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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1607

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COOPERATION CSSR-GDR AS SEEN BY CSSR FOREIGN MINISTER

Berlin HORIZONT in German No 41 1978 pp 14-15

[Interview with the CSSR Foreign Minister, Bohuslav Chnoupek, by HORIZONT: "Dynamic Development of Fraternal Cooperation"]

[Text] [Question] In the field of foreign policy, what progress has been made in regard to cooperation with the GDR and above all with the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

[Answer] As regards the cooperation between our two countries in the field of foreign policy, we have always had good results. Evidence of this is the extent and the qualitative level of the relations between the CPCZ Central Committee and the SED Central Committee--set forth above all in the Final Communiqué concluding the meeting and the negotiations between the comrades Husak and Honecker; this Final Communiqué is also the basis of the cooperation between the two ministries of foreign affairs. We consult and inform each other in regard to all important problems and measures in the field of foreign policy.

In this connection, I would also like to call to mind Paragraph 10 of the Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance which was concluded between the CSSR and the GDR on 3 October 1977; this paragraph stipulates: "The High Contracting Parties will inform each other on all important international and other problems; they will consult with each other, and in their actions they will proceed from the position agreed upon." The objective is a collaboration which exclusively serves the implementation of the policy jointly pursued by the socialist countries; this collaboration is oriented toward enforcing a policy of reducing international tension, of extending peaceful, neighborly cooperation and of promoting disarmament. The extent of this collaboration is evidenced by the frequent study meetings with the GDR minister of foreign affairs, Oskar Fischer. In addition, there is of course a regular and systematic exchange of opinions between our deputy ministers and between high-ranking staff members of our ministries. The

collaboration of the CSSR and GDR embassies with political-economic and social organs of the respective host country is likewise intensive and takes place on a regular basis.

[Question] Since the signing of the new Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, positive results have been obtained in regard to the further development of close, fraternal cooperation between our two states and peoples. What is your opinion concerning this favorable situation?

[Answer] The Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the CSSR and the GDR, which was signed in Berlin on 3 October 1977 by the chiefs-of-state and general secretaries of the two parties, Gustav Husak and Erich Honecker, is one of the mainstays of our mutual relations. It will essentially determine these relations until the beginning of the next century. The agreement reflects the positive results which have so far been achieved in our relations and it establishes the preconditions for their further development on a new, higher level.

The agreement confirms the solid ties which have developed between our countries and it expresses the firm resolve further to develop the all-round cooperation and solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The agreement embodies the declared basic principles and obligations; it states, e.g., that it is the common international duty of the socialist countries to consolidate, develop and protect the socialist achievements which have been realized through the efforts and the work of the people. The security of the two states necessitates the commitment in case of an armed attack against one of the contracting parties to render any assistance necessary, including military assistance. Both sides agree to improve the political and ideological cooperation and to extend and intensify the by- and multi-lateral economic cooperation, including the tasks agreed upon within the framework of CEMA.

After it had been approved by the parliaments of the two countries and after the exchange of the ratification documents, the agreement came into force in April 1978. Presently, its stipulations are being implemented in all fields.

[Question] In the experience of the CSSR, what forms and methods concerning the fraternal collaboration of the state institutions and party organs have proved most successful?

[Answer] In the course of nearly 30 years of cooperation between our two countries and peoples, there developed well-tried forms and methods of further developing our relations. They are based on the regular and effective daily cooperation between the central committees of the CPCZ and the SED; in this cooperation, the regular meetings of the highest

party and state representatives of the two countries play an extraordinary role and are of particular importance.

On the basis of these relations, substantial, complex and mutually beneficial ties and cooperation have been developing between state organs and institutions, social organizations, work collectives, young people and--naturally--sportsmen. The relations are being developed systematically and purposefully; the foundations and principles are determined by far-reaching contractual regulations pertaining to all aspects of the mutual cooperation. Between the CSSR and the GDR, 93 treaties and agreements on the presidential, governmental and ministerial level are contemporaneously in force. In addition, the relations between social, cultural, athletic and other institutions are being developed on the basis of short- and long-term agreements, treaties and protocols.

As a recent example of the very successful cooperation I would like to mention the Days of Friendship of the CSSR and GDR youth, which were staged in June 1978 all over the CSSR and which culminated in an important political demonstration of our two youth organizations in Hradec Kralove.

[Question] What is the effect on the CSSR economy of the growing exchange of goods between our countries and of the cooperation and specialization in many fields?

[Answer] I think that the term "growing exchange of goods" represents the essence of my reply. We can of course draw on quite a few figures, graphs, value parameters and other statistical data. I would like briefly to acquaint the readers of HORIZONT with some of the most important data.

Above all, I would like to stress the agreeable fact that as regards the total volume, the goods exchange is dynamic. In 1977, the two countries traded goods valued at over 1.7 billion rubles; this year there was an increase to nearly 1.9 billion rubles. During the period from 1976 to 1980, the volume of goods traded increased by approximately 54 percent, as compared to the period from 1971 to 1975. Machines and equipment constitute the largest share of the goods traded (60 to 62 percent); raw materials and fuel account for nearly 25 percent, and consumer goods, for approximately 14 percent.

Especially gratifying to us is the fact that significant progress was made in the fields of production specialization and cooperation; in 1977, the products turned out in these fields constituted approximately 25 percent of the goods traded, and as regards products of the metal industry, 40 percent. Among the most important activities in this field is the cooperation in the production of agricultural machinery, motor vehicles, crank shafts, street cars, processing machines, semiconductor

elements, industrial fittings, olefins and polyolefins, and synthetic fibers.

The cooperation in the fields of science and technology has been very successful. In these fields, there are as many as 450 signed agreements and plans for direct scientific-technological cooperation. During the period from 1971 to 1975, the two countries exchanged nearly 32,000 technical experts and handed over more than 4,500 complete technical documentations. At present, we are jointly focusing our attention on the fulfillment of the agreed-upon program concerning special scientific-technological cooperation projects up to 1980. This program was agreed upon for the period from 1976 to 1980; it comprises a number of select complex topics and more than 300 projects in different fields.

[Question] By now there are many friendly ties between bezirks and kreises [GDR administrative units], cities and individual enterprises. Then there is the tourist traffic, which is also of great importance for bringing our countries together. How are the results obtained so far viewed in your country? Can one expect further steps?

[Answer] Between bezirks, kreises, cities, enterprises, schools and institutions, complex and far-reaching relations have been established. It is practically impossible to record them statistically, since hundreds of thousands of CSSR and GDR citizens are involved here; and these ties are being extended continuously. In the exchange of experience gained in building socialism, during studies and cultural exchanges, at sport events and on trips, millions of people from both countries get to know each other.

The increase in the tourist traffic between our countries has been particularly striking. Since the introduction of the visa-exempt tourist traffic in 1972, over 40 million CSSR and GDR citizens have crossed state borders. In 1977, 6.4 million GDR citizens came to the CSSR, while 2.2 million CSSR citizens visited the GDR. Both sides are taking the necessary steps to facilitate tourist traffic. In 1978, a new agreement on visa-exempt traffic was signed; as compared to the previous one, this agreement contains several simplifications. Of great importance is the extension of the border crossing points. Last year, the new Petrovice-Bahratal checkpoint was put into service, and this year in May, the new Jirikow-Neugersdorf checkpoint; in October, another border crossing point--Hora sv. Sebastiana-Reitzenhain--will be opened.

We take a positive view of the good results obtained so far. They are conducive to mutual contacts, trust and friendship and thus further the historic process of rapprochement between our countries.

[Question] In the last few years, the CSSR--like the GDR--did a great deal further to acquaint its citizens with the socialist achievements, the culture, the accomplishments and also the history of the neighboring

country. What additional measures are being planned?

[Answer] The extent of the relations between the CSSR and the GDR in the fields of culture, education, science and public health is evidenced by the fact that they constitute almost 25 percent of our total international relations in these fields. This alone is a highly significant fact which reflects not only the quantity, but also the considerable quality of our mutual relations.

In numerical terms, cultural exchanges in 1977 involved 3,440 CSSR citizens dispatched to the GDR and 1,681 GDR citizens sent to the CSSR. The focus is on key projects such as the "Days of Czechoslovak Dramatic Art in the GDR" (October 1977) and the "Days of GDR Dramatic Art in the CSSR" (March 1978). Likewise, there is close cooperation between all of the cultural institutions and associations.

In the field of education, a total of 6,167 persons were sent to the GDR in 1977, while 4,739 visitors arrived from the GDR. On average, 379 university students from the GDR study in the CSSR, while CSSR students in the GDR number 363. In this field, the cooperation between institutions and schools is very close. In the course of the exchange program of the Academies of Sciences, 697 persons were sent to the GDR in 1977, while the CSSR received 1,470 persons. Furthermore, in 1977, 527 staff members of the Czechoslovak public health system were dispatched to the GDR, while 303 public health experts arrived from the GDR.

The most important measure concerning the extension of the cooperation in the fields of culture, education, science, public health and in other sectors of the superstructure is the preparation of new cultural agreements which are to establish the preconditions for the further dynamic development of these relations. The next important cultural project will be the Days of Culture which are scheduled to be held in the CSSR and in the GDR in June 1979. Thus they will be associated with the simultaneous preparation of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the GDR--which at the same time is the 30th anniversary of the successful and universal cooperation and of the friendship and solidarity between our two fraternal countries.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ROMANIAN DELEGATION--Budapest, Oct 21, MTI--Invited by the HSWP CC, the delegation of party workers of the Romanian Communist Party CC, led by Constantin Potinga, head of section at the Central Committee, stayed in Hungary between October 16-21. The delegation which got acquainted with experiences and organization of party education, was received by Karoly Grosz, department head at the HSWP Central Committee. [Text]
[Budapest MTI in English 1742 GMT 21 Oct 78 LD]

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ALBANIA

TURKISH PAPER HAILS ALBANIA AS MODEL IN BUILDING SOCIALISM

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 29 Sep 78 p 4

[ATA Article: "Socialist Albania--A Country Which Does Not Have Poverty and Inflation"]

[Text] The Turkish newspaper DEVRIMCI HALKIN YOLU, in an article entitled: "Socialist Albania--A Country Which Does Not Have Poverty, Unemployment, and Inflation", writes, among other things:

Socialist Albania, this small country in the southwestern part of the Balkans, is an example in the struggle against the imperialists and all reactionaries who live by exploiting peoples. Albania with a population of 2.5 million people proves that, in the world, population or size of territory are not important when it comes to living freely and independently. Led by a true Marxist-Leninist party and holding the pickaxe in one hand and the rifle in the other, Albania is marching forward. The heroic Albanian people are united with steel-like unity around the glorious workers' party, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. They are building socialism while relying on their own forces. The successes achieved in this country inspire and give strength to the revolutionaries of the world who are fighting for independence, freedom, and socialism.

Albania has millions of friends in all corners of the world. One of these friends is the Turkish people. Now that the Chinese leaders have betrayed the revolution and socialism and have joined the front of the reactionary bourgeoisie, the newspaper writes, it is very important to inform the Turkish people about socialist Albania and to strengthen and expand the solidarity, between the two peoples because Albania is resolutely defending the revolution and socialism.

We are struggling to create one society and one future. For this reason we must show our people a society in which there is no exploitation. To create such a society the Turkish people must learn something about the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. For this reason, we have prepared a series of articles which tell about the building of socialism in Albania. We will publish these articles and will present the most varied aspects of the building of socialism in Albania.

TEXT OF STATUTE OF THE COMMITTEE OF CULTURE

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 22 Sep 78 pp 850-854

/Council of Ministers: Statute of the Committee of Culture, approved by decree No 55 of the Council of Ministers, 28 July 1977/

/Text/ During its 13 centuries of history the Bulgarian people have created a distinctive and rich material and spiritual culture. It reflects the people's revolutionary traditions, their pursuit of freedom, human rights, national independence and state sovereignty, as well as thirst for education and knowledge, for democratism and socialism, for achieving high moral virtues and simultaneously respecting the culture of other nations. This culture has been a reliable shield in maintaining the national consciousness and in preserving the Bulgarian nationality through the centuries.

Under such favorable historic circumstances the leadership of the BCP was able in the years of the people's authority to implement the socialist cultural revolution in the country. An unbelievable blossoming of the spiritual and material culture of the people was achieved. The processes of the socialist cultural revolution reached a particularly great breadth and depth in the years after the historic April 1956 plenum of the CC of the BCP. It created the conditions and the beginning of a qualitatively rich and dynamic period in the development of the socialist culture and solidly tied art and culture with the problems of creative experience, i.e. with life.

The building of a developed socialist society uncovered new, ever greater possibilities for spiritual contributions. It preserved and developed the progressive traditions of the Bulgarian people created during the centuries, raised the national self-esteem of the people as creators of spiritual values, placed to a higher level the social role of artistic culture.

For managing the Bulgarian culture and art, new social-state organs were created and perfected, and more specifically--the Committee for Art and Culture as well as the councils for art and culture at the people's councils. Their creation and the work they involved included the artists themselves,

the creative unions, as well as a wide circle of public and cultural figures. This makes it possible to consider the peculiarities of the managerial work in the field of culture, to have a more comprehensive and scientific study of the problems concerning the esthetic education of the people, and to reach an ever greater effectiveness in the quality of this activity. Experience showed that the idea laid down by the BCP and by Comrade Todor Zhivkov of adopting the social-state principle in the leadership of the cultural field proved to be totally correct and found favorable conditions and wide application.

Our socialist culture has a definite international character. It is enriched by the national as well as the international cultural heritage according to the historic interests of the Bulgarian working people and their communist ideal. The Soviet culture, the ever-burning torch of human progress, had had for over half a century a particularly favorable influence over our proletarian and socialist culture. At present we are witnessing greater development and expansion of the ties and the all-round rapprochement between Soviet and Bulgarian culture, and cultural institutes and personalities, achieving thereby wider socialist integration.

The Second Congress of the BCP brought new qualitative changes in the leadership of the many-sided and varied cultural processes in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The national complex called "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activity and Means for Mass Information" was founded with the purpose of furthering the improvement of the leadership of the cultural front. Socialist democracy was expanded and deepened to an ever greater degree. At present the entire cultural leadership of the country is formed in full compliance with the social-state principle.

The 11th Party Congress outlined the tasks laid out in the program of the BCP on communist education of the workers, on development of art and culture as well as on the means for mass information. In the spirit of these decisions a complex program was adopted on nation-wide aesthetic education.

The Third Congress of Bulgarian Culture assessed and adopted the idea that the Committee for Art and Culture should be renamed Committee of Culture. This designation corresponds best to the wide and many-sided activity that the committee undertakes.

Chapter I. Basic Premises

Article 1. (1) The Committee of Culture is an elective, social-state organ with above-departmental functions and with ministerial rank, and carries out the policy of the BCP and the government in the field of culture and the means for mass information.

(2) Combining the features of a state organ and social organization, the Committee of Culture exercises methodical leadership and control in the field of culture in the ministries and other departments as well as in the cultural unions.

(3) As a specialized social-state organ the committee tackles the solution of cultural problems in the country. Based on the social-state principle, it has coordinating functions in the teamwork of the creative unions, social organizations and the specialized state organs and organizations on questions of artistic creativity, cultural activity and means for mass information.

Article 2. The decisions of the Committee of Culture in the field of artistic creativity, cultural activity and means for mass information, in the sphere of its competency, are mandatory for the ministries and other departments, local state organs, creative unions, social organizations and their subdivisions,

Article 3. The Committee of Culture is based on the principle of democratic centralism. It guarantees unity, scientific approach, and class-party method in solving the problems of culture and means for mass information.

Article 4. (1) All activity in the field of art and culture carried out by the state organs, creative unions and public organizations is unified in one social-state system, i.e., the national complex "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activity and Means for Mass Information" which guarantees the implementation of the party policy concerning purpose, and completely coordinated development of art, culture and means for mass information.

(2) The direct leadership of the national complex is carried out by the Committee of Culture.

Article 5. (1) The leading organs of culture are central as well as local. They are established on the basis of the social-state principle, following the rules of this statute. The elective members can be recalled before their term of office has expired when:

1. They betray the vote of confidence;
2. They systematically do not fulfill their obligations;
3. When their behavior does not meet the requirements as members of the Culture and of the council of culture respectively.

(2) The decision to recall a member of the Committee of Culture is taken at a meeting of the Committee of Culture, and to recall a member of the council of culture--at a meeting of the respective council, by simple majority vote of those present.

Chapter II. Structure, Tasks, and Activity of the Central Leadership Organs of Culture

Article 6. (1) The Congress of Bulgarian Culture is the supreme organ of leadership of the activity of the national complex "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activity and Means for Mass Information."

(2) The congresses of Bulgarian Culture are regular and extraordinary. The regular ones are convened by the Committee of Culture once every 5 years, while extraordinary ones are convened at the initiative of the Committee of Culture or at the request of at least one third of its members.

(3) The convening of the congresses and their agenda are made known at least 3 months in advance. The number of the delegates is determined by the Committee of Culture.

Article 7. The Congress of Bulgarian Culture:

1. Reviews the development of art and of the other fields of culture in the country for the past period of time, by studying the report on the activity of the Committee of Culture;

2. Determines the basic directions of the future activity of the national complex "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activity and Means for Mass Information";

3. Approves and changes the statute of the Committee of Culture;

4. Elects by secret ballot the members of the Committee of Culture.

Article 8. (1) Between congresses, the Committee of Culture may convene national conferences on Bulgarian culture with the purpose of discussing and resolving relevant questions of all fields of culture;

(2) Every 2½ years, after the accounting-and-election conferences of culture, the Committee of Culture organizes national conferences concerning the work of the councils of culture at the people's councils.

Article 9. The norms for representations in the congress and in the national conferences, their agenda and rules for electing delegates are determined by the Committee of Culture.

Article 10. The Committee of Culture has the following basic tasks:

1. In accordance with party decisions and the tasks assigned by the National Assembly, the State Council and Council of Ministers, it carries out the state plan on development of culture and means for mass information;

2. It leads and directs the unified cultural policy and cultural processes in the country, the international cultural activity and the many-sided rapprochement of Bulgarian culture with the culture of the Soviet people, and of the other brotherly socialist countries, as well as with the progressive culture of other countries;

3/ Discusses and resolves current problems and tasks in the field of culture and means for mass information;

4. Directs the development of socialist art and other fields of culture as well as the communist esthetic education of the people;

5. Approves the budget and the financial-economic plan of the national complex "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activity and Means for Mass Information" and accounts for their fulfillment. The creative unions approve and account for their budgets and finance plans according to their statutes;

6. Elects and releases from duty the committee's bureau.

7. Creates coordinating councils, commissions and other auxiliary organs which ensure the fulfillment of its tasks.

Article 11. The Committee of Culture convenes at least twice a year. The meetings are legal when two-thirds of the members are present. Decisions are taken by open ballot by simple majority of those present.

Article 12. (1) The relations between the Committee of Culture and the management of the creative unions and public organizations are coordinated through coordinating organs or by joint decisions.

(2) The relations between the Committee of Culture and the other state organs are determined by the National Assembly, the State Council or the Council of Ministers as well as by joint decisions.

Article 13. For its activity as a social-state organ, the Committee of Culture is accountable to the Congress of Bulgarian Culture, the National Assembly, State Council, and the Council of Ministers.

Article 14. The bureau of the Committee of Culture consists of chairman, deputy chairman, secretary general and members. It does the following:

1. Organizes the fulfillment of the party decisions, those of the Congress of Bulgarian Culture and of the national conferences, as well as the recommendations of the National Assembly, State Council, the Council of Ministers, the Committee of Cultures and its own decisions;

2. Prepares the minutes and convenes the meetings of the Committee of Culture;

3. Watches and directs the creative processes for creating, safeguarding and circulating the artistic and cultural values in the fields of:

a. Book publishing, book circulation and sale of bookstore materials, polygraphic material, photography, production of phonograph records and video tapes, as well as production, safeguarding and circulation of films.

b. Television, radio, and other means for mass information;

c. Music, theater, circus, and artistic amateur activities;

d. Finding and safeguarding of cultural memorabilia;

e. Library achievements, institutes of art and culture, reading rooms, museum work, as well as art handicraft in the country.

4. Approves the program and repertory of the art institutes and creates unity in the national thematic plans in the separate spheres of art culture;

5. Makes suggestions to the respective state organs for electing, hiring, and dismissing from duty of members of the bureau of the Committee of Culture;

6. Convenes national conferences, prepares and approves plans for joint work with other organizations, unions and institutes;

7. Approves the election of chairmen, deputy chairmen and secretaries of the okrug councils of culture;

8. Approves undertakings for expanded and more thorough cooperation and rapprochement with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the field of artistic creativity, cultural activity and means for mass information, and contributes to cultural exchanges.

Article 15. (1) The bureau of the Committee of Culture works by semiannual and annual plans.

(2) In discussing and resolving general and particular problems as well in the field of art and in other realm of culture, the bureau selects distinguished creative and cultural personalities.

Article 16. The bureau of the Committee of Culture is in session at least once every 2 months. Its sessions are chaired by the chairman of the committee; when he is absent by the first deputy chairman or by other deputy designated by the chairman. The sessions are legal when they have a quorum of simple majority of the members of the bureau. Decisions are taken by open vote by simple majority of those present.

Article 17. The chairman, the deputy chairmen and the secretary general of the Committee's bureau form its chairmanship.

Article 18. The chairmanship of the Committee of Culture;

1. Directs the current organizational-executive work of the committee and assists its bureau;

2. Organizes the meetings of the Committee of Culture and of its bureau;

3. Coordinates and implements the methodical leadership of the artistic and cultural activity of the ministries and of the other departments as well as of the cultural-educational institutes;

4. Organizes complex studies on problems of art and other forms of culture. Develops and assists the scientific and research activity in this field, coordinates all scientific studies on problems of art and culture and assures cooperation with other scientific and cultural institutes in the country as well as abroad;
5. Assures the training, education and post-diploma qualifications of the cadres needed for cultural activity and directs all higher, semihigher and secondary institutions in the field of art;
6. Directs the local public and state organs at the people's councils and takes care systematically to increase their role;
7. Directs the establishment and improvement of the material and technical basis of artistic creativity, cultural activity and the means for mass information and follows its maintenance and effective use. Assures a unified investment policy in the field of culture and in the introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. Organizes the investment in unique projects of culture;
8. Discusses and approves the structure and staff of the national complex "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activity, and Means for Mass Information" and of its subdivisions, as well as individual decrees and rules affecting them. Decides on the information of its own specialized organs, appoints and releases from duty their leaders and accepts reports on their activity.
9. Directs the committee's subordinate institutes, organs and organizations;
10. Makes proposals to the Council of Ministers for the establishment of state organizations in the sectors engaged in production and other similar work.
11. Directs the propagation and distribution abroad of the cultural achievements of our people and organizes Bulgarian cultural activity abroad. Organizes and controls the import and export of all kinds of cultural values and secures and defends the copyrights of Bulgarian creators in their country and abroad as well as the rights of foreign artists in Bulgaria;
12. Organizes and exercises a unified centralized control over all cultural activity in the country;
13. Jointly with the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, it informs the Council of Ministers on the work of the means for mass information with critical materials and broadcasts, and on the way in which the respective state and economic organs and organizations have reacted.

Article 19. The chairman of the Committee of Culture is a member of the government and is chairman of the bureau and the chairmanship of the Committee.

Article 20. (1) As member of the government the chairman of the Committee of Culture is elected and released from duty by the National Assembly or when it is not in session, by the State Council.

(2) The deputy chairmen and the secretary general of the Committee of Culture have the rank of deputy ministers and are appointed and released from duty by the State Council.

Article 21. The chairman of the Committee of Culture:

1. Organizes the work of the bureau, of the chairmanship and of the specialized organs of the committee. He directs the meetings of the bureau and of the chairmanship of the Committee of Culture;

2. Executes or organizes the fulfillment of all other tasks entrusted to him by law or other normative act of the National Assembly, State Council and the Council of Ministers, as well as the tasks resulting from the decisions of the Committee of Bulgarian Culture, the national conferences and the Committee of Culture;

3. Represents the Committee of Culture before state organs, cultural unions, public organizations and the respective organs of other countries;

4. Uses budget credits and payrolls, as well as the creative fund of the committee, within the area of its competency, established by the Council of Ministers.

5. Accounts for his activity and the activity of the committee to the National Assembly, State Council, Council of Ministers, the Congress of Bulgarian Culture and the plenum of the Committee of Culture.

Article 22. The deputy chairmen and the secretary of the Committee of Culture direct and control the activity of the various structural groups and carry out the tasks entrusted to them by the committee, the bureau, the chairmanship or by the chairman of the Committee.

Article 23. The councils at the committee work as its permanent organs and assist in the fulfillment of its leadership functions. Their structure, tasks and activity are determined by regulations and ordinances approved and confirmed by the chairman of the Committee of Culture.

Chapter III. Structure, Tasks, and Activity of the Local Organs in Charge of the Cultural Affairs.

Article 24. (1) Councils of culture are formed for directing, coordinating, organizing and controlling the cultural life in the okrugs, rayons, and municipalities, and are unified social-state specialized organs of the Committee of Culture and of the respective people's council.

(2) By decision of the bureau of the Committee of Culture, councils of culture can be formed with the rank of municipal councils also in some centers of agroindustrial complexes, large industrial districts, construction projects of national importance as well as in other large projects.

(3) Territorial complexes "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activity, and Means for Mass Information" may be formed on the basis of the okrug councils of culture. The complex and all departments and enterprises in the sphere of culture in the territory of the okrug are managed by the respective okrug councils of culture.

(4) The okrug councils of culture have the rank of department attached to the respective okrug people's council.

Article 25. As organs of the Committee of Culture, the councils of culture function as managing, coordinating and controlling social-state organs. As specialized organs of the respective people's councils, they integrate the leadership and management of all cultural activity and means for mass information following the municipal methods.

Article 26. The okrug councils of culture:

1. Direct the entire artistic and creative-cultural activity in the territory of the okrug and work for the development and improvement of the social-state principle in all spheres of cultural life;

2. Assist and control the work of the municipal councils of culture and help them in the fulfillment of their plans and tasks;

3. Work for the organizational improvement of public reading-rooms and contribute to transforming them into complex centers for esthetic education;

4. Coordinate and control the work of cultural institutes, departments, and enterprises in the respective okrug, which are under the auspices of the Committee of Culture or of other central departments, institutions and public organizations;

5. Prepare programs and plans for cultural development and submit them for approval to the respective people's council and to the Committee of Culture;

6. Guarantee the work funds from the total budget of the okrug people's council according to the plans of the municipal councils of culture and of their subordinate cultural institutions and enterprises;

7. Organize the okrug reporting-and-election conferences on culture;

8. Discuss and approve the programs of the cultural institutes and of the amateur and performance groups in their territory;

9. Assure the adequate use of the material-technical basis for all cultural and artistic activity in its territory and contribute to the development and improvement of this activity.

Article 27. (1) The councils of culture are elected at municipal, rayon, and okrug reporting-and-election conferences for 2½ years. By decision of the conference the election may be by secret or open vote.

(2) The work of the councils of culture for the preceding period is reviewed and reported at the reporting-and-election conferences and decisions are taken for their future work and councils of culture are elected for the new term as well.

(3) The okrug reporting-and-election conferences elect delegates for the Congress of Bulgarian Culture; the municipal and rayon conferences elect delegates for the okrug conferences.

(4) Convening the reporting-and-election conferences and their agenda are determined by the Committee of Culture.

Article 28. (1) Between reporting-and-election conferences, the councils of culture manage the artistic-creative and cultural activity as well as the means for mass information in the territory of the okrug or municipality.

(2) The councils of culture are convened at least three times annually. The sessions are legal when they have a quorum of a simple majority of the members present. Decisions are approved by simple majority of those present.

Article 29. The decisions of the okrug council of culture concerning the artistic-creative and cultural activity as well as the means for mass information, issued within the limits of its competency, are mandatory for the state organs, creative groups, and public organizations and institutes within the territory of the okrug.

Article 30. (1) The council of culture elects the bureau consisting of: chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members, in accordance with the instructions of the Committee of Culture.

(2) The chairmen of the okrug councils of culture have the rank of directors (administrative managers) of the respective okrug people's council. In larger cultural centers, the chairmen of the okrug and city councils of culture may have the rank of deputy chairmen of the executive committee of the respective people's council as well as in their quality as public servants.

Article 31. The bureau of the council of culture:

1. Prepares and convenes conferences of the respective council of culture;

2. Directs and controls the work of the specialized subdivisions and organs of the council of culture;

3. Coordinates the activity of the cultural unions, public organizations, cultural and other institutes in their work of creating, distributing and utilizing cultural values;

4. Forms at the respective councils of culture permanent auxiliary organs for organizational, methodological, cultural, educational, executive, and finance-economic activity in accordance with structural and personnel norms; it also approves the work rules.

Article 32. The bureau of the council of culture is called by session by the chairman at least once every 2 months.

Article 33. (1) The chairman of the council of culture organizes and directs the work of the bureau, represents the council before the state organs, public organizations, cultural unions, and is responsible for its overall activity.

(2) The deputy chairmen and the secretary of the council of culture directly assist the chairman in the organizational work of the council and the bureau and, by decision of the bureau, are responsible for certain areas of the work of the council.

Article 34. Artistic-creative, coordinating and other organs for controlling and coordinating cultural activity and cultural development are established on a public basis at the okrug councils of culture.

Article 35. The council of culture reports on its activity before the reporting-and-election conference, the Committee of Culture and the respective people's council.

Concluding Provisions

1. (1) The Committee of Culture is a legal entity with Sofia as its seat. It has a seal with a circular inscription "Committee of Culture" and the name "Sofia" in the middle.

(2) The councils of culture have a seal with a circular inscription of "Okrug" ("Urban," "Rural," "Rural-municipal," "Rayon") council of culture, and in the middle - "City, Village..."

2. For the enforcement of this statute the Committee of Culture issues rules, regulations, and instructions.

3. This statute is approved by the Third Congress of Bulgarian Culture of 18, 19, 20 May 1977 and rescinds the statute for the structure, tasks, and activity of the Committee of Art and Culture, approved by the Second Congress of Bulgarian Culture of December 1972. (DV, No 49, 1973).

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

STROUGAL SPEAKS AT CEREMONY MARKING CZECHOSLOVAK ANNIVERSARIES

Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1307 GMT 27 Oct 78 LD

[Speech by Lubomir Strougal, premier of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, during a ceremonial meeting at the Spanish Hall in Prague Castle to mark the 60th anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic and the 10th anniversary of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation--live]

[Text] Comrades, dear guests, dear friends:

In the lives of nations there are periods which make an indelible mark in the minds and memories of people. These are periods of historical transformations and revolutionary events which basically change the conditions of the life of society, the life of man; these are periods when new pages of the never-ending history of a state and its people are being written. For the people of Czechoslovakia this truly historical milestone is unquestionably that memorable October 1918 when, at the end of World War I, at the end of suffering and sacrifices, an independent Czechoslovak state was born.

After centuries of struggle for the right to live, for the mother tongue, for national existence, Czechs and Slovaks--both our brother nations--once again united in a single state. The entire working people hailed the new republic with ardent expectations. They confidently endowed it with the noblest and most innate wishes for it to become a happy and just homeland of our two nations which are so close.

But in history all intentions, programs and endeavors are mercilessly tested by time and by advancing social progress. This is what determines all that has been and is progressive, what has been and is beneficial for the people and for the fulfillment of their most innate interests.

Against this background we once again carefully think about the revolutionary, stirring and dramatic events of the past 60 years. On the eve of this significant anniversary, we think about the degree of development of our society which we have attained and naturally about the greatness of our peoples' contribution to the vast current of European and world progress.

On 28 October 1918, after centuries of bondage and national oppression, Czechs and Slovaks again won their state independence. The territory of the Transcarpathian Ukraine was artificially joined to the new state under the Treaty of Versailles, in contradiction with the interests of its people. The emergence of the Czechoslovak Republic was accompanied by a series of legends which the bourgeoisie created and deliberately disseminated to cover up the true situation. The purpose of these legends was to conceal the decisive significance of the revolutionary activity of the working class and of the broad mass of the people, as well as the substantial influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the creation of Czechoslovakia.

By falsifying and concealing the impact of these major influences the bourgeoisie intended to support and justify its claims and leading position in the new state. It is an historic fact that a considerable part of our bourgeoisie originally never considered the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Not even those to whom bourgeois historians unequivocally attribute the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic had any clear concept of this development. Tomas Garrigue Masaryk as well as his closest associates, Benes and Stefanik, only gradually formed their own views on the territorial and constitutional setup and they did this under the influence and pressure of events in progress. But they always appraised all questions in close harmony with the designs of the Western powers. The Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie began to change its attitude to the question of state independence and the uniting of Czechs and Slovaks into a single state only after growing pressure from the mass of the people, influenced by the great ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In doing this it accepted and took advantage of one of the most attractive slogans of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the slogan on the self-determination of peoples.

The Austro-Hungarian monarchy disintegrated as the result of the class, social and national antagonisms which were coming to a head, antagonisms whose weight and sharpness increased the great influence which the first state of workers and peasants in the world had. Its example radicalized the broad masses of the people and inspired them to a number of revolutionary actions in the frontline and the hinterland, in the towns and the countryside. The broad popular movement led even before the end of World War I to 14 October 1918 when the people, in the course of the general strike, proclaimed at many places the creation of a nationally and socially just Czechoslovak Republic.

It was a people's movement which shortly afterward led to a further important action--the Martin Declaration in which the Slovak National Council proclaimed complete severance from Hungary and publicly took a stand for the common state of Czechs and Slovaks.

The establishment of independent Czechoslovakia was of course an historical progress. It marked the conclusion of a complicated process, full of contradiction, in which the Czech and Slovak national movement developed, strengthened and came to maturity and in which our nations shaped themselves into their modern appearance, basing themselves on their most

progressive traditions. Through the creation of the republic as the common state of Czechs and Slovaks, more favorable conditions for the further development of their national life were created and, what is no less important, the working class and with it the other working people gained greater scope for their struggle for the fulfillment of their social and political demands and longings.

If, however, we speak of that new Czechoslovak state as an undeniable historical progress when we compare it with the militaristic, clerical and semifeudalistic Austro-Hungarian monarchy, we must realize at the same time that this progress was historically conditioned and limited. The fact that social democracy was unable to put itself into the vanguard of the national liberation struggle of the masses of the people, the fact that at the time there did not yet exist a party of the working class of the Leninist type, enabled the bourgeoisie to grasp the leadership of the national and democratic revolution, to misuse their results for their own benefit and to be victorious also in the decisive class struggles for political power in the state.

This determined the character of the republic as a bourgeois republic which became an indivisible part of the world capitalist system. There is an infinite number of examples illustrating its class principles which were also reflected in the determinedly negative and aggressive stance toward the young Soviet state. This orientation was very clearly exposed and by the misuse of Czechoslovak legionaries for a military intervention against Soviet Russia as well as by the unscrupulous suppression of the Slovak Republic of Councils and by the participation in a military expedition against the Hungarian communists. We could mention other examples. Bourgeois Czechoslovakia, for example, was one of the last states stubbornly rejecting to accept the reality of the Soviet Union.

This policy, obediently and consistently pursued by the so-called men of 28 October, was part of a broad international anticommunist plan. In a situation when a revolutionary wave was sweeping Europe, the European bourgeoisie and its overseas allies were interested, above all, in the victory and strengthening of a state-political regime in our country which would represent a reliable link in a firm barrier against the explosive and attractive ideas of the Great October. The power-political system of the ruling class amounted to a certain advance since it broadened the democratic rights and freedoms of citizens. However, this was by no means the result of some understanding by the bourgeoisie of the needs and desires of the ordinary man. On the contrary, it was the result of the social-revolutionary processes and the permanent struggle and pressure exerted by the popular masses. The pre-Munich republic, of course, very far from a genuine humanist democracy and yet the official ideology of the day and the present bourgeois propaganda would like to present it as such. Bourgeois propaganda has emphasized and emphasizes today the many different political directions and parties which on the whole--with the single exception of the communist party--were implementing the will of the

ruling bourgeois minority. They were all using the same platform with different forms and shapes. Human rights which were loudly preached applied to everybody only formally.

Furthermore, it is well known how voices which were out of tune with that pattern were being consistently and mercilessly silenced by censorship as well as by other repressive measures of the bourgeois state. The state administration together with the power bodies served their employers loyalty. They did not even shirk measures such as the brutal suppression of strikes by armed power and the shooting at starving workers. Just as in every democracy under capitalism, this was but one form of the class rule of the bourgeoisie. The latter naturally ruled in the interest of people like Preiss, Baran, Bata, Petachek and their ilk, as well as in the interest of foreign monopolies with whom it had close ties and which had such strong positions in Czechoslovakia's economy.

The fact that from the point of view of economic development, Czechoslovakia between the wars was among the foremost states on a European and world scale is being frequently stressed. This was undeniably true. But we must not forget that even under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the Czech lands represented the economically most advanced part of the monarchy. So it is appropriate to ask what the bourgeoisie contributed in the 20 years of its rule to increasing the economic weight of Czechoslovakia. And in this respect facts speak for themselves. They clearly indicate that during the 20 years of the existence of the republic, industry attained a more substantial growth only in the years 1924-1929. In the 1930's the world economic crisis bore down extremely heavily on Czechoslovakia's economy. In 1933 industrial production was a full 40 percent lower than in 1929, and even 15 percent lower than in 1913. And not even in 1937--despite extensive military orders--did it regain the level it was at in 1929.

The bourgeoisie naturally shifted the effects of this deep crisis exclusively onto the broad sections of the working people. And that is how we attained a sad record of almost 1 million unemployed. To this we must add hundreds of thousands of semiemployed and, according to bourgeois statistics of that time, there were 2.5 to 3 million family members of unemployed or semiemployed workers affected as well. And all the ruling bourgeoisie was capable of was to organize charity campaigns which were barely effective and hand out humiliating alms in the form of doles.

In the period of bourgeois rule the Czechoslovak economy did not register any significant changes even in its territorial structure. A number of regions existed which were already very poor under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and which remained equally backward in the new republic. They suffered from the chronic lack of job opportunities; people lived there in poverty and without any hope that their difficult conditions would be improved. This applies not only to a number of places in Bohemia and Moravia but especially to Slovakia and the then Carpathian Ruthenia.

Sharp social contradictions, an enormous wave of social emigration, unemployment and a lack of security of life were the characteristic features of the social reality of the capitalist Czechoslovakia. In its totality the capitalist economy represented an enormous waste of productive forces and the creative capabilities of our workers, peasants, technicians, scientists and in general of a people active in the spiritual sphere. How much creative endeavor, how much energy, spiritual effort was frustrated by the self-interest of the bourgeoisie! What a devastation of values the economic crisis represented, a crisis which was and is an inevitable product of the capitalist way of production. Such was the true economic management of our bourgeoisie.

The predatory interests of the ruling class inevitably clashed with the interests of those whose labor produced material and spiritual values and the wealth of this country. These interests were the interests of the working class, the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia. Their struggle and fights rank among the bright pages of our past. They are a firm part of the legacy of our mothers and fathers, a legacy from which we draw our encouragement and strength both for today and the future.
[applause]

The serious weaknesses of the pre-Munich republic were also aggravated by the nationalities policy. The incapability of the bourgeoisie to solve the nationalities questions seriously affected the stability of the new state. The official theory of the so-called Czechoslovakism meant the denial of the national existence of the Slovak nation. Moreover, the Czech bourgeoisie ruthlessly used its power position and practiced a policy which maintained and even aggravated the economic and social inequality of both parts of the republic.

In their concepts Slovakia was to have been merely an agrarian appendage of the Czech countries. And thus, in the 1920's among other things in Slovakia about 200 factories were liquidated which employed about one-fourth of the workers employed in the Slovak industry at that time. After the republic came into existence exponents of the Czech bourgeoisie, the executors of the state power in the form of commanders of the gendarmerie, high-ranking police officers, judges, prosecutors and government officials were sent to Slovakia. It is a well-known fact that they ruled Slovakia with an iron fist.

The fact that progressively orientated Czech teachers, middle school and university professors, doctors and other specialists also came to Slovakia, changes nothing in this reality. They helped to build from the foundations the Slovak education, enlightenment and health care. They manifested a truly fraternal attitude toward the Slovak people; they pointed to the dire social conditions existing in Slovak towns and villages, finding mutual understanding for the solution of vital issues in the common state.

These facts could not, however, have had a fundamental influence on the basic course of the history at that stage. The policy of the Czech ruling class in its capitalist predatory character and national entrenchment could not have led to anything else but the feeling of deep dissatisfaction and national and social tension.

In the 1930's Hitlerite fascism appeared and it planned to seek power in Czechoslovakia. These plans provided an outside influence which provided considerable support to the fascist and separatist tendencies in the country which grew strong on the very inability of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie to solve the fundamental question of the Czechoslovak state's stability.

We all know the consequences of this policy. Ultimately it led to the dismemberment and destruction of the republic. Henlein's fascists and the Slovak clerical separatists took an active part in this with Hitler's help. It is to the historic merit of the communists that they consistently put forward the demand for a just solution of the national, particularly the Slovak, question and that, with equal consistency, they advocated the idea of the unitarian Czechoslovak state which was one of the guiding ideas of the national liberation struggle of the Czech and Slovak peoples.

When assessing the results of the policy of the ruling bourgeoisie, we have to state quite unambiguously that it failed completely and did not even pass the test of time in the foreign political orientation of the first republic. The Czechoslovak bourgeois leaders oriented themselves from World War I onward purposefully and in every direction toward the Western powers, primarily France and Great Britain. The treaties of alliance, first of all with the republic of France, were linked with the Treaty of Versailles. Yet it was obvious that, together with promises of military aid in case of a possible German attack, there was also hidden in the treaties Czechoslovakia's obligation to promote the anti-Soviet front in Central and Eastern Europe, and thus to be one of the founders of the ill-famed Cordon Sanitaire.

This system of international treaties guaranteed Czechoslovakia's participation in the machinations of those foreign forces which never reconciled themselves with the existence of the first socialist state. For instance, Czechoslovakia did not recognize the Soviet Union de jure until 1934. And in 1935 when Benes' government decided to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Soviet Union--an action which was undeniably positive--it was bound by earlier contractual obligations with the Western states to give priority to French military aid over Soviet aid. This was another expression of the fact that the bourgeoisie puts its class interests above the interests of the nation and the fatherland.

The Munich diktat and the betrayal by the Western Allies were the climax of this fateful development.

Czechoslovakia represented just one pawn in the great anti-Soviet game of world imperialism. In the name of these interests, it was unscrupulously and cool-mindedly sacrificed to Hitler. Munich--the 40th anniversary of which we recalled this year--entered history as a symbol of betrayal, injustice and wrong, and it represents one of the saddest chapters ever written by Western diplomacy. This is not only the belief of our nations but this is the belief of the entire progressive world. [applause] The demise of independent Czechoslovakia in these dramatic and moving circumstances will forever remain in the minds of the Czech and Slovak peoples as an historic memento of warning. For this reason, at the end of the 1930's, a deep process of changes in the thinking of the millions of our people started; they were becoming ever more clearly and urgently aware of the fact that the bourgeoisie had finished its role as the leader of the nation, that it lost not only its face but also its right to further speak on behalf of the republic which it had sold out to fascist Germany. This was the basis for the historical mandate of the communists to assume a position as the vanguard in the struggle of the Czechoslovak people for its national and social freedom.

The betrayal by the Western Allies in September of 1938 and, on the other hand, the preparedness and willingness of the Soviet Union to come to our help--irrespective of the French stand, a willingness which was rejected by our ruling class--confirmed the necessity to change the foreign-political orientation of the future Czechoslovak state; it led to the conclusion of new bonds of alliance based on completely different foundations. Hypocrisy echoed in the words about sovereignty, independence, and noninterference in internal affairs pronounced by those all-famed Chamberlains, Daladiers, Runcimans and their ideological followers. They treated our nations without scruples and in an offensive manner. Benes' ruling team adopted in a humiliating manner the diktat which endangered the very existence of the people of this country. And thus, in the difficult days at the end of the first republic and at the time of liberation struggles, not only an alliance but also the fraternity between the nations of Czechoslovakia and the USSR was born.

An alliance and brotherhood were born which convincingly confirmed its viability and irreplaceable character both in the course of the national liberation struggle and in the years of our socialist construction.

Even though the pre-Munich republic did not by far live up to the expectations which the people had for it at its beginning, in the 20 years of their existence our working people created many values which our people rightly hold in high esteem. Outstanding industrial products, a number of magnificent works of Czech and Slovak culture, buildings by our architects attaining the highest standard as well as international recognition of the results of Czechoslovak science--all this is a demonstration that it was the broad sections of the people who were capable of taking advantage of even the limited opportunities offered them by the bourgeois state.

Despite all the problems in the nationality question which the bourgeoisie was incapable of solving and not even willing to solve, the 20 years of development confirmed the correctness of the concept of equal coexistence of our two fraternal nations in one common state as well as its viability and the justification of its place in European and world events.

But the example of Czechoslovakia again showed that capitalism was not and is not capable of securing a steady and harmonious development of the productive forces, nor is it capable of solving any of the fundamental social problems. That is why the aims of the communist party represented the only genuine fundamental and consistent alternative to the bourgeoisie and its policy. Already the founders of the CPCZ outlined a program at the time of the party's birth of a struggle for a more just, socialist and truly humane society. And in the communist party the working class and the other working people subsequently had a fearless fighter for their justified demands. It was the communists who stood in the front ranks of the great class struggles, for broad and better social and living conditions of the broadest masses. It was the communists who in face of the oppressive policy of the Czech bourgeoisie defended the interests of the Czech and Slovak working people as well as of the national minorities. It was the communists who urgently called for the consistent implementation of the democratic principles with which the republic had endowed itself. It was the communists who at the time of the threat to the republic by Hitler fascism proved that its independence could be saved only in close alliance with the first land of socialism and who in the fateful days of the republic demonstrated their true patriotism.

Our nations have not forgotten the 20-years' experience of life in the pre-Munich republic. It has become one of the exceptionally strong impulses for the gradual formation of a broad national front of sincere patriots, workers, farmers, the intelligentsia as well as the anti-fascist bourgeoisie in the resistance movement at home and abroad. And that is why the concept proposed by communists that the Czechoslovak republic should be restored on entirely new foundations received such a profound understanding among our working people. But it was not easy to assert this concept against those still influential forces which would have liked to see a simple restoration of pre-Munich conditions. It was a long, complicated and dramatic way leading to the May days of 1945 when our homeland was liberated by the heroic Soviet army.

The national liberation movement of the Czech and Slovak people for freedom and state independence is one of the chapters that will forever be inscribed in gold lettering in the modern history of our nations. The struggle full of sacrifices was an expression of the unbreakable will and yearning for freedom and for the establishment of those conditions in the future republic which would enable it to become a home for the working man, a truly people's and socially and nationally just home.

The place of greatest honor in this heroic epic of our nations will forever be reserved to all Czechoslovak patriots who, in the extensive home resistance, in the glorious Slovak national uprising and in the May uprising of the Czech people, fought for the freedom of their people, for their better future. It will be reserved for the first Czechoslovak army corps and its commander, the great patriot army General Ludvik Svoboda, for all those who fought against fascism on all fronts of World War II. [applause]

The warm memory of all the faithful sons and daughters of our nations who did not live to see the joyful days of liberation and who had sacrificed what is most valuable, their lives, in the interest of a happy future of a new Czechoslovakia will forever remain in our hearts. We will never forget that the decisive share in our liberation from Hitlerite slavery, in creating the conditions for the victory of our national liberation struggle and in the restoration of our state sovereignty belongs to the glorious Soviet Union. [applause]

It was the Soviet Union which had carried the main weight of the world struggle against the dark forces of fascism. Its people, in the interest of final victory, offered the greatest and hardest immeasurable sacrifices.

Comrades, honored friends:

The glorious May, the liberation of Czechoslovakia, marked the start of a new stage in the struggle for a truly new and firm foundation of the joint republic of Czechs and Slovaks, as it had been expressed in the entire contents of the Kosice government program. In order to translate into life the demands of social justice, civic equality and full equality in the rights of our nations and nationalities, the demands of a life free of exploitation, misery and uncertainty, it was necessary to uncover and defeat forces which strove for a return to the pre-Munich republic and for a general reversal of conditions. It was necessary once and for all to resolve the question of political power in favor of the working class and its allies. The struggle of many years about how our nations would progress was finally settled in February 1948 in favor of social progress, in favor of aims and ideals which had been dreamt about and fought for by entire previous generations. The long era of capitalist mastery in our country ended irrevocably and decisive prerequisites had thus been created for a qualitatively new solution of questions of social, economic, political and state life which confronted in a pressing manner our nations since the very birth of Czechoslovakia in the historic year of 1918.

Victorious February was the culmination of many years of class struggles for the social and political rights of working people, for guaranteeing the freedom of our nations, for state independence and international security of our state. This was at the base of the great future which was facing us at the time. It was the base of profound and multifarious changes through which our homeland and, literally, each one of us had to go in the future. And we did go through these changes. A picture of these changes and of the ways of achieving them had been mapped out by Klement Gottwald in the general line of construction of socialism at the Ninth Congress of our communist party. It was a way of innovations, accompanied by successes but also by obstacles, difficulties and mistakes.

But our people mastered it successfully, they proved capable of mastering the complicated tasks of economic and cultural construction, tasks in the directing of the state and society.

We have built up a just, democratic and progressive social system, we have built socialism in Czechoslovakia. [applause] Today's socialist Czechoslovakia, is the most demonstrable proof of the creative genius, working devotion and heroism of our working class, cooperative peasantry and working intelligentsia, of millions of men and women. All of them, including those who did not live to see our days, deserve respect, admiration and sincere gratitude. [applause]

We consider the new position of the working people in society and the substantial changes of their lives as the most valuable result of the past 3 decades. They have become the master of their future. They have become the decisive subject of the historic development. They have learned to rule, they have learned to administer well our common cause. This is the most important and most typical side of our socialist democracy. It makes possible the widest possible application of the right--not to be underestimated--to take part in decision-making about public affairs, to participate in the direction of the state. This is also a strong source of the initiative and creative activity of the people and altogether of the unusual dynamism of the socioeconomic and intellectual development of our country.

And the all-round revolutionary shaping of our society in all its spheres carried out on the principles of scientific socialism, is a telling proof of this. Our economy and the entire social sphere have undergone changes in 30 years undreamed of in earlier times. These changes have had and have today fundamental importance for the life of every citizen and the entire society. Hundreds of new factories with a high level of technology, have changed our country's economic power and have contributed to the fact that our present economic potential, measured by national income, is 5 1/2 times bigger than 30 years ago. And our national income is much more equally distributed than it was in the past. We can proudly say that here, in socialist Czechoslovakia, there is no such thing as an underdeveloped region. We have built millions of dwellings, thousands of new schools and educational, health, cultural and sports establishments. Our towns and villages have flourished in new beauty.

The economic strength of our country has its firm foundation in a powerful and modern industry, whose production has increased more than tenfold in the period of socialist construction. Our country ranks among the industrially developed states. We have been able to master the production of a number of new, progressive branches, including those which play an important part in the contemporary level of the defense capability of our country and the countries of our friends. Our industry has also played a decisive role in the fact that our country has fundamentally altered its

position in the world division of labor. Unlike previous years when we were exporting mostly consumer goods, the good work and skill of our workers, scientists and engineers are now tangibly expressed mainly in machinery and equipment. We are endeavoring to further increase our prestige and impact, and to contribute through the growth of efficiency and the technological standards of our economy to the strengthening of the economic potential of our country.

Our agriculture has experienced truly revolutionary changes. The winning over of small and medium land holders for socialism and the restructuring of agriculture amounted to an historical change not only in the character of the agricultural production but also in the way of life of our villages; it amounted to a significant change in the thinking of the farmers. The cooperative farmer of this day is a qualified specialist who effectively influences the growth of agricultural large-scale production, and who knows how to apply machinery and the latest findings of modern science. The great change experienced by our villages also in the social-cultural sphere, has helped to solve an old problem of the past: the former drastic differences between towns and villages, differences in life styles and the character and standards of work.

A great contribution to the treasures of the material and spiritual wealth of our nations has also been made by the workers in science, research and technology. Thanks to them, we have achieved in this direction a number of very good results which have been internationally recognized. In the chronicle of space research, there will forever be an entry saying that Czechoslovakia was the third country in the world whose citizen flew to the stars. In the entire era of the construction of the socialist society, we have been endeavoring to speed up scientific-technological progress and to raise in all ways its effectiveness. In order to keep pace with world development, we must learn from others and in the first place we must utilize the vast scientific-technological potential of the socialist community, above all that of the Soviet Union.

Along with this, we must thoughtfully and consistently deepen international integration through the development of specialization and the fast broadening of cooperative relations. We have created positive prerequisites for a happy, content and fulfilled life of man, for an all-round development of his personality, and for the best utilization of his potential. Exploitation of man by man forever belongs to the past. Unemployment, poverty and hunger of all regions and of a large strata of the population also belong to the past, as well as the fear of old age and illness. For the majority of our citizens and for our youth above all, this is already a history they did not have to experience.

The socialist present is anchored in their minds as something to be taken for granted and the predominant factors are social certainties, a high standard of culture and material security as well as reliable prospects of future uninterrupted progress. And these factors are not present everywhere in the world today.

All the basic factors making up the living standards of our citizens have been constantly improving in the past 30 years. It is this very stability of socioeconomic development which constitutes one of the decisive advantages of socialism. From it people draw their confidence in the policy of the communist party, the socialist state. From it, above all, there emanates a positive socioeconomic climate so characteristic for the present state of our society.

Along with the development of material prosperity we have registered an unprecedented enhancement of the intellectual life of our society. We have made the wealth of education accessible to all and we are developing the preschool system of education in such a way as to meet most completely the demands and requirements of an advanced socialist society. The process of the socialist cultural revolution has confirmed and still confirms that our progressive culture and art always advanced in close liaison with the historic destinies of our people. They emerged from folk and revolutionary traditions, they drew on the best works of art, making up a golden treasure of Czech and Slovak culture; they were based on its most progressive trends. They are not isolated from the political and social struggles of their time but, on the contrary, they are constantly more active components of historic transformations.

The new position in society, the deepening and systematic consolidation of vital certainties and the development of socialist democracy are making a decisive contribution to positive changes in the social awareness, to an atmosphere characterized by optimism, a vast working and social activity, a firm confidence in the future. In our country a person need not be afraid of remaining alone, without help or with the bitter knowledge that society no longer needs him. After all, the all-round and consistent care for every citizen, sincere interest in his fate, in his contented life and the ability to live a full life--those are among the most substantial aspects of socialism. And it is precisely man who in the course of building and shaping a new life is undergoing the most profound transformations.

People with the vestiges of petit bourgeois heritage, people who are inclined to take more than they want to give will increasingly belong to the past, and we will have to strive for this with far greater intensity. The present and the future belong to people of an entirely different type, they belong to those who internally identify with the principles of socialism, to capable and skilled people, to those who do not want to sit on the fence in this great and long-term project which we are all creating together. They are the bread and salt of this country, honest and conscientious workers, farmers, technicians, scientists, teachers, members of other professions and vocations. They are our hope as they are inspiring young people already growing up in conditions of victorious socialism. These are the people who in their daily life and work show love and loyalty to the country of their fathers and forefathers, the country where they were born and where they are firmly rooted.

At all the stages of our development to date people came to the fore who became the pioneers of a new attitude to work and life. Thousands of new heroes of our times have grown up. Progress in all spheres of social life is to their merit, for it is they who have revealed and continue to reveal the inexhaustible resources and opportunities of the socialist system, of free work, and public initiative. We are justifiably proud of everything that our socialist society has created and is creating for man, for his contented life and for his life full in every respect. What other period in the history of the Czech and Slovak people, if not ours, witnessed such great and revolutionary events? When and what generation before us bridged within such a short period of time a deeper abyss between an old and new world, built and transformed living conditions and even itself on such a scale and at such a depth as has our generation? It is true, this did not happen without errors and mistakes, without searching and trying out. But what matters in the end are the results, the fruit from the tree which we planted, fostered and improved by grafts. And these results produce joy in our country, among our people, among our friends, and respect on the other side of the border. [applause]

Rightwing and antisocialist forces strove to use and misuse for their interests and aims the shortcomings and mistakes which we criticized ourselves, and for the elimination of which together with the communist party and the entire national front all honorable and honest citizens of this country were striving. In 1968 they launched, supported by foreign influences, a coordinated and broadly based attack on the revolutionary gains of our working class and our working people. Thanks to the internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries this counterrevolutionary attempt was thwarted, socialism in our country persevered, and conditions were created not only for a gradual consolidation of the situation, but also for a new upsurge of all spheres of social life. [applause]

It is to the historic merit of the new leadership of the CPCZ headed by Comrade Gustav Husak that it pushed and carried through a principled solution of the crisis at that time that the new leadership gave the party and society a correct orientation for the further development of socialism in Czechoslovakia, based on the utilization of its internal, live-giving resources as well as on the firm alinement and cooperation with the countries of fraternal socialism and in particular with the fraternal Soviet Union. [long applause]

In the course of the 1970's, in fulfilling the conclusions of the 14th and 15th CPCZ Congresses there were achieved in our country results which justly place that period as the most successful in the entire process of socialist construction in Czechoslovakia.

Comrades, esteemed guests and esteemed friends:

Among the great successes of our CPCZ there rank undoubtedly the radical changes undergone by Slovakia in the course of socialist construction which influenced so markedly the life of all Slovak people. Our pride is and will remain at the all-round construction which gave that beautiful country a completely new face and which had a key importance for the solution of mutual relations between both our fraternal nations. The purposeful and large-scale industrialization in which Czech workers and technicians shared benefitted not only the development of all areas of life of the Slovak socialist republic, but at the same time substantially strengthened the potential of the entire Czechoslovak economy. The policy was and is a convincing proof of the endeavor to liquidate the unfortunate legacy of the past and bring the social and economic standard of Slovakia up to that of the Czech lands. And thus in a common endeavor there is being created the material base for the truly equal, fraternal coexistence and cooperation between both nations. After all, the industrial output in Slovakia is 40 times greater than it was in 1937. The share of the Slovak socialist republic in the overall industrial production, which before the war amounted to a mere 8 percent and in 1948 to 13 percent, has already reached a figure of 28 percent. Present-day Slovakia is a country with a modern, highly developed industry, and an advanced, socialist, large-scale agricultural sector.

We all are gladdened and derive benefit from the remarkable growth of Slovak literature, music, dramatic art and other flowers of Slovak culture: we rejoice at the successes of Slovak scientists.

The 15th congress of our party was justified to note that in the course of an historically short period Slovakia has become an industrially developed part of the common Czechoslovak fatherland and that the great differences in the conditions of the economic, political and cultural life of our nations and the individual regions of the state have been overcome. These successes belong to the most significant achievements of our revolutionary workers' movement, the struggles of our communist party and of all Czechoslovak people. [applause]

Our working class in close cooperation with all working people and under the leadership of its communist party has been able to solve all fundamental questions of coexistence of our nations and nationalities. Our working class put the existence and development of the Czechoslovak state on firm economic and class-social foundations.

The endeavor of many years for a just arrangement of the relations between the Czech and Slovak nation was completed exactly 10 years ago by the declaration of the Czechoslovak Federation. The Czechoslovak Federation represents an internationalist bond of two fraternal nations: Czechs and Slovaks who are so close in all ways. At the same time the federation insures that the rights of national minorities are fully respected. In

this way, socialism has filled the lives and interests of all our citizens with a new political, social and ideological content, which in fact means the overcoming of national limitations and egotism. The federation has created prerequisites for the full observance of the national sovereignty and identity of both nations. It provides for the meeting of their specific needs and interests and generates a creative energy of their best forces and skills, stimulates an active initiative and at the same time increases the awareness of responsibility for our common task. We will continue to respect consistently that which binds our nations and nationalities, which contributes to their all-round closeness, and which strengthens our unity. The federal arrangement provides prerequisites for a higher stage of integration of all of society and for a more effective mutual cooperation and aid in the interest of the general economic, social and cultural development. During the 10 years of its existence the federation sufficiently proved its justification and benefits. In it we have found an important source of dynamism for the process of the development of the social and political unity of the people of our country.

Our experiences so far sufficiently prove that in the given conditions--and if we utilize reserves and possibilities to further improve the federation--it is the most suitable form of applying Leninist principles in solving the national question in our country.

After the bad and truly painful experiences, the loss of freedom, sovereignty and independence of the Czechoslovak state, and above all in the fight with fascism, the Czechoslovak people decided on its own behalf and freely, to carry out a fundamental change in the foreign-political orientation of the state: it chose a firm alliance with the great Soviet Union. [applause]

How correct and far-sighted this choice was! after all, the borders of our country are for the first time fully safeguarded. More than that, thanks to this alliance we are strong enough to fulfill the bold plans for building the developed socialist society. Literally every day of our time confirms the words of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, stated when signing the Treaty of Alliance at Prague Castle in 1970 when he said: Years and decades will pass and our treaty will loyally serve the interests of the Soviet and the Czechoslovak peoples, the great cause of socialism. [applause]

Czechoslovakia purposefully increases its strength and capabilities as a firm part of the socialist community. The policy of alliance, cooperation and friendship with all fraternal countries is for us a proven and eternally valid principle. Because the coordinated efforts of the fraternal countries in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism pursue aims arising from the uniform ideology, the identity of basic interests and loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

This is also how we understand the mission of the Warsaw Pact organization, the firm fighting alliance of the European socialist countries, the guarantee of our security and future peaceful development. In this way we also

understand our own responsibility within the framework of this pact. This is why we are doing everything necessary to insure that our people's army, in the spirit of its glorious fighting traditions, is always prepared to fulfill its tasks.

Our experience fully confirms that what we have achieved is inseparably linked with Soviet aid and the broad, ever deepening cooperation between the countries of the socialism community. Let us recall how importantly it has contributed to the solution of economic tasks in the individual stages of our development; how effectively it helped to create the best possible conditions for our economic and social development. The almost 30-year-old tradition of cooperation between the socialist states, united in the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, has clearly demonstrated that the purposeful development of international economic links has a lasting and continuously growing importance for the community as a whole and for every individual state. For us it was, is and will remain, one of the substantial sources of our economic stability.

The lessons of the distant and not so distant past of Czechoslovakia for which we paid so dearly show us but one single path along which we can fulfill the great ideals of mankind and forever remove the danger of a world conflict. The firm hinterland of the socialist community enables us to increase the Czechoslovak share in shaping the atmosphere for a lasting and just peace, in enforcing the principles of coexistence, security and mutual confidence, and a truly effective disarmament.

Aspirations for peace and friendship are traditionally intrinsic to our nations. But it is only at this historic stage that we have a real opportunity, together with other socialist countries, to translate words into action and to do this with real success, for we have lived for more than 3 decades in peace. The reality of peaceful, equal, mutually beneficial cooperation which was endorsed by the Helsinki conference, convened at the initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, justly fills us with the feeling of optimism.

Despite all attempts to slow down and halt the process of relaxation, we are deeply convinced that the policy of easing of tensions will become a long-term one and irresversible; that it will make a headway which is unstoppable and that mankind will in the end live in peace and happiness. Such a great goal deserves that we spare no effort and, in unity with other socialist countries, work for changing political detente into a military one, that we work for the adoption of all disarmament proposals submitted to the world by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Such is the imperative of our time; it is an appeal that sprung from the philosophy of the modern history of the Czech and Slovak nations; it is one of the lessons of the 60th jubilee of the Czechoslovak state.

Comrades, esteemed guests and friends:

After 30 years of socialist construction, there is opening before us a broad and brilliant perspective of the further prospering of our society. We are entering a period in which the face of the world will be changing more and more markedly. Many of the things that today are a fantasy or the subject of investigation by scientists and their hypothesis will become a reality. The working people will make progress in their social struggles. Socialism will replace old orders. Man will be increasingly free and the results of his work will to an ever greater degree belong to those from whose hands and heads they came. New kinds of energy will multiply the strength of mankind. Scientific and technological progress will make it possible for new and improved spacecraft to travel in outer space. Undoubtedly, there will be a marked growth of material production and along with this the more demanding needs of man will be satisfied increasingly better. And it is beyond any dispute that scientific and technological progress along with social progress will make it possible to remove a whole number of those worldwide problems which today seem to be insoluble. This will be a development corresponding to the eternal aspiration of people to live better and more contentedly.

Of course, we shall not see our goal in sufficient material values alone. In keeping with the fast development of education and the general levels of cultural standards, everything that makes man better and that enriches and beautifies his spiritual world will ever more acutely assert itself as the most important thing. We now live in an era of scientific-technological revolution which has already fulfilled many of these plans. It is quite obvious that the results of this revolution, based on the findings of current and future scientific knowledge, will amount to a powerful source of the progress of mankind and above all of that vanguard of mankind which is represented in the present world by the community of socialist countries.

I think that there is no denying that socialist Czechoslovakia should and must progress in keeping with this fast and revolutionary development. It must go with the stream of world progress. This is in the very own interest of the citizens of this country, above all our young generation to whom the next stage will bring new and undreamed of possibilities.

Everything we have achieved so far justifies the fact that we look into the future of our nations and our people with faith and full optimism. The working people of both our fraternal nations, working people of all nationalities, are now able not only to appreciate everything positive connected with the foundation of Czechoslovakia 60 years ago but above all they can look with pride at the great work of the last 30 years of socialist construction. The all-round development of our country proves that our working people are the legitimate heir and bearer of everything

great and progressive in the history of our nations, that they are the creators of new values, values never known in the history of our society. However, we are also decisive participants in the history of our society and are also decisive participants in the historical changes of the world, a firm unit of the community of the socialist countries, and a loyal ally of the Soviet Union. All that we have achieved the fruit of the honest work, diligence and selflessness of the citizens of this country. It has grown from the revolutionary traditions of the Czech and Slovak people. Our working people have built our happy and content life of today. It is their achievement that our fatherland, the Czechoslovak socialist republic, is now truly their happy home. Our working class, cooperative farmers, socialist intelligentsia, our women, and young generation fully deserve deep respect and sincere thanks for the great work, for everything they have done for the benefit of this society and the generations to come. [applause]

Our gratitude is due to the entire national front, the individual political parties, both in the Czech and Slovak socialist republic, to all social organizations, particularly the revolutionary trade union movement and the socialist youth league. We all, comrades, dear friends, esteemed guests, deeply feel the solemn moments of the anniversary of our state. We are all excited by the memories of the successes and victories, achieved so far in the 60-year path of our fatherland. We all are proud of the remarkable work of the preceding and present generations. We shall not spare our strength to go on fulfilling the progressive ideas of all those who were with us but who failed to reach the goal, who laid down their lives for the sacred cause of the nation and of socialism. We shall certainly do everything to enable our people to live a full and happy life, to enable our beautiful fatherland to flourish and the glory of the Czechoslovak socialist republic to grow. [applause]

CSO; 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'L'UNITA' REPORTS CHARTER 77 DOCUMENT ON CZECHOSLOVAK ANNIVERSARY

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 28 Oct 78 p 15 LD

[Unattributed report: "Charter 77 Statement in Vienna"]

[Text] Vienna--Three exiled representatives of Czechoslovak dissidence held a press conference yesterday on the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Czechoslovak republic. Former communist party Central Committee member Zdenek Mlynar, former television director Jiri Pelikan and journalist Pavel Tigrid handed journalists a statement from two spokesmen for the Charter 77 movement, Ladislav Hejdanek and Marta Kubisova, and a document signed by some 100 exiled intellectuals, artists and politicians.

The Charter 77 declaration says that its intention is to remind "all citizens and ourselves of what can unite us now and in the future, rather than what splits us in relation to the past" and identifies the former in a state which is a "shared social undertaking" and not a power apparatus to defend privilege and discrimination.

CSO: 3104

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR DISSIDENTS ON AIRCRAFT HIJACKING

Rome LISTY in Czech No 1, Feb 78 pp 57-58

[Open letter: "How To Prevent Hijacking Of Aircraft"]

[Text] UN Special Political Committee
CSSR Federal Assembly
International Civil Aviation Organization [ICAO]

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We were informed that in its resolution the UN Special Political Committee requested all countries to take decisive steps for prevention of hijacking of aircraft. Suggestions of the UN as well as of the ICAO should be taken into consideration.

For a country as small as Czechoslovakia, hijacking of aircraft is a comparatively frequent phenomenon here. According to our information there have been seven hijackings within the last seven years. From a certain point of view, we condemn originators of aircraft hijackings from Czechoslovakia more severely than the hijackers who seize aircraft in order to blackmail governments of bourgeois democratic countries. The Czechoslovak hijackers act only for their personal advantage. The only motivation of recent years' hijackings was the perpetrators' desire to leave the country without having obtained the Czechoslovak authorities' approval. Hence, their actions are lacking a subjective political dimension which is doubtlessly being displayed by hijackers in other countries for whom the hijackings represent a form of political struggle the result of which is supposed to be a revolutionary rejection of capitalism and a communist organization of society. However, a concept of terror whose originators are convinced of its revolutionary nature is, at least in our opinion, a deformed and unacceptable concept; the method of aircraft hijacking and kidnapping of people is ineffective; keeping of hostages or even killing them has to be condemned and punished.

The purpose of your endeavor certainly is also the prevention of hijackings. Not only technical, but also social prevention is involved. The possibilities

of prevention are certainly more limited in the West than in Czechoslovakia where hijackings serve as means for solution of personal antagonistic situations experienced by some people. The difficulty of their situation lies in the fact that they want to leave the country where they live and they believe--and I am afraid with justification--that Czechoslovak authorities will not grant their wish, or at least will not grant it within a reasonable time of several months and that they, on the contrary, will have to bear further unpleasant consequences only because they had publicly expressed that wish. Among the people suffering as a result of their problem, there are several hundreds every year who try to cross the border illegally (some idea may be conveyed by the number of persons sentenced under Article 109 of the Penal Code which stipulates prison terms of up to 10 years for such acts). From time to time someone would risk even more and decide to hijack an airplane. It is rather obvious that there would be no hijacking of aircraft in Czechoslovakia without this problem, or at least no hijacking motivated as all the previous ones have been.

This problem can be solved only if Czechoslovak authorities change the way in which they now react to requests for emigration and exit permits submitted by Czechoslovak citizens. In a situation in which it is the Czechoslovak international policy to seek to obtain full international recognition of the Czechoslovak state as an organism which acts or is willing to act according to law, the present practice can be changed only by enacting of laws which would fully and unequivocally guarantee everyone's right to leave his country and to return to it at any time. Legal regulations which either directly or indirectly deny this right have to be abandoned.

Such a procedure is not only possible but even necessary in view of the international obligation contracted by the Czechoslovak state in Helsinki and the obligation connected with the international treaty regulating civil and political rights (and its paragraphs No 12 and 2). The legalization and realization of everyone's right to leave Czechoslovakia freely and freely to return is the way which--as far as Czechoslovakia is concerned--will prevent hijackings by removing their cause. At the same time, it is a way which will enjoy sympathies of great many people. Consequently, we request you hereby to take the necessary steps.

Peter Uhl
Ivan Dejmal
Ota Bednarova
Zina Freundova
Jaroslav Suk
Karel Freund
Petruska Sustrova
Jiri Kasal
Vavrinec Korcis Jr.
Anna Sabatova Jr.

Prague, 28 November 1977

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

FRG TRADE UNIONISTS ARRIVE--A four-member delegation of the FRG Union of Metal Workers arrived in Prague on 17 October at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Workers in the metal industry. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

KUWAITI AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE--Kuwaiti Ambassador to the CSSR Muhammad Zayd al-Harbish left Czechoslovakia for the final time on 23 October. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

MINISTER RETURNS FROM INDONESIA--Czech Minister of Forestry and Water Management Ladislav Hruzik returned to Prague from Indonesia on 23 October. Hruzik attended the Eighth World Forestry Congress in Jakarta. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

SLOVAK SVAZARM ELECTIONS--The Third Congress of the Svarzarm's [Czechoslovak Paramilitary Organization] Slovak Central Committee elected in Bratislava on 21 October 15 members of the Slovak Central Control and Auditing Commission and 25 delegates to the Sixth Svazarm's Statewide Congress, to be held in Prague in the first half of December. Major General Egyd Pepich was reelected chairman of the Svazarm's Slovak Central Committee. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Oct 78 p 1 AU]

DELEGATION VISITS VIETNAM MAUSOLEUM--The delegation of the Czechoslovak Women's Union headed by Marie Kabrhelova, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chairman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Women's Union, paid homage to Hanoi today to the memory of Ho Chi Minh, the founder of independent Vietnam, by laying a wreath at his mausoleum. Afterwards, Ha Thi Que, chairman of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Women's Union, briefed the Czechoslovak delegation about the development of the Vietnamese women's movement and the important role of women in the postwar development and defense of the Vietnamese Socialist Republic. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 24 Oct 78 LD]

ALGERIAN DELEGATION DEPARTS--Prague, Oct 20, CETEKA--A delegation of the city of Algiers, headed by Municipal People's Council Chairman Moustapha Kemal Medjaoui left for home today after a week's visit as guests of Prague Mayor Dzenek Zuska for the Algiers-Prague friendship week. They exchanged experiences with representatives of the Prague National Committee on Communal Policy. An exhibition of paintings and photographs by young Algerian artists was inaugurated and a full-length Algerian film 'Fishermen' shown in conjunction with the week. [Prague CTK in English 1920 GMT 20 Oct 78 LD]

CSO: 2020

EAST GERMANY

NAUMANN, HONECKER SEEN DISAGREEING ON INTERSHOP ISSUE

Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Oct 78 p 8

[Article by Manuel Lucbert, LE MONDE correspondent in central Europe:
"Konrad Naumann, First Secretary of East Berlin, Poses as Rival to
Honecker"]

[Text] What is socialist realism? Asked about this subject, a writer from an eastern country once responded that he had an idea what realism was in literature and what socialism was in politics, but that he had absolutely no idea what the coupling of the two terms could mean. The same holds true for socialist realism as democratic centralism. The whole problem is to know where realism ends and socialism begins.

An affair which has recently stirred literary circles in East Berlin illustrates this dilemma once again. The BERLINER FESTTAGE announced on the schedule for the Maxim Gorki Theater for 14 October a recent play by Rudi Strahl. The title, "Fluester-Party" [Whisper Party], is based on the expression "Fluesterpropaganda" describing propaganda by word of mouth.

This play, which has not yet been published, is said to probably be a humorous satire if one refers to the usual style of the author of "Intershops," the (foreign) "currency stores" to which the GDR citizens have been flocking in increasingly close ranks for several months. Several days before the premiere the theater announced that the play was being withdrawn from the bill for reasons of "internal management."

A high party official, Konrad Naumann, member of the Politburo and East Berlin first secretary, however, just recently let the cat out of the bag. What is important, he declared before the militants, is not "to depict the daily reality which surrounds us by saying: This is the way life is.... What is needed is to create a work which has been passed through the filter of the individual talent of the creator with his artistic and political make-up and his clearly class-related point of view which must find its expression in an esthetic form." In other words, Naumann reproaches his author for not having sufficiently "filtered" his realism.

It would nevertheless be difficult to accuse Rudi Strahl of lacking socialist zeal. Having enlisted voluntarily in the East German army after settling in the GDR in 1948--he was born in Szczecin, which is today a Polish city--he stayed in for 8 years, achieving the rank of captain. He participated in the latest writers congress, in May, in the capacity of representative of the Berlin section, and a NEUES DEUTSCHLAND photo showed him next to Uwe Kant, brother of the writer union president [Hermann Kant].

In fact, this incident deserves attention, because it sheds particular light on the ambitions of the head of the East Berlin party organization. A man known for his rather rough manners, Naumann has been inclined for some time to pose as a rival to SED First Secretary Honecker. He reproaches the latter for a certain softness in domestic policy, as much in economic affairs, precisely with regard to the Intershops, as in the cultural sphere.

The preparation and unfolding of the most recent writers congress had already made possible the confirmation of the lack of unity of views at the summit of the party hierarchy. Some days before the congress started Naumann felt called upon to attack in particularly aggressive terms "certain bourgeois writers of the GDR" who were altogether suited to the "bourgeois expression which says that the most intimate part of their intimate sphere is money."

The astonishment provoked by a style thought forgotten brought its originator a very firm rejoinder from Stephan Hermlin, one of the greatest living German writers and poets. Without citing Naumann by name, Hermlin accused him of "caseness and demagoguery," reproaching him for trying, by his attitude, "to bring discredit on the intellectuals." It is known that Hermlin is a longtime friend of Honecker and continues to be close to him.

Meanwhile, the most recent affair created by Naumann surrounding the Rudi Strahl play shows that Naumann has renounced none of his hard line. Indeed, what does he say today? "If some leftist critics claim that (in creating the Intershops) the party is abandoning its ideology and intends to build a consumer society, we reply to them that we do not aspire to these alleged material values to which life is reduced and which can only give rise to cupidity, envy, and jealousy." These are clever remarks, which sound like a warning at once to those who tolerate the Intershops (the leading officials), to those who benefit from them (the citizens), and to those who criticize them (the allegedly leftist intellectuals). The only thing Naumann forgot to say is that the high priests of the regime--first and foremost, obviously, the members of the Politburo--have for their part long had access to the vile western material goods in the shops reserved especially for them. Under these

conditions, if one follows the absurd logic flowing from an economy of privilege and relative poverty, the creation of the Intershops must be considered as a measure of social justice. In any case, banning plays which satirize this socialist reality offers no help in resolving the problems which their existence provokes.

CSO: 3100

EAST GERMANY

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY ON GDR-CHURCH RELATIONS

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German No 40, 6 Oct 78 p 29

[Article by Helmut Matthies: "No Illusions in the GDR--Plain Speaking at Synod of Protestant Church League in Berlin-Weissensee"]

[Text] Of late the Protestant Church in the GDR has aroused more public and media interest than any other Protestant Church in Europe. Yet only a few years ago the life and situation of the 8 million Central German Protestants was nearly unknown. Attention was awakened in the late 1960's when, in 1969, the eight Land Churches in the GDR combined in the "League of Protestant Churches in the GDR." Following the massive pressure exerted by the SED, it was no longer possible to maintain organizational unity with the Protestant Church in Germany (EKD). On 18 August 1976 the spectacular self immolation of Pastor Oskar Bruesewitz on the market place in the Saxon city of Zeitz threw a blinding spotlight on the situation of Christians in the other Germany. Since this beacon, lit to protest the discrimination of Christians in the GDR--and that was how Bruesewitz wished his action to be interpreted --, ecclesiastical events there are discussed far more frequently than similar events here.

The life of the Central German Protestant Churches is thorny indeed. Nearly overwhelmed by problems and hardships they are compelled to execute a delicate balancing act between necessary adjustment to given conditions and resistance to massive ideological assaults. In 1949 the question of power in the GDR was settled--irrevocably at least for the time being. It is therefore necessary to find a modus vivendi for persisting alongside the state. The SED state, increasingly unstable in recent years, cannot afford a head-on collision with the Churches, such as happened in the 1950's and 1960's. In view of the unrest among the population and the disinterest of young people in commitment to the "first German socialist state," the government was compelled to make an approach to the only major "ideological" opposition. The first step was a remarkable conversation, on 6 March, between the executive of the Conference of Protestant Church Leaders and Erich Honecker, chairman of the Council of State. The future will show whether, as many people seem to think, the Church went too far in this conversation and made too many concessions.

This year's synod of the Protestant Church League held in Berlin Weissensee from 22-26 September, drew up the first balance sheet. Reported in addition to some positive results, such as permission given for television transmissions and building projects, was one highly unpalatable event: On 1 September, in defiance of numerous Church protests, compulsory military instruction was introduced at secondary schools. The joint report of the Conference of Protestant Church Leaders says that the Churches by no means "consider the discussion closed." It will "now be even more imperative to take resolute steps toward education for peace, for example by suggestions from synods and Church leaderships, discussions and assistance in the congregations, and also by appropriate demands voiced by attendants at military instruction and their parents." The Protestant Churches thus refuse to throw in the towel. In fact they are going on the offensive by calling for the replacement of the "education for hatred" propagated in military instruction by "education for peace." Education for peace must begin in the family and the congregations, proclaim the Church leaders.

It is precisely against this background that the self-immolation of another minister on 17 September in Falkenstein (Vogtland) was bound to have a serious impact. As far as we know this suicide was not politically motivated but the consequence of dissension within a Christian congregation. A synod member described the event as a "profound humiliation for the Church" because "disputes about matters of faith causing the death of a pastor" mean that the Churches call for peace without themselves enjoying it. Another suicide became common knowledge early on in the course of the synod. In Schwanewitz near Leipzig 63-year old Pastor Gerhard Fischer had hanged himself. Blows upon blows for a Church already beset by suffering.

The Hidden Topic

The two suicides were the hidden topic of the 5-day synod in Weissensee. Tangible tension erupted only once more in the Plenum when, unexpectedly and in great agitation, Superintendent Ludwig Gross from Saalfeld (Thuringia) spoke of the GDR's unassimilated national socialist past. Grosse showed great courage in breaching a taboo which is known to all but never mentioned. In the GDR Grosse missed the reckoning with the mental attitudes of that time, which had resulted in the 1939 "Kristallnacht." The superintendent warned that it was not good enough to say that these issues were topical only in the Federal Republic of Germany. The examples he quoted of aversion to colored people, for example, were recognizable to all. Poles, he said, were pejoratively called "Polacks," and Algerians "camel drivers."

His criticism, like the suicides, tended to overshadow the agenda of the synod, such as ecumenism, educational issues and works of charity. The "basic issues of ecumenical work" were dealt with in a remarkable manner. Ecumenism, in the brief formula agreed, means that "the Churches turn toward each other and, together, turn toward the world." The Churches in the GDR have gotten together far more than in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Possibly the atheist environment more clearly indicates what the Christian Churches have in common than that which divides them. It leads, even urges them to meet. The words "cooperate, grow together and jointly" loomed large in all the synod reports. The report by the Church leaders, for example, speaks of a "long-term process of cooperation and growing together, encouraged by the circumstances" among the eight member Churches of the Union, the denominational associations of the Protestant Church League and the United Protestant-Lutheran Church. The establishment of a "common ecumenical facility" for the coordination of ecumenical work is planned. And not only the Land Churches and their Unions are coming closer together. The Church leadership report also says that, since the last Church League Synod, held in Goerlitz in 1977, cooperation with the Protestant Free Churches and the Roman Catholic Church has "further intensified at local level also." In Goerlitz the Land Churches had advocated the greatest possible union of the Christian witness and service with the Protestant Free Churches. Now the Protestant-Methodist Church, 25,000 members strong, intends more closely to join with the Union of Protestant Churches in the GDR. The Methodists recently emphasized that cooperation in the Union of Protestant Free Churches and the study group of Christian Churches no longer sufficed.

Relations with the Catholic Church are also advancing satisfactorily. There is a Protestant-Catholic consultative group, a Protestant-Catholic lecture circuit and joint meetings of the ecumenical commissions of the Protestant Church League and the Berlin (Catholic) Bishops Conference. In his welcoming address to the synod in Weissensee, Suffragan Johannes Kleineidom stressed the growth of ecumenical connections. The Church League also cultivates close contacts with the Russian Orthodox Church. More talks are scheduled for Kiev in October; in December the meeting with the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, initiated in 1975, is to be continued.

More yet was discussed that the "major ecumenism," the contacts at highest level. A section of its own dealt with "every-day ecumenism." Mentioned were "many joint prayers, joint Bible study, joint reflections, life and service." Solidarity had "here and there achieved dimensions undreamed of a few years back, let alone some decades ago."

Church leaders and congregations are well aware of the necessity for cooperation in a regime which still aims to exclude the Churches. Nobody is under the slightest illusion in this respect. The Church leadership's report bluntly states: "The basic contradiction between Christian faith and Marxist-Leninist ideology persists...Even when firmly fixed as the Church in socialism, this Church can never be a socialist mass organization, because it is and always will be first and last the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ." The Church has not allowed itself to be hoodwinked by its conversations with the government. It is not coordinated with the regime as one must fear with respect to the Russian-Orthodox Church and the Protestant Churches in Hungary. Despite many reverses, distress and problems, its witness is oriented exclusively to the Bible and--to the surprise of many--has remained courageous.

Last summer's widely noted and unexpectedly well attended Church conferences in Erfurt, Leipzig, Stralsund and Brandenburg lent the Church new hope: The hope not to be alone in this environment and under a regime which, despite all protestations, it may not want.

11698

CS0: 2300

MILITARY AWARD CEREMONIES REPORTED

National People's Army Officers

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Oct 78 p 2

/ADN dispatch from Berlin: "National People's Army Awards Combat Medals: Colonel General Kessler Made Presentations"

/Text/ Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, has honored meritorious members of the National People's Army (NVA) with decorations on the GDR's national holiday. At the same time he promoted several commanding political and staff officers to the rank of colonels in appreciation of their exemplary performances in enhancing the NVA's fighting strength and combat readiness.

On Wednesday /4 October/ Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy minister, at the defense ministry presented the "combat order for meritorious service to people and fatherland" to, among others, major generals Erich Dirwelis, Albert Pankau and Heinz Schollbach; to colonels Heinz Moeller, Helmut Harnisch and Horst Klimpel; to navy captain Hans Gehrt and to lt col Heinz Fichtner.

Present at the award ceremony were colonel generals Werner Fleissner and Horst Stechbarth; admiral Wilhelm Ehm and lt gen Erich Peter, deputy defense ministers; col gen Herbert Scheibe, chief of the SED Central Committee department for security questions; and army gen Ivan Shavrov, representative of the commander-in-chief of the combined armed forces of the states participating in the Warsaw Pact.

Border Troops

East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 17 Oct 78 LD

/Text/ The most outstanding collectives and soldiers of the GDR border troops received distinctions today in recognition of their impressive competition results. The award ceremony was performed by Lt Gen Erich Peter, deputy minister of National Defense, on behalf of Army General Heinz Hoffmann,

minister of National Defense. When appraising the results, the commander of the GDR border troops noted that they were fulfilling their military class duty in collaboration with the national people's army and the other defense and security bodies as well as in close cooperation with the border population. They had secured the inviolability of the republic's state border, its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Lieutenant General Peter also paid tribute to the fighting spirit, the courage as well as the intellectual and moral endeavours which lie behind every accomplished obligation.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

GDR COLONELS PROMOTED--On the 26th anniversary of the GDR's founding, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR State Council and of the GDR National Defense Council, promoted Maj Gen Senior Medical Counselor Prof Dr of Medical Science Gerhard Rehwald to lieutenant general and Rear Admiral Prof Dr Wilhelm Bordin to vice admiral. He promoted from colonels to major generals the following: Klaus Baarss, Herbert Bohne, Wolfgang Conrad, Karl Leonhard, Hans-Joachim Leopold, Walter Mueller, Bruno Petroschka, Franz Roes, Herbert Schmerler, Medical Counselor Prof Dr of Medical Science Guenter Werner and Heinrich Winkler. Present were Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and minister of national defense; Col Gen Herbert Scheibe, head of the SED Central Committee Department for Security Affairs as well as Lt Gen Fritz Streletz, secretary of the National Defense Council. /Text/
/East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Oct 78 p 1 AU/

CSO: 2300

POLAND

SZSP PLENUM SETS IDEOLOGICAL TASKS FOR 1978-1979

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 25 Sep 78 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Student Activity for Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] On 23 September, the Seventh Plenum of the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) was held in Uniejow, Konin Voivodship. The conference was chaired by Stanislaw Gabrielski, chairman of the Central Committee of the SZSP.

The plenary conference closed the conference of the SZSP executive action group which took place in Uniejow. The central school for the action group of the SZSP took place also here, during the summer.

The plenum summed up a broad discussion carried in the whole union about major directions and forms of ideological-educational work in just beginning, the new academic year 1977-78. This discussion was taking place at all the camps, meetings, and student internships--during the summer student action, in which over 250,000 students participated, combining rest with work for the nation, with research serving to solve practical social and economic problems. The worker internships occupied an essential position during the academic year and over 50,000 newly admitted students participated in them.

Gabrielski, in opening the plenary discussion, pointed to the achievements in the work of the union in the last academic year. He emphasized that in the last year, the union was enriched by successive experiences, became more mature in its political and ideological-educational activity. It is best demonstrated in the growth of ideological consciousness and of the social involvement of the student community. The members of the SZSP expressed it during the whole academic year, during the summer action by undertaking such important, from the economic and educational point of view, initiatives as Action Chelm 80, Action Krosno, work in Belchatow Basin, and so on. An important event in the life of the union was A Week of Friendship of the Students of Poland and the USSR, which increased and established even further the contacts of Polish Russian students and the Lenin Komsomol. The participating of the student community in the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students in Cuba was very significant.

Evaluating the course of a broad, open discussion in the student community in the last year, one should emphasize--as Gabrielski noted--its civic character, adherence to principles, and involvement in the totality of the problems of the socioeconomic development of the country.

Emphasizing the main tasks of the SZSP in the new academic year, the chairman of the Central Committee pointed out the necessity of further integrating the academic community around the most important issues and problems of the life of the country as well as of strengthening the activities to increase the internal strength and mobility of the union. Speaking about these matters, Stanislaw Gabrielski indicated the programmatic tasks on which, in this academic year, the activity of the union will concentrate: ideological-moral education, quality of didactics and education, scholarly activity of the academic community, further development of student self-governance in the life of the institution of higher learning and of the organization, strengthening the role of cells and branches, of organizational discipline, development and leadership.

Speaking about the ideological-educational work in the coming academic year, Gabrielski pointed to the essential significance of the civic education of students, of the popularization of the socialist model of life, of the formation of general human attitudes, and of the ability to do historical thinking. The current anniversaries, so important for all Poles: 60 years of the independent existence of Polish statehood, 35 years of People's Poland, 35 years of the Polish People's Army, 30 years of the united workers movement, create the exceptionally favorable conditions not only for satisfying an increased interest of the society in the contemporary history of Poland but also are an occasion to discuss numerous matters concerning Poland, Poles, the immediate environment.

An exceptionally important element, emphasized Gabrielski, in the ideological education of the youth is the matter of self-governance. The union is facing successive tasks in this field in the coming academic year, which rest on strengthening the role of self-governance in the life of the student organization as well as of the institution of higher learning. In this field, although the union has great achievements, it still, as the chairman of the Central Committee of the SZSP remarked, requires much attention. The growth of self-governance has also enormous importance in raising the strength and mobility of the life inside the organization. The growth of student self-governance is simply a matter of participation, growth of integration, of the unity of the community.

We will do our best, Gabrielski said in concluding his speech, to give as much as possible to the country, young people, to increase the prestige of our union.

Activists of the SZSP from all the academic environments in Poland participated in the discussion that followed.

With great care, responsibility, and adherence to principles, they talked about the tasks facing the organization, shared their experience and conclusions derived from the discussion during the conference of the SZSP executive action group. Much attention was devoted to matters of ideological-moral education of the young Polish intelligentsia, of further democratization of the academic life, of establishing student self-governance, of strengthening the role of cells and branches of the union and, above all, of the groups of action, self-governments of the inhabitants of the student dormitories, and so on. The union must be placed, it was said in the totality of the sociopolitical life of the country, not limiting itself exclusively to internal matters of the organization. The role and place of student culture and artistic production as an essential element of the ideological-educational process of the whole academic community were pointed out. They also pointed to certain shortcomings in student life and searched for ways of overcoming them.

Prof Stanislaw Czajka, vice director of the Department of Teaching and Education of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party took part in the discussion. He pointed out the achievements of the SZSP both in the life of the institution of higher learning and of the initiatives of the union in the area of ideological-moral education of a young generation of Polish intelligentsia and of the initiatives undertaken by the union on behalf of the socioeconomic development of Poland.

The plenum, concluding the broad student discussion, simultaneously opens a new year of strenuous activity of the work of the union. The programmatic activity is connected with the richness of many undertakings of the SZSP summing up this year the achievements of many spheres of its life. The Sixth Festival of Student Culture of the Polish People's Republic will be summed up, the Second Congress of the Student Academic Movement will take place, a review of the state of didactics in the schools of higher education will be carried out and in October a campaign to report and elect in the basic cells of the SZSP will begin.

9272

CSO: 2600

POLISH DISSIDENT GROUP COMMENT ON GERMAN REUNIFICATION

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German No 29, 14 Jul 78 p 8

[Article: "Poland: 'Do Not Cultivate Enemies'"]

[Text] In an analytical article, the "Study Group" of the oppositionist "Polish Committee for Independence" [PPN] examines new possibilities concerning a German-Polish rapprochement.

Poland's western border has not definitively been recognized by Germany. According to the Bundestag [Lower House] declaration and the verdict of the FRG Constitutional Court, the agreements concluded are binding only on the present Federal Republic of Germany, but not on a future unified Germany. If our countries did not belong to antagonistic political-military blocs and if it were easy to cross the Polish border, this declaration and this verdict would possibly not have been passed. However, the Germans must realize that keeping the problem in abeyance in this way is apt to make the Poles distrustful and thus prevents the shedding of the suspicion of expansionism...

All the propaganda notwithstanding, the USSR is not the guarantor of our borders, but the guarantor of a certain political system imposed on us. To change this system is impossible without liberation from the compulsory tutelage imposed by this guarantor. However, as soon as we loosen the ties of this tutelage, we will be confronting the Germans face to face. Thus it is clear that our decision to become independent of the USSR will be influenced by the consideration as to whether the FRG convincingly advocates an unconditional recognition of Poland's territorial integrity...

The unification of Germany is the basic long-range objective of the two political camps in the Federal Republic. There is no doubt that the East Germans--presently deprived of sovereignty and civil liberties--will pursue the same objective...

The two large political camps in the FRG try by different routes to attain unification: The SPD through a rapprochement with the present governments of the USSR and the People's Republic of Poland as well as through a slow economic and social rapprochement between the two German states; the CDU/CSU through a gradual restriction of the Soviet influence in Europe. Neither camp appears to attach any importance to the attitude of Polish society. The West German leaders know that the People's Republic of Poland cannot pursue an independent foreign policy and they are inclined to concede to the Poles no more than the role of a passive object on the international stage. This is a shortsighted attitude, for in regard to the future of Germany one cannot say it doesn't matter whether or not Poland is a sovereign nation...

There are two forces that are fundamentally opposed to the unification of Germany: The USSR and the government circles of the GDR. To the USSR, the unification of Germany would be equivalent to a diminution of the territory of its empire; to the present GDR Government, it would mean the loss of power.

Likewise, the other countries in the European Community are not enthusiastic about the possibility of unification. For they fear an economic and political strengthening of Germany and thus Germany's desire to play a dominant role in the community. One can assume, however, that the greater the degree of integration in a unified Europe, the smaller will be the resistance within its framework against the unification of Germany.

The Polish aversion to a potential unification of Germany springs from similar sources. We fear that a strengthened Germany will want to take advantage of its power to enforce territorial demands (repossessions). If the unification were clearly carried out within the framework of the European Community, if the territory which presently constitutes the GDR became a part of the federative Europe and not only of the FRG, and if the unification strengthened the entire community and not merely one of its member states, then the Polish aversion to this unification could possibly diminish. A unification of Germany within the framework of the European Community would entail direct Polish contact with the West, with which it is linked through its whole tradition and its modern culture; it would entail the possibility of Poland's cooperation with the community and thus ultimately the chance of an authentic choice regarding its ally and its economic ties.

8760

CSO: 2300

POLAND

CHEMICAL WARFARE DEFENSE IMPROVEMENTS NOTED

New Gas Mask

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 19-20 Aug 78 p 3

[Article by Lt Col Waldemar Makowiecki: "The State Award Winners--1978"]

[Text] A dynamic development of chemistry, metallurgy, mining, reactor technics and other branches of modern industry frequently endangers the health of man, despite the existence of most modern systems and installations. This stands in relation to the capability of a significant quantity of chemical or radioactive substances to penetrate into man's body and raises serious problems, especially in the sphere of an effective protection of people and of the improvement of the conditions of work safety and hygiene.

In addition, providing the army and civilian population with unfailing means to hinder the penetration of lethal poisons and radioactive agents into the respiratory tract is one of the primary problems of our times.

The convergence of needs in the sector of protective equipment led to an agreement between the departments of national defense, mining, forestry and wood industry, chemical, machine and light industries on the matter of undertaking the studies for developing the means to protect the respiratory tract in a manner of keeping with modern requirements. The first project was the development of a general military mask and then of its adaptation to the civilian population and the national economy.

It is precisely to these problems that the team--consisting of Brig Gen Dr Eng Czeslaw Krzyszowski, Col Docent Dr Eng Zdzislaw Filipowicz, Prof M Eng Kazimierz Holowiecki, Docent Chem Sc M Jan Jaroszewski, Aviation Eng Edmund Kowalewski, Docent Eng M Ludwik Lipinski, Eng M Halina Mrozevska, Eng M Jerzy Olszewski, Col Dr Mieczyslaw Saciuk, Lt Col Chem Sc M Adam Saratowicz, Eng Jan Sehen, Chem Sc M Halina Spiczak, winner of the State Award of the 2nd degree in the section of industrial chemistry assigned to the development of the modern means protecting the respiratory tract--devoted its activity of many years.

Military Chemists Are Initiators

"We have undertaken," says Brig Gen Czeslaw Krzyszowski, one of the initiators of the research studies and also chief coordinator, "this topic because of our official capacity, so to speak. It is our duty to ensure protection for the army and the public. The development of the general principles of work, construction and technology required a common effort of the scientists, engineers and technicians in many fields of specialization; combining their action, subordinating themselves to the common aim ended with complete success. The magnitude and complexity of the undertaking can be seen in the fact that six departments, 12 branch institutes of scientific research, several production plants and about 180 scientific workers participated.

The complex program of project and research work and the principles essential for particular construction and technological tasks were worked out by the Office of the Chief of the Chemical Troops of the Ministry of National Defense in close cooperation with the Military Institute of Chemistry and Radiometry and the Main Mining Institute. They took upon themselves also the burden of coordinating the undertakings during their realization. The realization itself went through three stages, i.e.: problem solving, adaptation to production and introduction into use. Understandably, teams of professionals from various fields of science and technology, with the participation of specialists of the chemical troops, occupied themselves with definite topics.

The general outline of the structural solution for the mask was worked out by the team of chemical troop specialists based on the analysis of the models of masks already in existence and on our own experience. However the tactical and technical requirements were established in cooperation with the specialists of the CEMA states.

End Product--the MP-4 Mask

The MP-4 gas mask--for such is the name that the end product received--serves to protect the respiratory tract, the eyes and the face against the activity of warfare toxic and biological agents of warfare and radioactive substances. It is composed of the facepiece, filter-absorber insert and head harness. Moreover, its parts include: an antimoisture cloth, eyepiece cover plates, a foil bag and a carrying sack.

The gas masks of classical construction (a large canister connected with the facepiece by means of a connecting hose) in use up to now, though possessing good features, are somewhat difficult to use due to the great resistance to breathing, interference with movement which renders the operation of modern equipment difficult and the exertion of pressure on the head, which makes it impossible to wear them for a long period of time. This was of no great significance when warfare agents used were in the form of gases and vapors of short duration. Things are different today when the agents used, often on large areas, demand long periods of gas mask use.

The new gas mask is characterized by better parameters of protection and use, including considerably less weight and suitability for longer use, as well as--thanks to its voicemitter--easier communication and speaking through the communications equipment, to say nothing of its increased peripheral vision due to the use of panoramic eyepiece lenses.

Due to the utilization of new materials, the mask has no separate canister. The elements to purify the air drawn in from the contaminated environment have been placed in the cheek cells of the facepiece, thus resulting in a one-piece mask. Moreover, the head harness allows the mask to fit tightly without causing excessive head pressure.

New Filter-Absorber Mass

The development of a high efficiency mask, i.e. of great dynamic activity, absorbent capacity and the filtering efficiency of the absorbent mass which would allow a considerable reduction of the overall dimensions and of the weight of the elements used in the mask became a starting point which conditioned the success of the whole enterprise.

As a result of the work conducted by the teams of scientific institutes and industrial plants, a new filter-absorbent fiber material, until now unknown in the country, came into being. This opens the road to progress in the development of individual and collective means of protection of the respiratory tract. It found its application not only in gas masks, but also in the protection of small-size filter-ventilation devices for motor cars, helicopters and airplanes used in crop spraying measures. They protect the personnel from the harmful action on the human organism of pesticides and other agents serving for plant protection.

The new filter-absorbent materials have considerably improved the conditions of interphase exchange on the border between the absorbent and the air. This means that by means of special inserts the inhaled air is purged faster and more thoroughly of the toxic and biological agents and radioactive substances. Their protective properties have been increased to the maximum. They are unfailing, as repeated experiemnts have demonstrated.

At the Military Institute of Chemistry and Radiometry

"It is here, in our institution," insists the commander of the Military Institute of Chemistry and Radiometry, Col Dr Eng Zdzislaw Filipowicz, "that many of the efforts connected with the new gas mask--from the exploratory studies to a usable model and finally a prototype--took place.

Adaptation of the mask to production, checking its in-service performance and tooling up for production of a general military mask is a closed chapter, but it does not mean that no further efforts will be made to improve it. At present we are analyzing the possibilities of taking in liquids without taking the mask off.

The director of the study center for the individual means of protection of the respiratory tract, Lt Col Chem Sc M Adam Saratowicz can say a good deal on this subject. It was Saratowicz and personnel subordinated to him who performed hundreds of experiments and much research in the area of the mask's ability to seal out outside air or on the durability of its protective effectiveness. So MM Zdzislaw Wiechetik and Barbara Piekarska, Chem Eng Malgorzata Slodka, Chem Technicians Elzbieta Kociolek and Elzbieta Szymankiewicz, or the oldest by seniority in this group Ryszard Szczepinski, these are only some names of those who together with the Institute of Anthropology, performed thousands of measurements, or participated in the process of service testing of the prototype series."

"The understanding and positive attitude toward our effort merit particular notice," points out Lt Col Saratowicz. "The students of the General Staff Academy of the Polish Army were among the first who tested merits of the new gas mask on themselves. Apart from the military, it was also tried out by the girls from the civil defense units. And all of those interested shared their remarks and observations. This helped to improve some construction problems.

It should be emphasized that the merits of the new mask were examined in close connection with the materiel, arms and equipment of a soldier (e.g. the helmet, headphone, optical instruments, communications equipment, personal weapons) and performed combat tasks."

Practical Utilization of Scientific Research

The results of the scientific research concerning many aspects of the protection of man and natural environment can find, and some have already found, a practical application in those industrial plants where a particularly great threat is posed to the workers by fumes, dust and smoke, namely in mines, coking plants, refineries, chemical plant complexes, cement plants, some light industry plants, and also, with the increased use of chemicals, advances in agriculture. There is also a possibility of introducing a cheap, convenient and disposable means of protection.

The adaptation of the one-piece gas mask to production required, in addition to the development of the basic concept and the establishment of the required cements, assemblies and materials used, developing and mastering many techniques hitherto unknown in the country, and especially producing a powdered absorbent material, a filter paper, filter-absorbent inserts and a complicated rubber injection molding. At the same time a good number of unique measurement instruments and devices have been created and have found their application in the national economy.

Thus a broad front of work by the prize-winning team (in 1977 the first degree award from the minister of National Defense) has contributed to the development of some sectors of the national industry by developing and adapting new techniques: in the paper industry, multilayer carton filter materials; in the textile industry, thin synthetic fiber; in the

chemical processing of coal, highly efficient powder absorbents; in the rubber industry, an injection method for forming complicated spacial moldings.

This testifies to the importance and standards of the proposed solutions, both technological and physical, which constitute the fruit of many years of creative research, of the practice based upon rich theoretical knowledge. At the same time this constitutes a valuable contribution to Polish science.



Nowa maska przeciwigazowa, skutecznie chroniąc przed działaniem środków trujących i substancji

The new gas mask, effectively protecting against the activity of toxic agents and radioactive substances, is also more comfortable to wear.

Detection, Decontamination

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Aug 78 p 3

[Article by Brig Gen Dr Eng Czeslaw Krzyszowski, chief, Chemical Troops: "Chemists' Activity With Technical Advances"]

[Excerpts] The Mastery of Technics is the Basis of Fighting Readiness

The period after World War II has been characterized by unprecedented scientific and technological progress and production potential in the field of new means of massive strike. To the most important new phenomena belong:

the appearance in 1945 and continual development of successive generations of nuclear weapons: atomic, thermonuclear and neutron;

initiated by Nazi Germany and continued by the United States, the development of the new generations of chemical weapons--the organic compounds of phosphorus of tabun and sarin, then of soman and VX--and also other types, as well as the improvement in methods of application;

the development of biological weapons, and recently their development as chemicals through the synthesis of toxins as the third generation of chemical weapons;

the development of incendiary materials, especially of various types of improved napalm.

The development of the means of massive strike has opened new directions from which to threaten people and has increased their scope because of the huge areas of contamination and the great toxicity of chemical and radioactive substances. This required a development of protective means and methods in order to keep up in the race with the means of attack for technical ascendancy and secure an effective protection for the armies and the population.

Soviet assistance during the war and after its termination made possible not only solving current problems of the system of military chemical defense, but also created conditions for the development of the national base of scientific research, production, instruction and personnel which renders the independent solving of these problems possible.

In the sphere of the general individual protection of soldiers a new type of MP-4 gas mask has been developed having significantly better parameters of protection and service, including less weight and less resistance to breathing. Likewise the new common military protective clothing made of disposable plastic is characterized by lighter weight. The new solutions have ensured significant reduction in the burdening of the soldier with individual means of protection against contamination. For removing the vapors of toxic phosphoro-organic agents the soldiers have been equipped with silica-gel packets.

Combat vehicles have been outfitted with an autonomous, partly automatic, system of collective protection of the crews against contamination. The improvement of the filter and prefilter devices makes the protection from contaminations in the cabins of the new types of vehicles possible, and also improves the outfitting of the permanent shelters both for military and for civil defense. For the needs of civil defense a special type of MC-1 mask has been developed, while further studies aim at the construction of masks for various groups of the population, particularly for children and youth.

The establishment of the system for detecting nuclear explosions and contamination with the automatic remote stations determining the parameters of nuclear strikes, and the installation for computing analytical stations of contamination has begun. The dosimetric outfit has been modernized. Miniaturized multifunctional DP-66 x-ray radiometers have been introduced, based upon semiconductor techniques. This has also made it possible to equip the civil defense organs with a large number of dosimetric instruments. Combat and other vehicles have been provided with the DPS-68 signaling roentgen meters for threshold detection contamination and signaling.

The equipment of the subunits for detection of ground contamination with the armored BRDM-2 rs automobiles has resulted in the improvement of the protection of the crew against radioactivity, complete protection against contamination, significant increase in communication range, the capability of coping with water obstacles and of action in restricted visibility. The equipment of the helicopters with the new automatic aircraft RL-75 roentgen meters for detecting contamination in the air shortens operation time.

The general introduction of an all-purpose decontaminant has considerably simplified and, on the average, reduced the load of supplies in this sector by a factor of 35 and has made the elimination of large quantities of decontaminating kits and installations possible. The new decontaminant packets with self-heating materia medica permit taking the necessary measures in low temperatures. The all-purpose vehicle system, developed by the Military Institute of Chemistry and Radiometry for special operations of the IRS [contamination detecting installations] with a heater, creates conditions for special and sanitary measures to be taken in winter as well. The new highly efficient installation with a reaction engine, developed in the recent years, ensures a three-to-four-fold increase in the effectiveness of special operations and of heavy equipment in motion under any conditions.

The improvement of field laboratories is being continued. An attempt is being made to unify them and to introduce modern methods of analyzing toxic agents: chromatographic, gas chromatography and infrared spectrometry.

As a result of 35 years of incessant development, the technoorganizational state of the chemical troops has undergone significant changes. Personnel qualifications have also increased. At present, 60 percent of chemical officers have higher specialized education and by 1980 this index will increase to 80 percent. Also the number of officers with scientific degrees is growing systematically, especially in institutes and educational institutions.

The present-day level of preparation of the personnel and of the scientific base of the chemical troops permits assigning tasks of increasing complexity in the field of technical progress, ensuring the growth of the combat effectiveness of the army and--what is related to this--their more effective protection against toxic agents and radioactive substances.

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PARTICIPANTS REPORT ON DUESSELDORF PHILOSOPHY CONGRESS

Congress Description

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 22 Sep 78 p 6

[Text] The World Philosophy Congress was held from 27 August to 2 September in Duesseldorf, FRG, with the theme "Philosophy and Concepts About the World in Modern Science." Organized by the International Federation of Philosophy Societies, the Congress convened philosophers and scholars in various fields in a broad dialog of ideas concerning the problems posed to philosophical thought by the accelerated pace of contemporary scientific and technological development. The idea of the universe, the urgent problems posed to philosophy by biology, consciousness, the mind and the external world, scientific and other types of rationality, the problem of scientific norm substantiation, control of scientific-technical progress, achievements and limitations on mathematization, and the dispute over universals today constitute the grand ideas that have brought participants into intensely interesting debate: discussions took place in a plenary session and in appropriate sections. In addition, specialty societies and institutions from different countries met in a special session.

With the collaboration of the Philosophy Section of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, our newspaper presents an overview of present-day concerns of world philosophical thought through the opinions of Romanian philosophers who participated.

A Field of Dispute

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 22 Sep 78 p 6

[By Prof Univ Dr Dumitru Ghise]

[Text] By virtue of the theme proposed for debate, "Philosophy and Concepts About the World in Modern Science," the 16th World Philosophy Congress was designed to provide a framework of happy confrontation between science and philosophy, the opportunity for an up-to-date encounter of the findings of recent decades in the field of cognition and ontology. I believe it is no exaggeration to say that from this standpoint the congress attained its goal. The more than 1,200 participants--including not a few mathematicians, physicians, astronomers, biologists, neurophysiologists, and others--had the opportunity, in eight congress sections, to meet in lively debate and address cardinal problems confronting the horizon of contemporary philosophy and science. Of course, to say "philosophy" and "science" is but to use an imprecise and abstract mode of speaking. In reality, it was a confrontation between philosophy and science.

Attempting, nevertheless, to make sense of this welter of opinions and attitudes, we might say that among the orientations of non-Marxist philosophy also present at previous congresses, the following were especially active: neorationalism in variants frequently similar to Marxist philosophy (such as, for example, the emergent materialism of Mario Bunge); modified variants of logical positivism and the English analytical schools; neospiritualism in the form of affirming the priority of absolute philosophical values with regard to practical endeavors and the relative values of science. The philosophical debates focused special attention on the classic problems of the philosophy of language, in particular Section 8, which dealt with the universals controversy.

The congress pointed up the theoretical and the practical-applicative importance of modern science's use of logical-formal and mathematical methods, and one of the plenary sessions dealt with the achievements and limitations of mathematization in contemporary science; four debates dealt with the applications of different types of logic in science.

While phenomenological orientation enjoyed a certain hearing at the congress, with a special meeting devoted to it, the same cannot be said of the existentialist and neo-Thomist orientations, which clearly lost ground and resonance.

The dialectical materialist philosophical perspective and historical-materialist explanation were presented in all the thematic sections of the congress, being defended in numerous papers and discussions both by participants from the socialist countries and some from the capitalist or the developing countries.

It is clear that, at this congress as well, dialectical and historical materialism were affirmed as a point of reference, even for those who have tried to combat it. It could not be otherwise, given the fact that the very theoretical generalization of this philosophy is grounded in scientific findings; dialectical-materialist ontology and gnoseology are par excellence a form of expression of a rationality of the scientific type. The approaches and influences of dialectical-materialist philosophy were manifested in the approaches of some Western philosophers and scholars to problems of cosmology and biological and anthropological ontology, also in the treatment of relations between consciousness and the brain or the method of dealing with the subject of norms and values and the scholar's and the political leader's social responsibility.

The presence of eminent men of science in most of the sections, along with philosophers, served to throw into relief certain fundamental problems of ontology (including social ontology) and the theory of cognition, especially in Section 1, dealing with the idea of the universe, and in Sections 2 and 3, dealing with interpretation of modern biological advances and explication of the phenomenon of consciousness. The materialist interpretation of problems of ontology was affirmed in most of the papers.

Due to this fact, within the framework of the frequently sharp struggle of ideas the irrationalist, agnostic, and idealist-subjective interpretations were vigorously rebuffed.

Unfortunately, due to circumstances and the great number of concurrent sessions (sometimes debates took place in six to eight subgroups of a single section), in order to be present in debates of most immediate concern, with regard to one's own interests and research, each participant had to work out an integrated and complicated plan of "tactics and strategy," scheduling each event to the second. Despite all efforts, without the gift of ubiquity, it is impossible to be present everywhere or to "zero in" on the sessions with the hottest debates. Therefore, it is difficult if not impossible to get a complete idea, free of gaps, of the kaleidoscopic encounter that the congress represented. But even participation in just a few of the work sessions was enough to bring home the fact that today in the world of philosophical ideas there is a sharp ideological struggle, and that this struggle has deep roots in the contradictory economic, social, and political structure of the modern world. For this reason, philosophy remains a divided and agitated arena of struggle, an efficacious instrument for the transformation of man and the world he is a part of. No one, even if he should wish to, can avoid this instructive aspect of every authentic philosophical reflection. The recent Duesseldorf Congress proved that abundantly.

Controlling Progress

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 22 Sep 78 p 6

[By Prof Dr Doc Alexandru Tanase]

In the "Controlling Scientific-Technical Progress" section of the recent Duesseldorf World Philosophy Congress, which like the others was divided into several discussion groups, an axiological perspective was obvious in the treatment of the problems. This is due to the fact that the stated theme itself appertains both to thought and to action; it explicitly or implicitly puts into play not only distinct conceptions of nature and the role of scientific-technical progress but also a set of values which guides choices and decisions, theoretical and practical attitudes.

There are fundamental problems on a global scale related to the trends and methods of controlling scientific and technical progress, and the handling of these problems, ways of thinking about them and finding solutions, are conditioned by factors of the socioeconomic and ideological structure.

For Werner Becker ("Technical Progress and the Consciousness of Liberty of Liberal Democracy"), discussion of the conditions and consequences of technical-scientific progress and its influence on man's social consciousness afforded an opportunity to extol so-called "liberal democracy," by which a few naive people allow themselves to be deceived, even in the West. The problem is stated in antinomic terms which all the experience of the world--not just the socialist countries--shows to be false: that controlled, planned progress would be incompatible with the rights and freedoms of the individual. Centralized state control, planning, and management are required by the very nature of progress in our time, by the scientific-technical revolution: if all these are subordinated to man (as an individual, group, or community), to the wellbeing and the multilateral spiritual development of man and hence to genuinely humanistic and democratic goals, then controlled and planned progress, far from hindering, is the only guarantee of individual rights and freedoms.

In the debates, I maintained that in speaking of the limits of growth, of ways and means of development in modern civilization, we are considering a number of objective parameters but not, to a sufficient extent, the human experience, the biopsychical capacities and limitations of the human factor, the fundamental values that create the spiritual environment of man's existence. Much is said about all kinds of limits on natural energy resources but very little about human biopsychical energy, man's spiritual powers. In any equation of future development, the human essence, man's integral personality, with his desires and needs, must occupy a central axiological position.

Interesting arguments occurred in connection with an original paper by J. Borgosz which, starting with the idea of three great technological revolutions (the neolithic, the industrial, and the scientific-technical), replaced the dichotomous division of reality with a trichotomous one: 1) The world of nature; 2) The world of man; and 3) The world of technology.

The third is subject to extreme interpretations--the Faustian, or pessimistically catastrophic, and the "Ludian," in the sense that "homo faber" may give way to "homo ludens."

As I stated, it is a plausible vision, tempting but debatable. Technology can constitute a third world only in a relative, special sense--it is par excellence a world of means that are interposed between man and nature. It is therefore an aggregate of actions, procedures, and human mechanisms, products of the intelligence and even the sensibility of man.

The correlation of the catastrophic interpretations of civilization with the Faustian world is strange and difficult to accept. On the contrary, in my opinion, Faust symbolized the positive idea of triumphant civilization rather than its catastrophic dangers, hence the idea of a civilization subordinated to man's good rather than his destruction. As for "homo ludens," he is not purely and simply a replacement or successor to "homo faber" (who will continue to live in the most evolved of future societies) but is rather a man in a society in which work has become play, in the best sense of that word; In such a society, labor will cease to be a means of existence, becoming rather a social obligation, if an external one, which comes to be a form of existence, an internal necessity, a source of enjoyment and pleasure, putting man's spiritual powers into play on a higher level.

The Attractive Force of Materialist Dialectics

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 22 Sep 78 p 6

[By Prof Univ Dr Ludwig Grunberg]

[Text] The Duesseldorf Congress brought to the forefront the three modes through which contemporary philosophical consciousness reacts critically to the traditional speculative approaches: dialectical and historical materialism, phenomenology, and analytical philosophy. It thus became a broad confrontation between the three conceptions on the epistemological status and social function of philosophy, or more precisely between the three modes of practicing philosophy and structuring its problems. One debate on the next to last day of the congress, although it was titled "The Universals Controversy Today," was converted ad hoc, as J. Adler remarked, into a "controversy of philosophical methods today" (the analytical method, the phenomenological, and the dialectical), later to become what A. Schaff appropriately called a "dispute between today's strategies of philosophical procedure." This context provided a convincing test of the ability of materialist dialectics to revive the problem of "universals," removing it from the impasse of the false "nominalism-realism" alternative.

At the same time, compared with the preceding World Philosophy Congress at Varna in 1973, at Duesseldorf there was a much more pronounced, quasi-unanimous rebuff of scientism, which was rightly considered an anomaly

of the scientific spirit by eminent scholars who understand that without an adequate philosophy it is impossible to delve more deeply into the theoretical fundamentals of one's chosen scientific specialty. Discussion of scientific rationality and other types of rationality, to which our country's delegation made a notable contribution, graphically demonstrated that it is possible to remain faithful to scientific rationality only if all superstition is rejected--whether it be that of contesting the irreducible specifics of the rationality of philosophy or art, or that of a science sufficient in and of itself, containing a presupposed autonomous foundation. The rejection of scientism was also reflected in the extreme interest shown in axiological problems (examined by Archie Bahm in a debate on "Axiology and Science," the most heated of heated topics) and in the proposal of the concept of "value rationality" to explain why, under given social conditions, the gap between technology and morality leads toward a "(technological) rationality without reason" (H. Parsons).

In this context, the Duesseldorf Congress reflected decisively what Bochenski called "the impasse of neopositivism." There has been broad consensus among philosophers and scientists in rejecting reductionist logicism and the confusion of the finality of scientific cognition with the deductive-axiomatic method, especially the conventional rules of this method. "This is methodolatry, a tendency to get more satisfaction from the method than from its results," states W. V. Quine in a memorable paper on the successes and limitations of mathematization. The reaction against logical positivism is all the more significant in that it has been manifested not only from without but also from within the analytical school. In its new state, termed "the philosophy of ordinary language," it has attempted to rehabilitate ontological problematics, without which, in my opinion, philosophy would lose its reason for being. In the course of a fascinating dialog, P. F. Strawson acknowledged that the problem of truth is not only logical but also ontological. Even A. J. Ayer, who in the past championed the logical empiricism which considered the traditional ontological and ethical problems "nonsense," emphasized that today "analytical philosophy no longer turns its back on the perennial problems of philosophy." Perhaps because of the method by which the papers were selected for the plenaries and the sections, the congress did not in all cases present an adequate picture of the much more diversified array of modern dialectical materialist thinking.

Of great significance is the fact that Marx's philosophy was situated as the principal term of reference even in the opening address to the congress. And from the start of the congress there was also an attempt to "capture" Marx's philosophy, stripped of its revolutionary spirit, for the Western countries, transforming it bizarrely into a justification of "the establishment." As a response to the rising attraction of materialist dialectics, the congress revealed that at present anti-Marxist tendencies are manifested not only in the form of a global contest (as in the case of the "new philosophers" trend) but also in attempts to

counterpose to revolutionary Marxism (pejoratively termed "orthodox" by Doernberg) a "Marxism" of the formalist stripe, termed by many congress participants, invoking works by McInnes, Anderson, or Aviniery, "Western Marxism." What some philosophers dominated by prejudice cannot--or will not--understand is that our philosophy is not a closed system appealing to the suffix "ism" in the manner of Hegelianism or Neothomism, but only contextual, to suggest--through a trivial linguistic convention--the adoption of a different mode of practicing philosophy, adherence to the creative and revolutionary spirit of the methodological principles formulated by Marx which--as was demonstrated at the Congress--afford enhanced theoretical chances for the original research and positive solutions to the complex problems which in today's world "challenge" philosophy.

Opening and Dialog

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 22 Sep 78 p 7

[By Prof Univ Dr Alexandru Boboc]

[Text] Although it had the appearance of a philosophic "mammoth," the Duesseldorf Congress gave exemplary expression to the major concerns and viewpoints of the present period of history, demonstrating the urgent need to practice philosophy, a philosophy of quality, deriving from the demands of science, of human cognition and actions. Even the analytical orientation pointed up the idea that philosophy's time has not passed, that the decline (metaphor!) is not of philosophy as such but rather a particular philosophy, especially that confined to empiricist narrowmindedness and sterile speculation (factless, lifeless).

Taken all together, the recent meeting (of philosophers and many specialists from different fields of science) was an occasion of dialog and opening, of thematic and theoretical renewal, though not without attempts to limit (or even block) the dialog. The plea "freedom of ideas" was reflected in the plenary sections and most of the debates, demonstrating that on the ideological plane as well the present world is an open one, subject to questions and innovations. Hence a certain retreat of the idealist and fideist positions and the affirmation of pronouncedly realist attitudes among some of the non-Marxist philosophers, which is not to say that the opposition, the confrontation between materialism and the idealism should come to an end.

In the context of the aspirations toward innovation and opening, representatives of the phenomenological viewpoint (in the broad sense comprising, in addition to the Husserlians, also the orientation given by Heidegger) were the most visible. It is significant that, beyond the exegesis of Husserlian texts, dominant in the research of the celebrated International Husserl and Phenomenological Research Society (administering the World Institute for Advanced Phenomenological Research and

Learning in Belmont, Mass., United States), the following were affirmed:

- 1) Concern for the renovation phenomenology through analytical procedures and the theory of science as such (C. A. von Persen, the Netherlands);
- 2) Unity between phenomenology and hermeneutics, and the importance of opening up phenomenology to the problems of culture and man (P. Ricoeur, France);
- 3) Opening of phenomenology to Marxist dialectics and historicism (Z. Kakabadze, Tbilisi);
- 4) Partially, to dialectics in particular (Stephan Strasser, the Netherlands).

Evidence for this is seen not only in the interchanges during the Congress but also volumes from the series "Phaenomenologische Forschungen," "Analecta Husserliana," and "Phaenomenologie und Marxismus." Volumes from the series "Fenomenologie si marxism" [Phenomenology and Marxism] are the results of efforts of the Dubrovnik (Yugoslavia) Interuniversity Center, combining Marxist and phenomenological participation in debates on the most urgent problems of contemporary thought. On the other hand, phenomenology--especially in its Heideggerian elaboration--has pervaded the Japanese cultural space, in which context it has intensified its concerns for the social and human sphere.

In fact, Ricoeur himself, in a paper to the session on the theme "Nature, Man, and Possible Worlds," pointed out the consubstantiality between phenomenology and hermeneutics and between hermeneutics and human and cultural ontology. The "possible worlds" idea, present in logical traditions from Leibniz to Carnap, reappears in the context of phenomenology with the exact major meaning of the possibility of "opening" the world and modern science, of human creativity itself.

It should be kept in mind, however, that one of the richest aspects of the information provided at the Congress--prospectuses, books, and catalogs, etc--reflects phenomenological research and the opening of phenomenology to other horizons, especially to the actual world and its major problems.

Problems of Cosmology

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 22 Sep 78 p 7

[By Prof Univ Dr Calina Mare]

The heightened interest, in the past two decades, in problems of cosmology, in philosophical problems of cosmology, is reflected in the recent World Philosophy Congress, in the fact that the debates of one of the eight sections dealt with the question of how the universe is reflected in present-day philosophical and scientific thought.

The abrupt rise in the volume and quality of information received from the megacosmos involves the fact that a series of observed data have managed to be correlated into a system, necessarily suggesting a history of a portion of the universe accessible to scientific investigation.

In this way, cosmology has been given more substantial scientific support in the construction of models of the universe.

The dialog between philosophers and scientists on the idea of the universe has primarily brought spiritualist (declared or covert) concepts face to face with materialist concepts, among which materialist-dialectical, atheistic concepts have primarily figured.

Mention should be made of the contribution of the Soviet astronomer Ambartumian and Marxist philosophers oriented toward problems of cosmology (Hoerz, A. M. Mostepanenko, and Meliuhin), who have maintained the basic principles of the material nature of the universe, of its continuing evolution, integrating new cosmological data into the dialectical-materialist conception. Worthy of mention, in the framework of the section's proceedings, is the fact that the spiritualist theses were not enunciated openly, but rather put as questions to discussants holding dialectical-materialist positions, the questions entailing the solicitation of contemporary supplementary arguments opposed to "traditional" positions.

In general, the dialog between the philosophers and the scientists threw into high relief the central problems to which contemporary cosmology must respond. Characteristic in this regard is the transition from the idea of a static universe to an evolving universe, also the emphasis placed on the fact that some cosmological models that are widely current, such as the "big bang theory," are spatially limited in character. One of the hotly-debated questions concerned the correlation between homogeneity and isotropy, on the one hand, and nonhomogeneity and anisotropy, on the other, in cosmic space. Also worth noting is the recrudescence of the anthropocentric principle, stemming from the fact that the difficulties of finding ways to make contact--even informational contact--with other rational civilizations have conditioned some thinkers to reaffirm the idea that man and human society have to occupy a special place in the universe. The problem of surmounting the anthropocentric positions, however, remains open.

Overall, it is evident that both the cosmological problems and solutions to them have aspects that are perennial and variable or even perishable, a factor which makes it mandatory that the dialog between philosophy and science on this theme must embrace new forms, along with each big breakthrough in obtaining cosmic-local information and interpreting them scientifically.

The Brain and Consciousness

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 22 Sep 78 pp 7, 8

[By Dr Ilie Parvu]

Proceedings of Section 3 dealt with the relations between consciousness, the brain, and the external world.

The problem of the relation between the brain and consciousness was examined by John C. Eccles (Nobel Laureate in neurophysiology), the principal discussant of the section, namely, "the biggest and most astounding problem which confronts us when we seek to understand ourselves in relation to the natural world." It stimulates, in other words, solutions to a broad array of problems both theoretical and practical deriving from the contemporary scientific-technical revolution.

In 1977, Eccles collaborated with Karl R. Popper on the book "The Self and Its Brain." It was constantly at the center of discussions in this section. The title itself represents a theoretical challenge, so it is understandable why the work caused not only a big sensation but also numerous criticisms by the philosophers and neurophysiologists at the congress. In his exposition, Eccles presented the "dualist-interactionist" hypothesis, whose ontological basis is the Popperian theory of "the three worlds" (World 1 is the world of material entities: inorganic, organic, technical, etc; World 2 is the world of states of subjective consciousness, experiences of consciousness; World 3 is the world of the objective content of thinking, the world of "objective cognition" etc). In contrast to theories which Eccles terms "monist-materialist," which deny the opening of World 1 to any influence from outside, Eccles's theory has it that both consciousness and the brain represent independent entities (they belong to "different worlds") and are in informational (not energetic) interaction along a single boundary. Popper's world of matter and energy (World 1) is open, at the level of structure and modular dynamics, to the influences of World 2. Consciousness exerts an integrative and selective function on the dynamics of neural patterns (models). The rise of an order within the biological evolution of the cerebral cortex can, therefore, be explained only by "the emergence of consciousness."

A radically opposing point of view was presented by adherents of "radical physicalism" (J. Smart, T. Engelhardt), who maintain the necessity of eventually reducing "the mental" and "the physical" to a single identity. In his turn, M. Bunge presented a new theory on the relationship between consciousness and the brain called "emergentist materialism" or "psycho-neural emergentist monist," obviously opposed to this "scientific anomaly" represented by dualist psychology. To be established as a science, says Bunge, psychology itself must adopt the ontological framework of modern science (having as its principal thesis the idea that "a state is a state of a particular concrete object"). According to his theory, the brain is conceived as a "complex biosystem equipped with emergent properties," so that mental states are considered to be a subset of states of the context; a mental state is nothing but "one of the functional states the brain can be in."

Among the other papers and discussions, stress was placed on the unilaterality and vulnerability of the two hypotheses. Marxist philosophers and scientists (D. I. Dubrovsky, B. Lomov, I. S. Narski, J. Szentagothai) pointed out the necessity of introducing a few fundamental parameters in addressing this theme (neglected by the two above theories): social practice, language and interhuman communication, human communities.

The problem of the relationship between the brain and consciousness (a scientific problem that must not be confused--though it is correlated--with the philosophical problem of the relationship between matter and consciousness), which is presently being addressed in numerous scientific disciplines (physiology, psychology, medicine, biochemistry, social psychology, and so on), therefore, can be investigated integrally only on the basis of a broad interdisciplinary synthesis. Obviously, considering the nonhomogeneity of categorial structures in the natural and the social-humanistic sciences (unified only at the general philosophical level), such a program of interdisciplinary investigation requires the formulation of a conceptually new apparatus, based on interpretive principles. In this context, the special value has been demonstrated of research findings based on information theory and systems theory, the modeling and computer-behavior"), and the formulation of the conceptual apparatus necessary to interdisciplinary efforts as the main tasks of present research into the relationship between the brain and consciousness.

Ideological Controversies

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 22 Sep 78 pp 7, 8

[By Prof Univ Dr Ion Tudosescu]

[Text] The dialog, the free debating and collaboration, and the direct contacts among philosophers of diverse orientation could not conceal the differences of opinion, the ideological controversies, and the struggle of ideas between dialectical materialist philosophy and the idealist orientations, including the reactionary ideological positions manifested in particular with regard to problems of a social-political nature.

Despite the fact that some of the papers and discussions of the Marxist philosophers left something to be desired with regard to theoretical quality and openness to the new--critical positions against non-Marxist interpretations being, in such cases, totally ineffective--attacks against Marxism were sporadic, and positions common to those of dialectical materialism and even historical materialism were maintained by many scientists and philosophers of non-Marxist orientation. It is, therefore, possible to assert that Marxism was affirmed again, at this congress, as a point of reference in most of the debates. Among the prestigious Marxist philosophers at the Congress mention should be made of O. N. Fedoseev, B. M. Mitin, F. Konstantinov, I. Fodor, Sava Ganovski,

Adam Schaff, Richta Radovan, and Manfred Buhr from the socialist countries, and J. Somerville and Howard Parsons from the nonsocialist countries, representing the American Society for the Study of Dialectical Materialism.

Among the important problems with respect to which Marxism's contribution in the debates was mentioned frequently, mention should be made of the idea of the material nature of the universe, the material biophysiological substratum of processes of reflection, the actional and teleological basis of the cognitive act, the complex social motivation of the types of rationality specific to our time, and the particularities and consequences of present-day scientific-technical progress. The debates on the newer aspects of these problems--during which heated controversy arose more than once--were actively participated in by eminent scientists such as V. A. Ambartumian, V. M. Gluscov, J. Ladriere, J. Eccles, M. Eigen, and I. Prigogine (the latter three are Nobel Laureates).

In addition to dialectical and historical materialism the debates of the recent congress also specially reflected the rationalist orientations and those which impart to philosophic discourse operational valences, openings to science and practice. Among them, the closest to Marxist solutions in problems of ontology and epistemology was the emergent materialism proposed by Mario Bunge, the attribute "emergent," in his interpretation, meaning the idea of genesis and evolution, historicity and progressivity. Prestigious rationalist positions similarly based on the relationship between philosophy and science, but with ample openings with regard to characterization of the cultural phenomenon in the field of spirituality, were also presented by Paul Rocoœur, Andre Mercier, and others. In the debates which dealt with problems of ontology and metaphilosophy there were some tendencies which we may term neospiritualist and which, in contrast to classical or traditional spiritualism, advocate a kind of dualism in the relationship between science and philosophy, and between spirit and matter. It was asserted, for example, that philosophy cannot merit the attribute of scientificity nor can it find practical application because, in contrast to science and practical concerns, it operates with absolute values which can neither be demonstrated nor validated by arguments of science or practice. This places in dispute, therefore, not only the validity of the postulates of materialist ontology, but also the object of philosophy in general, which are deprived of the attributes of positivity and operatinality.

Present to a higher extent than at previous congresses (Vienna in 1968, Varna in 1973) were certain modifications of logical positivism and the English analytical school. Whereas sometimes the papers and discussions of this orientation figured in addressing problems of strict logical specialization or the philosophy of language and, at best, epistemological, there were also cases of open opposition between materialism and its dialectical and actionalist spirit, going so far as to reject dialog.

The congress also pointed up the theoretical and practical-applicative importance of the use of logical-formal and mathematical methods in scientific cognition and present-day social action. In this regard, it is suggestive that debates dealing with the application of deontic logic, in particular the field of norms and strategies of action, also the suggestion of applications of intuitionist, modal, inductive, and epistemic logic, were actively participated in by eminent personalities such as W. Quine, G. H. Wright, P. Suppes, J. Hintika, W. Stegmüller, and others.

In contrast to previous world philosophy congresses, the work of this congress did not include participation by existentialist philosophers; neo-Thomist and other orientations also lost considerable ground--whether of the idealistically objective or subjective variety. Thus, the presence of tendencies sometimes generically termed "neo-Marxist" was hardly felt (including representatives of the Frankfurt School).

It can be stated, therefore, that in the ideological struggle in the arena of philosophy we can observe an important shift: the withdrawal of idealist-subjective trends from the scene, also those of the traditional idealist-objective persuasion; appreciable limitation of the power of incursion and manifestation of the theistic and theological orientations, as well as the skeptic and agnostic; the increasing proportion of the rationalist orientations, those of the dialectical persuasion structured in direct connection with the current interface between philosophy and science and between science and philosophy; a most pronounced relationship between non-Marxist philosophical orientations and the Marxist positions with regard to the fundamental problems of our days; a substantial rise in the prestige and influence of dialectical and historical materialism and, in addition, an appreciable decline in the spread and the following of the so-called "Neo-Marxist" interpretations.

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SUPERIORITY OF SOCIALISM PROVEN IN PRACTICE

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[Article by Ion Mitran: "The Practice of Socialism--a Source of the Development of Revolutionary Theory"]

[Text] The social aspect of our era and, implicitly, its political and ideological vocabulary cannot be imagined without the idea of socialism, the comparison of scientific socialism with adverse views, as well as the continual analysis of the development of the new order as an integrated social fact for decades of the history of mankind.

Indeed, far from still representing a utopian desire, socialism expresses one of the characteristic realities of the era, and the revolutionary process of the transition of all mankind to the new order, a process generated by objective historical conditions and stimulated by the dynamic action of an aggregate of progressive social forces, necessitates a multilateral theoretical approach, on the basis of the clear examination of practice, an inexhaustible source of the continual enrichment of theory.

From this perspective, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the session of the central party and state active at the start of August, by means of the judgments and conclusions formulated, by means of the expression of the imperatives of the development of human society, by means of the realistic, clear examination of the erection of the socialist society, without avoiding the still unresolved contradictions and problems, represents a notable contribution to the treasury of social and political thought. The open, clear and bold character of the analysis and the frontal approach to the new phenomena of international life, starting from realities, from facts, allow the avoidance of settling into preconceptions and preestablished patterns and cast a strong light on the world revolutionary process and,

within this framework, on the historical role and place of socialism in our era.

The Topicality of Discussion

The history of the struggle for social progress, the dialectic of the development of socialism, and the theoretical confrontations about its realities show that, despite temporary difficulties, the errors during a certain period, the new society is now exercising a growing influence on all mankind. Of course, such an influence cannot be reduced to one field or another (only the economic field, only social relations and so on), just as it cannot be minimized or overrated without the risk of sliding down the slope of defeatism or, on the contrary, overoptimism, equally fruitless with regard to opening up new, viable horizons for the social future.

The contemporary world--marked by objective trends toward a new composition of the social life of the peoples and of the relations between states--bears the distinctive sign of social processes of a complexity difficult to compare with earlier historical eras. The implications of such transformations, or trends toward new transformations, and the novelty of many of them necessitate a continual effort at analysis, at comparison of the agreement between the principles and the process of applying them in one place or another, under conditions that are not and can never be identical. For this reason, to reflect the new course of history in as comprehensive and nuanced a manner as possible, to decipher the qualitative changes in human existence and consciousness means to reflect the dynamics of the struggle between the progressive, revolutionary forces and the reactionary forces, to note the line of the great contemporary ideological confrontations, whose subject the social and political options represent, directly or indirectly.

Whatever philosophy of mistrust there may be in Jean Paul Sartre's statement according to which, "since the socialist countries have not yet achieved 'everything,' in reality they have achieved nothing," many contemporary ideologists, giving it a political interpretation, come to deny or to evade by various means the historicity of social progress, the fact that any social formation has not achieved and cannot achieve its own feats and desires all at once. The degree of achievement of them has depended and depends on the degree of development of the given social formation, since in each particular case the nature of the production relations is essential in judging the human freedoms that it can provide actually and really and not just declaratively and messianically, often in order to mystify the political motives.

Against this background, our era is characterized by unprecedented ideological confrontations, and the as brief evocation as possible of their "repertoire"--the nature and essence of the social relations, the sociopolitical conditions for the exercise of human rights and freedoms, the international context for ensuring the freedom of the peoples to decide independently and sovereignly on their own destiny, and so on--shows that they center around the social prospect of mankind, the "pro" and "con" judgment of capitalism and socialism.

What is discussed in this context about the theory and practice of socialism, as the problems of the new order appear in the moving and inexhaustible "bibliography" of our era? Clearly, any answer to such a question is always prey to the risk of the absence of the newest position-takings. However, since not the quantitative balance but, primarily, the qualitative relevance of the dispute is important, the fact stands out that the new order, a more or less attained striking reality of our century, and the theoretical and ideological view on it are receiving at the same time positive as well as critical judgments from the most diverse social and political forces, that is, the theoreticians who represent them or express them in ideas. In this dispute, the clash of the arguments and, often, the replacement of valuable judgments with subjective, unilateral theses, not to mention the hostile ones, have introduced into discussion concepts, ideas and judgments more or less revealing from a theoretical viewpoint, each reflecting, of course, the different position of the different social circles and groups or political parties, including the working class.

Of wide thematic scope, the range of the problems put in discussion, more precisely the angle from which they are examined, shows that not rarely the aim seems to be the search for the most suitable answer to a question so simple in formulation but so complex in the necessary ideological delimitation implied in its very statement: what is socialism today? Whether it is a question of the scientific theory about the new order, or the revolutionary process for putting it into practice is considered, the discussion of such a subject is of great topicality. Clearly, this is due both to the incontestable fact that the transition to socialism goes as a central point on the "agenda" of history, and to the continual diversification of the conditions, means and possibilities with regard to attaining such a social objective. This presupposes the decisive abandonment of any patterns as well as of the outmoded formulas of life, no matter how traditional or classical they may be, which is not always easy for some authors inclined to accredit their ideas not on the basis of analyzing the new social phenomena but merely by invoking authoritative theses. However, as is known, only the principles and ideas resulting from the agreement with the objective trends of social development continually prove their truly revolutionary character and value.

Under the conditions in which socialism is asserting itself as an economic, political, material and spiritual reality of the present, the fruitful approach to its problems brings into the center of attention the need for an open analysis, undertaken in a constructive, militant spirit and without reticence. This is especially so because, for a long time, hostile, anticommunist propaganda has created and nourished a distorted image of the new order and has tried and is trying to discredit the theses and principles of socialism, there also being used, it is true, certain errors and ossified theses, certain myths "born" right within it, due to voluntaristic tendencies and rigid schemes during a certain period, about which it cannot be said that they have become just a memory of the past.

Without leaving aside inherent difficulties, the consequences of the low stage of economic development from which nearly all the countries that turned

to socialism started, the contemporary realities, taken on the whole, confirm the truth of the theory about the historical necessity of the transition of all mankind to the new order. They are graphic proof of the fact that in world history the time passed long ago when socialism was a doctrinary specter that scared the reactionary governors in Europe, always ready to organize all sorts of "crusades" and "blockades" against communism, a temptation that even now is not foreign to monopolistic circles.

However, under the conditions when the balance of power leans decisively toward progress, "the arsenal of the opposition" to socialism has been and is being "renovated" and "adapted," its panoply being "furnished" with ideas and theories going from malicious distortion to semiacceptance and recognition raised in some cases as a hypothetical "Trojan Horse" meant to be used in the struggle with the socialist ideology. From these positions, a whole group of defenders of the old, capitalist system, to whom are added all sorts of theoreticians and old or new theories, are issuing hypotheses about so-called "modern" alternatives of human society.

The fear of the prospect of social transformations, common to many of them, is causing some to accredit "humanistically ecological" solutions, taking the processes of the development of mankind out from under their social incidence. In this regard, in a work that asks dramatically whether mankind is in decline or progress, the author, Philippe Saint Marc, feels that, although "the framework of life--political, social, economic, spiritual, physical--is exercising a growing selective influence on individual behavior," such a framework would not bring about "any human decision" but would contribute to certain "simultaneous individual victories or individual defeats, from which the advance or decline of civilization results." The attempt to theorize about the imperative of an imprecise "cumulative movement of the individual effort toward collective progress" is accompanied by the unconvincing and vague warning about a new form of misery, ecological misery, due to the irrational exploitation of material resources, as well as about the materialistic view of history, the socialist development of mankind. For the above-mentioned author, the preferable solution would be the multiplication of so-called "affective human communities," on the condition that they do not follow the ideology of the anticapitalist forces, of the communist and workers parties.

However, if the "new civilization" foreseen by him would be capable of overcoming many of the ills of outmoded, anachronistic social structures, should not the action of going beyond these structures, by replacing them with fair ones, be started by itself?

In the search for new solutions for the social future, other theoreticians bring into discussion, issuing various more or less reasoned criticisms, the alternative of socialist development, precisely as a result of capitalism's inability to solve the basic problems of man.

Although, as in any historical period of mankind, in the world of today social progress is not univocal, always rising, but is also experiencing

moments of stagnation or even of reversal, the orientation toward structures based on justice and fairness, on social freedom and national independence constitutes the basic direction of evolution of society. From this viewpoint, to say that "the only sure prediction that could be formulated about the society of tomorrow is that it will be more and more complex," as Alfred Sauvy writes in a work titled, so promisingly but so tendentiously, "Socialism at Large," means to state half of the truth or, in any case, to give a nebulous image of the social prospect.

The theory of scientific socialism and the practice up to now of the erection of the new order project the truth that the society of tomorrow will be a consciously forged one from which unfairness and oppression of any kind will disappear, of course by means of a deliberate struggle, by means of the involvement, in proportion to self-clarification and with full knowledge of the facts, of wider and wider social forces. Consequently, the thesis according to which, "in the face of the construction of a more human and more just society, the people are divided into two categories: those who do not want and those who do not know," as the person who introduces Alfred Sauvy's book writes, is at least inconclusive and lacking in rationality. However, under such conditions, how would it be possible to attain an "enlightened socialism" that, in the words of the same author, "will allow the people to walk proudly not only on the moon but also on the earth"?

The unscientific approach to the problem of social development denotes, as is drawn from the volume "Socialism at Large" as well as from countless other books of the same sort, that the preconceptions, even against the background of good intentions, are far from leading to mobilizing, realistic solutions. Such kinds of works, which are added to the quite heterogeneous and disjointed panoply of an ideological arsenal directly stubbornly against the theory and practice of scientific socialism, point up the necessity of examining the historical course of the prospect of social development and, within this context, the dynamics of the new social order.

Thus, of great topicality is the requirement that within the confrontation of the different ideological views about the new order the revolutionary, progressive forces, especially the communists--as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes--be more active, not take a defensive position, but perform a vast and constant activity of clarification, firmly combating the reactionary ideas and theses, old and new.

Such a militant orientation makes obvious the mobilizing conclusion according to which any political party and any social force that would not keep pace with the new changes and would not be receptive to the transformations in life would run the risk of being on the periphery of events, of being left out of the vortex of the confrontations specific to any moment of crossing of the roads of history.

The Social and Ideological Function of the Practice of the Erection of the New Order

The theoretical and ideological activity now has strong arguments and means for demonstrating the superiority of the new order, for combating and defeating any reactionary theses, for contributing to the triumph of the advanced views. In connection with this, the true objectivity and the realistic, mobilizing spirit characteristic of the revolutionary outlook presuppose the expression of the fact that socialism has radically solved, in the interest of the masses, a number of vital problems of the great majority of the people but that, at the same time, there still are problems to solve, with the new order, due to objective as well as subjective causes, having to cope with certain difficulties.

Incontestably, radical transformations such as the elimination of social exploitation, the abolition of the serious economic and social inequalities of the capitalist regime, and the raising of the standard of material and spiritual living of the masses are among the essential notes of the new order, just as in the socialist countries, including Romania, there still are problems that have not been solved completely as well as others whose solution is conditioned by the action of overcoming the "legacy" of the prerevolutionary past, especially with regard to the technical-material base of society.

Of course, it is not a subsidiary fact of history that one characteristic of the transition to socialism of the majority of the countries that are now erecting the new order consists of the circumstance that it arose under the conditions of the blending of the social revolution with the effort to emerge from the state of poor economic development or even underdevelopment, with the effort of the struggle with the inertia of the ununited forms of bourgeois democracy. However, especially because they were not obtained under the most favorable conditions from a viewpoint of the development of the production forces, the achievements of the new order attest to its vitality, the potential capacity to offer to the always constructive power of the masses an optimum framework for exercise, foreshadowing the future of all mankind.

Giving expression to the aspirations for a higher quality of life for the peoples, the accomplishments of socialism on a social, economic and spiritual plane are causing its power of attraction to increase more and more, and the rising course of the new society in each country constitutes one of the main sources of the growth of the influence of the ideas of socialism throughout the world. In consequence, in the ideological confrontations, the manner of solving the new social system's various problems of a material and spiritual order--an inalienable attribute of the internal subjective factor--is regarded as one of the criteria for a value judgment of the whole system. It is thus clear that the social and ideological function of the example, either in one field or in the whole of socialist construction in one country or another, far from being reduced to an emotional or purely propagandistic influence, has a broad significance and validates the experience of the forging of the new order. This logic leads to the conclusion that, on the contrary, the

errors, the repetition of them, and the failures due to them cannot but weaken socialism's power of influence.

The falsity of the question of bourgeois ideologists as to "How many kinds of socialism are there?" no longer has to be demonstrated, since it is possible almost always not in order to clarify some ideological problems but in order to "prove" a so-called "ideological despair of communism." But it is no less true that this question also arose due to the fact that in past years some theoreticians circulated imprecise expressions and ideas, such as that of "real socialism," while others invented other "labels" to designate the socialist society built in one country or another or planned to be achieved in one zone or another.

There is no doubt that for the theoretical confrontations of today, as in the past, it is much more profitable for the ideas to be thoroughly studied by means of an examination of the content of the social processes than for the discussion to center around the words or expressions, around ideas and concepts taken in themselves. A true revolutionary outlook is developed and enriched continually, in relation to the changes that are produced in social life and in general knowledge, it being important and decisive how practical action is taken to attain the ideals that it advocates.

The continual enrichment of scientific socialism is a consequence of the capacity of the subjective factor to contribute to the development of revolutionary theory, starting from the imperatives of human society's development, of social practice, and not from speculations based on bibliographic "trappings." The action of overcoming any unilateral view and the "reassuring" and symplifying preconceptions about the new order proves to be one of the conditions for a suitable theoretical solution to any practical problems of the revolutionary process. This is especially so because a new social reality depends not on the declarations of principles and intentions but, in particular, what is as conclusive as can be, on the practical steps for attaining it.

The success of the work of socialist construction in each country, whether it is economically advanced or possesses a poorly developed economy, having a high degree of industrialization or being predominantly agrarian, with certain traditions in state organization, and so on, is closely connected to the capacity to creatively apply the principles and theses of scientific socialism to the concrete conditions of each one. The opposition of the different ways of erecting and improving the new order and the tendency to theorize about the existence of a standard, of a single way to deal with the requirements of general laws, do not serve the common cause under any circumstances. Differing from country to country, the concrete historical conditions objectively necessitate that the theory of the unique model and of the general obligatoriness of certain procedures also be transcended on a conceptual and methodological plane, especially as some "antimodel" positions, if it can be put in that way, let it be understood, or even openly express the opinion, that their own alternative would constitute the only correct way, representing by itself the negation of the earlier model.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses, "we must understand that the socialist transformation cannot be made except by taking into account realities not patterns. No designation can change the revolutionary outlook about the development of human society."

Found in an indissoluble dialectical unity, the general and the particular in social development cannot be separated and opposed to one another. Certainly, to examine the relationships of interdependence between the two terms means to not unilaterally expand, distorting to the point of alteration, the role of one or the other. The measure of equilibrium is a quality of the materialistic dialectic, of which the correct approach to each phenomenon, the taking into consideration of the connected phenomena and of their degree of interconditioning, and the discernment of the origin of the given phenomenon, of the traits inherited by it from its own past, and of the future evolution are characteristic.

The establishment of the same type of production relations and the existence of an economic base of the same time (social ownership of the means of production), the exercise of the political power by the people, led by the working class, and the formation and development of the socialist consciousness of the masses on the basis of the outlook of dialectical and historical materialism are characteristic of the socialist order taken on the whole. Consequently, socialism is unique in the basic transformations that it achieves and in its essential traits, which define it and distinguish it radically from other types of social formation. But the variety of the conditions under which the theory of scientific socialism is being applied is objectively generating specific modes of practical achievement, influencing the means, forms and rates of the revolutionary transformations. In consequence, in the light of historical materialistic determinism, the source of any change and development is found within the phenomena and processes themselves.

The Criterion of Practice in Affirming the Superiority of Socialism

The constructive line given by the unity of goals and interests of the working people is characteristic of the new order, capable of imparting rising, multilateral and harmonious development to society. Of course, the victory of socialism, the establishment of socialist ownership, the generalization of the new production relations, and the success obtained in raising the degree of instruction of the masses have changed the basis of material life, have eliminated the inequality in economic and political conditions, and have created the premises for the real establishment of social justice. However, all the social problems that the complete implementation of the principles of socialism in all spheres of social life implies, principles that are not affirmed by themselves, spontaneously, but as a result of the people's organized action, of the exercise of political leadership of a new quality on a historical plane, have not been solved by means of this.

The well-known truth that the development of the production forces has represented and represents the decisive, truly revolutionary in progress not only

does not lose its validity under socialism but is becoming to an even greater extent one of the signs of the superiority of the new civilization. A socialism of material poverty would be incompatible with its own motto, transforming into a utopia any desire for well-being based on social justice and equity.

The fact that, in their majority, the socialist countries started from a low level of production forces cannot but put its imprint on the strategies for their economic development, on the capacity to satisfy some needs of the population. Some lags from this viewpoint are mainly the consequence of unequal development in the past, in the period of ascension of capitalism, under the stimulus of what was called, in the last century, the industrial revolution. Referring from this viewpoint to the socialist countries in Europe, the Report to the Club of Rome ("Reshaping the International Order") coordinated by Jan Tinbergen states that "the East-European peoples (some of whom were still struggling to form a nation) were left with predominantly agrarian economies, which survived into the 20th century. And, since the socialist revolution began in backward Russia and later expanded to underdeveloped or slightly developed countries, they were all faced with the enormous task of industrializing at as fast a rate as possible, a task so overwhelming that the whole social, economic and political edifice of this new society bears its stamp."

In the same regard, well-known French sociologist and political scientist Maurice Duverger, whose anticommunist attitude is notorious, pointed out in a relatively recent work ("An Open Letter to the Socialists") that "on an economic plane the West has achieved an extraordinary production apparatus due to at least a century's lead in industrialization over Eastern Europe."

However, the socialist revolution and construction have led to a marked reduction of this economic gap especially with regard to industrialization and the growth of the production forces. Thus, in 1955 the percentage of all the socialist countries in the world industrial output was about 27 percent, but at present, that is, after a little more than 2 decades, it has reached more than 40 percent, and it is expected that the gap will be reduced further.

Such objective findings can only lead to the judgment, also objective, that, as the situation now stands, despite the gigantic efforts of the peoples in the socialist countries to industrialize themselves and to develop a modern economy, some of the main economic indicators are still lagging behind those of the economically developed countries. The statistical data show that between the two categories of countries the per capita gross national product, expressed at the level of 1 year, still exhibits considerable differences in favor of the developed capitalist countries. The fact that sometimes in the socialist countries the rate of economic development falls, the labor productivity is not satisfactory, and the agricultural output does not always satisfy the needs points up negative phenomena that must not only be recognized in theory, which is by no means of minor importance, but also eliminated in practice. Certainly, the provision of high rates of economic development constitutes a problem of decisive importance in order to catch up with the

advanced states as quickly as possible and achieve a level of social and per-capita wealth higher than theirs. In essence, precisely the rate of development constitutes the key factor in affirming the superiority of socialism.

Along this line of thinking, in contrast to capitalism, including the variants of its "modernization" by means of "social partnerism," one of the characteristic traits of the new order consists of the point that it achieves true socialization both of the productive sphere and, in general, of the way of life of the people, and the interests of society taken as a whole are the basis of the decisions on utilization of social resources, so that individual and group interests do not come into conflict with the needs of society. Of course, such an objective is not attained automatically, but, as experience shows, actual socialization of the main means of production excludes, in theory, the possibility that some contradictions may become antagonistic. However, harmonious development depends in large part on the efficiency of economic life, on the new order's capacity to effectively and flexibly effect the necessary changes in its economic mechanism in order to provide high social efficiency in production at the same time as the wide-open possibility of competitive participation in the international division of labor.

All these considerations put in new terms, ones of political realism and correct judgment of the stage of development, the problems of the ascendancy of the new order over the old, capitalist one, problems that are not reduced to a mere confrontation of abstract, speculative principles. In fact, the affirmation of socialism's superiority and of its power cannot be done "only by means of declarations but, primarily, by means of the way in which the economic problems, the problems regarding the working and living conditions of the people, and other social problems, connected inclusively with the development of socialist democracy, with the improvement of the leadership of society on scientific bases, are solved," as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu states.

In this regard, the Romanian Communist Party is concerned with solving as well as possible all the problems that the erection of the new order poses, among which the growth of the production forces occupies an important place. Aware of the need to eliminate the economic backwardness in which our country was found and to set it firmly on the path of modern civilization and progress, our party has devoted special attention to the correct division of national income into a consumption fund and a development fund, allocating about one-third of national income to the development fund in the last 10-12 years.

By this means, the faster rate of economic growth of socialist Romania is helping to reduce the gaps that separate it from the states advanced from an economic viewpoint. And since national income is now almost 12 times higher than it was 3 decades ago, this is mainly the direct consequence of the development of industry and the equipping of it with a technical-material in the middle of the process of modernization. The choice regarding the allocation of a large portion of national income to the development fund attests to the responsibility and concern for the continual prosperity of the people.

On this basis, a substantial rise in the standard of living of the working people has also been provided, along with an increase in the material endowment of the nation, which conclusively refutes the theories and practices of narrowminded consumerism, lacking in perspective, which, whenever and wherever it may be practiced, generates times of stagnation and closes the horizon for future development.

Defining the line for harmonious growth of the whole national economy, based on modern industry as well as on strong socialist agriculture, the party has drawn attention to the complexity of this process, including to the need to regard it as being necessary to consciously accept certain sacrifices for a time. At the same time, in the spirit of the analysis of social development on the basis of the materialistic dialectic, the party has considered, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, the fact that "a certain contradiction between industry and agriculture is also appearing under socialism," that the neglecting of one or the other would have repercussions on the whole society, leading eventually, if steps are not taken in time, to antagonisms, to the appearance of difficulties. In order to avoid such consequences, our party has taken and is taking steps to provide, along with the high rate of growth of industry in step with the tumultuous scientific and technical revolution, for the modernization and intensive development of agriculture so that it will become, under the conditions of suitable equipping with technical resources, a variant of industrial work.

In this is the proof of a unitary economic policy, in the sense of realistically judging the strategy for developing the industry that produces means of production and that aimed at growth in vegetable and animal agricultural production and in the quantity and quality of consumer goods in general.

From this viewpoint, the orientations of the party's program and the decisions of the national conference are leading to new and significant progress on all planes of social life, with the current and future five-year periods being meant to mark the transition of Romania from the stage of a developing country to that of average economic development.

Democracy, Humanism and Scientific Leadership

The problems of democracy, of human rights, of social leadership almost always crop up as one of the points of reference in the contemporary discussions on socialism.

A recent international discussion about the future of democracy, in which famous scientists and politicians—including Michel Debre, Luis Echeveria, J. K. Galbraith, Herman Kahn, Francois Perroux and Arthur Schlesinger—participated, noted that nowadays "democracy is not far from being a statue of sand at the seashore," wanting thus to suggest, in the terms and in the view of some of the participants, the erosion of democratic life, the crisis in Western democracy, accredited nevertheless as "a model." Criticism of socialist democracy, whose merit of presenting itself as "a new alternative" is

nevertheless recognized, has not been absent and is not absent from such a discussion and from others.

It is thus clear that, explained for a long time as government of the people, by the people and for the people, democracy represents in the contemporary world one of those political concepts around which ideological disputes are always occurring, with opinions of the most diverse sort being counterposed. However, beyond these opinions and the arguments more or less validated by history, the broad masses appreciate the social facts, that order that provides true rights and freedoms, that is, those that, in one form or another, offer them the real possibility of providing themselves with dignified living conditions, the institutional and organizational framework for expressing themselves without hindrance in the field of social and political life.

The deepening of democracy, the creation of the most favorable conditions for the participation of the masses in the leadership of society, represents a leading characteristic of the continual development and improvement of our socialist order. Such an evolution constitutes in fact the concrete application of the revolutionary thesis according to which socialism has the mission of providing for the free and full utilization of the creative powers and capacities of the members of society in their interest and in the interest of social progress.

Regarding the discussions about democracy and human rights, the theory and practice of scientific socialism start from the consideration that true democracy and true humanism are incompatible with the perpetuation of the exploitation of man by man, with the maintenance of the serious economic, social and political inequalities of capitalism, with national, social and racial discrimination.

Our party's view about democracy--and, within this context, about human rights--starts, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "from the need to provide full equality between people, to achieve fair economic and social relations that permit each citizen to lead a dignified life, from free access to education, culture and science, and from the possibility of the direct participation of the people, regardless of nationality--and especially the working masses--in the leadership of the whole society."

Such a practical approach to the problem of democracy--expressed by means of the continually improving system of our social and political life--provides in fact for the full affirmation of the human personality. In this is the conclusive illustration of the achievement of true human rights, accomplished on a mass scale, and such a reality refutes the noisy antisocialist campaigns hidden behind the shield of liberal ideas but ones altered by means of the willful transfer of meanings toward objectives dictated by ideological adversities.

Starting from the premise that the new order is a historical and dialectical process, subject to the laws of progress and the requirements of renovation

and self-development, the Romanian Communist Party is acting to continually improve the organization of the new society, the social relations, to increase the economic and social efficiency of the socialist society and to attain its human calling, fields in which the new order has not yet managed to completely show what it is capable of.

The view according to which our party guides itself in this regard points up the conviction that, decisively overcoming certain anomalies and deviations, which in any case have been and can be not the emanation of socialism but the accidental alteration of its principles, it is not enough to repeat some theses devised at one time or another but, on the contrary, it is necessary to take into account the dynamics of the transformation of life. This requires that it be taken into account that the deep economic and social transformations of the present are occurring under the conditions of a profound scientific and technical revolution, and in the development of the new order it is decisive that the elaboration and implementation of the policy respond as fully as possible to the criteria of science, acquiring a high level of creativity, as an emanation of receptivity to the new processes and trends in economic and social life, both on a domestic plane and on a world plane. In the spirit of the principles of the materialistic dialectic, there being foreign to it the pragmatic attitude toward reality, the tendency to recognize only what is convenient to momentary interests, realistic political leadership obtains maximum results if it is done on the basis of science, of as thorough knowledge as possible of the social facts--be they positive or negative--in order to efficiently orient the course of social action.

The construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society is thus a dialectical process that presupposes not only continual quantitative and, especially, qualitative enrichment in one or another of the fields of social life but also the unitary development of all its aspects. The simplistic, vulgarizing formulas and views regarding socialism and its prospects have led and can lead, whenever they are invoked, to the opinion that the solution to the problems of economic and social development would come by itself, by virtue of the basic superiority of the new order. However, on the contrary, only on the basis of deep knowledge, an understanding of the objective laws and their application to concrete conditions can steps be taken in time to determine the direction of advance, establishing in accordance with the requirements of life the means, forms and methods that converge toward the proposed goal.

Of course, the requirement of reflecting the realities in political theory and practice is closely connected to the scope of the tasks of economic, social and cultural construction as well as to the capacity of the political leadership to define these tasks and to mobilize the masses to perform them. The success of a work so vast as socialism, ultimately communism, can be ensured only by means of an activity performed in such a way that the correctness of the general line of the party of the working class, to which, historically, a leading role goes, is verified on the plane of social efficiency, of practice. The path from principles to practice is not always clear, and

the political factor that has assumed the responsibility of leadership cannot labor under the illusion that it will resolve everything only by virtue of the fact that it is guided by just principles. The validity of a thesis, of a political action, of a certain tactic or strategy results both from their principled reasoning and social motivation and--in the final analysis--from their practical verification.

The efficiency of the leadership, of the ways that lead to the harmonization of the social interests, to the full utilization of the material and spiritual resources of the socialist society, acquires a special significance under such conditions. These ways are, in their essence, those of the intense development of the economy, the expansion of socialist democracy, the affirmation of the creative power of the working people, and the achievement of revolutionary humanism.

The relationship between the elaboration of the policy and the implementation of it reflects, under the conditions of the new society, a unitary process, occurring to a greater and greater extent with the active, direct and conscious participation of the masses. In our society, the political system of socialist, working-class democracy, in whose structure the communist party has the leading role, functions as a complex and harmonious mechanism for devising the policy, with its social and human efficiency being closely related to the degree to which and the forms and methods by means of which the bodies of social government--in their entirety--subject their actions to the judgments of the people.

Like all his theoretical work, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the session of the central party and state active, dealing with the problems of the affirmation of the superiority of socialism over capitalism, makes clear the principled conclusion that the process of political leadership and the extent to which it has the sum of qualities that confers social and human efficiency on it constitute the essential premise for progress and the obtaining of new successes in all fields.

In the socialist order all the conditions exist for the elaboration and implementation of the policy to respond fully to the criteria of science and the objective laws, acquiring a high level of creativity, as an emanation of receptivity to the dynamics of social life. To discern in time the trends of the evolution in one field or another, to consistently follow the laws for the progress of the new order, to continually detect and master the mechanism of the confrontations between the old and the new, to steadily impart revolutionary enthusiasm, a militant spirit, farsightedness and flexibility to the entire theoretical and practical activity means to successfully conduct the process of multilaterally developing the new order, to stimulate the ascension of it toward the horizons of the communist society.

12105
CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

MEMBERSHIP OF QUALITY CONTROL COUNCIL APPROVED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 86, 26 Sep 78 pp 1-4

[Decision of the State Council, issued 19 Aug 78: "Decision of the State Council concerning Approval of the Composition of the Management Council of the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products and the Executive Bureau of the Management Council"]

[Text] The State Council of the Romanian Socialist Republic decides:

Single article -- Approval is given to the composition of the Management Council of the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products and the Executive Bureau of this Management Council as listed in the Annex which is an integral part of this decision.

Nicolae Ceausescu, President, Romanian Socialist Republic
Bucharest, 19 Aug 78
No 3

Annex

Composition of the Management Council of the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products and the Executive Bureau of this Management Council

I. The Management Council of the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products

Chairman

1. Lucian Dragut	first deputy chairman of the Central Council for Workers Control of Economic and Social Activities
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Vice Chairmen

2. Gheorghe Vasile Costea	general state inspector in the General State In- spectorate for Quality Control of Products
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3. Constantin Bila doctor of electromechanical engineering, professor in the Electrical Machinery Department of the Electrical Engineering Faculty of the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute

Members

4. Paul Frunza deputy general state inspector in the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
5. Stefan Papa deputy general state inspector in the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
6. Veronel Nicolae Antonescu chief inspector in the Inspection for Quality Control of Chemical and Heavy Industrial Products in the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
7. Doina Anton principal engineer in the Central of the Silk, Flax and Hemp Industry
8. Neculai Barbalata chief inspector at the Inspectorate of the Municipality of Bucharest for Quality Control of Products
9. Silviu Basca chief inspector at the Brasov County Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
10. Tudor Baron doctor in economics, deputy dean of the Faculty of Economic Planning and Cybernetics in the Academy of Economic Studies
11. Eleonora Barb principal inspector in the National Council for Science and Technology
12. Viorel Bercea workers' representative in the Tirgu Mures Wood Processing Enterprise, principal master workman
13. Vasile Bucaciuc deputy chief inspector in the Inspection for Quality Control of Consumer Goods in the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
14. Petrache Buzoianu chief inspector in the Inspection of State Metrology in the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products

15. Gheorghe Bustean workers' representative in the Rovinari Electric Power Plant Enterprise, welder
16. Ilie Carabulea representative of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, director of the Food Industry Department
17. Savu Comlosan chief inspector in the Timis County Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
18. Niculina Constantin workers' representative in the Bucharest Wholesale Trade Enterprise for Food Products, receiving worker
19. Cornel Craiu representative of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, director of the Technical Directorate
20. Petru Despot first deputy of the chairman of the Council for Economic Problems and Professional Training of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions in Romania
21. Terezia Dobai workers' representative in the units subordinate to the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products, inspector in the Mures County Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
22. Dezideriu Tiberiu
Dömötör workers' representative in the units subordinate to the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products, inspector in the Bihor County Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
23. Romulus Dumitriu chief inspector in the Dolj County Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
24. Ioan Eftimie chief inspector in the Inspection for Quality Control of Consumer Goods in the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
25. Dan Gereanu electromechanical engineer in the Brasov Truck Enterprise
26. Gheorghe Gheorghiu representative of the Ministry of Metallurgy, director of the Technical Directorate

27. Nicolae Gheorghiu doctor of electromechanical engineering, professor in the Faculty of Energetics in the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute
28. Ioan Hasegan chief inspector in the Cluj County Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
29. Nicolae P. Ionescu doctor engineer of the wood industry, representative of the Ministry of Forestry and Construction Materials, specialty inspector
30. Steliana Zoe Ioan inspector general in the Inspection for Quality Control of Chemical and Heavy Industrial Products in the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
31. Ioan Iscrulescu director of the National Metrology Institute, Bucharest
32. Maria Cleonida Jilaveanu workers' representative in the units subordinate to the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products, inspector in the Inspectorate of the Municipality of Bucharest for Quality Control of Products
33. Mihail Kanyadi chief inspector in the Covasna County Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
34. Nicolae Simion Iascu doctor of mechanical engineering, chief of the laboratory in the Bucharest Institute of Metallurgical Research
35. Ioan Lungu representative of the Ministry of Light Industry, director of the Technical Directorate
36. Constantin Lupulescu workers' representative in the Lupeni-Hunedoara Mining Enterprise, chief of mining brigade
37. Sofia Luta workers' representative in the Borzesti Petrochemical Combine, laboratory worker
38. Silvia Mioara Neagoe engineer in the Pipera-Bucharest Wood Processing Combine
39. Ana Neamtu workers' representative in the Dolj Enterprise for Meat Industrialization, master workman

40. Aurel Popa representative of the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry, director of the Technical Directorate
41. Savastian Pintilie deputy chief inspector in the Inspection for Quality Control of Chemical and Heavy Industrial Products in the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
42. Gheorghe Preda workers' representative in the 23 August Enterprise, Bucharest, master workman
43. Elena Ripea workers' representative in the units subordinate to the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products, inspector in the Prahova County Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
44. Catinca Stefan workers' representative in the Galati Iron and Steel Combine, laboratory assistant
45. Dumitriu Tanu workers' representative in the Galati Iron and Steel Combine, master workman
46. Marin Udrea deputy state secretary in the Council for Coordination of Durable Consumer Goods Production
47. Emiliana Mira Irina Ursianu workers' representative in the units subordinate to the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products, scientific researcher in the National Institute of Metrology, Bucharest
48. Maria Vasile secretary of the PCR primary organization in the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products, chief of the office for planning, finance, organization, control, personnel and training
49. Grigore Zolic workers' representative in the Progresul Footwear Enterprise, Bucharest, technical control worker

II. The Executive Bureau of the Management Council of the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products

Chairman

1. Gheorghe Vasile Costea general state inspector in the General State
Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products

Members

2. Paul Frunza deputy general state inspector in the General
State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Pro-
ducts
3. Stefan Papa deputy general state inspector in the General
State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Pro-
ducts
4. Veronel Nicolae Antonescu chief inspector in the Inspection for Quality
Control of Chemical and Heavy Industrial Pro-
ducts in the General State Inspectorate for
Quality Control of Products
5. Neculai Barbalata chief inspector in the Inspectorate of the Muni-
cipality of Bucharest for Quality Control of
Products
6. Vasile Bucaciuc deputy chief inspector in the Inspection for
Quality Control of Consumer Goods in the Gener-
al State Inspectorate for Quality Control of
Products
7. Petrache Buzoianu chief inspector in the Inspection of State
Metrology in the General State Inspectorate
for Quality Control of Products
8. Petru Despot first deputy of the chairman of the Council for
Economic Problems and Professional Training of
the Central Council of the General Union of
Trade Unions in Romania
9. Ioan Eftimie chief inspector in the Inspection for Quality
Control of Consumer Goods in the General State
Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products
10. Ioan Iscrulescu director of the National Institute of Metrology,
Bucharest
11. Savastian Pintilie deputy chief inspector in the Inspection for
Quality Control of Chemical and Heavy Industrial
Products in the General State Inspectorate for
Quality Control of Products

12. Emiliana Mira Irina Ursianu workers' representative in the units subordinate to the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products, scientific researcher at the National Institute of Metrology, Bucharest
13. Maria Vasile secretary of the PCR primary organization in the General State Inspectorate for Quality Control of Products, chief of the office for planning, finance, organization, control, personnel and training

6010
CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BAD EFFECTS OF 'COLD WAR', COMINFORM IN POST-WAR YEARS CITED

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Aug 78 pp 1341-1356

[Article by Elisabeta Petreanu: "The International Activity of Romania Between 1948 and 1965 (I)"]

[Excerpts] Documents of major political significance, the treaties of friendship, collaboration, and mutual assistance which Romania signed with near-by states constituted the political-juridical framework for the good neighbor relations established between Romania and the neighboring states: Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. According to the political report of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers Party delivered at the party Congress in February 1948, they constituted "acts to strengthen the general peace and our independence, acts to assure favorable external conditions for the unrestrained continuation of the work of the democratic development and economic development of Romania." Through the treaties signed in 1947, 1948, and 1949, Romania entered into the system of alliances with the socialist countries, thus having only friendly states around her.

In the following years, Romania's relations with the European socialist countries developed on the basis and in the spirit of these treaties. However, their evolution in accordance with the basic principles underlying their establishment, were marked--especially in the political sphere, for a certain period--both by the influences of the "cold war" and the practices of the Information Bureau of the communist and workers parties.

After World War II, a phenomenon occurred in international relations which seriously distorted relations among states and which put its imprint on the domestic and international activity of the great majority of states in the world. This phenomenon was the "cold war." As an integral part of the world community, Romania experienced a number of effects of the "cold war." As a result, in the second half of 1948, there was, in the international life of Romania, an austere period, devoid of initiatives in the area of developing collaboration and understanding in the spirit of the foreign policy guidelines enunciated in the party and state documents during the 1945-1947 period. During the period from 1948 to 1952, actions for

the development of diplomatic relations and for the establishment of a climate of understanding and rapprochement were replaced, to a great extent, by methods foreign to the spirit and tradition of Romanian diplomacy. The traditional relations between Romania and some capitalist states in Europe were affected. Collaboration with numerous states was sporadic and insignificant and the foreign policy activities of the government were limited to an extremely small geographic area and extremely narrow interests.

This climate and this way of carrying on activity in the foreign sphere cut--for a short time--the traditional line of Romanian diplomacy and delayed the affirmation of the new Romania on the international plane.

The consequences of the practices of the Information Bureau and of the cult of the personality of J. V. Stalin also influenced the foreign policy actions of Romania and her relations with some socialist countries.

As is known, in 1948, under the influence of the Information Bureau of the communist and workers parties, many communist parties (especially in Europe) launched strong polemics against the communist party in Yugoslavia and against the "Yugoslav way" of development on the road to socialism. As is known, the Romanian Workers Party also took part in the polemics against the Yugoslav Communist Party and the Yugoslav socialist state. However, in contrast to the other socialist states--for whom polemics in the party sphere led to the deterioration of relations at the state level--Romania did not resort to extreme measures which would have affected relations at the state level. An examination of official sources of information reveals that the Romanian government did not renounce the economic and cultural agreements signed with Yugoslavia during the first years after World War II and, also, did not undertake (on the diplomatic level) actions aimed at abrogating the long-term bilateral treaty signed between the two states in December 1947.

Also, during the 1951-1952 period, there was a reduction of the intensity of the polemics in the party sphere which was to have a positive influence on relations in the state sphere, favoring actions at the political and diplomatic level. In 1954, the ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the two states presented their credentials in Bucharest and Belgrade. At the beginning of 1955, at the time of the Grand National Assembly session (22 February 1955), the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Romania [Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej] stated that, in the framework of his analysis of Romanian foreign policy, Romania's relations with Yugoslavia had entered into their natural path and that all possibilities existed for the development of collaboration between the two countries and peoples. On the 11th anniversary of the liberation of Romania [23 August 1955], pointing out the actions of the Romanian government for the development of Romanian-Yugoslav relations, the chairman of the Council of Ministers mentioned the fact that "during the whole course of our history the Romanian and Yugoslav

peoples have been friends." It was all more natural that the two peoples would live in close friendship now that they were inspired "by the common desire to protect peace, security and their national independence and to assure a socialist future for their country." [Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, "Speech on the 11th Anniversary of the Liberation of Romania," SCINTEIA, 23 August 1955]

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

EMIGRE PRESS REPORTS ON COMMITTEE FOR RELIGIOUS RIGHTS

Bucharest BULETIN DE INFORMATIE PENTRU ROMANI IN EXIL in Romanian 1 Oct 78 p 2

[Article: "The Committee for Defense of Religious Freedoms and Conscience has Sent a Program of 24 Demands to the PCR"]

[Text] In our issue of 26 June, we mentioned that in Romania a Romanian Christian Committee for "Defense of Religious Freedoms and Conscience," abbreviated as the ALRC [Aparare a Libertatilor Religioase si de Constiinta], had been established.

On 21 May 78, a statement on the establishment of this committee and its composition was forwarded to the State Council, the Ministry of Justice, the Department of Cults and the Union of Baptists. We also report that the Committee has requested membership in the Christian Solidarity International, which is headquartered in Zurich, and that the signators were listed as Pavel Nicolescu of Bucharest and Dimitrie Ianculovici of Timisoara.

On 5 July, the ALRD addressed a letter to the above-mentioned authorities notifying them of the establishment of the Committee and a program of 24 demands.

Briefly, these demands are as follows:

1. The right of the Roman Catholic Church to have a statute;
2. Reestablishment of the Greek Catholic Church disestablished in 1948;
3. Reestablishment of the Adventist religion;
4. The right of religious association in Romania without official approval;
5. The right to practice religion in churches, individual homes, and in the open without official approval;

6. The right to preach, to baptize, to elect leadership organs of the cults, and to repair buildings affected by earthquakes which house churches, religious associations, parochial homes, etc.;
7. The right to respond to atheist propaganda in newspapers and on radio and television;
8. Disestablishment of the censorship imposed by the Department of Cults on religious writings;
9. Cessation of religious persecution through house searches, arrests, condemnations, fines, etc.;
10. The right to distribute the Bible in the Romanian, Hungarian, German and English languages;
11. The right to have professors of religion designated by the religious cults teach religion for the children of Christians, parallel with Marxism;
12. The right of parents to give a Christian education to their children, to celebrate Christian holidays, and to respect Sunday for Christians and Saturday for Adventists;
13. Non-interference of the Department of Cults in designation of candidates for schools of theology and in designation of professors;
14. The opportunity for participation in religious congresses in other countries;
15. Disestablishment of licenses for priests and pastors;
16. The right of believers to be able to follow advanced studies without the recommendation of the party or the UTC;
17. Cessation of religious and ideological discrimination;
18. The right of believers to notify [their] bishops or representatives of cults in the Grand National Assembly of persecutions directed against believers and to call upon the Department of Cults and the vice-chairmen of the Council of Ministers who coordinate the activity of this department;
19. The reinstatement of theology professors abusively dismissed from their positions and the re-enrollment of students abusively thrown out of theology schools;
20. Reparations for the injustices and abuses committed against Christians in schools, enterprises, institutions, etc.;

21. The right of young men inducted into the armed forces to participate in religious services on Sundays and to possess prayer books; the right of Romanian Christians to sign or not sign a loyalty oath, in accordance with their convictions;

22. Approval of the visit of the evangelist [Billy] Graham and other prominent Christian personalities to Romania;

23. The harmonization of internal legislation with the international pacts concerning human rights that were signed by the RSR;

24. The right of religious groups to materially aid believers who were persecuted, dismissed, condemned, demoted, etc. for their beliefs; the right to be able to establish funds collected for the purpose of aiding those who were arrested, and at the same time the right for those who were condemned for their religious beliefs to be visited by their priests, pastors, and families, as well as to possess prayer books and to have the right to religious assistance on request.

The text of these demands finishes thus: "The Department of Cults has exceeded its authority. We are not Marxists, but Christians. We respect and support the foreign policy of the Romanian government. Our ideal is a free church in a free state."

The above demands were signed for the ALRC Committee by the following 28 people on 5 July in Bucharest. Except for one Orthodox and one Pentacostal, all were Baptists.

Marin Balac
Nicolae Traian Bogdan
Gheorghe Brasoveanu (Orthodox)
Ioan Brisc
Radu Capusan
P. Cocarceu
Victor Codreanu
Ion Dimbeanu
Neculai Dambovit (Penticostal)
Iosuf Emedy
Ioan Flonta
Trifon Gaibon
Vasile Guisica
Dimitrie Ianculovici
Emerich Juhar
Vasile Mucaci
Ioan Mircu
Ion Moldovan
Pavel Nicolescu
Ludovic Oswald
Nicolae Paulescu

Ionel Presban
Nicolae Radpi
Viorel Serghie
Pavel Spunei
Ioan Teleaga
Ioan Teodosiu
Zoltan Zeres

(As can be seen, we have given the names in alphabetical order).

6010
CS0: 2700

WORKINGS OF SELF MANAGEMENT IN SERBIAN TOWN DESCRIBED

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Oct 78 p 7

[Article by R. Petrovic: "The 'Resourcefulness' of One Director"]

[Text] The frequent price increases on communal services in Cacak, which have been drastically high in some instances, have been officially justified by the difficult situation of the local "Komunalac" firm, which due to low prices had been "unable to provide even for operating costs." Recently, however, another explanation became public, by all indications the true explanation.

The truth came out when interpersonal relations became seriously disrupted at "Komunalac." The director of this organization, when offering explanations concerning certain disputed issues raised by the workers' inspection team, ascribed the substantial and frequent price increases on communal services exclusively to his skill. In a statement signed and verified by a seal, he declares as follows: "I expected you to nominate me for an opstina award, because I have stabilized the operations of the enterprise to the extent that 'Komunalac' can now throw money around at will.... I had noticed that we were operating with low prices. I took things into my own hands, drafted new calculations, and provided detailed explanations. With demands buttressed in this way, and making use of the friendship of my colleagues and the support of leadership personnel in the opstina and in the local associations, I succeeded in 3 years in increasing prices on a scale such as no one could even have imagined in the era of restrictions."

Continuing to evolve his story about his undisputed "merits" for the progress of the collective, the director emphasizes: "We raised the price of garbage removal 104 percent last year. Prices on some services have risen even more. Who else has succeeded in doing this in this country? Has anyone said thanks to me for the fact that we can throw around money and raise our pay as much as we want to?"

The fact that the "Komunalac" people relate to earnings with insufficient responsibility is confirmed by a report prepared for the next session of

the opstina assembly, which finds that reserves in this collective are growing much more slowly than personal incomes and allocations for common needs. Obviously, money earned without effort is easier to spend. Whether it was "earned" solely thanks to the skillfulness of the director is a question for which the citizens and economy of Cacak are awaiting a reliable answer. First from the "Komunalac" collective, and then from the entities that had approved the multiple price increases on communal services.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

OFFICIALS REPORT ON WORK OF FEDERAL JUDICIARY ORGANS IN 1977

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0926 GMT 3 Oct 78 LD

/Text/ Belgrade--Within the scope of its activity, the Office of the Federal Public Attorney has tried to contribute to respect for the law in the management and use of social resources. This was stressed by Federal Public Attorney Drago Dragojevic in his report on the work of this institution last year at the session of the Federal Chamber.

The number of disputes rose in 1977, as did the monetary value involved. The reasons for this are many--for example, the number of contractual agreements entered into by federal organs and organizations has gone up. Some of these (Federal Customs Administration, federal directorates for material reserves, and so forth) have extensive development and modernization programs. Some parties do not always abide by contractual obligations. Disputes also arise out of delicate responsibilities of federal organs toward physical and social legal entities.

Although last year the number of verdicts in favor of federal organs rose to 80 percent as against 69 percent in 1976, there still persist certain shortcomings with individual organs which have to be eliminated. We believe that a law on rights and duties of federal organs concerning the use of social resources could contribute to a greater measure of legality in the use of social resources by federal organs, stressed Dragojevic, and he urged that such a law be enacted as soon as possible.

Some federal organs appear as parties to disputes more often than others. They are, in the main, the Directorate for Reserves of Industrial Products, the Directorate for Reserves of Food Products and the Federal Customs Administration. In carrying out their duties the directorates have at their disposal significant social resources and enter a variety of relations important to the implementation of our economic policy and economic development. These, however, frequently engender complex disputes involving great sums of money when individual organizations of associated labor come up with criticism of the work of the directorates and of the way they make decisions. The same is true of the Federal Customs Administration in view of the fact that customs are an important instrument of our import and export policy.

It is noticeable that in 1977, too, there was a considerable number of outstanding cases--although they are slightly down from 1976. In fact, a number of these cases have been dealt with by the courts, but because accountancy services in individual organs do not work on schedule, the cases are still entered as outstanding. Even apart from that, a number of cases have still not been completed. Sometimes the other side is interested in prolonging the case, but primarily the matter depends on how expeditiously the court hears the case.

On the basis of the stipulations of the law on the Office of the Federal Public Attorney, the Office of the Federal Public Prosecutor is the legal representative only of the federation in disputes with international parties. Earlier it also represented the republics, provinces and other sociopolitical communities, but now this representation is handled, in keeping with legal provisions, by the republican and provincial offices of public attorney. The number of cases in which the federation figures either as a plaintiff or as a defendant in disputes involving foreign parties is not high. Because of their importance and the great sums of money involved, Dragojevic mentioned two cases: the case against the Societe Europeenne, which has been going on for 25 years, and the cases brought in connection with the Zagreb air crash in September 1976.

In connection with the Zagreb air crash, so far 32 compensation demands have been lodged with the Federal Public Attorney's Office, and 12 cases have been brought against the federation in the Belgrade District Economic Court and one case before the Zagreb District Economic Court.

Although the law on commodity and service exchange with foreign countries obliges organizations of associated labor and other legal entities dealing in foreign trade to inform the Office of the Federal Public Attorney of every dispute in which they are involved, the Office of the Federal Public Attorney learns of some cases indirectly through the Court of Arbitration of the International Chamber of Commerce in Paris or through the Foreign Trade Arbitration Department of the Chamber of Economy in Yugoslavia. There are several reasons organizations of associated labor do not report these disputes. Some do not wish the dispute to become public knowledge so that they can cover up various business lapses. In addition, the republics and autonomous provinces have regulated the question of compulsory registration of disputes with their own laws, which differ from one another.

According to evidence available to the Office of the Federal Public Attorney, disputes involving organizations of associated labor are growing year after year. Thus, only 633 such disputes were reported to the Office of the Federal Public Attorney in 1977, whereas as many as 543 reports had arrived as of 1 October this year. This rise in the number of disputes between our organizations of associated labor and international parties can be explained in several ways: Perhaps more disputes are being reported now than in the past, but the basic reason is that our country maintains economic relations with over 130 countries, and our organizations of associated labor conclude many

business deals with a great number of foreign partners and in order to do so conclude a great number of agreements under various conditions. It is therefore understandable that disputes should occur. Discounting disputes involving shipping transport enterprises, which as a rule do not involve major sums of money--there were 309 such disputes--in the majority of cases organizations of associated labor figured as plaintiffs--in 190 cases; they appeared less frequently as defendants--in 44 cases.

The basic characteristic of the activity of the Federal Court last year is made up of those functions which go beyond the conventional and inherited methods of work and which intensify involvement in the tasks which have an explicitly social character and importance for the process of socialization of judicial functions. This was stated by the president of the Federal Court, Pero Korobar, during the discussion of the report on the work of the Federal Court.

The Federal Court carried out specific court functions at the federal level in cooperation with the supreme courts of all republics and autonomous provinces and with the Supreme Military Court by holding joint sessions. Established on the principle of equal representation of the delegates of the supreme courts of all republics and autonomous provinces, of the Supreme Military Court and of the Federal Court, and despite the relatively short period of its existence, the joint session has become affirmed and confirmed as an important instrument of our judicial system which successfully renders possible the necessary unification, standardization and orientation of court practice in the application of federal legislation, contributes to an exchange of experience and encourages and makes possible cooperation on the principles of equality, autonomy and consultation on other questions of joint interest as well. This practice confirmed the justification of the constitutional solution which insures a direct participation of the republics and provinces in the implementation of specific court prerogatives of the federation.

Speaking of the experience and results of the work of joint sessions, Pero Korobar went on to stress that last year alone a number of important questions pertaining to the field of work of the judiciary had been examined and that principled stands had been taken and principled conclusions adopted. These stands and conclusions will contribute to a correct orientation and standardization of judicial practice in view of the fact that they were adopted by consensus, that they are convincing and based on good arguments, and that they are accepted and applied in practice by all courts almost without exception.

Generally positive social developments and the stability of our sociopolitical system, Pero Korobar went on to say, were attested to by a decline in the number of criminal acts in the field of the economy dealt with by the courts and in the number of criminal offenses committed by juveniles. However, changes in the nature of these criminal acts and the way they are carried out indicate that the organs of the judiciary should continue to pay constant and intensive attention to these manifestations, that they should take

systematic and energetic measures to prevent and suppress them and that, together with other subjects, they should contribute to the further consolidation and even more efficient activity of social self-protection.

All forms of crime last year showed clear signs of being reduced. The number of new reports of criminal offenses in 1977 was 299,925, more than 14 percent less than in 1976. The number of indictments in 1977 also was considerably lower. A total of 121,216 persons were indicted, which is 17 percent less than in 1976. A total of 111,023 people were indicted before municipal courts and 10,193 before district courts, said Federal Public Prosecutor Dr Vuko Gozze-Gucetic.

"The reduction in crime in 1977 encompassed all criminal acts with the exception of criminal acts against general security. These criminal acts alone showed an increase, to the extent of 1.8 percent. This is the result of the rapid increase in traffic and of the transport situation in our country. In the case of all other criminal acts, a fairly emphatic reduction was registered," said Dr Gucetic.

The reduction in crime also applies to crime committed by juveniles. In 1977, 8.87 percent fewer juveniles were handed over to the courts than in the previous year.

It is a fact that the work of police organs during this period did not weaken but that it improved, and since the policy of indicting for criminal offenses has not changed, it can be claimed on the basis of statistical data and without going into a crime sociology analysis that the reduction in crime is a reality and is the result of a specific social climate, of consolidation of social self-protection and of concrete organizational and other measures taken to prevent deviant manifestations.

The general characteristic of political crime is that in 1977 its share of the total number of indictments for all criminal acts was minimal--0.24 percent.

It must be mentioned that this is not the result of a change in the policy of criminal prosecution but of an objective decline in the number of reports of criminal offenses. In 1977 the number of reports of criminal offenses was almost halved in comparison with 1976. This tendency toward a substantial drop in political delinquency continued in the first half of this year, when 62 percent fewer people were charged compared with the same period in 1977.

In 1977 the share of the most serious form of political crime in the overall number of charges for political delinquency was only 2.9 percent, while 97.1 percent represented verbal offenses, of which 14.2 percent were serious and all others were of a lighter nature.

"This substantial reduction in political delinquents and political offenses, especially of their more serious forms, was contributed to primarily by the

increasing political and economic stability of our country, by the constant development of self-management socialist relations and by the organized and ideological spread of social self-protection. All this has narrowed the basis for the activity of the enemy but has also brought about a weakening of outside enemy influence upon individuals who earlier were subject to such an influence," stressed Gucetic.

In 1977, for the first time in many years, there was a drop in economic crime. Thus, economic crime was reduced by 14 percent compared with 1976, while serious economic crime, which still is the subject of a special review being undertaken by public prosecutors, was reduced by almost 18 percent. However, if the period of the preceding 5 years is considered, we come to the conclusion that the number of people accused of serious criminal charges in the economy was the same as in 1973 and 1974, said Dr Gucetic in conclusion.

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