the work done by the representatives who are ending their term of office unambiguously shows how significantly the representative bodies participated in the successful fulfillment of the conclusions adopted by the 14th CPCZ Congress, in both republics, in the individual krajs, towns and communities. Further and by no means insignificant proof of the democratic nature of our socialist election system is the fact that the decisive social organizations united in the National Front actively participated in this evaluation.

New lists of candidates have been prepared also for the representative bodies' coming term of office. The composition of these lists indicates that people have been selected to the representative bodies who have already proven themselves by their work in these bodies or have the optimal prerequisites for working in these bodies. There is also a further improvement in the composition of the representative bodies, to fully reflect the social class structure of our society. This again is something we should not forget in the agitation and propaganda preceding the general elections.

The number of candidates working directly in production has increased further. There will be more young representatives, fully in accord with the intentions of the Czechoslovak CP, which concerns itself in an exemplary manner with the younger generation's development and systematically promotes a rise in the younger generation's participation in building a socialist society. At the side of their elder comrades, the young people will have an opportunity to participate also in such responsible activity as the work of the national committees at every level, of the two republics' national councils, and of the Federal Assembly. This is a manifestation of the great confidence that the party and entire society have in the younger generation, of the trust that is based on the positive results of the young people's activity in all areas of our life. The young people certainly will respond with new specific deeds to this manifestation of trust. Women candidates to the representative bodies on their part anticipate a rise in the representation of women.

Thus we may say with full confidence that the selection of candidates for election as representatives has been made properly and responsibly. The proposed composition of the representative bodies shows a significant qualitative improvement. Also in this respect one of the important conclusions adopted by the 15th CPCZ Congress has been fulfilled: to perfect further the conditions for the increased participation of the people in the country's management and administration.

The advantage of our political system over the bourgeois political systems is that already now, one month before the general elections, the candidates have the support of the millions of members in the organizations that nominated the candidates from among their own ranks. Furthermore, the nomination of candidates occurred so that only people could be nominated whose working and moral traits, diligence, experience and commitment guarantee that they will work for the common good.

This again is a qualitatively different standard than what representatives must meet in countries where the bourgeoisie is still in power. The bourgeois political system selects for top posts in society primarily those who represent the interests of capital or who intervene in behalf of the bourgeoisie's class interests. And as numerous facts prove, these people are not direct creators of material values, rather the owners of the means of production, of wealth, and as such they claim for themselves the right to govern the overwhelming majority of the exploited.

The purpose of our efforts to ensure the 1976 general elections to the representative bodies is not merely to create favorable conditions for the election of the National Front candidates, but also to utilize this political opportunity for a further rise in the citizens' working and social activity in conjunction with fulfilling the conclusions adopted by the 15th CPCZ Congress. In the methodological material that the CPCZ Central Committee's Department of Agitation and Propaganda issued recently (its title is "We Are Preparing Public Meetings Before the Elections") we explain why we want the elections to give a new important impulse in this direction.

#### Election Programs an Important Factor of Preparations for the Elections

In comparison with the situation that existed 5 years ago, further progress has been made in drafting the election programs. The proposed election programs have all the prerequisites:

For contributing toward the realization of the 15th party congress' policy, under the conditions of the localities, okreses and krajs;

For enhancing even better the development of socialist democracy, the raising of the citizens' working and political activity;

For fully orienting the people's efforts on the socially important areas, and on solving also the local problems in agreement with the interests of society as a whole;

For mobilizing wide popular masses to participate in political, ideological, organizing and cultural work, to ensure comprehensive housing construction,



local amenities, paid services for the population, and social needs, and to improve the living and working environment.

It can be established that this year the election programs are drafted more comprehensively than in years past. They devote close attention to the formation of socialist man, fulfill more effectively the justifiable demands of our women and confront more directly the questions that preoccupy our younger generation. Under the leadership of the CP, the national committees, state organs, and the social organizations united in the National Front will participate more intensively than in the past, in the fulfillment of the individual tasks. Another circumstance should not escape the attention of our agitators and propagandists: the election programs are completely realistic, not a collection of promises of the kind we see in the election programs of bourgeois political parties. The election programs focus their attention only on efforts that can be realized, and they anticipate the citizens' active participation in their fulfillment.

In what capitalist countries are the people building for themselves stores, schools, day nurseries, environmental projects, sidewalks, roads, water reservoirs and swimming pools? Only under the conditions of socialism does the public benefit from the work results of wide popular masses, from the fruits of their diligent labor. This, too, is an immense advantage of our system over the conditions that exist in the world, where the work results of the overwhelming majority are expropriated by a small group of large owners. In our country it is something natural for the people to roll up their sleeves to improve the environment in which they live, work and spend most of their lives.

Evaluation of the preparations for the general elections to date indicates that the organizations belonging to the National Front, and the state organs and organizations--under the leadership of the Communist Party--have done much to prepare the wide ideological front. Exceptional attention has been devoted to the ideological and political training of the candidates, officials of the party organizations, lecturers, propagandists, agitators, chiefs of the agitation centers, agitation collectives and aktivs of the decisive organizations belonging to the National Front. The aktiv consisting of many thousand persons, on whose shoulders rests the entire burden of agitation and propaganda work, has already shifted to full speed and is able to explain all basic questions to the general public. The degree of the entire ideological front's preparedness guarantees that the ideological and political objectives of the preparations for the general elections will be fulfilled.

To attain our principal political objective, which is the development of the workers' initiative and activity for the fulfillment of the program adopted by the 15th party congress, we must point out what resources and reserves we have that must be utilized for the attainment of this objective. This is an exceptionally demanding program, and therefore we emphasize that the main content of the agitation and propaganda preceding the general elections must be as follows:

1. A balance of the successes achieved in the period between the 14th and 15th congresses of the CPCZ. The 15th congress is unquestionably one of the most successful congresses in Czechoslovakia's postwar development. Here our purpose is not merely to demonstrate on facts what our people have been able to create under the party's leadership, although this in itself is understandably of considerable importance from the viewpoint of reinforcing confidence in our own strength and in the socialist future. We must orient primarily on citing illustrative examples to demonstrate in which direction we are heading. We must explain what factors influenced our successful development. And we must point out systematically and purposefully that the achieved successes are a result of the following:

Of the party's wise, far-sighted, realistic and scientifically substantiated Marxist-Leninist policy, of the party's program adopted by the 14th CPCZ Congress and clearly understandable to the wide popular masses, of the Communists' selfless work, of their political organizing and educational efforts, and of the party's constantly intensifying unity with the people;

Of the creative and selfless work by our wide toiling masses, the millions of members belonging to the social organizations comprising the National Front, and of the good work of the state organs and organizations. A result of the fact that the people have adopted the policy of our party and see in it the prospects of their own happy future;

Of our fraternal unity and intensifying cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

We will continue to develop and reinforce these factors as the sources of our successes, because they guarantee the further all-round development of our socialist society.

Only on this basis is it possible to explain the directions of the social and economic development that the 15th party congress approved for the Sixth Five-Year Plan. What is, then, our primary concern? To make every citizen understand that in our economy we can pursue only the road of intensive growth, that we must utilize our reserves conscientiously and systematically, and that the order of the day is a rise in the quality and efficiency of all our actions. Further progress in raising the standard of living will depend solely on how we manage in the future.

2. Wide ideological and political work among the masses, demonstrating the high degree of democracy in our socialist society. Our political system and our entire system of socialist democracy are highly humane; for the citizens they ensure rights and freedoms that cannot be compared with the conditions in capitalist countries. Our ideological front has a vast arsenal of facts and arguments to prove this point. We are able to say already now that our propagandists and agitators, in terms of the quality and volume of the materials published to aid the pre-election campaign, have much greater possibilities than 5 years ago.

3. Work of the entire ideological front to prove how socialist unity, the unity of Czechs and Slovaks and other nationalities, has been strengthened in our society. This unity must be demonstrated as one of the great

revolutionary achievements of socialism. No one should doubt that in our country there is no place for any manifestations of nationalism, for views and attitudes that would like to belittle the unity of our nations and nationalities. We will demonstrate that the federal arrangement, based on Lenin's concept of the nationality problem, has proven suitable in our country and is contributing toward the all-round development of our nations and nationalities. With full respect for national specifics, we will strengthen the force of the integrated Czechoslovak economy and will intensify awareness of Czechoslovak statehood.

4. Activity oriented on explaining the internationalist policy of our party and government, a policy that is leading to the intensification and reinforcement of our friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union and with the other countries of the socialist community. This means explaining the importance of the unity of the countries belonging to the socialist world system, and the decisive role of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace, security, democracy and social progress. The point is to reinforce the pride that our people feel in belonging to the socialist world. So that our people will understand the law-conforming pattern of present-day international relations, the inimical policy of world imperialism. So that they will be aware that peace and socialism are inseparable.

The class unity and international solidarity of the international working-class and communist movement are a certain weapon in the struggle for world peace and progress. The conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress, 25th CPSU Congress, and of the congresses of other fraternal parties provide an abundance of material for this work. We find many suggestions for this area of our work also in the proceedings of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Worker Parties, particularly in the principled speeches by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, Comrade Gustav Husak who headed our delegation, and by representatives of the fraternal communist parties that are founded on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

#### Public Party Meetings, Discussions, and Rallies

An important role in this respect has been assigned to the public meetings, rallies, discussions, and other political and cultural events that will be held before the general elections, at plants, in schools, communities and elsewhere. These forms are a clear manifestation of popular participation in our country's administration and management; they are one of the proven instruments for uniting the party and the people and for developing socialist democracy. We expect that at all these meetings and rallies there will be presented proposals for the successful fulfillment of the political, economic and other tasks set for the first year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The significance of the meetings and rallies lies in that the proposed candidates will be presented there to the public, the reasons for their nomination will be explained so as to win the voters' support for the candidates, and also in that the voters will become acquainted with the drafts of the election programs.

How should we prepare these pre-election public meetings, rallies and discussions?

Our party has acquired considerable experience with the forms of political work among the masses, especially during the preparations for the preceding general elections and in the course of realizing the conclusions adopted by the 14th party congress. Public party meetings, discussions between voters and their representatives, rallies to mark various significant occasions, and the work of thousands of agitators have become permanent methods of uniting the party with the wide masses of our people. We should start out from this experience, under the local conditions, also in preparing all pre-election events.

The organs and organizations of the National Front are responsible for preparing the meetings and rallies before the general elections. They work under the leadership of the party organs and organizations.

It is essential that all elements of our political system be included in the preparations for the meetings and rallies, particularly such important organizations as the revolutionary trade-union movement, the Socialist Youth Federation, and the Federation of Czechoslovak Women. Their members should be acquainted with what will happen at the pre-election rallies and discussions and should actively participate in them.

It is very important that agitation days precede the holding of the rallies and discussions, with a sufficient lead time. The purpose of agitation is not merely to invite the citizens to the rallies or discussions. We must ensure with full responsibility that the agitators establish informal contact with the voters when visiting them at home or at the workplace, and that they answer all the important questions the voters raise. The agitators should brief the representatives and other officials, for their speeches at the rallies and discussions. The success of these rallies and discussions will depend to a large extent on whom we designate to speak at these events.

Experience indicates that the speakers should be primarily the candidates for representatives. However, we must not leave them to their own resources. Our aktiv of party members and propagandists must give them every possible assistance. Collective preparation of these speeches is in accord with the principles of the democratic nature of our preparations for the general elections; simultaneously it guarantees a balanced consideration of local and national issues, so that the local issues do not overshadow or obscure the significance of the general elections. At the same time we cannot avoid, and have no reason to avoid, the pressing issues of today; to the contrary, we must actively respond to the questions raised by the people, clarify their uncertainties and thus avoid possible erroneous views.

It is essential that speeches by the candidates be frank, to the point, understandable and truthful. We must constantly bear in mind Lenin's admonition that "personal influence and speaking at meetings mean much in politics, and without them it would be impossible to do any political work." (V. I. Lenin, "Spisy" [Works of], Vol 34, p 309.)

Special attention must be devoted to discussions with youths. It will be necessary to demonstrate under local conditions and on local examples how young people have participated in our successful development to date, and how the situation of the younger generation under socialism compares with the hopelessness of their contemporaries in the present-day capitalist world.

Discussions with youths must be organized so as to give young people an opportunity to express their views on, and their attitudes toward, our society, and how they intend to fulfill the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress under the local conditions, i.e., in the course of fulfilling the election programs.

Unquestionably many suggestions will be offered at all the meetings and rallies, on how to improve further the work of the national committees, how to raise the quality of work and honesty in trade, services and local transport, and how to solve other problems that are entirely within the competence of the local organs. It is essential that not even a single proposal or comment be disregarded, that every good suggestion be utilized for a further improvement in the work of the representative bodies, and that with wide active participation of the public the conditions be created for fulfilling the election programs. This will only demonstrate the profoundly democratic nature of our society and will unquestionably serve as a further source of the workers' activity and initiative.

The preparation of public meetings, rallies and discussions during the election campaign places considerable demands on their organizers. This has its purpose. We want also this year's general elections to confirm the complete confidence of our people in the party's policy, to demonstrate the loyalty of our friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. By mobilizing the wide masses of our workers and youths for the fulfillment of the policy set by the 15th party congress, for further strengthening the unity of our party and people. Through the great school of socialist democracy.

1014  
CSO: 2400

RECENT TOP GOVERNMENT RESHUFFLE ANALYZED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 30 Oct 76 p 3

[Article by Friedhelm Kemna: "Is Honecker Planning a Return to Ulbricht's Power Model?"]

[Text] In the GDR the personnel roundabout at the top of party and government has started turning again with a somewhat surprising initial spark. Three years after Walter Ulbricht's death and more than 5 years after, on 3 May 1971, his power began to erode, Erich Honecker, his successor, has partially rescinded the administrative decentralization of power, which he had originally pursued with much vigor.

In his latter years the "chained watchdog of the Soviet Union" as Willy Brandt once described SED boss Ulbricht, threatened to escape the firm grip of the Soviets. Aided by heir apparent Honecker (1961: "Walter Ulbricht, that is what we all are"), the Soviets therefore orchestrated the carefully measured and graduated erosion of the power which Ulbricht had created for himself by having the same persons occupy all important party and government offices. According to his biographer Carola Stern Ulbricht's loyalty to Stalinism, carried to the extent of self-abnegation, abruptly collapsed in 1953 when the workers revolt in Central Germany could not be suppressed without Soviet aid, so that the GDR was revealed as a drag on its socialist allies.

In the Khrushchev era, however, Ulbricht's star rose once more. Despite the wall--or perhaps because of the consistent policy pursued in its shadow--Ulbricht regained his influence on Soviet policies in the subsequent years. At the same time a kind of partnership with the Soviet power made him suspect among the other East European allies. The "model student" annoyed the leading comrades, especially because he lacked any empathy whatever with his surroundings.

Ulbricht's Trend Setting Quite Deliberate

Yet Ulbricht's hectoring and trend setting in Warsaw, Prague and Budapest was quite deliberate: The economically stronger GDR was meant to tame the

weaker allies and subjugate them to the political goals of East Berlin for the purposes of the "doctrine of achieving everything by one's own exertions" (C. Stern).

The change in the Soviet Union's power structure, the beginning of detente, the discussion on the possibility and necessity of a Berlin settlement especially, set off a collision course between Walter Ulbricht and the interests of the leading Eastern power. As late as January 1971, at the 15th Plenum of the SED Central Committee, he was well on top and designated the main spokesman at the eighth party congress. Yet all signals were switched when, in late March, Ulbricht visited Moscow on the occasion of the CPSU Congress--and at the same time the remaining SED delegation, led by Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, Paul Verner and Hermann Axen, traveled to the Urals and Honecker was listed in first place by the Soviet protocol, ahead of government chief Stoph.

#### Sindermann's Rise Programmed

Most Kremlinologists and East Berlin watchers agree that the removal of the old party boss was decided during Ulbricht's and Honecker's separate journeys in the Soviet Union. The new boss carefully prepared the about-turn. A new man in government office was indispensable to him in view of the rapidly declining economic growth of the GDR. Honecker's much vaunted instinct for factual-personal connections was confirmed when, immediately upon taking office as first SED secretary, he appointed Horst Sindermann deputy to Stoph. Sindermann was then party secretary in Halle and boss of the GDR's model bezirk. The rise of the former Central Committee agitator-in-chief and prosecutor of Robert Havemann, the scientist who had urged liberalization, was thereby programmed. At the age of 58, a year younger than Stoph, Sindermann became head of government in October 1973.

Stoph was assigned the empty and insignificant office of chairman of the Council of State. This loyal and totally reliable servant of the SED, a good official and organizer, was compelled to give way to the man who had the reputation of a successful but uncompromising and hardline ideologue. Sindermann, certainly the most interesting personality on the newly revolving East Berlin roundabout, was not a Honecker protege. He is one of the few functionaries who advanced to the top of the heap solely on the strength of his performance. He is considered resilient and extremely intelligent.

Stoph, the skilled bricklayer, who brought the loyalty of the "red Prussian" to government office under Ulbricht and later to the post of the nominal head of state of the SED republic, returns to his old post as the absolutely reliable adjutant to Honecker. He succeeds the doubtlessly stronger Sindermann who had developed his own driving force as a modern type of political manager. Sindermann was in the way. Next to Honecker and Politburo member Werner Lamberz--frequently described as the "crown prince"--he was the most sharply defined functionary among the leadership cadres.

Sindermann's demotion to the post of president of the GDR People's Chamber is explicable only as a result of Honecker's judgment (with the concurrence of the majority of Politburo members) that, at a time of great difficulties at home, the status of the SED general secretary must be consolidated. After taking office Sindermann had been little courted by the SED leadership. He must have developed a well-nigh explosive independence on the job.

## The Apparatus Which Rules the GDR

### Council of State

On 7 September 1960, on the death of GDR President Wilhelm Pieck at the age of 84, the way was clear to the concentration of powers in the hands of Walter Ulbricht. The "Law on the Establishment of the GDR Council of State" of 12 September 1960 abolished the office of president and replaced it by the "Council of State of the Republic." The People's Chamber elects this council for a period of 5 years. It is composed of the chairman, lately 5 deputies, 18 members and a secretary. Temporarily the Council of State acted as the supreme government organ of the GDR. The 1968 constitution confirmed the preeminent status of this body, predicated on Walter Ulbricht. The new GDR constitution of 7 October 1974 weakens the status of the chairman of the Council of State.

### Premier

The premier is the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers which constitutes the government and thus provides the top echelon of the state apparatus. Its status in the GDR's system of government as well as its functions and duties were defined in 1972 and supplemented in 1974. These provisions were the constitutional outcome of the "government" functions actually exercised since early 1971 by the Council of Ministers in the GDR system.

After the Council of State was established in 1960 government functions increasingly devolved on that body. That was also reflected in the designation of the Council of Ministers as the "executive organ of the People's Chamber and the Council of State" (1962 law on the Council of Ministers). From 1971 on the Council of Ministers once more assumed more government functions, and the Council of State declined in importance.

The Council of Ministers has 42 members. It meets once a week. The majority of members comes from the SED (37).

### SED General Secretary

Since 1957 the SED has obviously exerted itself to obtain control of the state apparatus by formal and legal codification. (See "Law on the Local Organs of the State Power.") Since this law was adopted the "supremacy" of the SED must be included in the material constitutional law of the GDR.



From this follows the power of the SED chairman--designated "general secretary" since the Ninth SED Congress held last May.

In 1971 Erich Honecker took over this office from Walter Ulbricht. The original party statute did not mention the function "first secretary," Only after the eighth party congress in 1971 the "first secretary" (and this was altogether a first in party history) was granted his own pennant.

The SED Central Committee (145 members and 57 candidates) carries out the party congress resolutions and is accountable to the party congresses. The Central Committee elects the Politburo as the political manager of its work. This is where the crucial political decisions are made (19 members, 9 candidates).

#### National Defense Council

On 10 February 1960 the People's Chamber adopted the law on the establishment of the "National Defense Council," and Walter Ulbricht became its chairman. Erich Honecker acted as secretary and has headed this body since 1971. His secretary is Lt-Gen Fritz Streletz. In an internal or external emergency the National Defense Council is invested with all legislative and executive powers. In cases of aggression its chairman is also the supreme commander of all armed forces. The chairman is elected by the People's Chamber, the 12 members appointed by the Council of State.

#### President of the People's Chamber

Since yesterday and for the first time in the history of the GDR, a SED politician, Horst Sindermann, heads the People's Chamber. Until now its president has been Gerald Goetting, chairman of the East German CDU. Article 48 of the GDR constitution describes the People's Chamber as the GDR's supreme state organ of power.

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FRG PAPER COMMENTS ON VATICAN'S CONCESSIONS TO GDR

Independent Bishops Conference

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 26 Oct 76 pp 1-2

[Text] West Berlin, 25 October. The Vatican has detached the Berlin Conference of Ordinaries--the association of 10 Catholic bishops and suffragans in the GDR, led since 1961 by Cardinal Bengsch, the Bishop of Berlin--from the Association of the German (Fulda) Conference of Bishops, to which it belonged as a regional conference of bishops, and has granted autonomy to it as the "Berlin Conference of Bishops." Since 1961, the members of the Berlin Conference of Ordinaries has no longer been able to participate in the sessions of the Fulda Conference of Bishops. With this, the Vatican has made another concession to the GDR. Nevertheless, Rome has not fulfilled East Berlin's continuing demand that the Catholic jurisdictional districts on the territory of the GDR which, by canon law, still belong to dioceses and Church provinces of the Federal Republic--the bishoprics of Schwerin, Magdeburg and Erfurt, and the episcopal curacy of Meissen--also be made autonomous and converted to dioceses of the GDR.

About 1.3 million Catholics live in the GDR. The step now being carried out by the Vatican, which conforms to the status of the Berlin Conference of Ordinaries by virtue of the situation in Germany resulting from the Basic Treaty between Bonn and East Berlin, was the least Rome could do. Hence, the GDR, too, is hardly satisfied with it but, at the same time, has not yet indicated that it would be prepared to reciprocate.

The new Berlin Conference of Bishops is neither a national nor a regional conference of bishops. It corresponds, rather, to the decree of the Synod, "Christus Dominus," regarding the pastoral duties of bishops in the Church, in which it is stated verbatim: "The Conference of Bishops is, at the same time, an association in which the bishops of a certain country or district carry out their pastoral duty in common...." The decree lays down that "each conference of bishops establishes statutes that must be examined by the Apostolic See." Accordingly, some time ago, the Vatican had called upon the Berlin Conference of Ordinaries and the German Conference of Bishops to work out statutes and

present them to Rome. This has taken place in the meantime. The statutes of the Berlin Conference of Bishops have been approved by the Holy See, whereby the conversion of the Berlin Conference of Ordinaries into the independent Berlin Conference of Bishops was carried out. The German Conference of Bishops also worked out new statutes and sent them to Rome for approval.

The concept "GDR" appears only in a footnote in the statutes of the Berlin Conference of Bishops. Members of the Berlin Conference of Bishops, whose chairman is the Bishop of Berlin, Cardinal Bengsch, are the former members of the Berlin Conference of Ordinaries. Accordingly, the new statutes define the German Conference of Bishops as an association of the "bishops of the German dioceses," but, at the same time, it is determined that these "at present," are the bishops and suffragans of the Church provinces Banberg, Freiburg, Cologne, Munich-Freising and Paderborn--inasmuch as they are not members of the Berlin Conference of Bishops formed by virtue of the Apostolic See's decision--"as well as the prelate of Berlin."

With this, all territorial jurisdictional districts on the territory of the GDR are included with the exception of the bishopric of Meissen and the apostolic administratorship of Goerlitz, which formerly belonged to Breslau. On the other hand, it is made unequivocally clear that the Bishop of Berlin, at one and the same time, is chairman of the Berlin Conference of Bishops and a member of the German Conference of Bishops. Cardinal Bengsch will be represented there in the future, however, by a permanent deputy empowered by him and resident in West Berlin.

The bishopric of Berlin, which embraces West Berlin and East Berlin, as well as extensive areas of the GDR, forms, in the person of its bishop--who resides in East Berlin but is permitted to be with his West Berlin parishes on 10 days in the month--the future link between the two conferences of bishops, if the Vatican, with regard to the GDR, has deemed it inopportune to provide for the personal participation of Cardinal Bengsch at the sessions of the German Conference of Bishops. The granting of autonomy to the Berlin Conference of Bishops changes nothing in the current situation of the Berlin bishopric. Its statutes expressly provide that decisions of the Berlin Conference of Bishops have no validity for the parishes in West Berlin.

The Vatican, the Berlin and German conferences of bishops, as well as the Episcopal Council of Ordinaries in West Berlin, want to make official statements this Friday on the changes that are taking place. Whether the statutes of the two conferences of bishops will be published is uncertain.

#### Vatican Not at Fault

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 26 Oct 76 p 1

[Text] So now there is an independent Conference of Bishops for East Germany. There is no reason to get excited about it. Actually, nothing is changed; the

Berlin Conference of Ordinaries, which existed previously, was a peculiar institution. Only alphabetically did it belong to the German Conference of Bishops as a regional subdivision. That the letters are now changed certainly cannot be dismissed as a ridiculous trifle. It is an obvious sign of how much the division of Germany has also been hardened institutionally. But the Catholic Church (as well as the Protestant) is not to blame for this division. When the political division of Germany was sealed with the Basic Treaty between Bonn and East Berlin, the Church gradually adapted to the new situation in an effort to fulfill its obligation to protect Catholics in the GDR. In the dispute over the Ostpolitik of Paul VI, which is contested in many places, it is often forgotten that the Pope--before all responsibility for the fate of nations--is charged with concern for the Church.

Rome has not ignored Bonn's legal position and, on the other hand, has made no unnecessary advances to the GDR. There can be no talk of a wild flight forward. The territorial competences of the two conferences of bishops now existing side by side are so circumscribed that no new consolidation is presented to the zonal border. The parts of the West German dioceses situated in the GDR are not given autonomy as bishoprics. The Bishop of Berlin, Cardinal Bengsch, belongs to both conferences. And the name "GDR" is found only in the statute as a footnote. Who here will cast a stone at the Vatican.

The only question is whether the Pope has been able to have the limited concession to the GDR honored. It is the old question of reciprocity, to which, in earlier states of Paul VI's Ostpolitik, the answer so often turned out to be unsatisfactory. Also, the pressure of obligatory State Marxism--which makes Christians fourth-class citizens--is a burden on Catholics in the GDR. Can anything be changed in the systematic intolerance of the government? It must be attempted. After its initiative, the Vatican is in line to demand something from East Berlin.

8824

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

INFORMATION PROVIDED ON BORDER TROOP DUTY

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 10, Oct 76 pp 22-27

[Article by Lt Col Ernst Gebauer: "Soldiers at Their Work"]

[Text] I have to admit that I was extremely uncertain. It was all a reply to my first question as to why they belonged to the distinguished group. Somehow I had made a mistake. The major also reacted promptly. He immediately showed me a still-packed classification clasp. Kleinert's name was on the paper. He then added emphatically about Kleinert, one of his best soldiers, that he still had the latter's outstanding badge in the drawer and also that he had not promoted him to private first class. He added proudly: "We have developed certain quality norms in our company!"

One can also carry norms and quality too far. But surely that wasn't the reason why I had been sent to a company of the border troops unit that had been awarded a Central Committee banner of honor on the eve of the Ninth SED Congress.

There was no doubt that Major Fischer was convinced of the correctness of his decision. Private Kleinert had violated an order. It didn't matter if he was the best soldier.

Then the old border guard in the major was aroused. He explained to me that when someone hears something rustling in the night, he doesn't try to spot it but rather investigates using the advantage of the night. Darkness also gives the border guard cover and one doesn't blow it unnecessarily with flares. But I asked the company commander if one can judge this only on the spot?

Certainly. But Kleinert violated a direct order and failed to consider the danger of forest fires.

Later the major said something about the responsibility that a border guard has and felt that it was equal to that of a minister.

These were obvious truths but the dispute between us still made me uncomfortable. Why had I asked such a tactless and direct question? Wouldn't it have been better to ask diplomatically about the successes first?

Yes, but how does one measure successes in this case? With motorized rifle troops, tankers and others, the layman has it easier and can orient himself by visible norms. One can measure how attack sectors are overcome in a certain time and in a tactically correct fashion and, if any firing is done, with a high number of hits.

But here in the foothills, where a stone's throw always turns out to be three times that distance? Where every hill, mountain and peak stands alone and thus stretches so high with its 200 meters that deep valleys gape? They have to cover a good dozen of these mountains in their sector.

How often? What would be the norm?

The oldtimers tell the vacationers that it is an area where storms break. How many cloudbursts does the border guard have to defy on his beat? How long does he have to run around with wet boots and a uniform sticking to his skin?

The company commander says that the forest is an ally. It seems that all the elk, deer, hares and foxes know this and have some fun out of it. How many times is a border guard allowed to fall for such tricks? How many meters can he be baited into running for nothing? How much is too much?

The major has one answer for all this: "The border guard must develop a feel for the border!"

But doesn't each person have a different feel? And wasn't therefore Kleinert's feel that he had to fire the flares at that moment perhaps correct? Can one reduce feels to a common denominator, can one command them? After all, Major Fischer could not command his company without orders.

I thought the matter over and tried to detect something of this feel.

It is said that good troops know their weak points. For a border company this is the time of personnel rotation. When young soldiers from the training unit come to replace the comrades transferred to the reserve. Who indeed is capable of measuring the pack of experience that the privates take with them? This treasure should remain in the company. The party organization, the FDJ leadership and the company commander agreed on this point. Thus the preparation of a "smooth transition to the reserve" was a special point in the party congress initiative of the youth organization. Thus they named it and intended that the comrades of the second half-year of service could rapidly and well assimilate everything necessary for successful border security from the experienced privates.

Sergeant Meinberg, a squad leader, was the first to stand up at the FDJ meeting and he said: "I will now begin preparing all my comrades for the function of sentry leader!" Others joined in immediately. The FDJ leadership with its secretary, communist Staff Sergeant Schuerzmann, brought "a little order" to this movement. They organized sponsorships and elevated them to unit missions. It should be emphasized that these activities began a good 4 months before the privates were to be transferred to the reserve. The "godchildren" who had just left the training unit and should first "learn to walk" in the border sector were now required to learn a great deal more about their function.

It was a question of learning many points in this rough terrain. They had to have more than one solution ready in order to be able to master certain situations, had to study the possibilities of cooperation between individual posts, know the routes to the command posts, learn how to formulate reports and grasp the many peculiarities of identification service.

Many of them regarded the sentry leader as virtually a general. Their tutors had to have much patience. Some became uneasy only when their "privileges" were affected.

The uninitiated should know that the sentry pair takes a pouch and that this is carried by the sentry. Now the young comrades, the regular sentries, were to consolidate their knowledge and understudy the sentry leader. The privates, the regular sentry leaders, were to act as sentries and only help when necessary. None of the privates were against this but some didn't want to carry the pouch. The FDJ leadership told them in no uncertain terms that their backward attitude placed their own socialist attitude in regard to the young soldiers in question. None of them wanted to be publicly pilloried.

Lieutenant Behn supported this timely training of future sentry leaders at every platoon meeting by always speaking on a certain topic of border security and the sentry's possible action. Thus in time the collective of the third platoon achieved considerable border-tactical knowledge. But could others also make use of this?

A sentry leader handbook with the most important items so organized that it was a guide to action--this was the idea expressed by Private Fischer at the FDJ election meeting and then elevated to a resolution. The FDJ members of the third platoon prepared such a handbook. The soldiers themselves thus drew up the regulation by which they wished to do their duty. This was also proof that they regarded soldier's work as their own. The guidelines for the comrades were the theoretical and practical requirements for achieving third class qualification. Each sentry leader wrote down his own experiences, compared them with the regulations and defended his views before the collective.

It grew into a small booklet in which they enriched the regulations by their personal experiences. Major Fischer, the company commander, was of

the opinion that: "I'd be happy if each of my sentry leaders had it in his pocket!" Unfortunately I couldn't take a look at this booklet. During my visit to the company it had already been under discussion for some time at the higher unit headquarters. Now my opinion is that when someone wants to share his wisdom, he shouldn't have to wait for an answer, be it pro or contra. And the soldiers of Fischer's company are used to something else.

The soldiers call it commander's rendezvous and the company commander calls sentry leader meeting. I made no objection as both sides meant the same thing: joint deliberations and searching for the most effective methods in border security. Just as in real life small things often play a large role, so is it with border guards. Here is a selection of the latest soldiers' initiatives which were immediately adopted by the company commander. On an illuminated part of the sector the border reporting net was so placed that a border guard using it at night had to step into a lighted area. It was proposed to remove the stationary telephone to the dark by using a field cable. Now a cable runs to the nearest cover at night. A brook only a few centimeters wide crosses the sentry path. Normally it's only one step but it's a meter-wide river when there's a storm in the mountains. The soldiers suggested a footbridge over the brook. The footbridge now stands there alone in the landscape during good weather. During bad weather it not only protects the sentries from wet boots but also simply makes them faster when necessary. Nowhere did I detect any haste but I continued to see how the collective wanted to become ever faster and better. Thus the friends of youth in the Fischer company contributed their part to achieving the youth goal "Secure Border--Weapons and Equipment Ready at All Times" adopted by the FDJ organization of the higher unit. In one position they even achieved outstanding results. The company of Comrade Major Fischer won 32 percent of all the marksmanship fourrageres awarded in the higher unit this spring. Anyone familiar with the conditions for the award of this distinction involuntarily asks how they did it.

I did not have to search for long. A chart in the hall announced the "battle" won and the strategy which led to such successes.

The communists and young socialists of the company noted four principles. They wanted "to create ideological clarity about the necessity of a basic acquisition of knowledge and use of regulations for border service; to develop a positive relationship between man and equipment; to continually qualify each member of the company for the tasks in border service; to strive for high operational readiness of armaments and equipment so that they can be employed effectively and intensively."

But since slogans alone effect no change, the plan was also dependent on the measures. Thus the squad leaders had to handle weapons technical and firing methodology problems of the assault rifle and light machinegun with their soldiers. The armorer [dealt with] the installation and handling of the security devices and the signals sergeant with the communications equipment. In the next month were added training, seminars and performance



competitions in individual subjects followed by competitions between platoons. Four weeks later the results achieved were discussed and evaluated. The interesting part was that those designated responsible were the platoon leader and FDJ squad leadership or the company commander and the leadership of the FDJ primary organization. I believe this partnership proved itself. One has to consider that none of this was "planned" in the normal duty plan. Free time was used and often after many hours of border duty.

Now there was evidence of all these initiatives in the company. But what about the "smooth transition " The comrades "served" as if nothing had happened although some of them had only been in the company 11 days. An outsider, of course, can't see as fast through things and therefore I asked the company commander. He came to the shift change and we watched the company marching off to border service. I had to give the major time to answer. First he saw them off. He watched them as they mounted the vehicles. He approved the way the marching order was put together. He was irritated when an LO driver couldn't get his truck in gear. He was simply there as his soldiers marched off although he was off duty at this time and his deputy was commanding the company.

Then Major Fischer told me that it was difficult to see any difference this time. Other than the new faces, he would recall nothing about the "changing of the guard." It looked as though the comrades had achieved their goal. All his inspections to now indicated no uncertainties in accomplishing duties and no rash actions just because something rustled in the woods.

But didn't someone...?

That was, as he already noted, a breach of discipline.

My thoughts always seemed to come back to the same spot. The major was no doubt right. But Private Kleinert didn't seem to me to be so undisciplined when I met him on the border sector. His sentry, Private Uwe Bellstedt, a sports and geography teacher, praised him. Kleinert explained everything to him on his first sentry duty. He had very carefully briefed him on the terrain. He had answered his many questions with great patience. And, the teacher grinned, he even asked test questions. Even teachers had to learn to be soldiers. Comrade Bellstedt found that this was fun with Kleinert.

I was soon inclined to the opinion of some comrades who put the question thusly: couldn't Major Fischer have handled the incident with the flares with some words of reprimand? As I began to debate with the company commander about the "quality norms," he told me about a talk with his soldiers. They asked him if everything had gone smoothly when he was a private. They knew that, at the beginning of the 1950's, he had been a sentry and sentry leader just like them. Naturally, he said, he had also received punishments. And each punishment and its cause was also then too much. But, in his opinion, much had changed since then. Not only has our wealth increased but so

also has the greed of the imperialists who would like to swallow it and destroy us. Today the developed socialist state of the GDR was an even bigger thorn in the eye of the imperialist class enemy. The military power of the socialist community of states, of which their company was a part, forced the enemy to reject open military action. But did he not continue to play dangerously with fire as shown by the assault of 30 April 1976 on the state frontier in the north of the GDR? What responsibility did the border soldier have in such a case? If he were able to carry out and maintain all orders in a disciplined manner even under the most difficult conditions, he would be able to thwart the intentions of the class enemy.

Private First Class Wegner, a sentry leader, mentioned this conversation as we talked about the handbook, the "commander's rendezvous" and the tasks of border service. The concrete worker from the Berlin WBK [housing construction combine] felt that he would have acted differently in Kleinert's place. Why? His answer was amazingly simple: because an order has to be obeyed.

Private Wegner was silent for a while. Had he drawn a conclusion when he said that Kleinert's discipline should have been better? His phrase "We'll help him!" gave me an inkling of the feeling of which the company commander had spoken.

He himself, added Comrade Wegner, would have been irritated at not being promoted to private first class. But, it seemed to him, that this didn't bother Kleinert.

But Private Uwe Kleinert didn't make such an impression on me. There was no question that vehicle mechanic Kleinert was self assured and certainly a good expert. And, according to his company commander, he was also a good soldier (but with a black mark, as one knew). Kleinert thought a great deal of his major. He was fair and consistent in each inspection and check. (The marksmanship fourragere only went to those who got all bull's-eyes the first time, he allowed no makeup.) He also had understanding for the soldiers. (Often he took those going on leave to the kreis city in his Skoda so that they would get better train connections.)

I believe that Kleinert felt the missing private first class stripe.

Then he told me he would use the 8 weeks which the company commander had given to reflect on his attitude. He would become a private first class and wear his outstanding soldier award.

Major Fischer spoke to me about the border guards' feel for his military mission. I didn't want to accept that blindly. Feelings are, after all, extremely individual. But I saw that the company had set itself norms for this feeling which enabled the individual to sense what was necessary to

accomplish the collective mission. The comrades had earned their reward by doing everything to bring themselves and their neighbors to this point. I could see that they were not resting on their laurels.

The privates first class in the platoons welcomed the new comrades to the collectives with gifts of mounds of pastry and huge pots of coffee. Each one introduced himself, the more senior first. Profession, interests, home town, everything was discussed. Including the competition goals of the platoons. And, I didn't expect it to be otherwise, already about the next "smooth transition." Who would take care of whom? Could it be Bellstedt for Kleinert?

I have certainly neglected the duties of a chronicler. A great many more names belong in this report but I will be pardoned. The comrades themselves have shown me: the overall performance counts.

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## PUBLIC HEALTH SECTOR FACES INCREASED MANPOWER SHORTAGE

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 2 Nov 76 p 2

[Text] As conceded by HUMANITAS, East Berlin medical journal, the reduction of working hours decreed in May 1976 by the GDR leadership for mothers of several children, for shift workers, and for young mothers--who are given the opportunity to take 1 year's maternity leave after childbirth--presents "complicated problems" for the GDR public health system. In this connection, calculations were made by the public health administration of Halle, the results of which can be considered largely typical for the entire GDR. Accordingly, about 87 percent of all employees in the GDR public health system are women, of whom 4 to 5 percent will bear children each year. On the basis of polls, it is estimated that about 80 percent of the young mothers will avail themselves of the 1-year leave of absence. As of 1 January 1977, an additional 350 women employees in Halle will be entitled to 1 free day per month for household work, and the weekly working hours will be reduced to 40 hours for almost 500 full-time working mothers of two or more children.

Currently the leading authorities in the public health system are considering how the personnel shortage--which is intensified by the socio-political measures--can be at least to some extent compensated for. Their considerations are primarily directed toward forced rationalization of work organization. In addition, ways and means are to be sought to lower absenteeism due to sickness in public health institutions, to curb fluctuation as much as possible, and to induce more women to accept full-time employment. Furthermore, increased numbers of Red Cross women assistants are to be assigned, especially on weekends, to cover the acute shortage of nursing personnel.

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PROBLEM OF NATIONALISM EXAMINED

Romanian's Nationalistic Interpretation of WWI Peace Treaty Criticized

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 6 Nov 76 p 3

[Article by Pal E. Feher: "Practical Internationalism--Notes on History and the Present"]

[Excerpts] "The 1914-1918 imperialist war disclosed especially clearly before all nations and before the oppressed classes of the entire world the lying nature of the 'bourgeois democratic' phrases and proved in practice that the Versailles Treaty of the notorious 'Western democracies' was an even more bestial and vile attack against the weak nations than the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of the German junkers and the German kaiser...." This is how Lenin characterized the peace treaties which ended World War I. He who had proved so precisely how he would consistently defend and ensure the right of the peoples to self-determination even when he was in power did not close his eyes to the fact that the leading strata of the new national states were bitter enemies of socialism and the proletarian revolution. Self-determination of the peoples is not a final goal but rather it is one of the tools for achieving a democratic, socialist development. (In any case, the 1938-1941 treason of the national bourgeoisie in Bohemia, Slovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia proved most clearly that they were not interested in the self-determination of the peoples but rather in preserving their own rule for which, in the given historical moment, they considered even Hitler suitable.)

It gives a rather strange effect today if we read--in contrast to Lenin's clear thesis and the proof of historical facts--that the peace treaties of the World War I served social progress. But this is what Viorica Moisuc, an author of the Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE, does when he writes: "The fundamentally positive character of the peace treaties following World War I consists of the fact that they reflected the direction of social progress...." And he repeats this thesis as if it summed up the message of his study as a whole: "For the first time in the history of mankind it happened that, independent of the great powers, the peoples forced their will on an international conference, on the Paris peace conference which played a crucial role in changing the political and territorial face of the world...." Of course, such statements seem rather ill-founded especially if we quote the 1919 statement of Nicolae Titulescu:

"Why should we make a secret of the fact, gentlemen, that the few Romanians who are here in Paris are a part of the eastern guard of the Entente...." And the Entente, as is well known, was not a supreme forum of the popular will. What was involved to a much greater extent was that the victory of the October Revolution prompted the allied great powers to action in two directions. And it does no harm to recall this on the 59th anniversary of the revolution. On the one hand they urgently created a "cordon sanitaire" against Bolshevism with the aid of the national bourgeoisie of the new states formed in the wake of the monarchy. And on the other hand--and this is a point of view which is not incidental--they expropriated a few important slogans from the Great October Socialist Revolution as Wilson, among others, did when he included in his peace plans the right of the peoples to self-determination.

Nor is the extent to which the slogan of national self-determination remained a slogan without interest. After the peace treaties following World War I, the proportion of national minorities in Czechoslovakia was 34.5, in Yugoslavia 18.8, in Romania 22.3, and in Poland 36.5 percent and we might add that the Czech bourgeoisie did not consider the Slovaks a separate nation. In Yugoslavia the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes were considered one and the same nation, a not indifferent factor. And Boyar Romania--as a statement of the Soviet government pointed out on 12 August 1924--occupied in Bessarabia a territory representing legal Soviet property. The statement of the Soviet government emphasized: The allied powers forced Romania to recognize minority rights and this meant that "the assumption of such an obligation by a state in which the persecution of national minorities is state doctrine... is a new act of deceit. The entire post-war policy of the Romanian government in regard to the national minorities, which represent one third of the population of the kingdom, confirms this statement because this policy has led to the suppression of the national culture and national self-awareness of the minorities." Also to be noted here is the struggle of the Romanian Communist Party between the two world wars, which bound together the cause of the liberation of the Romanian workers with a recognition of the rights of the Romanian nationalities. And for the communists--Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs, Croats, Romanians and Hungarians who participated as one in this struggle--the right of national self-determination was always seen as something which could be realized on the basis of the principle of internationalism. They did not belittle the rights of the individual nations, but they saw the just demands of the nations--which naturally included independence and self-determination--as closely interdependent with the struggles of the world. And they knew, and said with determination: Independence cannot be realized out of the benevolence of the great powers and, especially, that national freedom cannot be lasting which is based on oppressing other peoples.

Socialist internationalism has proven its theoretical theses in everyday practice. It has assumed the great traditions of the bourgeois inheritance. We can greet the predecessors of our internationalism in the nationalities policies of Mocsary or Eotvos. Naturally adapting the human basic principles to the new conditions.

We cannot detach the lesson of history from our lives or consciousness. Obviously socialist patriotism and the internationalism of the labor movement

cannot dispense with this system of argument, neither as a lesson nor as a consciousness-forming force. It was a characteristic gesture how the leaders of the young Soviet state after the October Revolution turned such great care to a cultivation of the revolutionary inheritance. The decree which nationalized the right to publish the classics of Russian literature appeared on the same day in the columns of PRAVDA as the decree establishing the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Red Army. The dates coincided by accident but the identity of direction was in accordance with a general law. The defense of the socialist homeland was closely interdependent with an awareness of what inheritance the revolution was defending. And also belonging to this was that attack plan which the leaders of the Red Army decided on to support the Hungarian Republic of Councils. This was an internationalism of the revolution. It was an internationalism which was not built on historic rights but rather on the real and timely requirements of the peoples. In the interest of the common, socialist future.

We need this practical internationalism in our day too.

#### Historian Cautions Against Dangers of Nationalism

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 31 Oct 76 p 9

[Article by Academician Zsigmond Pal Pach: "Patriotism and Internationalism in Hungarian Historical Science"]

[Excerpts] Among the ideological and professional problems of concern to Hungarian historians the problem of patriotism and internationalism certainly stands in the forefront of attention. Proof of this is that debate over this theme which has been conducted in ever renewed waves for more than 15 years in our historical writing and in our social sciences.

How does our historiography relate to the non-Hungarian peoples who lived on the one-time territory of Hungary, how does it relate to our neighbors?

#### Nationalisms Against One Another

The population of Hungary was not linguistically or ethnically uniform even at the time of the founding of the state. Throughout the Middle Ages various peoples settled and migrated in. The large scale settlements of the late 17th and 18th centuries, following the expulsion of the Turkish conquerors, decisively changed the ethnic picture of the country. The various Slavic peoples, the Germans and the Romanians together made up the majority of the population of the country when, beginning in the last decades of the 18th Century, feudalism entered a profound crisis and the development of capitalist relations began in Hungary, all of which brought to the surface and sharpened the national question in the land of the Danube.

This was the age when various strata and groups of the Hungarian nobility, becoming capitalist, developed various conceptions of the bourgeois transformation

and deviating ideological versions of bourgeois nationalism. And as for the non-Hungarian peoples living in Hungary, as for the nationalities question, the leading strata and groups showed almost complete agreement, namely in their aspiration to preserve the territorial integrity of a multi-national Hungary and to maintain the Hungarian national hegemony over the non-Hungarian population of the country.

The anti-democratic unity in the nationalities question of the Hungarian ruling circles became even more complete and even more fixed as they turned against the self-determination aspirations of the non-Hungarian peoples of the country after the closing of the period of the bourgeois revolution.

The thesis of "a uniform Hungarian political nation" and the idea of "Hungarian supremacy"--how frequently these formulae were voiced by the politicians and ideologists of the ruling classes in the age of dualism following the 1867 Austro-Hungarian compromise. The theses of "Hungarian cultural superiority," "the mission of the Hungarians to play the leading role in the Carpathian basin," restoring the "integrity of historical Hungary"--how purposively these and similar ideas were propagated by the political and ideological apparatus of the counter-revolutionary system in the quarter century of the Horthy regime--and let us add, unfortunately, not without effect.

Thus, after the liberation, we had to overcome the conditioning of old views, prejudices which had been rammed into people's heads, accustomed emotional mechanisms both in our historiography and in forming the awareness of our society.

It was not an easy thing to take the road of overcoming prejudice. It is not an easy thing today; it demands steadfastness and consistency. But we must travel it to the end. We must do so because this and only this will provide a political, scientific and moral foundation for action against every tendency of nationalism, from whatever direction it comes and in whatever form it appears.

For we should not delude ourselves. The remnants of nationalism or the danger of the revival of nationalism are not only or even primarily a problem for Hungarian historical science today; they are also a problem for the historiography of other countries, of some neighboring countries. They are a problem for other countries where the conditioning of old views continues to be no less effective and even in some cases and places is being renewed by new conditioning and new practices. For this reason we cannot limit our debate actions to our own historiography but rather should and must extend them to those manifestations of nationalism which appear elsewhere, in the historiography of some of our neighbors.

And in doing this we should stick strictly to our Marxist-Leninist ideological foundations. In no case should we "rehabilitate" for our part nationalist thought or emotional categories as tools for our ideological-scientific action. We should certainly not use against the symptoms of nationalism any sort of "homoeopathic remedies" if we do not want to return to the alarming path of the past in the land of the Danube.



The lessons of history are clear and unambiguous.

In 1848-1849 the Habsburg policy succeeded in exploiting the internal possibilities presented and in turning some of the non-Hungarian peoples of the Carpathian basin against the Hungarian bourgeois revolution. And what was the result? It did not take long to see that the nationalities received as their reward from the Habsburg tyranny the same thing which the Hungarians received as a punishment.

In 1919 imperialism succeeded in turning the armed forces of the Little Entente against the Hungarian proletarian revolution. And what was the result? The "successor states" created in place of the disintegrating Austro-Hungarian Monarchy brought to the peoples of the land of the Danube not freedom but rather new forms of exploitation, versions differing at most in degree, and new forms of national oppression which differed not in substance but in sign.

Between the two world wars the political, economic and ideological squabbling of the opposed nationalisms continued in central eastern Europe. And what was the result? One by one these countries became defenseless before the expansion of the Hitler reich, one by one they became a German "lebensraum" and arenas for open fascist dictatorship, one by one they became satellites of Hitler.

#### Relying on One Another

But history also created a true remedy for the disease. The seeds were sown by the best of the Hungarians and of the non-Hungarians who attempted to unite despite all obstacles in 1848-1849, who sympathized with one another and struggled together in 1918-1919 and after in the valley of the Danube just as in Siberia and the far east. The seeds were sown by the Hungarian, Slovak, Sub-Carpathian, Ukrainian, Romanian, Serb and other communists and patriots who cooperated and fought on one front against counter-revolution, fascism and war on the side of the Soviet Union and the Red Army.

For the seeds to germinate and sprout there had to be a world historical turning, which did come in 1944-1945. The victory of the Soviet Union over fascism, the liberation of the countries of the land of the Danube, the people's democratic revolution, and the building of the socialist order made this possible.

Of course, the transformation of a possibility into a reality is not so simple or easy a process as we thought at the time of the liberation or even in the 1940's and 1950's. At that time we trusted that the socialist revolution, socialist construction itself would automatically solve the national-nationalities problems of the land of the Danube.

Today we see more realistically that this is an arduous road. But we should also realistically measure the results achieved. And we should and must see that the internationalist road of strengthening trust and friendship, even if it is not without difficulties, is in the final analysis the only road which leads to the future.

Social progress and national independence can be ensured in the land of the Danube only by the friendship and internationalist cooperation of the neighboring peoples and by our friendship and cooperation with the chief force of the socialist community, the Soviet Union. This recognition is an important element in and an integral part of the contemporary awareness of Hungarian society and the view of contemporary Hungarian historical science.

In the centuries of Hungarian history the great question has arisen more than once, our best men have posed it, the fatal question of the nation has arisen more than once: What preserves, what holds together, what holds up the Hungarian people?

Today we can give a clear answer to this question. What preserves, guarantees and enriches our people is that it guards and nourishes all its revolutionary and progressive traditions, that it works on the building of a developed socialist society and progresses on the road of becoming a socialist nation, that it is a participant in the internationalist cooperation of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, that it is a part of the world system of socialism.

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## BRIEFS

CONFERENCE ON WARSAW HIGHER SCHOOLS--A meeting of the rectors of Warsaw higher schools, first secretaries of PZPR school committees, and representatives of the youth on 4 November was devoted to the current tasks of Warsaw higher schools in the upbringing of youth. During the conference, which was chaired by Joseph Kepa, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, special attention was devoted to those matters regarding academic schools which were the subject of recent meetings of the Warsaw PZPR Committee plenum and the student aktiv. It was brought out at the conference that the tasks of upbringing, especially ideopolitical problems, are of a significance equal to the didactic and academic curriculum. The meeting stressed the necessity of strengthening the authority of academic teachers, whose moral and pedagogical responsibility is to document the proper attitude of commitment in matters regarding socialism. In the accomplishment of upbringing tasks, a special role falls to school party and youth organizations, which ought to unite efforts to stimulate the student environment in work and in discussions on a socialist plane. During the current academic year various ways to popularize knowledge about party and state policy will be developed, including a series of meetings entitled "The Party Talks With Youth" and "Conversations About the Economy." A great deal of importance is being attached to strengthening contacts between school and worker circles. Cooperation of student academic circles with Warsaw industry has brought good results and will be expanded. [Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 5 Nov 76 p 4]

CHARISMATIC RENEWAL MOVEMENT--At the ecumenical center of the Warsaw Metropolitan Curia on ulica Miodowa the first of the monthly meetings of the clergy and lay persons belonging to the Catholic Church and other Christian churches was held. Among those participating were the Rev Stanislaw Szymanski, SJ, secretary of the Episcopate Commission for Ecumenical Affairs; Rev Stanislaw Mystkowski, one of the pioneers of the ecumenical movement in the [Catholic] Church in Warsaw; Rev Wladyslaw Paschalis from the Evangelical Reformed Church; and Rev Atanazy Semeniuk from the Orthodox Church. During the meeting, Rev Docent Dr Bronislaw Dembowski, rector of the church of St. Martin on ulica Pivna, shared his reflections on the subject of the charismatic renewal movement which is

animatedly spreading in the Catholic Church in the United States. During an annual visit to the latter country, he personally met with the representatives of that movement. The lecturer expanded primarily the theological aspects of the charismatic renewal movement, emphasizing its ecumenical significance. It contributes in a considerable degree to eliminating antiquated mutual distrust among the adherents of different churches. In each meeting, prayer worshipping God dominates at each meeting uniting the adherents of Christ in mutual love. [Text] [Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 8 Nov 76 p 7]

BISHOP WOSINSKI TO ROME--Bishop Jan Wosinski, the Plock suffragan, and chairman of the Episcopate Commission for Missionary Affairs, and director for Poland of the Pontifical Commission for Missionary Work, departed for Rome on 9 November 1976. The purpose of his visit in Rome is to participate in the deliberations of the Main Council of the Pontifical Missionary Work, the aim of which, among other things, is to establish the scope of aid to the particular missionary dioceses. [Text] [Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 12-14 Nov 76 p 2]

POLICE ACTION AGAINST CRITICS--On 4 November 1976 Polish security police searched the living quarters of two regime critics, Jacek Kuron and Jan Josef Lipski, in Warsaw and confiscated manuscripts and books. Kuron and Lipski are prominent members of the "Committee for Defense of the Workers," which was established in September by Polish intellectuals and scientists. The committee's purpose is to help those persons who were imprisoned after the riots in Radom and Ursus in June. In the meantime, two more members of the committee have lost their jobs: Mirosław Chojecki, scientist, was dismissed without notice from the Warsaw Atomic Research Institute, and Antoni Macierewicz, historian, was given notice that his teaching assignment had been terminated. In a communique the members of the committee defend themselves against the accusation that their group is an "illegal association." They state that the goals and methods of the committee are entirely straightforward; furthermore, that the committee would not lose its right to exist until the trade unions fulfilled their obligations and the dismissed workers got their jobs back. In addition, the committee demands that those police officials who were guilty of perversion of justice and tormenting of workers be subject to prosecution. [Excerpts] [Bonn DIE WELT in German 5 Nov 76 p 1]

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