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28 January 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1346

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EAST GERMANY

LT GEN SEIFERT CALLS FOR INCREASED STRENGTH FOR WORKER MILITIA UNITS

East Berlin DER KAMPFER in German No 12, Dec 76 p 2

[Article by Lt Gen Willi Seifert, deputy minister of the interior and head of the chief inspectorate: "The Most Successful Training Period Ever"]

[Text] The workers militia units have contributed significantly to the great successes reported at the Ninth SED Congress. In addition to their daily efforts in production and the socialist competition for the all-round strength of our economy the militiamen, corporals and commanders have displayed great responsibility and constant combat readiness, thus helping reliably to protect the socialist achievements and strengthen and secure peace where it matters most. "Vigilant, resolute and willing to serve," emphasized Comrade Erich Honecker in the Central Committee report to the Ninth SED Congress, "all members of the armed organs and militia units justify the confidence of the party, the working class and the entire working people."

We may note with pride that, loyal to their oath, the comrades in the militia units have honorably accomplished their class task and successfully contributed to the constant reliable defense and protection of our workers and farmers state. The resolutions and documents of the Ninth SED Congress clearly reflect the great esteem felt for the militia units by the party of the working class, and at the same time show the growing responsibility of all members of the militia for the steady improvement in the combat strength and readiness of the units. Constantly confronted with the necessity to defend the further organization of the developed socialist society in the GDR against all enemies of socialism/communism, the workers militia units discharge their class duties jointly with the National People's Army, the border forces of the GDR and the other defense and security organs. They secure peace for our republic and thereby help provide favorable conditions for the construction of socialism and communism.

Led by the party of the working class the militia units have consistently accomplished their tasks in the training period 1973/1976, and at the same time have displayed great initiative and managed to achieve the greatest progress yet in fighting strength and combat readiness. What are the decisive results to hand?

1. We have noted a further increase in the leading role of the party as the key to the successful handling of all tasks and requirements of the militia units. By improving the standard of politico-ideological work, and by the increased effect of the example given the units by party members the political consciousness of all members of the militia units has been further developed and consolidated, enhancing the fighting strength of the companies and the influence of the party groups.

2. The central competition challenges of the KGB (mot) [works militia battalions (motorized)] "Karl Meseberg" (1974), "Hermann Matern" (1975) and "Albert Haehnel" (1976) evoked many and varied initiatives from militiamen for the accomplishment of their political and military tasks. The emphasis was, to name only a few items, on the improvement of the quality of combat training, the more rational use of the time spent in training and the training bases, as well as the improvement of the servicing and maintenance of weapons, equipment and technology.

3. Based on the principle of our party that cadre development always deserves the greatest attention, the content and quality of further curricular and extra-curricular training for corporals and commanders was improved. By now the cadres have acquired so much political maturity and military training that they are capable of meeting all requirements for leading their units.

4. By the provision of all necessary political, organizational and material prerequisites combat training has been more thoroughly prepared and carried out with greater efficiency and quality. As a result comprehensive and relevant training made good progress. The long-range preparation of instructors in the matters to be dealt with had a substantial part in the improvement of the quality of combat training. The commanders and comrades of the People's Police, especially, have strongly affected the improvement of training by providing instructive and methodical courses. The higher standard of combat training and strength was displayed by the militia units in the course of the tactical exercises at the conclusion of the 1974/1976 training period. They successfully accomplished their assignments in difficult and quickly changing situations.

5. Further stabilization was achieved in the preparations for combat readiness. In many units this is reflected in the fact that they vigorously compete to exceed the norms, and that the alarm system is being steadily perfected.

6. The members of the German People's Police contributed decisively to the improvement of the quality of combat training and fighting strength of the workers militia units. They provided purposeful political and technical guidance, especially in the schooling of instructors, thereby greatly assisting the commanders. The chiefs of the German People's Police bezirk and kreis offices have increasingly included in their ongoing leadership activities the work with the workers militia units. As a result the accomplishment

of the tasks arising from the constitution has become very systematic at all levels. That was particularly noticeable with respect to the preparation and conduct of tactical exercises.

Although we may confidently assert that this training period has been the most successful so far, it remains our duty carefully to analyze whether we have succeeded in achieving the same standard of performance, the same growth of fighting strength in all units. If we find differences in the standard of performance, we must investigate the causes.

To meet the greater demands of the Ninth SED Congress it will be indispensable without any exception to utilize all existing reserves and possibilities. We must quickly abolish any practices which no longer conform to the modern knowledge of combat training, such as stereotyped routine, inadmissible relief or cuts in the requirements of the regulations on training and exercises.

Existing differences in the performance within and between units must be eliminated. Here especially it will be imperative more consistently to use purposeful exchanges of experiences as well as the rapid generalization and application of progressive methods in the leadership of the units in order to achieve the standards of the best.

In January all units of the workers militia will begin the training period 1977/1980. This will take place in the period of strenuous efforts for the implementation of the Ninth SED Congress resolutions, that is a time in which the fundamental conditions will be provided for the gradual transition to communism by the further organization of the developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic. Firmly classified in this total societal goal are the assignments and tasks of the workers militia units to secure the greatest possible fighting strength and combat readiness in all circumstances, because these are the decisive prerequisites for the accomplishment of their military class task and determine the principal content of the militia units operations. These criteria govern the entire political and military work of the commanders and the members of the German People's Police responsible for working with the militia units.

As it will be necessary to achieve a new and better quality of work in all militia units as well as the results called for in the documents for the work with the militia units, all commanders and the comrades of the People's Police must, taking into account the positive experiences of the past training period, concentrate on the following key points:

-- The political and military leadership must again systematically improve fighting strength and combat readiness by the rapid generalization (guaranteeing the best possible quality) of progressive forms and methods and by the utilization of the experiences of the National People's Army, the border forces of the GDR, the Soviet Army and the other defense and security organs of the GDR. In order to enable the units comprehensively to accomplish their tasks, differentiated and suitable measures should be included in the various

leadership documents of the heads of the BDVP's [bezirk offices of the German People's Police] and VPKAE [kreis offices of the People's Police] as well as those of the unit commanders, taking into consideration the standard of performance and development of the various units.

-- The effectiveness of political work must be constantly improved and will have to guarantee that the leading role of the party continues to be consistently realized. The further development and consolidation of socialist attitudes and behavior as the crucial condition for the further improvement in the fighting strength and combat readiness of all units is the principal link in the chain of ideological work.

-- Combat training is the main field of military work of the members of workers militia units. All commanders, helped by the comrades of the People's Police, must therefore so organize and lead them that they provide the militiaman with everything required to discharge his duty in combat, that is the annihilation of the enemy. That calls for training at all times to be comprehensive and as realistic as possible. By this means both the leadership of the units and the combat collectives will be further strengthened. Of course it is imperative for every combat training to be planned ahead, meticulously prepared and organized so as to be realistic, interesting and relevant.

-- In order steadily to expand the knowledge and skills of corporals and commanders, they must be instructed in the newest findings and methods, enabling them to lift the leadership of their units and the organization of combat training to a higher level. We should concentrate especially on illuminating instructive-methodical training for preparing corporals and commanders for the day of training.

The competition challenge of the "Hans Beimler" KGB (mot) of Potsdam conforms to the new and advanced criteria and requirements for militia units regarding the 1977/1978 training years. The struggle to achieve the targets will focus on the careful preparation and early material-technological assurance of every training complex. Every day of training must be rationally utilized and distinguished by the most advanced military order and discipline. The competition challenge comments on this:

"In the struggle for the implementation of party resolutions, instructions and orders we will direct our initiative and creative activism to the further purposeful improvement of our fighting strength and combat readiness as well as to the exemplary accomplishment of our tasks in socialist production."

The goals and tasks of the new competition are a worthy contribution to the preparation of the 60th anniversary of the Socialist Great October Revolution, the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the KPD and the 25th anniversary of the workers militia units. Their accomplishment will be a crucial contribution to the further growth of the fighting strength and combat readiness of



unit of the workers militia at the conclusion of the 1977/1978 training period.

If we begin the preparation and conduct of the 1977-1980 training period with the same resolution as shown in the 1976 tactical exercises, we will help decisively in the implementation of the Ninth SED Congress for the all-round consolidation of the GDR and its reliable defense.

11698  
CS0: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### BRIEFS

INCREASING BIRTHRATE--Since 1975 the GDR has again been experiencing an increasing birthrate. This development is continuing: in the first 11 months of 1976, as compared with the same period of 1975, 13,000 more children were born. In 1975 there was a total of 181,798 live births. The year with the lowest birthrate since the establishment of the GDR was 1974, when 179,127 live births were recorded. According to Helga Reiner, chief of the health protection section for mothers and children, GDR Ministry of Public Health, the greater part of the birthrate increase is to be attributed to the fact that the GDR "simply has more women and girls of child-bearing age" at this time. However, she stated that this accounts for only one-third of the increase; two-thirds of the increase involves the birth of second and even third children. This encouraging trend, according to Ms Reiner, will continue, since, to an increasing extent, women over 25 years of age have decided to have two or three children. Reportedly, a quite considerable decline in the number of abortions goes along with the birthrate increase; also there has been a decrease in infant mortality in the past years. With a current total of 13.8 infant deaths per 1,000 live births, the GDR allegedly belongs to a group of international countries leading in low infant-mortality rates. [Text] [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 30 Dec 76 p 11]

CSO: 2300

POLAND

# VOIVODSHIP PARTY OFFICIALS DISCUSS IDEOEDUCATIONAL WORK

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Nov 76 p 4 AU

[Text] PAP--Issues connected with ideoeducational work in housing settlements and with the role of the party echelons in promoting various forms of citizens' sociopolitical activity were the subject of the 29 November Central Committee session attended by heads of the ideoeducational work departments of the PZPR voivodship committees.

Wieslaw Klimczak, head of the Central Committee Department of Ideoeducational Work, chaired the session.

The discussion centered around the experience acquired in the past few years by the residents, self-management groups. Introductory remarks were made by Witold Jarosinski, secretary of the All-Poland National Unity Front Committee.

Residents' self-management groups are important elements of the functioning of the system of socialist democracy and create especially favorable conditions for every citizen to share in political life. Experience show that these groups help effectively to transmit to people knowledge about the Party's tasks and policies and to popularize them. Residents' self-management meetings, which help tap many valuable social initiatives, play an important role in this connection.

The participants in the discussion stressed that the most important future tasks are efforts to further deepen various links between residents' self-management groups and production plants and educational organizations, especially the Socialist Union of Polish Youth and the Scouting Association, and to strengthen social discipline and public order. Other efforts should be devoted to creating conditions favorable to residents' extensive participation in implementing social pledges and actions aimed at improving the appearance and orderliness of housing settlements.

The session's proposals will enrich the program for the Party's educational work in housing settlements, especially in towns.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

'POLITYKA' QUESTIONS EDUCATION MINISTER ON SCHOOL REFORM WEAKNESSES

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 30 Oct 76 pp 1, 14-15

[Interview with Jerzy Kuberskim, Minister of Education and Upbringing, by Magdalena Bajer and Maciej Ilowiecki: "School of Life"]

[Text] Is the imbalance between the educational system and civilizational changes becoming less severe? Will the 10-year school not undermine the level of secondary education? Can we manage a reform in education? Will textbooks stop being a "deficit commodity"? What opportunities are there for extremely gifted pupils? What does the "authority" of the teacher mean today? How can a 12-year program be fit into a 10-year school? How can the level of the teaching staff be raised?

[Question] For a long time now a public discussion has been going on concerning the present state and future of education in our country. All the participants to the discussion agree in that they recognize the need for great changes. After all, it seems obvious that education worldwide is "not keeping up" with the process of civilizational changes.

[Answer] Up until now in the world there have been no educational systems which could "hold up" for more than 15 years without reform. Today in the advanced countries the goal of various (various, because they are adapted to local conditions and traditions) changes is to attempt to insure that all young people receive secondary education and at the same time that teaching effectiveness is upgraded.

Experiments are sometimes very far-reaching: schools without classes, without grades, even without subjects of instruction, without teachers, who are to be replaced by machines. I will not go so far as to talk about demands to do away with schools altogether. It must be clearly stated that in our country the basis of the system of education is and will remain the school and the classroom-lesson system, which we have come to recognize as being the best adapted to the psychological laws of child development. At the moment, as results of the above-mentioned experiments have after all proved, we know of no better system.

But it is on this basis that we must build a new school, one which will prepare everyone to handle increasingly difficult social roles, one which will provide everyone with an equal chance in adult life. In our country a particularly important task -- I would say at the moment that it heads the list -- is to make the level of the schools in rural areas and in the towns equal.

This is the reason why we started the reform with setting up joint gmina (parish) schools.

I might mention that in 1970 we had 4,441 rural schools with a single teacher (!) who often taught combined classes, first and second grade. There were 12,800 grades crowded into rooms rented in peasant homes. I also recall the resistance we encountered. The very idea of gmina schools was questioned and their organization was made difficult.

POLITYKA once published an article "Uphill to School," (POLITYKA, No 42, 1974) which described how the residents of a certain village stubbornly sabotaged the bus which transported their children to a joint school. The next year the major rural opponent publicly apologized to the school principal, admitting that it was good and recognizing it as the village's own.

Today we have 1,704 gmina schools, most of them in proper buildings. Each of them receives additional funding (about 1.4 million zlotys) to buy modern instructional aids. In such schools we can gather a qualified teaching staff.

[Question] So, Mr Minister, you rate the first stage of the educational reform in Poland positively?

[Answer] Yes. During this period we have gained something very important, giving every rural child access to a school which is actually a proper one. We shall strive basically to create a 10-year school in every gmina. I do not wish to exaggerate, but I think that this will be a completely new cultural and social fact, which will basically transform our rural areas. The teaching staff of the gmina school will be the largest group of the intelligentsia in rural areas.

[Question] The introduction of the general 10-year school is the essence of the current educational reform.

[Answer] I should like to say clearly that the compulsory 10-year school is a secondary school (although it should not be compared to the present general high school, which is the source of misunderstandings sometimes in various discussions). For this reason, its popularization is the popularization of secondary education. I should like to defend this hypothesis.

[Question] But in this situation, is not some decline in the level of secondary education inevitable?

The report on the condition of education states that we still lack in our country certain conditions necessary to bring in the 10-year school now. First of all, there is a shortage of teachers with college diplomas. On the other hand, the family environment is not always able to give the child proper preparation for just this sort of school. The committee of experts has recommended an 11-year school by way of transition.

[Answer] I have a rather important argument for this: We would not succeed in creating 11-year schools in the gminas (parishes). There is simply a shortage of youngsters in rural areas.

[Question] What does that mean?

[Answer] According to demographic calculations, both general and regional, it is just the 10-year school which can be closest to the pupil in rural areas. If we extended the instruction time, we would have to shift the final grades to urban schools, which would mean the necessity of putting pupils in boarding schools. We know that a "so-so" family is always better than the best boarding school. And the economic considerations are not insignificant either.

I also have other arguments. At present, primary education lasts 4 years. We will shorten this period to 3 years, gaining 1 more year in just this way.

[Question] At the expense of the curriculum or the children?

[Answer] The curriculum is not less rich. Just the opposite. Research indicates that it does not exceed the capabilities of the child. Even up until now less gifted children have been sometimes overwhelmed with lessons. We are talking here mainly about children who are less developed intellectually, those who have left home with a weaker vocabulary, less developed imagination, and so on. There have after all been instances in which there were children sitting side by side in school, one with half the vocabulary of the other.

All the research on classroom failure in small children indicates that this failure usually has its source in their social situation. This is why we decided several years ago that small children cannot be kept back in the same grade for a second year (unless a physician recommends it). This decision was very unpopular, among some teachers too.

To make the first start in life more even, we are therefore introducing the principle that every child must spend a year in some sort of preschool facility or another.

Besides this the new 10-year school will give us still other savings of time. The curriculum of the present school system is constructed concentrically. This means, for example, that we teach history from earliest times up to the present day in the elementary school and then repeat this at the secondary level, only with a larger number of facts. The 10-year school is to have a linear curriculum (as we have always had in mathematics, for example): each successive year we will teach something new.

[Question] And this really provides such a saving of time?

[Answer] In my opinion, one more year. This is why I can say with a clear conscience that in the reformed educational system 10 equals 12.

[Question] This calculation is very optimistic. You estimate initial conditions and possibilities for education which are somewhat better than those projected in the report.

[Answer] I should like emphatically to emphasize that we are working on the reform with the report in hand. We are well aware that in order to implement what I have been talking about it will be absolutely essential to meet at least two conditions. The first is that of suitable education of teachers, the second is adequate material backing for the reform.

[Question] The teacher situation is very difficult. The prestige of this profession has declined consistently. Living conditions have never been good. On the other hand, the social role of teachers is becoming more and more responsible. We would therefore maintain that the work of the teacher is far more than the performance of a vocation.

[Answer] We are trying to do a great deal to improve the teacher situation in all respects. There is no doubt that the teachers' charter and the substantial increase in earnings were the first step forward, but a great one. Now come the next ones.

Besides this we are working in various directions. We have announced the desire to share housing construction costs in rural areas to make it easier for rural teachers to obtain housing. We have insured all teachers of good recreation conditions during vacation. We are helping teachers' children in that for example all are accepted by the secondary schools they choose, and on the other hand the children of rural teachers and teachers in small towns are being helped by the fact that we give them a place in school boarding houses during the period of their studies. About 6,000 teachers each year want to build single-family dwellings. In the small towns (those with under 2,000 inhabitants) they receive state credit amounting to 80 percent of the costs of constructing a small house. We also pay a housing bonus.

In my opinion the teacher's prestige is determined largely by skill and education. Now, we have done a great deal to make it easier to upgrade qualifications. And we are going to require more and more in this regard, and we will not back down from these requirements.

Poland is one of the few countries in the world in which since 1972 there has been a law which says that only a college graduate may be a teacher. This means that we will not take anyone without a college diploma into the schools.

[Question] The way teachers are trained and the way teachers already employed are upgraded still is the cause of great concern.

[Answer] True, the concept of teacher training is a key issue, but I think that my concern is of a somewhat different nature. For example, I see clearly that higher education must give better preparation for work in the school. For example, look at some of the subjects of master's theses. They often reflect the principle: "The more the better." The schools need people who have a good fundamental education and at the same time a very broad one. From this point of view, Polish philology, let us say, should provide skill in seeing culture as a whole, besides giving a knowledge of the theory and history of literature and language.

[Question] This is a general defect, because it applies not only to teachers. The latter, on the other hand, must also know how to teach and like to teach others.

[Answer] This is why we have created teaching fields. In my opinion, the major shortcoming in past teacher training consisted of the lack of sufficiently extensive pedagogical and psychological preparation.

[Question] The creation of teaching majors in a situation in which the prestige of the teaching profession is still low (for various reasons) will probably still not change the fact that the most capable young people will still choose general majors. Even so a good person with a master's degree in mathematics will still get a job in a school, if he wants one, but the choice of a teaching major will provide him with only one possibility.

[Answer] Let me say right away that a young person graduating with a general major alone will not get a job in a school, because he will not be prepared for it, and there will be more and more adequately prepared teachers, so that the prestige of the profession will continually improve.

Up until now the teacher in the rural environment has been isolated, the only member of the intelligentsia (by virtue of his profession) but without a college diploma, which the physician, pharmacist, and agronomist after all have. This made it difficult for him to fill the role of leader of intellectual life, as you have said.

I am in favor of teacher majors at the college level, but in recruiting I would focus my attention mainly (besides the exam) on the school's reputation concerning these very predispositions and the candidate's real enthusiasm and desire. I think that we must vest great hopes in having active scouts take up



teacher training. On the other hand, later the teacher should have (as in other professions) the possibility of specialization in the first, second, or third degree, for example, in teaching mathematics or biology.

I do not say that these are the ultimate proposals and solutions. In all countries which are reforming their educational system, these are open questions, issues up for discussion. Probably one of the next conferences of education ministers of the socialist countries will be devoted to them.

[Question] Another fundamental condition to the reform's success is material resources. Are they adequate?

[Answer] The necessary increase in each year's investments is assumed in the government program. The most important thing is to build schools where they ought to be and for us not to repeat the errors made in building the "millenium" schools. We are looking after these things in cooperation with local officials. Eighty percent of the investment effort is focused in rural areas, as the result of the reform concept, after all.

The reorganization of education in rural areas is a factor of partial self-financing of this education, because where the small schools had classes with six pupils, they now have 22, which means that we make one class out of four, and we profit in the sense that we can concentrate the dispersed funds into collective schools. In addition, in rural areas we are counting on social volunteer projects.

The system of urban schools and special-major schools ("over" the 10-year schools) is really adequate. To put it into a few words, we must build about 600 schools and expand about 200 altogether. This is an enormous expense, but not impossible. We must remember that we are going to implement the reform over a period 8-10 years (depending upon whether we begin in 1978 right away with the first three grades or just the first grade). It is necessary each year in each voivodship to build just one gmina (parish) school. Each year there will be about 50 schools, 250 over the five-year plan. There is not a lack a funds for this, only of materials and "processing power." This is why up to the present time we have accomplished 60 percent of this year's investment plan.

[Question] Let us hope that investments in education will be treated by everyone with the proper understanding of their significance, but if we wanted to ask whether there would be greater possibilities for publishing textbooks? Parents are worried by recent ideas for resolving difficulties (we are referring to the fact that textbooks are to be school property which is lent to pupils for a year for a fee).

[Answer] We are publishing 42 million textbooks. Each year we give out about 60 percent. The rest we buy back. With such a system there is no possibility of updating textbooks, but on the other hand we cannot publish

100 percent new ones each year. We cannot afford to. This is why we have to look for new solutions. The one we are talking about is probably just a temporary one, although I do see some value in social education in it. It teaches respect for the book (at the end of the textbook the names of the successive temporary owners are written). Speaking in passing, the textbook of the future should be looseleaf, so that it can be added to and changed.

[Question] Let us get back to the content of the present reform, the 10-year schools as a school for every one must at the same time provide what is called general education (in the broad sense of the term) and somehow prepare people for life under specific social conditions. Because the time period of education is limited, there must be a reasonable compromise among requirements. Do we have some concept of their proportions? Do we have a good idea of just who the new school should teach? Creative people with broad horizons, or efficient people to carry out concrete tasks?

[Answer] A creative attitude and broad horizons are a condition to effective action in the modern world. This is why we are departing from the model of the school as we remember it.

[Question] And we base it on critical thinking? On the ability to use logic and one's own judgment? On the development of the imagination?

This is not particularly clear in the curricula proposed.

[Answer] On the contrary. The current versions of the curricula are set up according to modern pedagogical assumptions. We have been assisted greatly by the broad-ranging discussion on the initial curriculum proposals for the 10-year school. We took into consideration many of the suggestions made by teachers, scientists, journalists, and other persons interested in education.

Of course it was not easy to basically reconstruct the curricula. For example, the reconstruction was hampered by the fact that traditionalism weighs heavily on our thinking. We are so very much attached to the school as we remember it, I became convinced, in modifying the high-school graduation program 2 years ago. We were accused, sometimes very sarcastically, of making the examination too easy, of lowering the level, and so on, only because we were allowing pupils to use dictionaries and encyclopedias. And after all the important thing is not to commit a formula to memory but to have the skill to find the right formula and use it to solve the problem. This is just what shapes a creative mind.

Note that we are planning a whole series of special school encyclopedias for pupils.

Let us get back to curricula. The basic new element in them is that alongside a description of the given subject we have written down what skills are to be gained by the pupil under the curriculum, so that at the end of the year it would be possible to tell the pupil in concrete terms: you must know how to use all the formulas (we are using the same example) necessary, let us say, to solve equations with two unknowns. You do not need to know

the formulas themselves at all. You must know and understand the main ideas of, let us say, romanticism and know how to distinguish between the important characteristics of this period of literature. You will find biographies of authors, exact dates and so on of things in the sources.

[Question] Mr Minister, are you giving us ideals or realities? The press has contained numerous, severe criticisms of the curricula proposed. The school curriculum institute has not taken this criticism very well.

[Answer] Well, not all the critics were motivated by completely pure intentions, but you must admit that there has probably never been so comprehensive a public discussion of education as just now. Everyone has had the opportunity to express his opinion and all opinions have been considered seriously, regardless of whether or not we agreed with them. The curricula are the result of the work of about 3,000 people, including the most eminent Polish scholars. We have reviewed a few different variants of subject curricula, comparing them and selecting the best elements.

[Question] How are the new curricula to be monitored in practice? Some critics make accusations of excessive haste in implementing the reform. And everyone knows that haste in education...

[Answer] I would like to make it known that no curriculum will be ultimately introduced without at least a 2-year trial period in selected schools.

[Question] Critical comments concerning the curricula were seriously considered, but to what extent did they influence the ultimate structure?

[Answer] The structure has still not been finalized. Maybe I should say what disturbed the participants to the discussion the most. We were attacked more or less from both sides. The first was that we are not providing preparation for participation in culture in the broadest terms, or, to put it another way, that the curriculum is not intellectual enough. The other was that we are not doing a good job of providing preparation for a vocation, that the curriculum is not "practical" enough.

[Question] And in reality, just what is the case?

[Answer] I shall try to refute the first accusation. Now, the new school will be based on two elementary pillars. The first is the mother tongue, and on it is built all humanities. The other is mathematics, and on it we have built the physical and biological sciences.

Maybe in passing I might mention that after we added up all the content which the parties to the discussion considered to be absolutely essential to the school curriculum, we found that lessons should run 10 hours each day!

[Question] So it was necessary to give up important things?

[Answer] It was necessary to make very careful choices, because you cannot leave out of the school curriculum anything which is the foundation of national culture or the foundation of contemporary knowledge about nature or the world. On the other hand, subjects must not be gone into in too great detail. Teachers and youngsters must also be given the possibility of choosing.

[Question] Not everyone has the same view of the scope and content of what should be considered the foundation of national culture.

[Answer] Of course not. If among the facts and deeds which we wish to consider fundamental there are some which are open to discussion, then the safest thing is to present them as being just that, open to discussion. Let us also give youngsters the possibility of making judgments.

[Question] The required reading list gave rise to severe controversy. It is unlikely that it can be constantly extended. What can we give up?

[Answer] I repeat: We cannot give up any works which in the past have been deciding factors in our sense of national identity. But it is far more difficult to establish the list of fundamental contemporary works, because they are still being evaluated.

[Question] In general it is probably most difficult to make the curriculum approximate the modern contemporary scene?

[Answer] We must try very hard to do this, of course being careful to maintain harmony between tradition and the present day.

[Question] At issue is the model of culture. It is still timely to ask whether culture should become increasingly open and universal, whether national problems today are a major source and reason behind the development of culture as they have long been. This is a question which is not unimportant to the school.

[Answer] I think that to a greater extent than in the past the development of our native culture must be related to general civilizational phenomena and to the development of the ideas of socialism, linking in the curriculum to the most significant issues of our times.

I should still like to say something about the second accusation in the discussion, that of the alleged inadequate attention to practical matters in our school curriculum. I think that these curricula express the conviction as to the value of upbringing for work and through work. This is an extremely difficult issue.

We must know that sometimes young people avoid an interesting job, certain vocations. It is after all obvious, for example, that the vocation of the miner, farmer, and construction worker will still be exceptionally important and at the same time difficult for a long time. Hence, the school too has

an extremely important task of upbringing, to create respect for and interest in those very vocations which are not easy.

[Question] How is this translated into concrete terms in the curriculum?

[Answer] For example, we foresee a course "work and technology" with a variant for rural schools, "work and agrotechnology" (actually the latter could also be selected for towns).

During vacationtime (for 3 years in a row) we will divide young people up into various jobs, according to pupil interests. We also see the possibility of distributing youngsters for urgently needed work (for example, harvesting, haymaking, and so on).

But let us remember that the 10-year school is not a vocational school. On the other hand it makes it possible today to reduce a very long vocational training cycle. For example, the technical school in our country lasts 5 years. Nowhere in the world is it like this. On the basis of the 10-year school we are building vocational training now which is half as long, more general, and more flexible. This means that at the end of 12 or 12 and a half years of study, it will be possible to gain technical qualifications which provide rather broad possibilities for choosing a job. We will stop producing very narrow specialists designated for a concrete job.

[Question] The vocational school is one route at the end of the 10-year school. What others are there?

[Answer] Schools with special majors and through them, the path to higher education or, for the very gifted (olympians), college study right after the 10-year school. Here let me warn against equating the 10-year school, a general-education secondary school, with the present high school. The 10-year school is a school for everyone and only a small percentage of the graduates from this school will enter institutions of higher education. They will be only the most gifted, the olympians.

[Question] Will this privilege for the most gifted, who begin college study at the age of 17 and finish it at 21, while others take 2 years longer, not be a difficult distinguishing factor?

[Answer] I do not think so. It will be an expression of the genuine concern for talent, completely without prejudice on the part of the state. We need people with a higher education, and if we can educate them more rapidly, we ought to do it.

Besides this, the "superstructure" over the 10-year school is some sort of protection for the level of graduates from the latter, because after all the new school will not be good right away. It must mature for a certain time. If it turned out that the curriculum assumptions made could not be carried out in the course of 10 years of schooling, we still have the possibility of making changes. This is a very characteristic feature of our reform, and I

think that it is one of the determinants of its value. Other systems have been "all tied up," inflexible, unable to keep up with the development of society. In many countries they have been reformed, with new ones created which often were also inflexible, which had also to be reformed all over again. We would like to avoid these difficulties, and this is why we are trying to build self-regulating mechanisms into the system, so that it will be possible to improve it.

[Question] And have provisions been made in the 10-year school itself to differentiate according to the capabilities of the pupils, according to talent?

[Answer] Of course. The school must be flexible in every respect. It must make distinctions in the level of requirements, methods of working with the pupil, and finally in the formal evaluation (because sometimes today the failing grade is an unjust punishment for lack of ability, which is unthinkable from the pedagogic point of view). It must take into account the pupil's interest and changes in the rate of his psychophysical development.

[Question] Does the school somehow take care of the exceptionally gifted? How does it take the high level of their interests, sometimes unidirectional ones, into account?

[Answer] We are undertaking certain experiments, for example, the possibility of skipping grades, both at the level of initial instruction and in the higher grades. In Warsaw this year we are accepting 6-8 percent of the children directly into second grade. We are using some accelerated teaching in interest groups, especially mathematics, exact sciences, and language. But we will not set up separate "schools for geniuses," because this concept has never proved itself. Of course the flexibility of the 10-year school provides the most gifted pupils with the possibility of development and exploitation of their predispositions.

For gifted and active pupils, alongside regular lessons we will provide one other attractive possibility, that of teacher's assistant with a broad range of independence. Such an assistant would be required to prepare some lessons or parts of lessons and conduct them along with the teacher.

[Question] Are you not afraid of undermining the teacher's moral authority, upon which every system of instruction has always been so strongly based?

[Answer] On the subject of authority, our imagination is overly traditional. The teacher's authority should be based on his knowledge and his ability to create a personal model for youngsters.

[Question] It is good that we have come to this conclusion. It is certain that the personality of the teacher and his moral attitude in life in general are of fundamental significance in the upbringing of youngsters.

[Answer] Agreed! In that the teacher operates in a given environment and is subject to the same pressures as anyone else. He too is subject to ideological influences which are not necessarily consistent with our ideology. The pupils must also realize that they do not live in ideal reality.

The teacher is the leader in the world, and his socializing task consists of contriving authentic experiences. For the pupil to really be able to obtain real life experiences and not merely formal ones, he should identify with the values which we have determined to be the most important.

I see the sources of upbringing failures today to lie mainly in the fact that very often formal declarations take supremacy over real life experiences.

[Question] Truth stands in the way of formalism and declarations as a method. The easiest way to understand the world is to "live through it" and become involved in its development.

[Answer] This is the very reason we want the school above all to teach pupils how to think, how to distinguish between what is important and what is not, to develop the habit of seeking out the most important phenomena and the causes behind them, and finally for it to teach how to learn.

Insofar as possible, the school should provide a certain overall, cohesive view of the world.

Here I am going to say something which may seem to contradict previous statements: It is better to teach a little, in depth, than to teach a lot superficially.

[Question] How do you understand this depth?

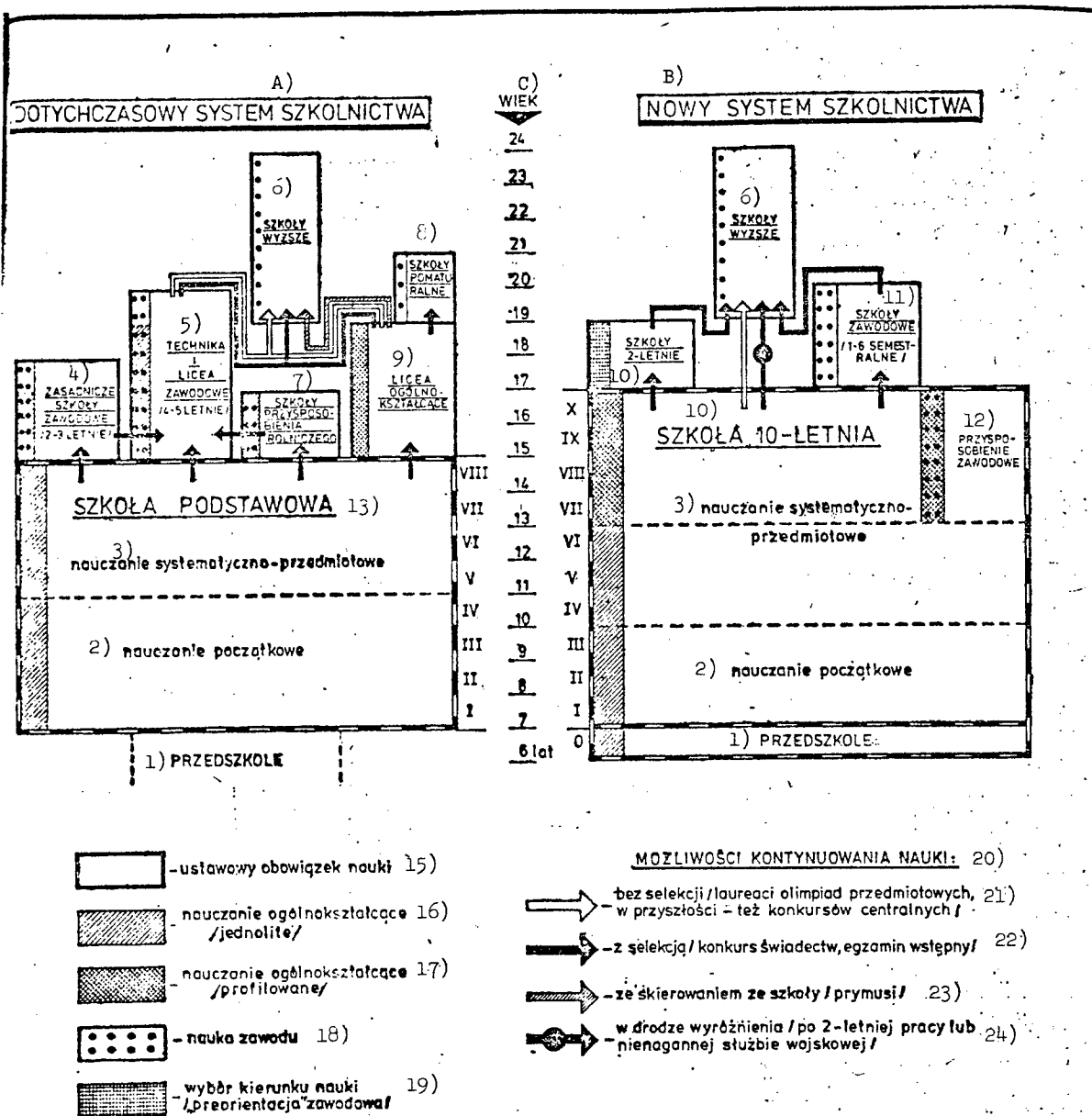
[Answer] As the mutual search for the essence of phenomena, giving up the ballast of details which clutter up the memory.

[Question] The school is not the only way of becoming acquainted with the world and life. It is not the only source of models for behavior.

[Answer] But I think that it will always be the most important source. The school and the teacher are the main cornerstones of our education system and will continue to be.

[Question] This requires a great deal!

[Answer] We realize this. I think that the new school which we are creating now will be able to meet these obligations better. I trust that the time is approaching when life in school will be the school of life.



Key:

- A. Former system of education
- B. New system of education
- C. Age (in years)

- Preschools
- Primary instruction
- Systematic subject instruction
- Basic vocational schools (2- and 3-year)
- Technical schools and vocational high schools (4- and 5-year)
- Institutions of higher education
- Agricultural schools
- Post-secondary schools
- General high schools
- 2-year schools
- Vocational schools (one-six semesters)
- Vocational training
- Elementary school

- 10-year school
- Instruction required by law
- General education (uniform)
- General education (structurally adapted)
- Vocational education
- Selection of major (vocational preorientation)
- Possibilities for continuing study:
- Without selection, winners of subject olympics in future, central contests
- Selected (entrance exam, competition based on school certificate)
- School referral (obligatory)
- By virtue of distinction (after 2 years of work or faultless military service)



POLAND

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF KAZIMIERZ SECOMSKI

Warsaw PAP in English 0015 GMT 3 Dec 76 LD

[Article: "K. Secomski's (?biography)"]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec (?2), PAP--He was born in 1910 to a peasant family. He graduated from the higher school of economics where he received a Ph.D. in economic sciences and the title of ordinary professor. His scientific achievement deals with the issues of socioeconomic policy, planning, and capital expenditure. He is a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

In the years (?1968-1971) he was vice-secretary for science at the Polish Academy of Sciences and winner of state award 1st and 2nd Class.

Since 1945, he has been working in central planning organs performing in the recent years the function of the 1st vice-chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers.

At a Sejm session held on December 2, 1976, he was appointed vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Awarded with the order of the Builders of People's Poland, orders of the Banner of Labour, 1st and 2nd Class, and other distinctions.

No party affiliation.

CSO: 2020

# ROLE OF SOVEREIGNTY IN RELATIONS AMONG STATES

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Oct-Dec 76 pp 619-628

Article by Dr Victor Ducelescu: "National Sovereignty and Independence, a Basic Framework for the Conduct of Relations Between States in the Contemporary Epoch"--passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics/

Text An imperative of international relations. The evolution of international life demonstrates, without a possibility of doubt, the ever stronger affirmation, nowadays, of the principles of national sovereignty and independence as universal compulsory rules of conduct in the relations between states, the development and expansion of their highly progressive content, and the validity of the ethical, political and legal valences that these principles contain.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Today the determination of the peoples to forever put an end to the old imperialist policy of domination and oppression and of dictation and interference in the affairs of other peoples, and their wish to promote new relations between states, based on equality and equity and on each nation's right to completely be master of its national riches and of its destiny and to organize its life in accordance with its own will, without any outside interference, are manifesting themselves more markedly than at any time."<sup>1</sup>

The remarkable successes gained by peoples in the struggle to affirm an independent existence, the victory of the liberation movements in Vietnam, Cambodia and Angola, and the ever stronger trends of emancipation of the nations from foreign domination, including, as an essential component, the struggle for economic independence and to forge new international relations and the determined opposition to the imperialist policy of domination and dictation, to the policy of blocs and to hegemonic tendencies, are incontestable proof of /the viability of the principles of national sovereignty and independence and the essential role that these principles have in the world of today and of tomorrow/.

It is no secret to anyone that precisely the reactionary forces that want to stop the gigantic world revolutionary process and the placement of the

relations between states on new, democratic bases, in a spirit of profound equity and justice, are the ones that are trying to accredit today the idea that the nation and the national states are historically outmoded categories and that in the current stage of mankind's evolution it is necessary for the states to give up independence and sovereignty or at least a part of their prerogatives.

In opposition to such theories, the practical requirements of international collaboration and the complexity of the major fields in which the states are called upon, by means of a joint effort, to discuss and elaborate viable solutions demonstrate clearly that /the affirmation of national independence and sovereignty is the only way that permits the unleashing of a gigantic material, spiritual and human potential, which the force of the sovereign nations represents/, and the full manifestation, in the world circuit of values, of new, unlimited possibilities and of greater creativity on the part of all peoples, on the basis of mutual respect and trust.

In the spirit of the idea of steadily promoting the principles of national independence and sovereignty as rules of conduct that must be promoted with maximum compulsoriness in the relations between states, many arguments have been offered, as a matter of fact.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, national independence and sovereignty have been connected with /the notion of the international personality of the state/, a manifestation of the state as a political and legal entity and as a subject of international law being inconceivable without recognition of its independence and sovereignty. Independence and sovereignty have been closely correlated with /the inalienable attributes of the exercise of the right of the nations and the peoples to self-determination/, this presupposing precisely the recognition, substantiation and confirmation of the framework by means of which this right is achieved, is materialized and is consummated. /The close connection that exists between sovereignty and cooperation/, this not being possible except between entities that mutually recognize their independence and establish relations based on full equality, has been demonstrated. Finally, the connection that exists between /sovereignty, independence and international law/ has been shown, it being demonstrated that "Within the current organization of the international community there is no place for a superstate. It is replaced by a voluntary association of the independent states, which take upon themselves the obligation of obeying the laws established by themselves, by virtue of their own sovereignty."<sup>3</sup>

Expressing therefore a realistic viewpoint with regard to the trends of the evolution of contemporary international relations, American Prof Inis L. Claude, Jr. observed, with good reason, that "The world to which it seems to be reasonable for us to aspire is not a world in which the small communities have been dissolved and have been absorbed into an all-inclusive community but one in which their existence and even their prosperity have become phenomena compatible with the order of the whole and supporting elements of this order."<sup>4</sup>

An objective requirement of cooperation between all states. There is a close and indissoluble connection between the expansion of international collaboration and the concern of the peoples for the affirmation of national sovereignty and independence, since precisely the existence of the national states that fully exercise their powers creates the optimum framework for the conduct of relations of cooperation, while cooperation on equal and mutually advantageous bases provides for the accomplishment of the full economic and political independence of all peoples and for the strengthening of the political and legal positions of the sovereign and independent states in the international context.

As French political commentator Maurice Delarue notes, "...independence is the opposite of dependence but not of interdependence. Dependence is unacceptable. Interdependence, on the other hand, needs and forms the basis of independence. It involves the joint, free organization of independence, on the basis of the different units until then independent in a singular way."<sup>5</sup>

The elimination of the wide gaps that now separate the developing countries from the strongly industrialized states--an objective that constitutes one of the most urgent problems of the present day--will not be able to be achieved unless other, qualitatively different relations that provide for each people's economic and political sovereignty and independence and for their active participation, with full rights, in solving the great problems that confront mankind today are established in the place of the current relations and the old practices and methods that imperialism, by means of its long economic and political domination, has imparted to international life. The scientific and technical revolution, with its entire series of implications, and the tackling of new problems to which mankind is now called upon to give a solution (disarmament, the peaceful use of nuclear energy, development, environmental protection, the conquest of space, the exploration of undersea areas, and so on) necessarily condition a profoundly democratic basis for discussion and solution. This demonstrates the fact that the imperative of forging new relations in the world and, as a consequence, the establishment of a new world economic and political order, on the basis of full respect for the sovereignty of all states, constitute not only a requirement of international ethics but also a problem put urgently on the agenda of the exigencies of the cooperation of the peoples within the contemporary world.

The "idea" of the world state and of political integration, a construction inimical to the legitimate rights and interests of the peoples. Despite very visible evidence, the reactionary circles, interested in maintaining the old imperialist policy of domination and dictation, recently launched, in the capitalist countries, a true "offensive" against national sovereignty and independence.

Very dear to the adversaries of the principle of sovereignty, the idea of "the world state," presented in its time as a universally valid "panacea" for remedying the ills with which mankind is confronted, has been revived under the conditions of the amplification and diversification of the problems that

must be solved. The inability of circles in the capitalist states to offer viable solutions to the problems of international cooperation and to present generally acceptable proposals on the problems of disarmament, development, population and so on has caused certain theoreticians to republish formulas that tend to again raise for discussion long-forgotten supranational theories.

Dutch Prof Jan Tinbergen, known for his opinions in support of a world government and a world armed forces, feels that the order that mankind requires at present would necessitate precisely "the transfer of elements of national autonomy...to higher levels,"<sup>6</sup> while on a European level Leo Tindemans proposed--in his report and in the discussions that occurred regarding it--"the exercise of sovereignty in concert" by the member countries of the European Economic Community.<sup>7</sup>

However, the difficulties of achieving "political integration" and going beyond the stage of the national states have been grasped with great realism even by some Western authors, who have formulated lucid opinions on this problem. Political scientist Peter Leslie said for instance that "...since certain powers are conceded to a central political authority, its effective exercise will require the granting of additional and probably unexpected powers. But it is also true that, as long as the national states...preserve constitutional competence in certain political fields, the pursuit of their political objectives will require that they preserve competence in the correlated fields."<sup>8</sup> Examining the similarities and the differences in the foreign policy of the member countries of the European Economic Community, West-German author Carl A. Ehrhaldt judged that a "European foreign policy" of the EEC countries in the United Nations remains a difficult task, there being, among other arguments, also the one that in such a policy "the aspirations of the individual countries are taken into consideration only in an inadequate manner."<sup>9</sup>

It thus follows that in the current stage of the development of international relations the nations are by no means disposed to give up the prerogatives of national sovereignty, but, on the contrary, respect for independence and sovereignty must exist, in the past as today, as a basic rule of international relations and as a leading condition for erecting relations of lasting collaboration.

The anachronism of the theory of "zones of influence." The viability of the sovereign and independent states, the growing affirmation of their participation in international life, and the impossibility of solving the complex problems that are posed on a world level except with the participation of the sovereign states demonstrate the clearly anachronistic character of any theses that would seek to show that there could be nowadays a "natural delimitation" into "spheres of influence" or "of interests" or into "geopolitical zones" between certain states or groups of states.

The experience of history clearly showed long ago that all solutions for dividing the world, with disregard for the will of the countries and of the

respective peoples, were inevitably foredoomed to failure. The practice of international relations knows many cases in which the fate of countries and peoples was taken under discussion without consultation with them. The period of colonial domination, for instance, is full of such arrangements and agreements. The treaty of Tordesillas (1494)--by means of which Spain and Portugal divided between themselves the territories in the "New World"--and the treaties of Breda (1667), Paris (1763), Prado (1778) and Berlin (1885) illustrate only a few of the many situations in which the division of territories belonging to other peoples was decided by the "civilized states."

On a European level, the "Holy Alliance," which officially proclaimed "the right of armed intervention...against any state in which there occurred a change of government as a result of a revolution," gained for itself a sad memory.

Referring to the solving of territorial problems by means of the acts of the Congress of Vienna, a jurist of the past century noted that "Only arbitrariness and favor presided at the division of the territories. The rights gained and the just aspirations of the peoples were not taken into account at all."<sup>10</sup>

Our country too has experienced, in abundance, during its centuries-long existence and the struggle of the Romanian people for national independence and sovereignty, situations when its legitimate rights were ignored by other bigger and stronger countries, which sought to establish a European "directorate." It is sufficient for us to consider, for instance, the way in which the Berlin Congress, in 1878, ruled on the Balkan problems, on the basis of a procedure that permitted the representatives of these countries to only be "heard," without having however a right of decisionmaking, or the way in which the Vienna Dictate, in 1940, imposed the uprooting, by force, of Romanian territories from the body of the country, in consideration of political reasons and strategic interests of the Axis powers, posing at the respective time as "arbiters" of the European problems.

From the perspective of history, which condemned long ago these attempts to ignore the will of the peoples and which tends at present to establish within new relations definitive respect for national sovereignty and independence, complete noninterference in their internal affairs, and each state's sovereign right to freely choose its social or political system, it is as clear as can be that the proposal of returning mankind to "zones" or "spheres of influence" contravenes the legitimate rights and interests of the peoples, serving directly the interests of those reactionary circles which are against recognizing the rights of the peoples to national independence and being, which advocate solutions of force and dictation, and which want to maintain in the world outmoded and deeply harmful states of affairs.

The Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, in which all states participated as sovereign and independent entities, on the basis of full equality in rights, apart from any supposed membership in alliances or in

spheres or zones of interests, constituted a graphic refutation of their utility and very eloquent proof of the incontestable validity of the sovereign, independent nations and states.

"In contrast to several diplomatic congresses in the past," said Pierre Graber, the president of the Swiss Confederation, "the conference was readied, was convoked, was held, deliberated, adopted its decisions, and closed its proceedings today on the basis of the sovereign equality of the participating countries.... For us, the Swiss, the essential virtue of the sovereign equality of the states is that it conditions in its turn the supreme principle of national independence."<sup>11</sup>

Independence and the right of free choice of the social system. Recognition of the inalienable right, which all peoples have, to freely choose their economic and social system, without any sort of outside pressure or interference, constitutes an incontestable consequence of respect for national independence and sovereignty. In this regard, "The Declaration Referring to the Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between States," adopted in 1970 by the General Assembly of the United Nations, containing the principle of the sovereign equality of the states, provides expressly that "Each state has the right to freely choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural system," and "The Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of the States," adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1974, furnishes the specification that each state has the sovereign and inalienable right to choose its economic system and its political, social and cultural system in accordance with the will of its people, without interference, coercion or threat in any form from outside.

Although such provisions--also reaffirmed in other international documents--are quite clear and were adopted with the wide participation of the member countries of the United Nations, they have been and still are ignored by certain reactionary circles that do not shrink from interfering in the internal affairs of other states, seeking to intervene in the solving of the internal problems that are within their competence and to influence their sovereign right of free choice on a political plane and on a social plane.

Expressing a viewpoint that is common not only to the communists but also to the widest democratic circles, L'HUMANITE, the organ of the French Communist Party, said, referring to these statements, that "if tomorrow the communists will participate in a democratic government in France, this will happen...because the majority of our people will thus decide freely, in a democratic and sovereign manner. This will be the affair of the French and of no one else,"<sup>12</sup> and UNITA, the organ of the Italian Communist Party, judged that "In Italy the majority of the population gives notice from now on that the communists' participation in government would be a positive fact for bringing about the country's emergence from the crisis in which it is found."<sup>13</sup>

From respect for the right that any people has to freely choose their political and social system and from state sovereignty there also results, as an

important consequence, the imperative of recognizing the right of sovereignty over all natural resources and economic activities. The prerogative, which many new countries, liberated from colonial domination, are using to an ever greater extent, of regulating and exercising their authority over foreign investments, within the limits of their national jurisdiction, of regulating and supervising the activities of the transnational societies, including nationalizing the ownership of foreign property, when the interests of the national economy require it, and of struggling jointly to obtain fair prices for the raw materials that they produce, also constitutes a direct feature of this right.

The exerting of any pressures against the states that put this legitimate right into practice is clearly incompatible with the rules and principles of international law and with the imperative requirement of respect for national sovereignty and independence.

Not only direct, armed intervention but also any forms of interference and threat, directed against the personality of a state or its political, economic and cultural elements, are thus defined as being contrary to international law and ethics. At the same time, another obligation among the most significant ones which devolves upon the states, by virtue of international law, and which is directly correlated with the principle of sovereignty is also the one that no state can apply or encourage the use of economic, political or any other measures in order to force another state to subordinate the exercise of its sovereign rights or to obtain from it advantages of any sort.

The promotion of new relations, of independence and collaboration, a guarantee of the force and influence of socialism in the world. In the relations of the socialist states, sovereign entities possessing equal rights that are united by the community of the goals of the construction of socialism and communism and by the promotion of new, better forms of social organization, based on socialist ownership of the means of production, the principles of national independence and sovereignty play an essential role, since they define and characterize the entire organization of the interstate relations of a new type.

Far from "contravening" the interests of proletarian internationalism, the continual strengthening of each socialist nation and its free, sovereign and independent affirmation correspond in all respects to the interests of the working class throughout the world and to the requirements for the strengthening of internationalist solidarity and for the victorious struggle for socialism. The dialectical unity between the affirmation of the socialist nations and of their independent national states and the principle of revolutionary proletarian internationalism finds its expression in the idea that the strengthening of the nation and of the independent national state provides for the development of the socialist states' solidarity, based on the Marxist-Leninist principles of full equality and respect for national independence and sovereignty, while the strengthening of the socialist countries' solidarity and collaboration is meant to provide for the active, multilateral manifestation of each national state.



Consequently, those theses, supported by certain commentators who deliberately ignore the reality of the collaboration between the socialist states and who advise the socialist states to give up independence, to one degree or another, and to limit their sovereignty, organizing their relations on the model of the relations promoted by imperialism, are clearly contrary to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.<sup>14</sup> Those theses which distort the essence of the relationships between the national and the international, undervaluing the role of the national factor, and which, overlooking the importance of the principles of national sovereignty and independence, label as "nationalism" the concern for respecting these principles are also just as wrong.

The entire experience of the relations that Romania conducts with other socialist countries proves--despite assertions like those mentioned above--that these relations give expression to the taking into full consideration of each country's advantages and of mutual respect for national independence and sovereignty, thus giving expression both to the national interests of each people and to the general interests of socialism throughout the world.

Synthesizing the essence of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the socialist countries, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, moreover, with great clarity, that "By the world socialist system we mean not a bloc in which the states are merged into a whole, giving up their national sovereignty, but the affirmation of socialism as an international force through its victory in many independent states, which are developing independently and are organizing the relations between them on the new principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism."<sup>15</sup>

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "It must not be forgotten for a moment that the defense of freedom and independence is an essential condition for attaining the ideals of socialism and communism in the world and that this constitutes the true touchstone of the true revolutionary proletarian internationalism."<sup>16</sup>

Prospects and courses of action. The achievement of full respect for national sovereignty and independence and the generalization of the compulsoriness of these principles as imperative rules of contemporary international relations postulate the firm placement of the relations between states on democratic bases and the promotion of new rules of international conduct, drawn up with the participation of all peoples and reflecting their interests.

The vast program of action drawn up by the sixth extraordinary session of the United Nations by means of "The Declaration Concerning the New International Order" and the many documents, resolutions and programs adopted along the same line of concerns within international organizations and bodies and within the widest forums of the developing countries and of the nonaligned states are meant to give as concrete a content as possible to respect for national sovereignty and independence and to provide for their steady application as principles of international life. It is as clear as can be that, /to the

extent to which the old practices of domination and oppression are finally abolished, a harmonious, balanced development of all peoples will be achieved, effective steps will be taken to eliminate the gaps, and a new possibility of affirmation of national sovereignty and independence as rules of international conduct will also be provided/.

The new configuration of the international relations of tomorrow, from which imperialist policy, colonialism and neocolonialism, discrimination, pressures of an economic and political order, and interference of any sort in the internal affairs of other states will be eliminated forever, will undoubtedly permit the manifestation of national sovereignty and independence to the utmost. The adoption of effective measures for banning force and the threat of force, for disarmament, for breaking up the military blocs and for erecting new economic relations will increase the feeling of security and trust of all peoples and, in this context, will permit the development and harmonization of new relations between sovereign states possessing equal rights, which will be able to fully manifest themselves as subjects of contemporary international relations.

The elaboration of new rules of international conduct, in which the rights and duties of the states will be defined precisely, the improvement and democratization of the activity of the United Nations, the strengthening of its role in the achievement of collaboration between all states, and the respecting and implementation of the decisions adopted within this forum called upon to reflect to an ever greater extent the will of all the peoples will permit the full manifestation and confirmation of the principles of national independence and sovereignty on a political and legal plane, furnishing the framework needed in order to apply them effectively and raise them to the rank of /foremost rules for the conduct of interstate relations/.

This process is not easy of course. It necessarily requires /a combined and sustained action of all the progressive and democratic forces for conclusively eliminating from international life the policy of domination and dictation and the practices of intervention and interference in the affairs of other peoples. The conclusive imposition of national sovereignty and independence as rules of international conduct recognized and applied without reservations by all states presupposes the generalization of respect for the rules of ethics and international law as well as the replacement of the old inequitable international relations based on force and suspicion with international relations based on new principles of equity and justice, on full equality, and on the taking into consideration of the legitimate rights and interests of each people/.

A dynamic and profoundly realistic position. Socialist Romania, firmly attached to the principles of national sovereignty and independence, is manifesting itself on the plane of international relations as a steady promoter of respect for these principles, basing its actions in the political and diplomatic field on the idea of the provision of effective respect for them as rules of international conduct and postulating the steady respecting of them in the relations between all states, regardless of social order.

Well known in this regard are the important theoretical contributions that the Romanian Communist Party and, personally, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, have made to defining the content of sovereignty, to exactly understanding the meaning of this principle, and to substantiating the necessity of putting it into practice as a universal compulsory principle of relations for all states.

The consistent application of these theses in the foreign policy of Romania found its expression in many actions and initiatives and in the positions adopted by our country on the occasion of the discussion of problems of common interest within international forums.

It is sufficient for us to mention, for instance, our country's conception regarding the erection of a new world economic and political order (foreseen by Romania as a process of profound changes, implying a new system of interstate relations based on real economic and political sovereignty and independence for all states), the steady actions of Romania concerning the conclusive banning of force from international life, European collaboration, the steady promotion of the states' equality and of their full right to participate in international life, the taking of a position in support of favoring the process of detente, eliminating the military blocs, and combating the policy of force, colonialism and neocolonialism, and so on.

The political and legal international documents concluded by Romania constitute moreover very graphic proof of the new conception that our country is promoting with regard to international relations and of the place that national sovereignty and independence have both in the traditions of the Romanian people and in the way in which they know how to conduct their relations with other peoples.

As it says in the program of the Romanian Communist Party, "...life strongly attests that the nation and the national state are called upon to have even further, for a long period of time, a highly significant role in society and in the struggle against imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy and to eliminate the old relations of inequality and base the relations between states on new, democratic principles of dignity, equality and national and social justice."<sup>17</sup>

Offering a just taking into consideration of the interests of all peoples and providing for respect for their national being, equality in rights, and non-interference in internal affairs, the principles of national independence and sovereignty orient the performance of the actions of collaboration, in all fields, in the direction of providing a close correlation between the needs of international cooperation and the national interests of each people. Thus providing, strictly, for respect for the political and legal basis on which international cooperation is to be put, /the principles of national sovereignty and independence present themselves as central elements of the future code of international ethics and law, which is becoming more and more essential, with the force of necessity, to all states and all peoples in the process of building a better and righter world/.

# FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate" [Romania on the Way to Constructing the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society], Vol 12, Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1976, p 604.
2. "The principle of sovereignty derives from and is justified by the moral being of the state, just as the rights of man derive from and are justified by the nature of the human being" (Valerian Ursianu, "Notiuni de Dreptul International Public" [Concepts of Public International Law], Vol 1, Bucharest, 1913, p 17). "The right of independence consists in the idea that the states are, among themselves, in relationships of correlation but not in relationships of superiors to inferiors" (George Plastara, "Manual de Drept International Public" [Textbook of Public International Law], Bucharest, 1927, p 160). "This right of freedom is alienable, in the sense that if a state were to lose this freedom, not only would it lose one of its basic rights, but also its very existence would be compromised" (George Meitani, "Curs de Drept International Public" [Course of Public International Law], 1927, p 194). "Each state has the right to existence, like each human being, and if we liken this right to existence to the trunk of a tree...then it can be said that it gives rise to a branching of subordinate rights" (Nicolae Dascovici, "Curs de Drept International Public," Bucharest, 1946, p 308).
3. Nicolae Titulescu, "The Dynamics of Peace," "Discursuri" [Discourses], Bucharest, Stiintifica Publishing House, 1967, p 329.
4. Inis L. Claude, Jr, "Community and World Order," THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW, 1974.
5. Maurice Delarue, "France--for an European Europe," AUSSEN POLITIK, German foreign affairs review, Vol 25, 1974, No 2, p 136.
6. Jan Tinbergen, "Building a World Order," in the collection "Economic and World Order. From the 1970's to the 1990's," New York, 1974, p 153.
7. Quoted from LUMEA, No 9, 26 February 1976, p 9.
8. Peter M. Leslie, "Interest Groups and Political Integration: the 1972 Decisions in Norway and Denmark," THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, Vol LXIX, 1975, No 1, p 75.
9. Carl A. Ehrhaldt, "The EEC: External Pressures To Unite," AUSSEN POLITIK, German foreign affairs review, Vol 26, 1975, No 4, p 391.
10. De Holtzendorff, "Elements de Droit International Public," Zographos Publishing House, 1891, Par 8, p 27.

11. "Conferinta Pentru Securitate si Cooperare in Europa" [The Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe], Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1975, p 88.
12. L'HUMANITE, 16 April 1976.
13. UNITA, 10 April 1976.
14. As it says in a work published by the Institute for Economic Problems of the Socialist World System within the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, "From the principle of state sovereignty, a basic principle of contemporary international relations on a world scale, there results the states' right to independently solve their internal problems, to noninterference in their internal affairs on the part of other participants in international relations, to respect for inviolability and territorial integrity and to economic and political independence from other states, the exclusive right to have at their disposal all the natural, economic and other resources on their territory, and a number of other basic rights" ("Sotialism i Mejdunarodnie Otnosenia," Moscow, Nauka Publishing House, 1975, p 238).
15. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate," Vol 4, Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1970, pp 331-332.
16. Ibidem, Vol 12, 1976, p 609.
17. "Programul Partidului Communist Roman de Faurire a Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate si Inaintare a Romaniei Spre Comunism" [The Program of the Romanian Communist Party for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism], Bucharest, Politica Publishing House, 1975, p 143.

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# SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH DURING 1976 DISCUSSED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Oct-Dec 76 pp 726-730

[Article by Stefan Costea: "Research, Knowledge and Activity in Romanian Sociology in 1976"]

[Text] Fitted organically into the national program for research and principal actions in the field of the social and political sciences, sociological research has also been steadily and responsibly engaged, during the year that is ending, in the efforts made by the researchers, teaching personnel and specialists in the social sciences to fulfill the objectives and tasks outlined for the workers in our scientific and ideologic front by the party's program and the other documents of the 11th congress and by the speech of the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the Congress for Political Education and Socialist Culture. In accordance with the tasks outlined, it was oriented in the direction of analyzing the changes that are occurring in our society as a result of the progress in production forces and the improvement in social relations and of carefully studying the social phenomena and processes and the ways to improve the activity in the different sectors of social life and to develop the socialist consciousness of the masses. Being inspired from the basic ideas, the theses and the tasks outlined for the social sciences and seeking to utilize as fully as possible the favorable and stimulating climate created in our country for a creative approach to and an open discussion of the problems and a strict confrontation of ideas from the positions of Marxism-Leninism, at the level of the research and educational units and of the specialized section of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences sustained efforts were made this year in order to raise the level and the efficiency of the scientific work and, in particular, to fruitfully finalize it both on a theoretical plane and in sociopolitical, ideological and educational practice.

In this regard, the entire research activity was oriented in the direction of approaching some of the major processes and phenomena of our social dynamics and the problems of maximum social, ideological and political topicality in a position to directly serve the propaganda activity of the party, to offer analyses, data and documentation for the party and state bodies in the activity performed in different fields of activity, and to make of sociology a

militant social science, fully and steadily engaged in implementing the policy of the RCP.

This orientation was concretized in the inclusion in the priority research programs and in the plans of the units of subjects meant to combine the concerns of theoretical research with the applicative ones, the latter also having a leading percentage during the year that is ending. In accordance with these orientations, research that is to be done on the basis of a concrete investigation of social phenomena and processes in the field of industrial and agrarian activity, urban and rural areas, class structure and youth, the activity of the different work staffs, the behavior, attitudes and opinions of the masses, and the participation of the working people in the organization and management of economic, social and political activity was put in the programs and plans in the course of fulfillment.

The problems of the industrial and agricultural work force and of the integration and consolidation of stability in work, the changes in the country's social structure, the factors and methods for carrying out the process of social homogenization, the social implications of the systematized development of the territory and the urban and rural localities, the improvement of interhuman relations in the work staffs, and the problems of the vocational and social education, training and integration of youth had a special significance in the sociological investigations performed this year.

The research devoted to an analysis of the methods of optimizing the propaganda activity, the means of mass communication and information, and the work of forming and developing the socialist consciousness of the masses had a special place in the sphere of sociological investigation. Many current subjects and aspects of the social and political life in our country were approached within these major directions toward which sociological research was oriented. Among them must be mentioned the sociological studies concerning:

Social problems of planning, improving and utilizing the work force in industry; commuting and its economic and social implications; the intercounty migration of the work force and its consequences on the formation of labor resources; the improvement of the socioprofessional structure of the work force in agriculture; the utilization of the work force and the raising of labor productivity in socialist agriculture; the socioprofessional mobility of the work force; the changes in the socioprofessional structure of the working class and the social sources of its formation; processes of economic, social and cultural development and of urban integration of the population in different zones of the country (Tara Oasului, Amaradia-Gorj, Valea Jiului and so on); social processes of urbanization; the systematization of the territory and the localities; the social factors of the arrangement of the hydrographic basins; the youth's potential for work and creativity; the education of studious youth by means of work; the political, moral and civic education of the younger generation; social problems of political, ideological, educational and cultural activity; and changes in the structure and in the economic, social and educational functions of the family.

In addition to the research oriented toward a direct investigation of the social realities and processes in their concrete development, a part of the research potential in education and in the specialized research units was directed toward the performance of research with a theoretical and methodological character meant to serve in the preparation of works of synthesis in which the specific experience of socialist construction in our country is generalized and the traditions of progressive Romanian thought are utilized. Along the line of obtaining significant results in raising the degree of accuracy, thoroughness and efficiency of concrete research, in general, in order to increase thegnoseological value of this research, this year the concerns with a methodological character experienced a certain expansion, some research projects being initiated in connection with the preparation of the system of social indicators and statistics, the preparation for the preliminary work needed in order to establish a national sample for statistical, sociological and demographic research, and so on.

The wide range of the front of sociological research also included studies and research of critical analysis, of dialog and of confrontation with some new currents and theories in the contemporary social and political sciences.

From the viewpoint of the level of approach, the investigations undertaken included research that tended to have a representativeness on a national scale, such as that regarding the social problems of the industrial and agrarian work force, commuting, the socioprofessional mobility of the work force, the changes in the country's social structure, the social problems of youth, and so on.

To this was added zonal research, organized and performed at the county level, such as, for example, that which had as subjects the problems of the economic, social and cultural development of some zones, of the vocational and social integration of the work force, of the systematization of the territory and the localities, of the complete arrangement of the hydrographic basins, and so on.

A quite high percentage also consisted of more limited research, which was performed at the order of economic or sociocultural units, industrial centrals, and municipal or city people's councils and which led to the performance of analyses, the collection of data, and the formulation of conclusions and proposals for the party and state bodies in order to optimize the activity of management, improve interhuman relations in the work staffs and eliminate dysfunctionalities existing in the production units and in order to raise the efficiency of the work and better utilize the material and human resources. Most of this research was performed on a basis of contracts or agreements with customers in the economy.

Regarding the manner of organizing and carrying out the activity of sociological research, several characteristic traits can also be distinguished in this period:



The uniting of the research potential around significant projects for the economic and social development of our country in the current stage of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and the effective integration of research and education through the performance of joint research by the researchers in institutes, the teaching personnel in specialized departments and the students in the sociology, sociology-philosophy or sociology-psychology sections in all university centers. This work method was intensified through the organizational integration of the research units with the educational ones, in the summer of 1975, which created even more favorable conditions for organically combining education with research and social practice in this field of activity;

The organization of multidisciplinary research teams by attracting a number of specialists from different groups in various sectors of social and political practice;

The performance of research and actions together with or at the order of the party and state bodies or their specialized bodies, especially at the county level.

Referring to the investigation process proper, there are two directions in which more sustained concerns are visible and which must be stressed and, in particular, properly finalized in the future. One expresses a certain intensification of the efforts to more comprehensively study some of the current social processes and, in general, to raise the theoretical level of the research. The second is concretized in a certain trend of methodological renovation and of improvement of the methods, techniques and instruments of investigation, especially in order to promote complex, interdisciplinary research, in the prospect of understanding and practicing interdisciplinary activity as a theoretical and methodological fusion of branches of knowledge thus far developed separately, with a transfer of concepts, methods and techniques of investigation among the different fields of the social sciences.

Associated with the research process and, in certain respects, organically combined with it, the scientific work discussions constituted, this year too, a way to promote sociological research. Organized within the climate favorable to the performance of an open exchange of opinions and to the thorough discussion of the problems from the positions of the dialectical and historical materialistic outlook and from the theoretical and ideological positions of our party, the scientific discussions during this year had as objectives the clarification of theoretical and methodological problems connected with the performance proper of the research process and of positions, theses or ideas, the analysis of results of research, or the discussion of current problems in the social sciences in our country or on an international level.

Such discussions were held both within the research and education units and at the level of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences. A special mention for some discussions that were organized by the research units and the academy in collaboration with the county party committees, not only in

Bucharest but also in other political, administrative and scientific centers in the country. Among others, the discussions on the following were significant:

The economic, sociopolitical and cultural development of the Amaradia-Gorj zone--organized in collaboration with the Gorj County Committee of the RCP, the Sociology Section of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, and Craiova University, at Tirgu Jiu;

Current theoretical and methodological problems of the study of the religious phenomenon--organized in collaboration with the sociology and philosophy sections of the academy;

Commuting and its economic and social implications--in collaboration with the Olt County Committee of the RCP, the Sociology Section of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, and Bucharest University, at Slatina;

The mobility of the industrial work force, current processes and trends--organized by the sociology section in collaboration with Timisoara University and the Timisoara Center for Social Sciences;

Processes of economic, social and cultural modernization in Tara Oasului--organized by the Satu Mare County Committee of the RCP and Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca;

The scientific session "Knowledge and Social Action"--organized by the Bucharest Center for Sociological Research on its 10th anniversary.

Many topical theoretical and practical problems also constituted an object of discussion during this year at the sociology department of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy. Among them are to be mentioned:

The Marxist sociology of religion and methods of scientific and materialistic education of the masses; youth under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution; current theoretical and methodological orientations in sociology; uniform methodologies of concrete research on social processes and phenomena in our country; and so on.

Continuing the tradition of the former Sociology Laboratory of Bucharest University, the Center for Sociological Research, into which the old laboratory was integrated, organized a large number of discussions and report sessions in which, along with the teaching personnel and the researchers in the field of sociology, there participated doctoral candidates, students and teaching personnel from other departments and specialists in production or ones who perform their activity in ministries, central bodies of synthesis, and social and cultural institutions in the municipality of Bucharest and in other centers in the country. Thematically, the discussions were concentrated on problems concerning: industrialization in the rural zones and its influence on the individual and the group; sociology's contribution to the solving of

town-planning problems; the possibilities and the limits of the use of identical techniques in different social contexts; the validity of the factors in multifactorial analysis; the regional function of the city of Bucharest; the applicability of sociological methodology to the investigation of mass culture; the provision of a young work force to agriculture; conditions for stabilization of youth in the rural area; the method of partial configurations as a method of study of the intercounty migration in Romania; decisionmaking and participation in decisionmaking in the CAP [agricultural production cooperative]; research on social anthropology and on sociology in Brasov County; some theoretical and methodological aspects of studying the structure of the working class; the collective forms of leadership--the general assembly of the working people; current research on youth; and so on.

The scientific session "From the History of Romanian Sociology," organized by the Section of Economic Sciences and Sociology of the Academy of the Romanian Socialist Republic as a part of the series of discussions organized in preparing the work of synthesis "Istoria Creatiei Stiintifice si Tehnice Romanesti" [The History of Romanian Scientific and Technical Creation], made a special contribution to the indication and discussion of less well-known problems in the history of Romanian sociological thought.

Utilizing investigations from preceding years and, partially, from this year too, a number of works that contribute to the theoretical discussion of sociological problems, to the generalization of the practical experience in certain spheres and fields of social, cultural and educational activity, and to the modernization of the methodology, methods and techniques of investigating the social processes and realities were published and prepared in the field of sociology. Among them are works that have as subjects: the relationships between society, ideology and knowledge; the improvement of the social relations in socialist agriculture; public opinion and socialist democracy; religion in modern times; culture as a social action; factors for growth in the efficiency of political propaganda; the scientific education of the masses; and so on.

Works for critical utilization of Romanian and world sociological thought devoted to returning to the national scientific circuit works of the representatives of Romanian sociology (C. Dimitrescu-Iasi and A. Golopentia) or critical analyses and studies of the work and activity of personalities who had dominant positions and fulfilled certain ideological, social, political or scientific functions in the various stages of the process of development of Romanian sociological thought (Dumitru Draghicescu) were also prepared.

The participation of Romanian sociologists in the confrontations of ideas in contemporary sociology was also concretized in the preparation of critical works devoted to current orientations in non-Marxist sociology or a critical analysis of contemporary sociological currents, such as, for example, Wright Mills and Marxism, the New Left, the Frankfort School, Max Weber, and so on.

An activity that merits special mention is that done in order to prepare courses and textbooks of sociology necessary and useful both in state

education and in ideological and propaganda activity. Textbooks or series of lectures on an introduction to sociology, contemporary sociological theories, methods and techniques of sociological research, industrial sociology, rural sociology and so on were prepared or republished this year.

Owing to the good conditions that were created and the constant support that they received from the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy and the Ministry of Education and Instruction, Romanian sociologists also had a constant presence in international scientific actions. The most prestigious scientific event in 1976 in which Romanian sociologists actively participated was the World Congress on Rural Sociology, held in Torun in the Polish People's Republic in the middle of August. The fact that, at Torun, Prof H. H. Stahl was chosen for the Executive Committee of the European Society of Rural Sociology and Prof I. Iordachel for the editorial board of the international journal SOCIOLOGIA RURALIS, a publication put out by the International Association of Rural Sociology, constitutes a confirmation of the recognition of the contribution of Romanian rural sociology to the promotion of this discipline, from both a historical and a contemporary perspective.

Romanian sociologists also made their contribution to the organization and holding of bilateral international scientific events, such as the roundtable on the subject "Sociology's Contribution to Substantiating the Processes of Political and Administrative Leadership," organized in Budapest by the department of sociology and law at the party school within the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the department of sociology at the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, or the Romanian-Italian Bilateral Colloquium on the subject "Ecology and Politics," organized in Bucharest by the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy and the Gramsci Institute in Rome.

Many of the foreign scientific actions were performed within the multilateral and bilateral collaboration between the academies of sciences in the socialist countries. Among them were the problem commission "The Evolution of the Social Structure of Socialist Society," "Planning and Social Progress" (the work group "The Working Class in the Social Structure of Socialist Society" and "The Experience of Research on the Processes of Social Development" concretized in the collective monograph, "Istoria Sociologiei Marxist-Leniniste in Tarile Socialiste Dupa cel de-al Doilea Razboi Mondial" The History of Marxist-Leninist Sociology in the Socialist Countries After World War II) and the annual conferences of the directors of the institutes of sociology and the chief editors of the journals of sociology in the socialist countries.

In addition to these actions, Romanian sociologists also made their contribution to the achievement of other foreign scientific events in 1976, such as the international symposium "The History of Science and the Modern Era," organized by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and the international meeting "The Social Policy in the Programs of the Communist Parties in the Socialist Countries," organized by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism within the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. In addition, the actions within

the international comparative research achieved under the aegis of the European Center for Coordination of Research and Documentation in the Social Sciences within UNESCO ("The Future of Rural Groups in Industrialized Societies" and "The Influence of the Hierarchical Factors on Behavior Within Industrial Organizations") continued.

The activity performed by VIITORUL SOCIAL, which has had since its appearance (1972) a positive role in stimulating the sociological activity and the work of multilateral study of the social processes, of theoretical elaboration of the problems, and of historical and critical analysis of the contemporary sociological and political doctrines, had a special importance within the activity performed in order to fulfill the tasks that devolve upon sociology and sociologists from the ideological program of the party and from the proceedings of the Congress for Political Education and Socialist Culture.

At the same time, it represents a valuable means put at the disposal of the specialists by means of which they can fully make their specific contribution to the political, ideological and propaganda activity of the party and to the promotion and introduction of the principles of socialist ethics and equity in life. A brief analysis of the appearances during this year permits the judgment that, in the main, the periodical has succeeded in responding to the objectives and the tasks that were outlined for it.

The brief and, obviously, incomplete review of the scientific activity performed during this year in the field of sociology is not meant to lead to the conclusion that in this field of scientific investigation we have only reasons for satisfaction that, both with regard to the thematic area of the research and the content and the qualitative level of some of the investigations performed and the works prepared and, especially, with regard to the economic, social, political and educational efficiency of the work performed, there are no grounds for aspiring to more and to better. It is out of place for such problems to be tackled and, all the more, discussed in an article. They have been and--we do not doubt--will still be the object of serious, responsible discussions in other, suitable contexts.

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# PROMINENT WRITER'S MEMOIRS SHARPLY CRITICIZED

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian, in its issues dated 10 through 13 December 1976 (pages 9, 9, 8, and 9 respectively), carries a sharp attack by Dr Fuad Muhic on the book of memoirs recently published by Mesa Selimovic, a Bosnian writer and critic who moved from Sarajevo to Belgrade some years ago. Selimovic's best-known work is the 1966 prize-winning novel "Dervis i smrt" ("The Dervish and Death"), which was eventually made into a motion picture as well.

To Muhic, these memoirs amount to a "lament for the revolution" (title of the series in BORBA) rather than autobiography. Muhic quotes at length from Stefan Zweig, Hegel, Kant, and Lukacs to impart a philosophical dimension to his outrage, but his aim is clearly to discredit Selimovic's attitudes and persona. To this end, Muhic makes much of the impact on Selimovic of a "family tragedy" in wartime 1944, when one of his brothers was killed. Muhic does not need to tell his readers about the plot of "The Dervish and Death," in which a man becomes gradually enraged by the killing of his brother in secret by an arbitrary local ruler, overthrows the latter in revenge, seizes absolute political power himself, and is in turn corrupted by his privileges and cast aside. It is not far from there to a final snide thrust: "These memoirs become fragmentary and hollow when the author, for reasons that need not interest us on this occasion, neglects to illuminate in detail the activities of another of his closest kinfolk who came into severe conflict with the revolution in the end." The reference is to the arrest and sentencing of a second Selimovic brother on neo-Conformist charges in Bosnia.

If Muhic is to be believed, Selimovic's memoirs are unrelievedly bleak. They contain practically no "positive images" of the postwar period in Yugoslavia. They portray the Yugoslav revolution in purely "dark tones" as it evolves into an instrument of repression that smashes before it everything that is nonconformist. Selimovic is quoted as having chosen "enduring and suffering" over conformity or revolt in the face of this machine. To Muhic, Selimovic is consumed by disillusionment and a persecution complex on such a scale that he is led to equate his own destiny with the fate of the Yugoslav revolution, to blame history for his personal misfortunes, to regard himself as the incarnation of the sufferings

of an "unfortunate era," even to counterpose himself as "good" to "the revolution and its accomplishments" as "evil."

These are harsh words indeed when applied to a person who has been a prominent figure in various realms of Yugoslav intellectual life ever since World War II.

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