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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE Political, Sociological, and Military Affairs

No. 1467









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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CSSR LEADERS GREET GDR COUNTERPARTS ON GDR ANNIVERSARY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Oct 77 p 1 AU

[CTK dispatch from Prague: "Congratulatory Telegrams to the GDR"]

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CZPC Central Committee and CSSR president, and Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the CSSR Government, have sent to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDT State Council, and to Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, the following congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the founding of the GDR:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR government and the entire people, we convey comradely greetings and congratulations to the SED Central Committee and to the GDR State Council, Council of Ministers, and to all working people on the 28th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

We have the good fortune to be able to congratulate you on the outstanding results achieved by the industrious GDR people under the leadership of the SED Central Committee in the short time of 28 years in all sectors of building a developed socialist society.

We highly appreciate the significant contribution of GDR foreign policy to the joint effort of the countries of the socialist community for a reduction of international tension, and the implementation of the policy of peaceful cooperation and friendship among nations. The GDR is our loyal and reliable friend, with whom we are linked by common interest in the building of socialism, progress and peace. This was notably reaffirmed at the just concluded visit of the CSSR party-state delegation to your country during which the firm friendship and alliance between our two countries was once more displayed at all negotiations and meetings. We are also jointly contributing to consolidating the unity, cohesion and strength of the community of socialist countries on the basis of the proven principles of socialist internationalism and Marxism-Leninism within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

We are convinced that the new treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between the CSSR and the GDR will become an effective means to

further strengthen the traditional comradely ties between our states and peoples, to constantly deepen and broaden the mutually advantageous cooperation and contacts in all spheres. It will help at the same time to also implement the consistent and principled peace policy of the countries of the socialist community.

Together with the people of the Soviet Union and of other socialist countries and with progressive people throughout the entire world, the working people of the CSSR and GDR will also soon commemorate the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, with which mankind entered a new era in history. On this occasion they shall greet the heroic Soviet people, who under the leadership of the glorious CPSU are successfully building the material-technical foundations of the communist society, and are the initiators and defenders of the policy of peace and understanding between states with different social systems.

We wish you, dear comrades, and all the people of your fatherland many further successes in implementing the guidelines of the Ninth SED Congress, in the work for the flourishing of the fraternal GDR, for the further successes of the cause of socialism progress and peace.

Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, sent on Thursday a congratulatory telegram to Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR Peoples Assembly on the occasion of the GDR state holiday.

On the same occasion CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek sent a congratulatory telegram to GDR Foreign Affairs Minister Oskar Fischer.

HUNGARIAN LEADERS' MESSAGE ON GDR NATIONAL HOLIDAY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Oct 77 p 2 AU

["On the National Holiday of the GDR: Hungarian Leaders' Greetings Message"]

[Text] On the national holiday of the GDR, MSZMP Central Committee First Secretary Janos Kadar, Presidential Council Chairman Pal Losonczi, and Council of Ministers Chairman Gyorgy Lazar sent the following greetings message to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers:

Dear comrades:

On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council and Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, our people and ourselves, we send you and the fraternal people of the GDR warm comradely greetings and cordial good wishes on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the GDR.

Our people look with appreciation and respect upon the GDR people's work in national construction, which abounds with outstanding successes, under SED leadership. Your country's dynamic development, the accomplishment of socialist democracy, and the improvement of the people's material and cultural standard are eloquent evidence of the development of an advanced socialist society. Its contribution to the consolidation of peace and security, and the struggle for national independence, social progress and the cause of socialism has earned respect throughout the world. The international prestige of the first German worker-peasant state is an important factor in the growing influence of the countries of the socialist community and progressive world forces.

It is to our pleasure and satisfaction that, in conformity with our mutual endeavors, cooperation between us is developing in all areas of life, and friendship is intensifying between our peoples. The new friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty concluded on the occasion of the Berlin visit of our party-government delegation this year, which further strengthens fraternal cooperation between our countries and peoples, promotes the

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accomplishment of our national objectives, further strengthens the cohesion of the socialist countries' community, and contributes to European peace and security, is a worthy framework and excellent basis for this.

On your national holiday, we wish that you and the working people of the GDR may attain further outstanding results in implementing the Ninth SED Congress resolutions, in making your country prosper and in serving the cause of socialism and peace.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS COMMENTS ON PEOPLE'S ARMY DAY

[Editorial report--AU] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 6 October, on pages 1, 2 carries a 1,300-word unsigned report on Josef Kempny's speech covered by the referent item, not mentioning the passages on revisionism, opportunism, national roads to socialism or the Soviet constitution. Among other things it reports Kempny to have said: "The leading role of the communist party has become the basis of military structure in all spheres of army life; the party management, which insures the successful development of the entire socialist society, is also the basic principle of military structure."

BRATISLAVA PRAVDA in Slovak on the same day, on page 2 carries a 900-word "(PA and CTK)"-signed report on the Army Day rally in Bratislava on 5 October, attended by Lt Gen P. Sudakovskiy as representative of the joint command of the Warsaw Pact states' joint armed forces who, among other things, is reported to have "underscored that the Czechoslovak People's Army is a firm link among the armies of the Warsaw Pact, and it is prepared at any moment to fulfill its patriotic and international tasks." The report on the main speech at the rally, held by M. Hguskovic, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium candidate member and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, says among other things: "Comrade M. Hguskovic also stated that the international development in the recent period is confirming that the resolution of the 25th CPSU Congress, as well as of the 15th CPCZ Congress, were correct in that, as long as there exists the real danger of a general nuclear war being unleashed by international imperialism, the high defense ability of the socialist countries is the most reliable guarantee of the peaceful building of socialism and the peoples' security. 'That is why,' he emphasized, 'having learned from the experience of past years, we are striving to make the paramilitary education of our citizens an inseparable part of the political and ideological activity of the CPCZ, the state bodies and social organizations. We regard paramilitary education as an inseparable part of the citizens' communist upbringing."

The same paper on the same day carries on page 1 a 1,000-word editorial article by Ladislav Sadovsky, head of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee department, entitled "The Army of the People." In speaking of the army's role as the class weapon of the working people's power, Sadovsky says: "Our country lies on the borders between the world of socialism and that of capitalism,

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and this assigns to our army an important international mission. In close union and alliance with the Soviet Army and the other Warsaw Pact armies, it defends the interests of the entire world socialist community. Speaking of the peace-promoting role of the Warsaw Pact and the armament trends in the West, Sadovsky states: "Only the perfect defense of socialism is forcing the imperialist forces to solve international problems by peaceful means." He underscores the firm ties between the CSSR armed forces and the people, adding: "Serving in the Czechoslovak People's Army is an honorable duty, and the overwhelming majority of the citizens understands it as such."

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REPORT ON FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO COSTA RICA

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Oct 77 pp 1, 7 AU

[San Jose CTK dispatch: "Intensification of Cooperation; the President of Costa Rica Received the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister]

[Text] CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek's visit to the Republic of Costa Rica continued Monday with talks on topical questions of mutual relations and on contemporary international problems.

Both sides [not further specified] stated that since the 1972 visit to the CSSR by Gonzalo Facio Segreda, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Costa Rica, political and economic cooperation was intensified markedly. During this period the volume of mutual trade increased many times, and in 1976 amounted to a value of \$6.5 million.

In the talks the two delegations submitted a series of concrete proposals for expanding cooperation in various fields of mutual relations. They will be discussed by the mixed Czechoslovak-Costa Rican commission at the beginning of next year.

In the field of foreign policy the CSSR and the Republic of Costa Rica hold identical or very close views on questions concerning the lessening of tension in the world, disarmament, the nations' right to independent and free development, and the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, racism and discrimination in international relations.

Ministers Chnoupek and Facio Segreda signed an agreement on cultural cooperation between the CSSR and the Republic of Costa Rica. It is to constitute an impetus to further developing mutual cultural, educational, scientific and health relations.

At the conclusion of his visit to the Republic of Costa Rica, B. Chnoupek was received by President Daniel Oduber Quiros. B. Chnoupek conveyed to him the cordial greetings of CSSR President Gustav Husak. President Oduber voiced his gratitude and asked Minister Chnoupek to convey his personal cordial greetings to the CSSR President. Minister Chnoupek reported on the development of bilateral relations and expressed the hope that they will

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be intensified in all respects. The Costa Rican president paid tribute to the detent in the world which is creating the framework for relations among countries with different social systems. He further expressed his gratification over the current relations between the two countries, and the interest of the Republic of Costa Rica in further developing them. He pointed to the growing volume of the mutual goods exchange and, in connection with the signing of the cultural agreement between the two countries, he expressed his conviction that good conditions had been created for the cooperation of the Republic of Costa Rica and the CSSR in culture, education, science and health relations.

After the conclusion of the talks in the Republic of Costa Rica, B. Chnoupek attended a press conference with Costa Rican journalists. Among other things he replied to questions concerning the development of bilateral relations between the CSSR and the Republic of Costa Rica, the signing of the cultural agreement, the possibilities of cooperation between representatives of the mass media of the two countries, and his general impressions of the visit to this Central American republic.

Afterward, Foreign Ministers Bohuslav Chnoupek and Gonzalo Facio Segreda of the two countries signed a communique on the visit at the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Costa Rica.

On concluding his stay in the Republic of Costa Rica, B. Chnoupek and his entourage left for Venezuela on Tuesday.

EAST GERMANY

GERMAN RED CROSS PRESIDENT STRESSES ORGANIZATION'S BASIC TASKS

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1630 GMT 8 Oct 77 DW

[BERLINER RUNDFUNK Interview with Prof Dr Werner Ludwig, president of the DRK, by unidentified reporter, no place given--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Does the work of the German Red Cross (DRK) contribute to the international weight of the organization?

[Answer] I must absolutely stress this idea. Due to the far-reaching work in the country, in the GDR, we have great experience which we could contribute to the work of other Red Cross organizations on an international level. This (experience) has been acknowledged. There exists an absolute mutual relationship between the activities of our voluntary members, between the achievements at the basis, the help of the population, and international possibilities to exert influence.

The 23D International Red Cross Conference will deal with a new assessment of the part to be played in future by the International Red Cross. This problem will be a main issue of the discussion, particularly in regard to assessing the basic role (of the organization). It can be seen that many Western societies have the desire and are making efforts to concentrate basic tasks of the Red Cross on work in war times. We want to see to it that in future the basic part played by the Red Cross in health and social spheres will be fully recognized, and that this will be outlined in respective resolutions. This is not just practically significant, it also is important with a view to basic social tasks and to strengthening the (mission) of the Red Cross as a peace factor.

[Question] The GDR Red Cross considered itself in the development of our republic always more as a social organization in the socialist society. How would you formulate the ethical principle of the Red Cross in the GDR?

[Answer] The ethical principle is rooted in socialist humanism. We have numerous practical possibilities to implement it. We bring influence to bear on our 1.2 million members and friends by promoting their preparedness to help, by activating voluntary help for man, for the neighbor. In doing

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this we are simultaneously developing the socialist personality. Socialist humanism and its principle certainly include a respective approach to basic problems on an international level. We are trying to intensify the part played by the Red Cross as a peace factor. And here the discussion has reached a difficult point because the Western countries just want to recognize the indirect contribution of the Red Cross toward peace, namely, by its humanitarian deeds, by its humanitarian aid. We, meanwhile, advocate the view that the Red Cross also has possibilities, if only in its humanitarian sphere and within the framework of its competence, to work directly for peace not only by contributing to understanding and friendship among people intellectually, and through its aid actions, but also by working for the maintenance of peace in the event of tension processes and dangers. Such possibilities became evident in the past, and they should be enhanced. I think this is especially important in the era of the nuclear and massdestruction weapons. We believe that the original mission of the Red Cross to humanize war, perhaps, has become absolutely nonsensical in the era of mass-destruction weapons. Hence: struggle against war.

CONTROVERSIAL ASPECTS OF U.S. POLICY HIGHLIGHTED

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1905 GMT 17 Oct 77 DW

[Talk by Albert Reisz]

[Excerpts] It is perhaps not quite easy to characterize the present state of U.S.-Soviet relations in one sentence. There is much in what is generally referred to as the atmosphere. A French daily newspaper wrote just recently that there is something in the air. This, too, does not get us anywhere, because it is not properly tangible. And yet, there are some points which perhaps have not been clarified to the limit but which nevertheless are concrete enough to be used as points of reference. Foreign Minister Gromyko, for example, conducted long talks with President Carter and Secretary of State Vance not on the occasion of, but parallel to, the UN General Assembly. His speech to the UN General Assembly not only contained the well-known proposals concerning the continuation of the detente process, it also was a thorough analysis of the world political situation in which the positive and negative positions of the efforts toward worldwide security were investigated. President Carter, too, addressed the UN delegates.

The points of reference which I mentioned also include, no doubt, definitions of stance by the U.S. secretary of defense which have been reprinted by the rightist press in the FRG with considerable satisfaction. This indicates the position of Brown's definition of stand rather clearly. And the ideas of the U.S. presidential security adviser about nuclear war belong to the same category.

All told this presents a rather contradictory picture which nevertheless allows the statement that things look different today from what they were like 5 or 6 weeks ago. One of the most important international agreements known by its designation SALT I expired 2 weeks ago. Today we know more, yet 4 or 5 weeks ago people wondered what would happen, since nobody could tell when another SALT agreement would materialize, if at all. It was not discernible whether the United States would abandon its attitude which Vance had so sensationally displayed during the Moscow negotiations in March, namely, pursuing one-sided advantages in the disarmament talks, a demand which makes any headway in this field doubtful from the outset. It is generally known that at the time we went so far that the NEW YORK TIMES seriously and quite justly raised the question whether the United States had not reckoned on failure of the negotiations from the outset. Asking this way, however, means voicing the opinion that the United States has planned on a failure of the negotiations concerning SALT II. Today the situation is a bit clearer, since the United States as well as the Soviet Union have said in separate statements that they would abide by the stipulations of the expired agreement, naturally under the proviso that the other side does likewise.

Well, dear listeners, if a problem like SALT is thus discussed today, then something has changed indeed. This is also evident the attitude of the most reactionary wing of the FRG press, which is highly allergic to developments involving detente and disarmament. This does not at all mean, however, that we may calmly turn to other matters. It would be very bad, for instance, if the resistence to the neutron bomb would cease to increase. If headway is to be made at all in a positive direction, meaning toward disarmament, then this pressure on the anti-detente forces in the United States and in NATO must not be discontinued. It is true that President Carter has not yet made the decision, originally announced for August, to give the green light for construction of the neutron weapon. And it is also true that the NATO nuclear planning group has postponed a decision until spring 1978.

But this by far does not banish the danger of the neutron bomb. Hence, a lot remains to be done to halt the arms race. The proportion of forces in the U.S. policy concedes too much room to the detente opponents to allow regarding the factors prevalent for good which moved into the foreground in these weeks. Some people even shudder at the very idea that President Carter might approve the renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons as proposed by the Warsaw Pact states, LE MONDE writes concerning the nuclear problems that just as it matters to proceed from words to deeds, a front is forming for sabotaging these efforts. The paper directly speaks of the intensive pressure brought to bear by the atomic-energy lobby in U.S. Congress.

Naturally it is quite normal if leading politicians ponder all sorts of potential developments. This is part of their job. What is decisive is the general political framework within which these ideas move. And it is doubt-ful that it is still a normal thinking exercise of a political planner if Brzezinski says: I do not know whether I could do it. But I do believe that I would do it if I thought that someone else would start nuclear war against me.

I would rather assess such a definition of stand as the utterance of a cold determination to act which has nothing in common with security in the sense of the defense against an attack of the prevention of an attack. This seems to manifest a determination which places the power interests of the United States above everything else in such a way that even the first use of nuclear weapons is part of the reckoning. Nobody should say that this was mere idle talk and should not be taken at face value. Well, it should be. For U.S. imperialism, after all, has shown in Vietnam what it is capable of doing. And even if the goal of air-force General LeMay, who had said that he wanted to bomb Vietnam back into the Stone Age, was not implemented, then it was not because the U.S. strategists had suddenly been struck by humaneness but simply because their strength simply did not suffice for that or even for winning this war of aggression. From time to time we should also recall the trifle that the imperialist United States dropped the atom bomb already once.

Let me now proceed to the second thought of the presidential adviser. What was it that he said? He said: That I would do it if I thought that someone else would start an atomic attack against me. The other one is the Soviet Union, of course. Well, the alleged threat by the Soviet Union has always been the pretext used by imperialist politicians for keeping the arms race going. But what does he mean by: If I Thought? What if Brzezinski makes a mistake? Can the world afford at all the luxury of leaving its destiny to the assumptions and or pretexts of Mr Brzezinski? During the past few years there was hardly an anticommunist concept, hardly any concept directed against the socialist countries, on which Mr Brzezinski did not work. If he presumes the right to advise the president to push the atom button just because he thinks so, then this means in clear language that he advocates the right of the United States to wage the first atomic attack, meaning preventive war, which again means aggression.

Gromyko also referred to the complicated situation in which U.S. policy finds itself. Some people want disarmament, others do not want it, and still others are undecided. It does not look as though Brzezinski is one of those who would want to advise the president to embark on the road toward disarmament with determination. Rather, a concept seems to be at home here which does not want to do without a minimum of policy of strength and which, at the same time, assigns diplomacy the priority task to convert the detente process into an instrument of U.S. domination interests. It is also obvious how strongly domestic-policy motives influence the foreign-policy actions of the United States.

These are contradictory, even antagonistic tendencies of U.S. policy. Sometimes this may puzzle us, but sometimes the riddles are not so puzzling at all. The joint-soviet-U.S. Middle East statement expresses two things: First, that whatever U.S. quarters may have thought, a Middle East solution bypassing the legitimate demands of the Palestinian people and without the participation of its representatives in the Geneva conference cannot be found; and second, that it is not possible to outtrick the Soviet Union, which some people would like to do. These are unshakable facts of the Middle East problem. Meanwhile, the American Zionists are wielding a weight with which every government in Washington must reckon. It was obvious that Tel Aviv would object. It remains to be seen, however, how much farther Israel can go with its obstruction. But ultimately this is a problem with which Washington must cope. What I mean is how the White House and the Department of State propose to harmonize the joint Soviet-U.S. statement on the Middle East with the Israeli Government policy. It is also a question of the will and the aptitude of Washington to overcome the pressure of anti-detente forces in stages. We are prepared indeed to concede that this will not be so easy for the U.S. state leadership. But it really is not the fault of the Soviet Union that things turn out to be so controversial. Nothing has changed in the position of the Soviet Union. Its strategy of safeguarding peace has been set forth in the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, and there are no vacillations in its attitude. Its actions are focused on the efforts toward halting the arms race and on the struggle for disarmament. This action does not consist in the declamatory presentation of titanic visions but in a realistic, consistent, and persistent approach. And this is based on the declared will to shape Soviet-U.S. relations in such a way that they will imbue the detente process with new impulses on a worldwide basis.

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

NEW CARDIOLOGY DIVISION--A new building for the investigation and treatment of heart and circulatory diseases is currently being established at the Central Institute for Heart and Circulation Regulatory Process Research of the GDR Academy of Sciences in Berlin-Buch. Workers from VEB Industrial Construction, Bautzen, are erecting the ultimately 5-story building which is to accommodate the GDR cardiology center's division for myocardial infarction research and intensive therapy. In an ADN dialog, Prof Dr Rudolph Baumann, director of the Central Institute, reported about the tasks and function of the new division as well as about the necessity for efficient, centralized heart and circulation research. Numerous highly-specialized divisions will be working in the Adademy's new cardiology center, among others, the myocardial infarction, cardiovascular, blood circulation, cardiac rhythm and pacemaker research divisions. Physicians, mathematicians, biologists, electrophysiologists, molecular biologists, biochemists, physicists and other scientists jointly conduct highly complex fundamental research. They undertake animal experiments, develop new methods and processes for prophylaxis, diagnosis, therapy and follow-up care. The experiments are difficult and time-consuming. For them, the experts from Buch utilize modern computer and analytical technology as well as new medicotechnical instruments and equipment. Prof Baumann emphasized that the construction of the new division for myocardial infarction research and intensive therapy thus takes into account the provision of excellent working conditions for the specialists. [Text] [Dresden SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG in German 1 Sep 1977 p 2]

HUNGARY

PRESIDENT LOSONCZI TOAST AT KABUL BANQUET

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Oct 77 p 4 AU

[Toast by Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Hungarian Presidential Council, at banquet held in his honor by Afgan President Mohammad Daudion 15 October in Kabul]

[Text] Highly esteemed Mr President, your excellencies, esteemed guests, my friends:

Thank you for your friendly words of welcome, Mr President. I can say that we made our preparations for this visit with pleasure, for we knew well that we were coming to friends, that we would be meeting with a leader of people with whom we share a mutual understanding. From the beginning, relations between our states and governments have been characterized by understanding and a readiness and intention to cooperate.

Prior to our establishment of diplomatic relations, which are entering their third decade, our contacts were confined to a narrow circle of scientific researchers; they amounted to mutual visits of single travelers. On the Hungarian side, contact was limited to research on a few linguistic relics and ancient cultures. Of these research activities, the most noteworthy are those of Aurel Stein, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, who is laid to eternal rest in your country's capital, Kabul.

Our cooperation has begun to truly develop only in the past decade. The cultural agreement concluded 6 years ago and our trade agreement, which was concluded in 1974, are indicative of this path. Our cultural and scientific cooperation is developing particularly vigorously. The cobalt bomb installed at the Kabul radiation therapy center with Hungarian participation is significant of our scientific cooperation.

Still, these relations have international implications as well. It is known that we adopted a joint stand at the Law of the Sea Conference to assert the legitimate rights of countries cut off from the sea. It can be regarded as certain that our present meeting will be the occasion of a new phase of cooperation: we will extend cooperation to new areas, namely, to the spheres of the economy, the sciences, transportation and health.

Gentlemen, despite the fact that our country and Afghanistan are geographically fairly distant, one can detect numerous similarities in their past and in their positions. Just as is our country, Afghanistan is situated in the hub of a continent, at the crossroads of peoples, armies and cultures. Just as did Hungary, your country had to struggle for centuries for its independence, and, for both of us, fostering friendship and fruitful relations with the Soviet Union constitutes an important guarantee of independence.

It is not accidental, either, that our views are identical or close to each other on the most important timely issues of international politics. Our governments are sincerely desirous of peace and an improvement of security in Europe, Asia and throughout the world, applying their prestige and influence to promote the cause of disarmament. We are sincerely committed to supporting the Arab peoples' struggle for the fulfillment of their just demands and peace in the Middle East. We oppose any form of racial persecution. The Hungarian People's Republic harbors true friendship and understanding and sincere high esteem toward the Republic of Afghanistan, whose consistent policy is an important factor in the stability of the area.

Mr President, your excellencies, permit me to express my gratitude and the gratitude of my entourage for the kind invitation and hospitality. I am certain that our visit will contribute to the deepening of friendship between our peoples, the expansion of cooperation between our countries, and the great common cause of mankind--lasting peace and security.

I raise my glass to the prosperity of the Republic of Afghanistan, the continued development of cooperation between our countries, friendship between our peoples and the strengthening of international peace and security.

I raise my glass to the health and personal happiness of our esteemed host, His Excellency President Mohammad Daud!

HUNGARY

CSETERKI SAYS: NO SOCIALISM WITHOUT CP'S 'LEADING ROLE'

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Oct 77 p 3 LD

[Article by Lajos Cseterki, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and secretary of the Hungarian Presidential Council: "The Great Example"]

[Excerpt] Budapest--The Great October Revolution-the chief historical event of the 20th century--opened up for the peoples a broad road toward freedom and independence.

I recently read that, soon after the victory of the October Revolution, a certain French journalist asked Lenin about the future of the world. Vladimir Ilich replied:

"The future of the world? I am not a prophet. But one thing can be stated with confidence:...The old system is doomed to perish... Mankind's evolution is inevitably proceeding toward socialism."

Every year since the memorable night when the "Avrora's" salvo rang out has confirmed this. The victory of socialism in the USSR and the Soviet Union's decisive contribution to the routing of fascism in World War II created the necessary conditions for the building of socialism in other countries of the world.

The creation of socialism proceeds along various paths. However, the different paths and forms of socialist revolution and the different paths toward socialism have their boundaries. They are conditioned by the fact that there can be no question of a socialist revolution or of the building of socialism without the handing over of political power to the working class, without the emergence and consolidation of social ownership of the means of production, without the introduction of socialist principles of labor and work payment, without the Marxist-Leninist ideological education of the masses and above all, without the leadership role of the communist party and its internationalist policy. And these are the lessons of the October Revolution.

A new constitution has now come into force in the Soviet Union: it is a document of tremendous theoretical, political and state significance,

unprecedented in world history. This document is a major contribution to the science of the transition from socialism to communism and to the science of the socialist state. The CPSU has shown the historical limits of the dictatorship of the proletariat. A fundamentally new conclusion has been drawn concerning the fact that it ceases to be essential even before the state has withered away. In the USSR a developed socialist society has been created. The Soviet state expresses the will and interests of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, and of all the nations and nationalities of the country. The experience of the CPSU is a very rich theoretical and practical source.

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HUNGARY'S ANTAL APRO LAUDS SOVIET CONSTITUTION

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Oct 77 morning edition p 4 LD

[Interview with Antal Apro, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee Politburo and president of the Hungarian National Assembly by correspondent B. Rodionov: "Great Unity of Purpose," date and place not given]

[Text] Budapest--Antal Apro, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee Politburo and president of the Hungarian National Assembly, said in conversation with IZVESTIYA correspondent B. Rodionov:

As president of the Parliament of People's Hungary, I have studied the Soviet Union's draft constitution with special attention and followed the discussion of the draft and the work of the special USSR Supreme Soviet session with great interest.

There is no more democratic state in the world than the Soviet Union. This is also confirmed by the broad and truly nationwide nature of the discussion of the draft USSR fundamental law. Such discussion is possible only in a country where the principles of socialist democracy are deeply respected and where the citizens consider the government of the state their own affair.

I regularly meet with deputies of the Hungarian Parliament and know from my conversations with them, what a lively response was aroused in our voters by this document, which reflects the Soviet people's achievements over the past six decades and the prospects for communist building. The tremendous interest shown by our people in the new USSR constitution is, at the same time, an expression of profoundest respect for the country of Great October, which brought us liberation in 1945, for Soviet power, for the communist party, which heads the communist building, and for Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev personally.

The people of Hungary consider the Soviet people--this new historic community of people which has been formed in the Soviet Union--their best friend. We are united with them by unity of purpose and the desire to realize in full the lofty ideals of socialism and communism. On familiarizing myself with the work of the special USSR Supreme Soviet session which adopted the fundamental law and reading its articles car fully, I recalled the provisions of our Hungarian constitution. Both constitutions have taken a great deal from the treasure house of the collective experience of socialist building.

Together with all progressive mankind, our people are preparing to celebrate the 60th anniversary of Great October. We are also celebrating, together with you, the adoption of the new Soviet constitution. Hungarian-Soviet friendship has a strong principled basis. Its fruits are in all Hungary's social and economic achievements. The Hungarian people are vitally interested in seeing our international cooperation become still closer.

HUNGAR Y

BRIEFS

WRITINGS, SPEECHES BY KADAR--Budapest, 8 Oct MTI--A collection of writings, speeches and interviews by Janos Kadar on international issues has just been released by the Kossuth Publishers of Budapest under the title "Internationalism, Solidarity, Socialist Patriotism." The volume contains the most important declarations on matters of foreign policy that the first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee has made in word and print in the period March 1957 to August 1977, mirroring the changes in the world situation that have taken place in the last two decades. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1709 GMT 8 Oct 77 LD]

CUBAN OFFICIALS IN BUDAPEST--Budapest, 9 Oct MTI--Belarmino Castilla, deputychairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, chairman of the Cuban section of the Hungarian-Cuban Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Committee, head of the Cuban delegation attending the 7th session of the committee, arrived in Budapest Sunday. At Ferihegy Airport the guest was welcomed by Deputy Prime Minister Gyula Szeker, chairman of the Hungarian section of the committee. Cuba's ambassador to Budapest Jose Antonio Tabares del Real was also present. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1734 GMT 9 Oct 77 LD]

FIATA WITH HUNGARIAN PRESIDENT--Budapest, 10 Oct MTI--From 1979 on, FIATA [Federation International des Associations de Transitaires et Assimiles] is to have a Hungarian president. There are 34,000 transporting enterprises of 110 countries taking part in the work of FIATA. This is the first occasion that the federation has appointed a 'president-to-be' from a socialist country in the person of Gyorgy Antal, general manager of the Central Hungarian Transport Company MASPED. The title 'president-to-be' also involves that in order to secure continuous performance of the president's post, the candidate has to 'learn in' for two years, and he will automatically become president at the next world congress to be held in Moscow. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 10 Oct 77 LD]

DELEGATION TO MOSCOW--Budapest, 10 Oct MTI--A delegation under Matyas Timar, chairman of the National Bank of Hungary, left Monday for Moscow to attend the forthcoming governors meeting of the International Investment Bank and the International Bank of Economic Cooperation. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 10 Oct 77 LD] INDIAN DELEGATION ARRIVES--Budapest, 10 Oct MTI--At the invitation of the National Council of Trade Unions, a delegation of the Indian National Trade Union Congress [INTUC] arrived Monday in Budapest. During this first official visit to Hungary, the INTUC representatives are going to study the activities of the Hungarian trade union organizations and the life and labour conditions of the Hungarian working people. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 10 Oct 77 LD]

TRADE MINISTER TO MOSCOW--Budapest, 10 Oct MTI--Hungary's Minister of Foreign Trade Jozsef Biro travelled Monday to Moscow to attend the 50th session of the CEMA Permanent Committee for Foreign Trade, which is due to start on Tuesday. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 10 Oct 77 LD]

HUNGARIAN-CUBAN COOPERATION--Budapest, 10 Oct MTI--Monday afternoon a plenary session in the parliament building of Budapest inaugurated the 7th meeting of the Hungary-Cuba Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Committee. In charge of the two deliberating delegations are: Vice-Premier Gyula Szeker and Vice-Premier Belarmino Castilla, the two co-chairmen of the cooperation committee. Both vice-premiers, in their inauguration addresses, appreciated the fact that the commercial exchange of goods between their countries has expanded since the last session, and new products have been included in the list. It was particularly welcomed that the planning office presidents of the two countries succeeded at their meeting last July in discovering further openings for the turnover to be increased. They agreed, for 1978, to attain a 35-40 percent larger volume of goods exchange than had been foreseen originally in an agreement, concluded for the period 1976-80. [Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 11 Oct 77 LD]

POLAND

JARUZELSKI COMMEMORATES POLISH ARMED FORCES DAY

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12 Oct 77 p 1 AU

[Order of the Day No 14/min issued by the Minister of National Defense on 12 October]

[Text] Soldiers, the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic welcome Polish Armed Forces Day--the 34th anniversary of the Lenino battle--with a sense of having well discharged their soldierly duties toward their socialist fatherland.

The past year produced lasting values in all areas of military life and, constituting a continuation of our achievements, advanced the implementation of a number of important tasks facing our armed forces. This progress is reflected in the new regulations of our armed forces, which are the chief norms, the model, of the life and service of every soldier.

Our educational and training tasks were successfully implemented and our combat readiness was strengthened. The Polish People's Armed Forces also participated in creating our country's strength and prosperity in industrial plants, along our transportation routes on the farms, in science and in culture. The Polish soldier helped selflessly to clear away the aftermath of this year's flood and its painful results.

For us it remains a point of honor to discharge our duties with increasing effectiveness so as to demonstrate our loyalty to the people and our dedication to the party and to our socialist state.

Soldiers, together with all the progressive forces in the world, we will solemnly celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet state born of this revolution and founded by Lenin gave our people steadfast support in the liberation struggle, and the strength and selflessness of the Soviet Army and of the Polish People's Armed Forces, fighting alongside it, brought freedom to our fatherland.

Mindful of the historic significance of these events, we will continue to develop Polish-Soviet brotherhood-in-arms and to strengthen the defense community of the Warsaw Pact states--the sure guarantee of Poland's independence and socialist development. Faithful to patriotic and internationalist traditions, we will stand vigilant guard over our people's security and over the worldwide cause of peace and socialism.

Soldiers, on the occasion of Polish Armed Forces Day, I greet you cordially at your posts of selfless service and work within and outside the country. I warmly greet the veterans of revolutionary and national liberation struggles, participants in the war against fascism and co-builders of People's Poland. I send greetings to all the generations of soldiers indefatigably toiling for their fatherland and always ready to defend it.

I address my greetings to civilian employees of our armed forces, to soldiers' families, and to all who through their physical and mental efforts help strengthen the defense of the Polish People's Republic.

I extend cordial fraternal greetings and best wishes to our tried and true comrades-in-arms--the soldiers of the Soviet Army and all the soldiers of the allied socialist armies.

In honor of Polish Armed Forces Day I order the firing of 24 salvoes in Warsaw, the capital of the Polish People's Republic on 12 October 1977.

[Signed] Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, minister of national defense.

POLAND

CSCE, PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE VIEWED BEFORE BELGRADE II

Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 1-2 Oct 77 p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Kisiecki: "More Than Just European Hopes"]

[Text] In Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia, on 4 October will begin a great, important international meeting attended by representatives of 33 European countries and the United States and Canada, the same countries which more than 2 years ago, on 1 August 1975, were signatories to a historic document, the final document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

In the course of the long, difficult negotiations during the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the socialist countries advanced the proposal that the participants in the conference in one way or another meet every now and again to sum up achievements in the great dialogue between states of varying sociopolitical regimes. The countries of the socialist community were starting with the realistic assumption that the achievement of an ad hoc agreement, even the most positive one, would not take care of any of the problems, that efforts to make international detente permanent and to expand peaceful cooperation are a continuous process which requires the continuation of multilateral contacts and consultations.

This view won out, and in the final document of the CSCE the signatories to this document agreed unanimously that every 2 years following the conference they would meet in Belgrade and that there would be "an in-depth exchange of views, both on the matter of the inculcation of the provisions of the final document and on the question of the implementation of the principles set down by the CSCE, as well as, in the context of the problems considered at it, on the issue of the improvement of mutual relations, the strengthening of security and the expansion of cooperation in Europe, and the development of detente in the future." In keeping with these provisions, in the middle of this last June, preparations began in Belgrade for an autumn meeting of the representatives of the signatory-countries. of the final document of the CSCE. For 7 weeks, from 15 June to 5 August of this year discussions were held on the organizational principles and nature of the sessions. These talks received the name "Belgrade I," for short and represented the preparatory stage for the current meeting, which by agreement is called "Belgrade II."

The CSCE documents signed on 1 August 1975 in Helsinki have become a symbol, from the moment they were signed, of progressive detente and peaceful tendencies. It was not by accident that Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, called the final CSCE document the "Magna Carta of Peace," seeing it both as a confirmation of the achievement already accomplished in developing the climate of detente and as the gateway to new long-range prospects for expanding peaceful cooperation among European countries.

The success achieved in Helsinki awakened broad hopes also on other continents, because the historical CSCE has become the model for adopting the principles of peaceful coexistence and for conducting a constructive dialogue between countries, regardless of the differences which divide them.

CSCE's success activated in the world the imperialist and reactionary forces, which undertook a parallel counteroffensive to undermine the results achieved and to interfere with further bolstering of the trends toward detente. During the past few months we have witnessed numerous attempts to return to the cold-war climate, to stir up hysteria on the subject of the Soviet Union's alleged threatening of the countries of Western Europe, and finally to wage a slanderous campaign on the subject of human rights, a campaign in which in a demogogic way the socialist countries are acused of failing to respect such rights. With repeated broad accusations, the imperialist forces have tried to lead up to the commencement of a new stage of the arms race, in order in this way to undermine or at least block to some extent the possibility of obtaining progress in successive negotiations on the subject of arms limitation, for example, strategic arms limitation, SALT II, and to restrict the scope and significance of other instances of peaceful and disarmament initiative proposed by the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. An obvious example of these efforts was the noisy campaign to "popularize" and praise the United States' preparation of the neutron bomb for production, the neutron bomb being a new type of weapon for mass destruction.

These diversionary tactics awakened a wave of protest throughout the world from political, social, and trade-union organizations. Representatives of societies throughout the world, international organizations like the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the International Red Cross came out against imperialist endeavors and for successes in the area of detente and peaceful coexistence, because there is growing up more and more in the world the conviction that there is no alternative to detente and peaceful coexistence and that the most important task of the current day is to act on behalf of bolstering detente, which is inseparable.

From the moment the final CSCE document was signed, the states of the socialist community mounted a consistent guard, to safeguard full implementation of all the provisions of the European conference, and they are continuing to do so. This position was expressed by the comittee of foreign affairs ministers of the member countries of the Warsaw Pact. At their meeting at the end of this past May the ministers stated that the countries represented on the committee would "do all within their power to see that the work and results of the Belgrade meeting corresponded to the historic tasks set force by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and helped to expand, deepen, and transform detente into a permanent, lasting process, which corresponds to the interests of all countries, regardless of their social and political systems."

People's Poland has an important part to play in carrying out the principles adopted in the final CSCE document. Back during the course of the final acceptance and signing of this historic document, the talks which Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt held, breaking down the impasse in the process of normalizing relations between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG, were an example of fruitful and constructive implementation of what was termed as the "spirit of Helsinki."

During the period since the signing of the final CSCE document, People's Poland has been successfully developing a dialogue and cooperation with the European countries. It has entered into diplomatic relations with Spain and Norway and has expanded and enriched with new forms its cooperation with countries such as France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Scandinavian countries, the United States, and others. It can be stated with complete conviction that Poland is making an important contribution to the expansion of political dialogue and multilateral cooperation between the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and the capitalist countries of the West.

The most recent example of Poland's active and constructive actions in the realm of implementing the final CSCE document, which is treated as a long-range program for the development and enrichment of the principles of peaceful coexistence, was the result of the visit which First Secretary Edward Gierek made to France, during the course of which the leaders of both countries affirmed "the deep commitments of Poland and France to detente and the desire of both countries to be directed in their actions by this basic goal of their policy."

The consistency and decisive stance of the countries of the socialist community to the inculcation of all the principles of the final CSCE document, factors which bolstered social support in Europe and throughout the world for goals and principles of peaceful coexistence, have been the reason why reason and realism won out during the preparatory talks in Belgrade. On 5 August of this year approval was granted on the final document of the preparatory meeting, a document which described the organizational and procedural framework of the Belgrade II meeting.

This program provides for the deliberations to take place in five plenary sessions and in five working commissions. Problems to be reviewed, for example, include those related to European security, economic cooperation, humanitarian issues, and the situation in the Mediterranean area. The meeting is to last 12 weeks, from 4 October to 22 December of this year, but there is the possibility, if need be, of continuing the deliberations from 15 January to 15 February of 1978.

Hence, a meeting of great importance to the cause of security and cooperation Europe will commence shortly. This meeting carries with it the hopes not of Europe alone. The bolstering of the principles of peaceful coexistence, good neighborly relations, and cooperation among the countries, despite differences in politics or regime, has the value of encouragement and example for other regions and countries of the world too. Poland, which made a considerable contribution to the work of building a Europe of mutual trust, peace, and cooperation, along with other brother socialist countries, will make every effort, as it did in the past, to make the next round of talks bear the most fruitful results.

EFFECTIVE UPBRINGING: MASS LEARNING VS 'ELITE' GROUPS

Teaching Independent Thinking

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 32, 6 Aug 77 p 3

[Article by Kazimierz Kozniewski: "What Is Upbringing?"]

[Text] In the Upbringing Processes, What Count Are Tomorrow's Results, Not Today's Difficulties

What is upbringing? First let us recount an anecdote, a rather sad one, but one with an optimistic point. A few months ago bad news came in from Gdansk: The existence of the Gdansk "Szpaczki" there was threatened. We wrote enthusiastically about "Szpaczki" in POLITYKA in April 1965. The Ministry of Education always gave high ratings to its pedagogic activities and still does.

A group of a few teenagers, not a large group, has been working there for many years. The group was engaged in photography, handicrafts, amateur graphic arts, games, and amusements. Were it not for "Szpaczki" the youngsters would be alone on their own, Some would be in bands wandering about the streets of the tri-city. They were directed by a sports physician, an X-ray specialist, and photographer Henryk Nowak, a pedagogue of talent, a born teacher. The pedagogic effectiveness of "Szpaczki" is just about a classic example of the individual influence of a talented upbringer.

But towards the end of last year black, desperate letters started to arrive from Gdansk. They wanted to take the basement quarters away from "Szpaczki" -- in fact they had already done so -- and without facilities the group would be forced to dissolve.

In an attempt to get rid of the Gdansk "Szpaczki" there was a repetition, not in the course of events or in the pretext of the causes, but in essence, the closing of the youngsters' people's university in Roznice. Both of these small, individual, very valuable pedagogic instances of initiative were attacked by "various factors." At the same time, sounding the Gdansk alarm about "Szpaczki," reporter Ewa Berberyusz described in POLITYKA the

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incident involving the pedagogue and teacher (and, let us add, a famous instructor of the Polish Scout Union, one of the most interesting), Zbigniew Czarnuch, who was attacked full force by the school district officials for (to quote from the official document) "violating the very concepts of pedagogic work." In our opinion, to carry out one's own creative teaching concepts and to look for some sort of new solutions and methods should be cause for fame, not a reason for rebuke by education authorities. The People's University in Roznice was dissolved 9 years ago. Because of the position of the education minister and the Gdansk vice president's understanding of the heart of the matter, "Szpaczki" was saved, and began its activity again with momentum. The case of Zdzisław Czarnuch is probably still going round and round in the administrative mill.

In every mass education and upbringing project there are real teachers, genuine activists, but they are always discouraged by a network of barriers. It was not the teachers and activists from the Polish Scout Union or from the ministry of education and (let us emphasize!) upbringing who were anxious to annihilate the Gdansk "Szpaczki." It was the school officials who did this, with incomprehensible indifference of activists from scouting. I feel that is was the Polish Scout Union command which from the very outset should have obstinately defended "Szpaczkow," their special sort of miniature 'competition," inasmuch as it seems that in the upbringing processes various sorts of initiative do not neutralize each other but build upon one another. If alongside my activity, somebody else's upbringing efforts are effective, and both projects have the same moral and ideological directions, then the social benefits and results are greatly enhanced, and this in turn has a positive effect on both my pedagogic work, and on our work and on everybody else's work of this sort. Janusz Korczak, Ignacy Solarz, Kazimierz Jezewski, Aleksander Kaminski, and Juliusz Dabrowski, to limit the examples to years past, never interfered with one another. They always built upon one another.

There could be a hundred objections to "Szpaczki," even justified ones!, but one argument should balance them (and finally did!): upon reaching adulthood, the young people under Dr Nowak turned out to be valuable people. And so all the other claims become unimportant and trivial, because in upbringing processes it is not today's problems which count but tomorrow's results. This after all is the source of the conflicts between the real upbringers and the so-called organizers. The latter are concerned only with the problems of today, while the former are concerned with the fruits of the future.

A young Gdansk "Szpaczek" wrote me a bitter letter a few months ago: "We lost our faith in man today." More than one young person one day loses his childish faith in other people. Through this sort of loss of faith a person becomes strong. This was shown subtly in a Soviet film, "Sentimental Romance," which I saw recently at the Berlin festival. Of course, we can disregard all this. But nevertheless, upbringing is accomplished in some sort of large or small groups. It is always reduced ultimately to a completely individual thing, whether this one individual will be decent, honest, hard-working, trustworthy, and conscientious or a lazy, do-nothing rogue. Bitterness, disappointment, and the breakdown of the upbringing processes always concern individuals, and they always have the broadest social implications.

Upbringing, the Word -- a Bagful!

Hit of the 20th Century. We use it all the time, in all possible contexts and in every possible meaning. We say: "ideological upbringing" and "political upbringing." We are constantly talking about "upbringing work," but if we listen to our discussion and strain out the common words, it turns out that we are concerned mainly with production efficiency in factories in which only adults work. At 18 years of age we become adults, whether or not this is convenient for us.

We must become clearly aware that a living human being is relatively flexible only during the first dozen and some years of his life. Later his psychological make-up becomes more rigid. Regardless of how frequently the magic word "upbringing" is overused, the proper effects of pedagogic efforts end when the person reaches adulthood, somewhere before age 20. This is why the only true upbringing organization (other than the school) which has a possibility of providing upbringing is scouting. The other two youth organizations have mainly a political nature, and, because they operate in the sphere of culture, they are very necessary and socially useful, but their specific upbringing activity boils down mainly to making permanent and solidifying the attitudes young people have acquired in earlier, more childish, younger years, to enriching them, and, well, really, protecting them against premature corrosion. The pedagogic concern of the activists of so-called youth organizations (which actually are organizations of young adults) can be, and should be, seeing that the first steps in adult life do not destroy the previously acquired ethical or ideological attitudes. But the real upbringing processes take place earlier.

Just what then is upbringing?

It is that plotted -- although this is sometimes not so much conscious as instinctive -- influence on a young person, which is aimed at developing within him the characteristics and attitudes which the upbringers, parents and teachers find desirable, either for reasons which are very social or for those which are very egotistical. In undertaking upbringing activity, it is necessary here to be conscious of the operation of certain psychological mechanisms which make the contrariness of youthful age react in no simple way to the incentives adopted vis-a-vis these young people. Indeed, very often, although this is a difficult operation, we achieve the most favorable upbringing results by stimulating attitudes of resistance and not acceptance, by seeming to operate on the fringe or influence in a roundabout way, rather than through literal influence which takes the shortest route directly toward the goal. Like any sort of endeavor, upbringing may be effective or ineffective. It will be effective if once he reaches adulthood our young person displays just that attitude which the upbringer wanted him to have. On the other hand, if he displays other attitudes which are contrary to the intentions of the upbringer, then the work of the latter is ineffective, wasted. Of course, it rarely happens that a pedagogue engaged in upbringing describes in great detail the characteristics of the future adult. Upbringers are generally interested in having their charges, children, or scouts develop certain attitudes which are the most general but also more fundamental.

During the past dozen and some months, several reports have appeared in our press (for example, POLITYKA No 15, 1976 had an article by Dr S. Nowak, ODRA No 11, 1976 printed an article by M. Smola, ODRA No 3, 1977 printed an article by T. Kocowski, and POLITYKA No 18, 1977 published an article by A. Stronska) on investigations into the attitudes, views, and tendencies of certain young people, people in their 20's, called "youth," through a certain misunderstanding which is more than a linguistic one. This research was conducted both by university institutes in the humanities and by institutes associated with technical colleges and universities and with industry. This research showed, as readers may recall, that these young adults are generally rather poorly socialized. They are decidedly more bent on satisfying their own personal aspirations than aspirations of a social nature. They think more about themselves and their families than they do about the society and the state. They are less idealistic and more egotistical. To put it another way, they are far and away more the product of the processes which industrialize and urbanize our country than they are the product of conscious efforts on the part of upbringers -- from declarations and programs we know what these efforts are -- to develop an individual with socialist characteristics, hence, those which assume a special harmony between the social interest and the interest of the family or of each individual himself. In some sort of ideal socialist society -- and such ideals create certain fundamental visions and standards -- any sort of supremacy of personal, family, or individual interest over the social interest is just as undesirable as the equally extremist oppression of individual life overwhelmed by society's life.

It should be noted that the young person's profile depicted in this sociological research is

Profile Shaped More by Economics Than by a Superstructure

more by industry than by culture.

In the history of upbringing, and not for the first time, it turns out that despite all sorts of pedagogic and organizational efforts to develop a generation with an advanced socialist awareness, the results achieved are incomplete. In upbringing, the way the mother or father, the teacher or neighbor behave every day and the way the course of everyday life runs have a far greater influence than purposeful pedagogic activities presented by the home, the school, or the youth organization. I repeat: economic directions, the industrialization of the country and the urbanization of the country, trends in customs and habits, which often have an intercontinental span, sometimes prove to be stronger and more effective in terms of upbringing than our conscious pedagogic efforts. Sometimes these young people are different from the way they were to have been. I am not passing the judgment that they are worse. I am saying that they are different.

Why?

There is only one rational explanation: the upbringing assumptions did not prove to be completely true. Prof Dr Heliodor Muszyński analyzed the incomplete success of our upbringing efforts rather thoroughly in his article "From Dissatisfaction and Pursuits" (KULTURA No 47, 1976), which ascertained that there are weaknesses in our schools. Prof H. Muszynski writes: "What we need today is a school which is an important element in improving social life and not a school of passive adaptation and verbalism." Both this article and Prof Muszynski's next article (published in TRYBUNA LUDU) are a severe but probably just account of our contemporary teaching. This appearance and methodological partial ineffectiveness could be the result of various causes: Failure to understand the essence of upbringing activity, which has sometimes led to giving priority to efforts of an organizational nature rather than to deeds of an upbringing nature. Along with the pursuit of what is most convenient, for upbringers and teachers, from an intellectual and moral point of view. To use statements from Prof Muszynski's articles again, the teachers and upbringers value pupils' obedience and passivity more highly than their independence and intellectual activity, because "freedom and activity always involve various dangers." This is also true where appropriate methods of upbringers and pseudoupbringers bypass the circumstances of modern everyday life, because

Upbringing Is Always a Confrontation Above All:

the purposeful supplementation, the enrichment, of that positive content of which there is too little, or else the presentation of opposing content to combat negative phenomena of which there is too much, phenomena which occur spontaneously in our daily life in society.

Of course, I and very many others among us will point to the young people whom we have succeeded in bringing up to be real conveyors of and spokesmen for truly socialist, socialized personal attitudes. There may even be a very great many of them, but if methodically conducted social research reveals another picture to us, then this is adequate reason to be worried and to consider our pedagogical body with the same care with which we examine our economic bodies.

We must consider very fairly whether one of the reasons for our sometimes inadequate pedagogic effects is not the undue emphasis in upbringing practice placed on external, declared attitudes. It sometimes happens that we attach too great significance to verbal, organizational displays and too little to ethical attitudes, to the level of social and state consciousness, to intellectual effectiveness, including freedom of one's own creative thought, if only in some of the young people.

Prof Muszynski observed that today's school brings up conformists to too great a degree and people capable of constructive, creative discontent to too small a degree. I think that this comment should be justly expanded to go beyond the limits of just our school. The schools all over the world usually bring up more conformists than people of positive discontent. I admit that I do not even imagine very well how it could be otherwise in a universal, mass-oriented school, but the society should realize this very inadequacy in its own school system, an inadequacy which, I repeat, is unavoidable, and try somewhat different methods and ways of upbringing outside the school. Prof Muszynski writes that progress is born out of discontent and seeking, and not out of bliss and thoughtlessness. It seems to me that we have always some how forgotten that any part of upbringing which does not come out of a fundamental moral attitude, that is, a worldoriented attitude, is subject extremely easily and quickly to erosion, either in contact with consumer aspirations or in the case of a change in general external, political conditions. And in keeping with the mechanics of life, these latter change. And it would be bad if they did not! A citizen with a solid ethical attitude, a positive one, of course (otherwise it would be an unethical one) will far more often be a valuable person, employee, and activists in his state, national, and professional group than a person deprived of such an attitude. This is a banal observation, but it is somehow often neglected.

With all this, in the upbringing processes, we should not and

We Must Not Turn Our Backs on the Immediate Interest of the Days as They Pass

"Enclosed" protected upbringing also produces fatal results. If we turn our backs on the present day or ignore it, young people get off on the wrong track. It is just that -- indeed! it is tremendously important! -- in our upbringing, organizational, and youth work we should perhaps nontheless shift the methodical accents somewhat. We should thoroughly analyze very straightforwardly and courageously -- we should draw practical conclusions from the analysis -- the methods and structures of our youth organizations and deliberate over the phenomena of organizational work's towering over upbringing in the strict sense. Is it really true that we do not have anything to think about as the result of the still difficult road to be travelled in inclucating the Pupils' Code? It may be that errors existed back at the very assumption of this didactic affair, which, it is true, is not producing losses but still is not producing the anticipated benefits. We should probably do a very thorough job of analyzing what sort of boundaries exist between a mass organization engaged in the preparation of enormously beneficial activities for a large number of young people (vacations, cultural events, entertainment) and a group with goals which relate primarily to upbringing.

We must raise here a question concerning the sphere of upbringing egalitarianism and elitism.

After the years of the creation of a socialist society, when we managed to build the institutional and economic elements of such a society but we achieved somewhat lesser results in shaping the socialist superstructure, we should give a thorough, careful answer to the key question of whether it is better to influence the attitudes of all our young people superficially and very problematically, or whether it may perhaps be more beneficial to try to organize a smaller number of groups of young people who set themselves apart by virtue of their especially high ethically and especially straightforward social attitudes. In the army they know that the whole army must be equipped with weapons but they also know that the example of small units with especially high morale encourage the masses of soldiers to valor and helps give them the will to fight. The situation is similar in social life. The Bolsheviks knew this. They were very careful to see that the revolutionary party did not dissolve into the homogenous mass of just any members. In every social unit it is important to have small groups (unfortunately nobody has yet developed an effective method for reliable mass upbringing of a large mass of young people) with high ethics, great reliability, industry, and intellectual preparedness. If we give them broader scope of operations, such groups usually prove to be the impetus for all the rest of the average society. This rule is also being proved in technology and in the economy. I may be wrong -- I would be glad to argue the point -- but I think that from the viewpoint of the future interest of our socialist Polish society, it will be pedagogic efforts on not one but many fronts which will be important. Alongside the operation of mass youth institutions organizing various forms and manifestations of the life of our teenagers and younger people, there should be groups aimed at far, really very far, smaller numbers of young people, groups whose primary task would be to shape ethical attitudes. These would be groups -- let us stop being afraid of certain words! -- with an elitist nature, groups to which people would have to apply on their own with great effort for membership, groups to which teachers would not try to persuade their pupils to join. It would be fortunate if the groups, at least some of them, could remain within the sphere of influence of the famous pedagogues. Of course, the organizational formulas for such groups are an entirely different matter, and one of rather secondary importance.

This therefore is why Dr Henryk Nowak, the famous creator and noble spirit behind "Szpaczkow" is mistaken when in a letter to me he devises plans for his methods of upbringing to be popularized as the one and only one for children in the whole world by means of manuals and artistic works (he takes the names secretively from Greek: "sosopedias' and "imagons"). There is nothing very harmful here. The more variety there is in upbringing methods, the better. The less, the worse. The fronts of pedagogic influence should be constantly enriched and made different, not unified and made poorer thereby.

Defense of Mass Youth Groups

Warsaw RAZEM in Polish No 35, 28 Aug 77 pp 3, 6

[Article by Wojciech Pielecki: "Both Results and Difficulties Count"]

[Text] Kazimierz Kozniewski recently wrote in POLITYKA: "What count in the upbringing processes are tomorrow's results, not today's difficulties." I think that this hypothesis is as effective as it is untrue, because, yes, indeed, upbringing is mainly an activity for the future, but this future effect is made up, after all, of today's activity along with the numerous problems which accompany it, and, as it turns out, the author of the article "What Is Upbringing?" cares about this too. Otherwise, he probably would not have written the article at all.

What is upbringing? Kozniewski answered this question as follows: "It is that plotted -- although this is sometimes not so much conscious as instinctive -- influence on a young person, which is aimed at developing within him the characteristics and attitudes which the upbringers, parents, and teachers find desirable, either for reasons which are very social or for those which are very egotistical." And this is an answer which every upbringer can accept, the upbringer who presents bourgeois ideals, the one founded in Christian personalism, and the Marxist upbringer as well, because in each case the mechanism of shaping the individual's personality in the upbringing process is the same. Only the goals are different. And it is this very broader reflection on these goals which was missing in Kozniewski's article. It seems to me that in his effort to prove once again the wisdom of his view concerning the necessity of setting up small elitist upbrginging groups, he has lost sight of the principle underlying the ideals of socialist upbringing, the most important matter for these deliberations, probably.

What Does a Marxist Do?

First of all he admits that his upbringing activity has a class nature, because past traditional upbringing ideals, although they have always reflected the interests and goals of certain classes and social groups, scrupulously camouflaged them and referred to the nature of man (that it is one way and not another) and not to unchanging, objective cultural values, and again to the allegedly objective developmental tendencies of societies. And, although as Heliodor Muszynski says, we should decidedly reject the hypothesis that in every instance these were negative intentions, there can be no doubt that the objective function of these concepts consisted of covering up the fact that behind the upbringing goals are the aspirations and interests of certain social groups, as Muszynski says.

Meanwhile, the Marxist not only reveals the actual conditioning of upbringing goals but accepts it as a methodological guideline and acopts it in practice, because his action has at one and the same time a class and universal. As a point of departure for formulating socialist upbringing goals

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he takes the interests and aspirations of the working classes, and they after all contain a model of life based on the principles of democratism, equality, and social justice. Muszynski writes: "Marxism stands on the side of the working classes, and their good, and he accepts these interests as a guideline for social ideology. On othe other hand, however, he reoognizes the existence of nonworking classes, that is, parasitic classes, as unnecessary and develops a program to realize that form of social life in which these classes would cease to exist. In this way the supreme assumptions of Marxist axiology take on a far greater scope than merely one which would stem from the recognition of the aspirations and interests of some single, isolated social group as a point of departure."

I am saying banal things here and things which are already known perhaps, but I think that it is worth remembering these basic truths, because they represent the foundation upon which all contemporary socialist pedagogy is built. And on this foundation the first floor is the ideal of man in the socialist regime deduced from Marxist axiology. The realization of this ideal should shape individuals capable of full, comprehensive development and of personal happiness, but with an attempt to achieve happiness and general benefit and to develop socialist forms of social life, individuals harmoniously living together and creatively participating in the shaping and development of socialist culture.

This is an ideal. As everyone knows, the road to an ideal is a long one, but are there no Polish youth organizations along this road? This is just what Kozniewski is trying to suggest in his article.

Mass Approach Versus Individuality?

Kozniewski says that the mass organization is not in the proper position to accomplish upbringing goals, that its activity boils down mainly to organizational efforts, mainly to organizing vacations, cultural events, entertainment, and other sporadic activities for a large number of young people. We should thoroughly analyze very straightforwardly and courageously the methods and structures of our youth organizations and deliberate over the phenomena of organizational work's towering over upbringing in the strict sense." And whether or not this work of "upbringing in the strict sense" requires indeed earlier organizational measures to create the so-called upbringing environment, in the form of the well organized camp or cultural event. Only on this basis can the upbringer operate effectively, using an attractive form. Here we must notice this and not take the external manifestations of upbringing too superficially. Meanwhile, this is just the way Kozniewski thinks, presenting a diagnosis which, if it actually turned out to be true, would really lead to a conclusion which would be sad indeed for the heads of organizations, because it would be clearly contrary to the requirements of socialist upbringing, which, it has been said, in the name of all working people, are trying to encompass the broadest possible circles of young people. This would mean that both scouting (although Kozniewski still treats it fairly enough) and ZSMP and SZSP miss being upbringing organizations, their activity being reduced merely to making

how to go beyond the words. It could not act, just live. It was helpless and lost, because it was secluded, locked away in its elitism.

Who Matures When?

Psychologists and pedagogues are first of all to protest against the hypothesis that upbringing is only effective during the first dozen and some years of life. First, there are various sorts of maturity (physical, psychological, intellectural), and usually an individual does not achieve them all simultaneously. Second, for each person this threshold to maturity takes place at a different age (it is possible to become a "trimature" man between 16 and 30 years of age). Third, finally, the human personality remains flexible to the end of life (the fact that increasingly less), except that the people doing the upbringing change. During the school years, they are largely teachers, scout instructor, parents, and, less frequently, peers. On othe other hand, in college studies and on the job they are largely colleagues, friends, and neighbors, in a word, the social milieu in which a person operates, and this milieu works in partnership in the upbringing. For example, a neighbor or friend creates so-called upbringing situations completely unconsciously, evaluating somebody's behavior by a code which he professes. He shows disapproval, which is a noticeable punishment, a stain on the honor of the person judged, if he cares about the person doing the judging, or he praises him, which is a reward. The system of such "unconscious' punishments and rewards, which are the consequence of various life ideals, has an upbringing effect and helps to change the individual's behavior and attitudes. If the change is consistent with the goals of socialist upbringing, that is, with the goals of youth organizations, then it strengthens this desirable effect. If not, then of course it makes it difficult and causes a regression. But man is a social entity and takes to recognition like a fish to water. Man desires the approval of others, although he denies it in ways we do not know. And upbringing organizations try to take advantage of this major tendency, creating their own environment, neutralizing or bolstering the influences of the environments outside of the organization.

On the other hand, if we wish to become convinced of the upbringing changes which take place in a later period, it is sufficient to engage in a short period of inner retrospection, for example, from the moment of beginning on a job until the present moment. Can we not see changes? For the better? This already is another issue.

Hence, for these reasons it seems to me that both these older youth organizations (not just scouting) are upbringing organizations. First of all, they play an important role in the period of the socialization of the individual's goals and aspirations. After all, it is commonly known (and verified) that man, especially the adult, is brought up through work, a job, according to Engels' theory, and it is these very youth organizations which create various possibilities for doing this, both in the professional area and in the sociocultural area. They create possibilities for joint work and, along with this, they reward behavior such as concern for the joint good, for the level of work of all the members, and for the moral authority of their own organiarmy he described, in which everyone knows that it must be well armed, but he also knows that its combat ability and will to fight are encouraged by the example of small units with especially high morale. But, are these units outside the army, or right in it, in certain platoons, companies, and regiments?

I would like to be very clear: I do not think that upbringing can be identically effective to the same extent in every unit of a youth organization. I think that in various units this extent varies. For example, it depends on the individual personality of the chief upbringing specialist who implements the program which the organization sets down. And this program, in keeping with the goals of socialist upbringing, takes into account not only the age of the young person but also the specific features of the environment in which he operates, his interests, and his intellectual, physical, and psychological needs. It gives great formal freedom and an enormous field for displaying ability and ingenuity in the realm of methods for achieving the goals established. And the fact that people wanted to take "Szpaczek's" place away from them, that Zbignew Czarnuch, famous pedagog and ZHP instructor, was attacked by school officials, and that finally the People's University in Roznica was closed down is still not enough to draw the conclusion that real activists "are /always/ (emphasis supplied by author) discouraged by a network of barriers."

In these three cases that really was the way it was, but not because in essence some organization felt threatened but because of the actions of various school and nonschool officials who were guided in this instance by plain human hatred and malice. But "Szpaczki," this miniature competition of the ZHP command," as Kozniewski calls it, was defended by the scout newspaper, SWIAT MLODYCH, in the very name of the ZHP and in the defense of the upbringing achievements of Dr Henryk NOwak, because "in the upbringing processes various sorts of initiative do not neutralize each other but build upon one another." And as for Czarnuch and the activists of the People's University in Roznica, did they not expand in a different, creative way, simply, the programs of two organizations, ZHP and ZMW? On the other hand, Czarnuch himself had the opportunity to popularize his actions in the scout press, as many scout upbringers have done to the advantage of "this general moral-ideological goal."

And this is why I am for individualism, for seeking out new solutions, and for sometimes controversial individuals of excellence, but right in the mass organizations, which can go beyond just popularizing these new ideas and forms (not at all on the principle of making them obligatory for everyone) and create a forum for discussing them, which may improve them still further. On the other hand, I am against groups solely under the care of individuals, even famous ones, which are isolated (along with their groups) from broadly conceived joint social action and competition, because this creates (even the very sense of being elite), for example, dangers of the sort described in a report printed in one of the youth papers. The group was highly intellectualized and widely discussed. It had beautiful ideals, in a word, beautiful young people! Only that all its action ended right there. It did not know

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permanent, enriching, and "protecting from corrosion" the attitudes which young people have acquired in earlier years, those more childish or more youthful. On the other hand, the concern "of the activists of these organizations should be seeing that the first steps in adult life do not destroy the previously acquired ethical or ideological attitude," because according to Kozniewski it is only during the first dozen and some years of life that human character can be molded. Afterwards the personality becomes fixed, and all upbringing efforts actually lose their sense after the threshold to maturity is crossed.

And it is in this reasoning that Kozniewski makes his mistake. On the other hand, it is surely from this error that the whole concept of elite upbringing groups, to which he often goes back to, comes.

seems to me that the first mistake arises out of the understanding of It the concept of "mass approach." I can see already how, in writing the phrase, the author visualizes these millions of young people in the raw state, a whole mass which first of all it would be difficult to control, let alone talk about upbringing, because what else can be the meaning of the proposal that "alongside the operation of mass youth institutions organizing various forms and manifestations of the life of our teenagers and younger people" there have also been "groups aimed at far, really very far, smaller numbers of young people, groups whose primary task would be to shape ethical attitudes"? Because with such a proposal it is possible to have the impression that the author does not know the organizational principles of youth organizations at all, inasmuch as, indeed, there are a few million young people in one, and in the second and third too, but after all, one is divided up into troops and tribes, while the second is split up into circles and plant or local organizations. And the first are squads, circles, groups which actually are not too large (consisting of ten, 15, sometimes 30 or 40 people), which do many interesting things from the upbringing point of view, under the leadership of an instructor, an enthusiastic activist, or a senior upbringer.

Once I worked as a scout instructor in the Warsaw Praga-South troop. There were probably about 200 squads and tribes in it. On the other hand there were not more than a handful of people of outstanding pedagogic individuality, tremendous upbringing spirit, people with their own ideas. But this handful with those ideas and their own enthusiasm managed to infect the others. Were the followers able to fully meet their requirements? Of course not, but they tried! As a result their upbringing activity was more interesting, more mature, and surely thereby more effective than if they had been guided solely by their own experience, without having a model. In this way, in one troop there were several elite groups, as Kozniewski would put it, under the care of famous upbringers and at the same time, because they were given a broader field of operation and the possibility of popularizing their activity, they proved to be the 'impetus for all the rest." And this is the very point in the mass nature of the socialist upbringing system, the sense which Kozniewski already seems to see, because it is like with the zation, and the code of behavior in effect in it (executed in a formal way at meetings and in an informal way in contacts among friends and colleagues) has a great causative force. The way in which these goals are realized is another matter. Perhaps in certain circles of the two older organizations this is the organizational "inclination" (that is, contenting oneself with the same form), but this in no way follows from the fact that there just is nobody to be brought up. "A person learns to the end of his life" is a popular saying, and in the field of upbringing it has some sense.

On the other hand it is true (there is no reason not to believe sociologists doing research on contemporary youth) that "these young adults," as Kozniewski writes, "are generally" (but does this mean all of them?--- author) "rather poorly socialized. They are decidedly more bent on satisfying their own personal aspirations than aspirations of a social nature. They think more about themselves and their families than they do about the society and the state. They are less idealistic and more egotistical. To put it another way, they are far and away more the product of the processes which industrialize and urbanize our country than they are the product of conscious efforts on the part of upbringers -- from declarations and programs we know what these efforts are -- to develop an individual with socialist characteristics."

If we take this statement to be an accusation against youth organizations and the school, is it fully justified? I think that just as socialism cannot be built in a day (because this is the way I treat the first 33 years), so neither can a fully effective system of socialist upbringing be developed overnight. Is it not too soon to sound the alarm? We are on the eve of school reform. Alongside this there is the recent integration of the youth movement into the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth, the merger of ZMS and ZSMW, and the expansion of scouting activities to include all the grades of the secondary school, all this made it necessary to reformulate the programs in effect. We learn from mistakes. We draw conclusions from experiences. It is true that the path of the inculcation of the Pupil's Code is difficult, but after all it is only in its third year. Both the teachers and the pupils must get used to it. In the process of social and consciousness changes, 10 years is not much.

And going back to a picture of Polish youth which is not the most optimistic portrayal, after all, the fact that young people are a certain way is not solely the result of the action of the youth organizations. It is the result of whole interrelationship of various factors, including the schools (which are still not the best), peer groups, the church, various sorts of organizations with specific purposes other than political ones, and so on. The processes of urbanization and industrialization also play their part. So do the attitudes of parents, especially those of the war generation, parents who want at all costs to protect their offspring in childhood from the difficulties of life. They had the war and the difficult years of reconstruction and making up for the war, so let the children have it better. This . is what more than one mother and father have thought. It is true that having spokes put in their wheels made life easier for the children, but at

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the same time it deprived them of ingenuity. And then suddenly a person who is supposedly mature, a boy or girl 18 years of age, stands on the threshold of life (with all its complexities) and looks around helplessly. Then the young people flee to the parent's wing to find an oasis of peace and quiet. Maybe I am oversimplifying a bit, but it is just because of this attitude on the part of many parents that many young people today have such an egotistical outlook and value only their family, and their contacts within a small group of friends, and are isolated from the world. Would not these small upbringing groups deprived on confrontations and comparisons with other groups or the element of group competition become the same way, closed within themselves and lacking ingenuity, as the above-mentioned commentary indicates? And could they approach the ideals which we discussed at the beginning, especially since their elite nature would create the very danger of becoming egotistical and presumptious? So then how can we talk about accomplishing personal happiness within collective happiness?

Hence, in speaking about upbringing, we should take into consideration all the factors and view them in a broad context, but in speaking about the activities of youth organiztions, we must also realize not only how they operate but also in what sort of structure they operate, what helps them, and what hinders them, and to what extent. And these are the problems which count.

And as for Dr Henryk Nowak, of course he is wrong in wanting to popularize his upbringing method "as the one and only in the whole world," but we should make it possible for his method to be popularized nonetheless. I think that in the mass organizations Dr Nowak has a broad field in which to operate.

POLAND

TRADE UNION STUDY CRITICIZES VOCATIONAL EDUCATION REFORM PLAN

Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 5 Sep 77 p 4

[Article by Irena Zmigrodzka: "Round About the Concept of Vocational Education--Secondary Education and Then What?"]

[Text] Public opinion is showing interest in recent articles on the subject of a new vocational education plan (we published several articles about the plan, the last an article in GLOS PRACY dated 8 September under the title "Vocational 'Fitting'--Continued"). There is nothing strange in this. The proposed reform pertains to a system under which about 70 percent of our youth is being educated. Therefore, no right-thinking person can remain indifferent about our future vocational apparatus, how it will teach and train, and the kind of people its graduates will be.

These problems and anxieties were reflected in discussions at a recent meeting of the CRZZ's (Central Council of Trade Unions) Committee on Education and Vocational Qualifications, dedicated specifically to the new vocational education concept. The role of work establishments under the new plan raised the most doubt.

Responsibilities Only

According to the principles of the new plan, work establishments are to be linked more closely with schools than in the currently obligatory system of vocational education. That is good. It is right that they are to concern themselves with schools still more efficiently, and that they will influence the teaching profile more widely than heretofore. There are "marvelous" schools in existence today which even teach a dozen or more trades! However, the effects of such training are very problematical. With work establishments playing a substantial role under the reform plan, the way to an occupation will undoubtedly result in raising the level of vocational preparedness, and most of all, the latter's adaptation to the actual needs of the national economy.

While accepting entirely the principle of the closest possible ties between schools and work establishments, it is, however, difficult not to be disturbed by the fact that work establishments have been excessively burdened with responsibilities. In accordance with the principles of the reform plan, the actual vocational training of youth attending various types of schools (those based on the 10-year study program as well as on the 7th and 8th grade junior high school program which already have been obligatory for several years) will rest primarily on work establishments. The reform plan places on them the responsibility for conducting practical training for youth. It even makes them responsible for youth education and vocational specialization.

This capability is possible only for big enterprises which, as is known, have not only been engaged in training and supplemental instruction of work cadres for some years, beginning with elementary school, and ending with higher school, but have also attained significant results and gained a great deal of experience in this area. However, the huge majority either does not have the capability, and simply is not predisposed to accept responsibility for youth training. The school is probably the place for that, just as the basic task of enterprises is primarily production, despite many other social, educational and cultural tasks. Enterprises cannot substitute for educational units, although incidentally many of them do that, and unfortunately, have done so for years with respect to supplemental instruction for workers who have not completed our elementary school requirement. Work establishments could and even should have fulfilled that task in the first and perhaps dozen years after the war when the people's state inherited illiterates and semi-literates from the capitalist system. These had to be utilized in the economy and trained gradually. But currently, when "hothouse" educational conditions have been created for youth, it is odd that the country still has more than a million workers who have not completed elementary school, among them 350,000 very young people.

What About Rights?

The absence of the formulation of a concrete range of responsibilities for schools vis-a-vis their students, strikes one in the new plan of vocational education, because it so precisely defines the responsibilities of work establishments with respect to schools. The work establishment must conduct practical lessons for youth but does not, for example, have any guarantee that at least some youth will go to work for it. It is true that the work establishment ought to create suitable conditions and to try to attract youth to it. But it is also true that there is a lack of workers, particularly of highly qualified workers and a great deal of competition between work establishments for workers.

Thus, it seems essential to take all of this into consideration in working up a model of future vocational education, and to draw appropriate conclusions for the proper shaping of a system which, while placing obligations upon work establishments, likewise accords them certain rights relative to students and graduates of vocational schools.

Where Only a Diploma Is Concerned

It appears that the setting up of training and supplemental instruction is a debatable matter in the projected reform. The guidelines of the future public 10-year secondary school create complete and still broader conditions for realizing the principles of permeability than is possible under the present instruction system. This means that 10th-grade graduates as well as those of all types of vocational specialization schools (2-year, 1-year and half-year) have an open road to further training as well as to enrollment in all higher schools.

This is a self-evident expression of the full democracy of our system of education. Undoubtedly, this could fill us only with pride if not for a certain disturbing phenomenon which has manifested itself for some time. Namely, the flight of some workers from the occupation learned in a vocational school. Many of us see only one way of improving our living standard and that consists of obtaining a diploma from a higher school, frequently one where such a diploma is easiest to obtain, rather than in the acquisition of ever greater competence and knowledge of one's occupation. Thus, it happens that a good mechanic undertakes a correspondence course in economics, or a technician studies law only because that faculty or consultation point exists in the place in which he resides.

A similar phenomenon is to be observed among very highly qualified workers who not infrequently abandon their occupation for a doubtful career as an administrative worker because a white-collar title impresses them. Naturally, there would not be anything improper in that (let everyone learn what he wants to and work where he pleases) if not for the fact that our government cannot afford waste, or the luxury of educating people solely for the purpose of providing diplomas. Does not society and the national economy carry too great a cost here? Would it not make more sense if people who acquired a specific occupation were motivated to expand their knowledge and capability and attain progressive promotion within the framework of that occupation?

After all, the world is moving steadily forward in all disciplines, and keeping pace with one's specialty demands continuing self-education and improvement in one's occupation. Actually, the work establishment should create the conditions for this not only through organizing such training and exercising thoughtful care over it, but also by creating an appropriate system of promotions and material incentives for people who improve their knowledge and occupational qualifications. These matters ought to be analyzed thoroughly in developing the final outline of vocational education.

10-Year Schooling Will Help

Work establishments are just beginning to discuss the initial plan which originated as a result of the CRZZ Centre on Education and Vocational Qualifications conference referred to above. It would also be worthwhile to consider means of generating the same respect for a highly qualified worker and technician as for the holder of a Master's degree, or an Engineer.

It is clear that changing people's mentality and their way of thinking is a complicated and lengthy process. But we hope that the initiation of 10-grades of common school for all youth that is gradually being introduced, will speed up the process substantially, and outstrip the vocational education reform program by several years.

Although it will be only toward the end of the 80's before we will have graduates of the 10-year common school educational program, the education of youth in secondary schools will undoubtedly result in raising society's intellectual and cultural level. This, in turn, ought to influence a change in the way many people think, and in shaking off their all too often narrow-minded views about their careers and life style.

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU SPEECH ON RECEIVING CONGOLESE ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Sep 77 p 5 AU

[Report on 25 September speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu on receiving the credentials of the new ambassador of the People's Republic of the Congo to Bucharest, Emile Aurelien Bongouande]

[Text] On receiving the ambassador's credentials, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, thanked the envoy for the message conveyed on behalf of the president of the People's Republic of the Congo and, in turn, conveyed cordial greetings and best wishes to the Congolese President as well as a message of friendship and solidarity with the struggle and efforts of the Congolese people to consolidate their economic and political independence and to build a new, free and dignified life.

In his reply, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu also said: "You will carry out your activity in a country which, while building a new system based on equity and equality, also acts consistently to insure the unhampered development of its relations with all states, regardless of their social system, on the basis of strict respect for the principles of national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, full equality of rights and mutual advantage."

The speaker further said: "Within the framework of promoting active relations with states that have embarked upon the road of free and independent development, I have the particular pleasure of pointing out the positive evolution of relations of friendship and cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of the Congo and between our two peoples.

"On the basis of understandings established during high-level meetings and of the agreements signed, the economic and technological cooperation between our countries has continuously developed in very important fields, in full agreement with the interests of our countries and peoples. I also would like to stress the fruitful cooperation existing between Romania and the Peoples Republic of the Congo in the sphere of international relations, at the United Nations and in the 'Group of 77,' and I would also like to express our determination to continuously deepen the good relations in this field."

"The Romanian people," the speaker then said, "supported and continue to support the national liberation movements and the struggle by all people to defend and assert their national existence, against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and any forms of domination and oppression. We hailed with satisfaction the emergence of new independent states in Africa and other continents, and we support their efforts to insure their free and independent development. Romania contributes to constructively solving the great problems facing mankind by advocating the promotion of new and democratic relations, the establishment of a new international economic and political order, the elimination of underdevelopment and the creation of a world of peace, security and cooperation among nations."

In conclusion the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania assured the ambassador of the full support of the State Council, the government and himself personally in fulfilling his mission.

CEAUSESCU CONGRATULATES AMIN ON UGANDA'S NATIONAL DAY

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Oct 77 p 5 AU

[Text] To His Excellency Field Marshal Dr Idi Amin Dada, president for life of the Republic of Uganda.

On the 15th anniversary of the national day of the Republic of Uganda, I have the pleasure of congratulating you and wishing the Ugandan people prosperity and success along the road of the country's progress and wellbeing. I express the conviction that the relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Uganda will increasingly develop to the benefit of the two peoples and in the interest of international peace and understanding.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

ROMANIA

ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY MARKED AT KIEV CONSULATE

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Oct 77 p 6 AU

[Text] Moscow, 4 Oct (AGERPRES)--A ceremony was organized at the Romanian Consulate General in Kiev at which a plague bearing the legend "Romania's State Independence Centenary 1877-1977" was presented to the Ukrainian republican branch of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Society in recognition of its contribution to developing friendship and cooperation between the Romanian and Soviet peoples.

The ceremony was attended by M. A. Orlik, chairman of the Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries; O. I. Kastanenko, Ukrainian minister of light industry and chairman of the republican branch of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Society; aktivists of the Ukrainian party Central Committee and of the leadership of the friendship society, as well as the delegation of the Association of Ties of Friendship With the Soviet Union (ARLUS) led by Ion Hobana, member of the Bureau of the ARLUS general council and Romania's consul general to Kiev.

ROMANIA

BLOC MEMBERSHIP NO BAR TO PARTICIPATION IN NONALINED MOVEMENT

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE STUDII INTERNATIONALE in Romanian No 3, Jul-Sep 76 pp 269-280

[Article by Ion Mielcioiu: "Some Considerations on the Nonalined Movement and the Position of Romania Toward This Movement"]

[Excerpts] The Socialist Republic of Romania has consistently developed its relations with the nonalined countries and has shown interest in and approval of this movement which it has evaluated, from the very beginning, as a valuable contribution to the democratization of international life, to the creation of a new type of relations, to the consolidation of peace, to the cause of the free and independent development of all nations. The position of Romania toward the nonalined movement is presented in numerous speeches and interviews of president Nicolae Ceausescu, party and state documents on foreign policy, and joint communiques adopted with developing and nonalined countries. The evaluation of the policy of nonalinement is based on the need for the active participation of every state, whether large, small, or medium-sized, in international life, in the solution of the complex problems of today's world.

Romania is linked with the nonalined countries and with all developing countries by the same aspirations for peace and progress, by the common desire to use their material and human resources, in their own interest, for the purpose of the most accelerated advancement on the path of economic and social progress.

The constant concern of Romania to promote the most suitable forms of collaboration with the developing countries and with the nonalined countries is completely natural; and, in this respect, it should be stressed that in the opinion of our country, this collaboration does not in any way conflict with Romania's membership in the Warsaw Pact, as long as it exists; it is a matter of a collaboration which—as President Nicolae Ceausescu stated—"is perfectly integrated in the general policy of our country—a socialist country and, at the same time, a developing country—for strengthening solidarity with all progressive forces, promoting the principles of peace-ful coexistence and expanding collaboration with all states, regardless

of social system, with a view to the rendering the bloc policy outmoded and achieving of international security and detente." [Footnote: Nicolae Ceausescu: "Report to the Grand National Assembly on the Great Achievements of the Romanian People During the 1971-1975 Five-Year Plan and the Foreign Policy of Romania Placed in the Service of Peace and International Collaboration," Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1975 p 22]

In its relations with the nonalined states, Romania uses as a point of departure the idea that the essential thing is not membership or nonmembership in blocs but the positions and the manner of action of states in promoting new principles of relations among states, affirming and implementing the right of each people to independent development, for the maintenance of peace and the development of international collaboration. It is known that military blocs appeared under certain historical circumstances and they are not and cannot be eternal. Romania, like other socialist countries, has taken an active stand for the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact and of all military blocs, for effective disarmament measures and, especially, for nuclear disarmament. The pledges assumed by Romania in its foreign relations are in no way impediments to its participation, in various forms, in activities of the nonalined movement. Life has demonstrated that the only criterion for issuing judgments in connection with the participation of states in the nonalined movement is the political will of the respective states, taken separately, to act with firmness for the implementation of the fundamental objectives and goals which the nonalined countries propose and of the international economic and political order.

The participation of Romania in meetings of the nonalined countries, including the summit conference in Colombo, enjoys the active support and approval of the overwhelming majority of the nonalined countries.

EUROPEAN TRADING PARTNERS REVIEWED IN LIGHT OF CSCE

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 30 Sep 77 AU

[Article: "Active Promoter of Technical and Scientific Collaboration in Europe"]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 30/9/77--The representatives of the signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act, who will meet in Belgrade on 4 October, will examine as part of the agenda also the problems related to the imperative of developed technical and scientific collaboration. The chapter dealing with cooperation in science and technology is a major component of the all-European conference document, which consecrates a complex set of political, economic, cultural and military measures meant to contribute to the building of a Europe of peace and coblaboration.

ROMANIA

Romania has repeatedly underlined that, in the conditions of the contemporary technico-scientific revolution, progress requires concomitantly with intensified research programmes in each country also close links with the flows of scientific and technological investigation on a world level. In Romania's conception, cooperation is meant to ensure to all countries, irrespective of their potential, the possibility to benefit by the gains of modern science and technique, because this would help them to **sp**eed up the growth of their national economy and, implicitly, to intensify their participation in the international division of labour.

The fact that the 35 signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act hold 92 percent of the world research potential points out the possibilities that do exist for the amplification of inter-European cooperation, for increasing the European countries' contribution to the exchange of information on modern technology.

As for Romania, which promotes in the international arena an active and dynamic policy of collaboration in all domains, she makes a substantial contribution also to the cause of developing technico-scientific cooperation. The Romanian state puts at the disposal of other countries its achievements in science and technology, contributes to the training of specialists and, implicitly, to speeding up the economic progress of the respective countries.

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In her turn, Romania receives specialists, technical and technological documentation from other countries. Romania concluded agreements, conventions or understandings on technico-scientific cooperation with almost all the signatory states of the Helsinki document. A significant example in this respect is offered by the activity in the oil domain, where Romania holds a top place internationally as regards the production and export of oil-field equipment. She boasts also of a large experience in geological prospecting of the "black gold" resources. Worthy of mention in this context is the fact that the deepest well of Europe was drilled on the territory of the German Democratic Republic with Romanian-made equipment and that Romanian geologists have contributed to the discovery of many oil nests in various European countries, the same as in other parts of the world.

Remarkable results were registered also in the bilateral collaboration of Romania with the Soviet Union--in nuclear physics, in building of atomic electric stations, in hydropower engineering, in siderurgy [iron and steel industry], in the production of ild-field [as received] and railway equipment, in the production of synthetic rubber and pulp; with the German Democratic Republic -- in machine-building, in the production of equipment for the textile industry and of power transformers, in biology (in the evolving of new highly-resistant cereal hybrids); with Poland--in ship building, in copper metallurgy, in the production of equipment for the textile industry; with Yugoslavia--in the production of locomotive types, of lorries, of machinetools, of medium tonnage cargoes. The Romanian-West German collaboration proved fruitful in the building of heavy caterpillar tractors, in the improvement of various chemical technologies. The building of helicopters, of refrigerating installations, investigations regarding new orientations in engine building are the object of the Romanian-French cooperation. With Great Britain, Romania cooperates in plane building, biological research, etc. The collaboration with Italy includes among others the domain of plastics and synthetic fibres.

Very numerous examples are offered by the Romanian scientists' collaboration with scientists of other European countries in mathematics, physics, astronomy, meteorology, geodesy, seismology, in medicine, in forecast activity and in other research spheres. Romania actively participates in the UNESCO programmes of technical and scientific collaboration in various domains on an European level, from informations to biphysics. Problems of a wide-world scope will be examined by the United Nations onference for Science and Technology in the service of development, convened for 1979 at Romania's initiative.

Since discriminatory practices still exist in the transfer of information and technology, Romania declares for the elaboration of an "international code of conduct in the transfer of technology." In keeping with the ideal of establishing a climate of peace and cooperation in Europe, Romania has initiated viable forms of cooperation and backed any proposal meant to favour conjugated international efforts in science and technology.

The possibilities of cooperation in any domain, therefore in science and technology as well, have to be used, according to Romania, based on the rule and principles that should govern general interstate relations: respect for national independence and sovereignty, fully equal rights, non-immixture in internal affairs, respect for each people's right to decide self-dependently its development path. 55

ROMANIA

LAW ON SOCIAL AID, PENSIONS PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 82, 6 Aug 77 pp 1-10

/Law No 3 on State Social Insurance Pensions and Social Aid/

/Text7 On the basis of Article 57 of the Constitution of the Socialist Repub-Tic of Romania we hereby sign and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Law No 3 of 30 June 1977 on State Social Insurance Pensions and Social Aid.

> Nicolae Ceausescu President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 8 July 1977.

In Romania work is a fundamental right and an honorable duty of all members of society.

It is the duty of all citizens fit for work to perform a useful activity in keeping with their training and aptitudes and the requirements of the national economy.

As the creators of all of society's material and cultural values, the workers benefit by the fruits of their labor according to the socialist principle of compensation in proportion to the quantity, quality and social importance of their work.

On the basis of his contribution to the development of society, the socialist state guarantees every citizen the right to a pension regardless of sex or nationality. It also grants material support in the form of social aid to persons incapable of work and devoid of a livelihood.

The pension based upon quantity, quality and social importance of work performed provides all citizens who have reached the legal age, or who have entirely or largely lost their working capacity due to accidents or diseases, with suitable living conditions in keeping with the developmental level of the national economy.

The principles of socialist ethics and justice require determination of the pension according to each worker's contribution to the general development of

our socialist society, as well as an equitable ratio between incomes from wages and those from pensions, for the continued encouragement of those actually working in various sectors of physical production and social-cultural activity.

To perfect the legislation on this subject, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby ratifies the present law.

Section I: General Provisions

Article 1. (1) In Romania all citizens who have done socially useful work in the physical production and social-cultural sectors are entitled to a pension.

(2) The pension is based upon each worker's contribution to social development and varies with the length of service, pay and labor group.

(3) By decree of the Council of State, jobs are classified in labor groups I, II or III depending on the conditions, complexity and importance of the work.

Article 2. (1) The right to a pension is granted when the legal age is reached in proportion to the nature of the work performed and the number of years actually served in the socioeconomic activity.

(2) Employed persons who have entirely or largely lost their working capacity are also entitled to a pension. The amount of the pension depends upon the causes and degree of the incapacity as well as length of service.

Article 3. (1) All citizens are entitled to social insurance pensions who have performed a permanent activity on the basis of a labor contract and for whom the socialist units have deposited the legally provided contribution in the state social insurance fund.

(2) The funds needed to pay social insurance pensions consist of the contributions paid by the socialist units and the allocations for this purpose out of the state budget.

Article 4. The socialist units are required to provide, for all workers, a correct record of length of service, pay received, and the other considerations legally necessary to determine the pension.

Article 5. (1) One person may receive one full social insurance pension. If he has also worked in other sectors with their own pensioning systems, he receives both the social insurance pension and the pension due him from these sectors, in proportion to the work performed and the legally established length of service.

(2) The sum of the combined pensions may not exceed the amount of the social insurance pension that would have been due the respective pension if his entire activity had been performed in a state unit.

Article 6. (1) The socialist units may not employ pensioners in any permanent activity. In exceptional cases and with the approval of the legally provided

organs, the units may employ pensioners solely for temporary activities or particular projects.

(2) The sums realized from these activities in combination with the pension may not exceed the pensioner's pay as of the date of pensioning, updated in accordance with the pay increases for the respective function.

Article 7. The pension is not taxable and may not be either totally or partially surrendered. The right to a pension is inalienable.

Section II: Pension for Work Performed and Age Limit

Article 8. (1) Workers with a seniority of at least 30 years if men and 25 years if women are entitled to a pension for work performed and the age limit, upon reaching 62 years if men and 57 if women.

(2) Employed persons with a seniority of at least 30 years if men and 25 years if women are also pensioned, upon their request, when they reach 60 if men and 55 if women.

(3) Persons wishing to continue their activity after the age of 62 if men and 57 if women may request, 3 months before reaching these ages, the unit to keep them on for a period no longer than 3 years. If the unit denies the request, the respective person may appeal to the next highest organ, which may decide to keep him on the job in the same or another subordinate unit or to pension him.

Article 9. (1) The length of service considered in determining the pension for work performed is the time a person has been employed on the basis of a labor contract.

(2) For pensioning purposes, length of service is established by the work card filled out according to law.

Article 10. The base pay on which the pension is calculated is the average monthly base pay in 5 chosen consecutive years of service in the last 10 years of activity.

Article 11. (1) The full pension for work performed and the age limit is based on percentages of the base pay, differentiated according to salary brackets and labor groups determined according to law (see table).

(2) The percentages for groups I and II apply to persons who have actually worked in these groups for at least 20 years in group I or 25 years in group II. If they have worked for less time, the percentages for group III are increased in proportion to the time actually worked in groups I and II.

Article 12. Persons with a total length of service greater than 30 years if men and 25 years if women receive a 1 percent pension increase for each additional year in the first 5 years and a 0.5 percent increase in the base pay used to calculate the pension for each additional year beyond 5 years.

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Article 13. (1) Persons without full seniority but with a seniority of at least 15 years receive a pension in proportion to the number of years of service at the age of 62 if men and 57 if women.

(2) Persons with a seniority of 10-15 years receive a monthly pension of 350 lei for 10 years' service and 25 lei more for each additional year up to 14 years inclusive.

Article 14. (1) The pensions of persons who have actually worked at least 20 years on jobs which are classified according to law in group I, or at least 25 years in group II, are computed as follows for each year served in these groups:

> a) One year and 6 months for group I; b) One year and 3 months for group II.

(?) On this basis persons who have worked in groups I and II are entitled upon request to be pensioned when they reach the age:

> a) Of 5? years for group I and 57 for group II, if men; b) Of 50 years for group I and 52 for group II, if women.

(3) Men and women completely qualifying under Paragraph (1) are also pensioned upon request at the age of 50 in group I, and at 55 if men or at 50 if women in group II.

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(h) Persons with the legally required seniority who have actually worked at least 15 years on jobs classified in group I or at least 20 years on jobs classified in group II are entitled upon request to the reduction in pensioning age specified in Article 8 Paragraph (2) in proportion to the years served in groups I or II, but at no less than 52 years of age for group I and 57 for group II if men, or 50 years of age for group I and 52 for group II if women.

Article 15. (1) Persons entitled to pensioning at a reduced age may request continued employment on the same job or on other lighter ones until the age:

a) Of 55 years for group I and 60 for group II, if men;b) Of 52 years for group I and 55 for group II, if women.

(2) These persons retain their right to a pension according to the labor group from which they come, the period of continuous service being regarded as seniority in groups I or II.

Article 16. Persons who have worked at least 5 years in groups I and II are entitled to calculation of their length of service as 1 year and 6 months for group I or 1 year and 3 months for group II, for each year served in these groups. In these cases the pensioning age limit is not lowered.

Article 17. (1) In determining the pensions of navigators in civilian aviation with a seniority of at least 25 years if men and 20 years if women, an additional seniority is considered according to law depending upon the number of hours of flight, the type of aircraft and the function performed.

(2) On this basis the navigators are entitled to be pensioned upon request at the age of 50.

(3) Navigators without the seniority specified in Paragraph (1) are entitled to consideration of the additional seniority determined according to law. In these cases the pensioning age limit is not lowered.

Article 18. (1) Women with 25 years' seniority who have given birth to at least three children and raised them to the age of 10 may request pensioning before the pensioning age as follows:

a) By 1 year for three children;

- b) By 2 years for four children;
- c) By 3 years for more children.

(2) The pensioning age is lowered by entire years and may not be under 50 years.

Article 19. (1) Professors and readers in higher education as well as senior scientific researchers I and II with a seniority of at least 30 years if men and 25 years if women are pensioned at the age of 65 if men and 60 if women. They may be kept on for a period of no more than 5 years at their request and with the consent of the unit. (2) The persons specified in Paragraph (1) will be pensioned upon their request at the age of 62 if men and 57 if women.

Article 20. (1) In determining length of service consideration is also given to the time in which the person:

a) Has been detained in camps or prisons for revolutionary, antifascist or democratic activity. Each year of detention counts as 1 year and 6 months' seniority.

b) Has been dismissed from service for revolutionary, antifascist or democratic activity before 23 August 1944 or as a result of the racial or national persecutions between January 1938 and December 1945.

c) Has performed any revolutionary antifascist activity recognized as length of service by the competent organs.

(2) Length of service also includes the time in which an employed person has interrupted his activity because:

a) He has performed limited military service or has been concentrated, mobilized or in captivity.

b) He has been suspended from his job or his labor contract has been canceled, if these measures were subsequently annulled as illegal.

(3) Length of service also includes the period in which an employed person has taken occupational or political training courses.

(4) Length of service also includes the periods for which payments have been made for previous social insurance or to the pension funds taken over by the state.

(5) Length of service of persons who have been employed on part time according to law is considered in proportion to the time worked.

(6) The period in which a woman has been employed on part time according to law in order to care for children up to the age of six is regarded as full time.

Article 21. (1) The average monthly base pay considered in computing the pension is determined on the basis of:

a) The classified base pay, for those paid by the month;
b) The classified base pay, corresponding to 204 hours, for those paid by the hour, including personnel working on the overall contract system;
c) The rated base pay, for those paid by a percentage;

d) The salary for which the social insurance contribution has been paid, for those in the service of individuals.

(2) In the case of persons entitled to a pension who have also been employed in international organizations, mixed companies or other organizations

abroad and who have been paid in foreign currency, the classified base pay for comparable functions in Romania in the corresponding periods is considered in determining the basis of calculation of the pension, if the legal contributions to state social insurance have been paid.

Section III: Pension for Disability Caused by Labor Accidents or Occupational Diseases

Article 22. The units are required to provide their employees with conditions essential to efficient work and to take the legally provided labor protection measures to eliminate any causes of impairment or loss of their working capacity.

Article 23. (1) Employed persons who have been entirely or largely disabled by labor accidents on duty or occupational diseases receive a pension for the duration of the disability.

(2) Persons are also pensioned who have been entirely or largely disabled by a disease contracted while they were employed, if the established disability is of the first or second degree.

(3) The same benefits are also received by persons who have been entirely or largely disabled during and because of their performance of military duty or of state or public tasks, as well as pupils, apprentices and students in the course of occupational experience.

(4) Persons who have lost half their working capacity and work half time receive a third degree disability pension on the legal terms.

Article 24. (1) Disability is determined by decision of the county or Bucharest municipal pension commissions on the recommendation of the commissions on medical appraisement and recovery of working capacity, organized according to law.

(2) The respective persons can be classified in one of the following degrees of disability:

person;

a) First degree, if they need the care and attention of another

b) Second degree, other entirely or largely disabled persons;

ity.

c) Third degree, persons who have lost half their working capac-

(3) The criteria and standards for classification in the first, second and third degrees of disability are approved by decree of the Council of State.

Article 25. (1) The pension for persons entirely or largely disabled by labor accidents, occupational diseases or other diseases contracted while they were employed, in cases of first or second degree disability, is determined by length of service and percentages of base pay, differentiated according to salary brackets and labor groups. The pension for first degree disability is determined as follows:

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1) Pentru grupa I de muncă

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63

 For Labor Group I
 Base pay (lei)
 Pension in percentages of base pay for 5 years' service
 Minimum pension (lei)
 Pension in percentages of base pay for 15 years' service
 For Labor Group II
 For Labor Group III
 For Labor Group III
 For Labor Group III

(2) For lengths of service between 5 and 30 years, the pension is based upon the number of years served.

(3) The pension for second degree disability is 85 percent of the pension for first degree disability, and the pension for third degree disability is no more than 30 percent of the latter.

(4) The pension for each year of service beyond full seniority is increased by 1 percent for the first 5 years, and by 0.5 percent for the following years, of the base pay for computing the pension.

(5) The pension for third degree disability together with the pay received for the work performed may not exceed 80 percent for persons in group I, 75 percent for persons in group II, and 70 percent for persons in group III, of the pay received when the degree of disability is determined, updated according to the increases for the respective function.

Article 26. The base pay on which the disability pension is calculated is the average monthly base pay in 5 chosen consecutive years served in the last 10 years of activity or the average salary for the last years when the seniority is no more than 5 years.

Article 27. (1) Employed persons with less than 5 years' seniority who have been entirely or largely disabled by labor accidents, occupational diseases, or other diseases contracted while they were employed are entitled to a pension of 650 lei for first degree disability and 520 lei for second degree disability.

(2) The same benefits are received by students, pupils, apprentices and persons injured in the course of military duty or state or public tasks who were not gainfully employed in the previous period.

Article 28. Pensioners with first degree disability receive a monthly sum of 300 lei for medical care in addition to a pension.

Article 29. (1) Persons who have suffered labor accidents or contracted occupational diseases or who for reasons of health can no longer work under the conditions on their previous jobs will be employed on lighter jobs in keeping with their working capacity. The socialist units employing them are required to provide them with such jobs.

(2) The workers and experts specified in Paragraph (1) who are in labor groups I and II and have a seniority of at least 10 years in these groups will

be employed on jobs paying them at least 75 percent for group I and 70 percent for group II of the salary in effect for the previous function. For over 15 years' seniority the proportions are 80 percent for group I and 75 percent for group II. If it is not possible to provide this pay, the difference up to 70, 75 or 80 percent is made up out of the social insurance funds being included in the base pay.

Article 30. The decision on classification in degrees of disability may be appealed, within no more than 60 days of notice, to the county and Bucharest municipal pension commissions by the person in question or by the management of the unit that employs him.

Article 31. (1) Pensioners with first, second or third degree disability are subject to the medical review at intervals of 6-12 months, at the times set by the commissions on medical appraisement and recovery of working capacity. Failure to report for the medical review means suspension of payment of the pension as of the following month.

(2) Employed persons receiving the pay difference out of state social insurance according to Article 29 Paragraph (2) are also subject to the medical review.

(3) The medical review may also be performed upon the pensioners' request, only up to the age of 60 if men and 55 if women.

(4) Disability pensioners with irreversible disabilities are not subject to the periodic medical review, not those who have reached the age of 60 if men and 55 if women.

Article 32. If the degree of disability is changed, the pension for the new degree is based on the amount of the pension received for the previous degree of disability.

Article 33. The provisions of the present law concerning determination of seniority and base pay on which the pension for work performed and the age limit is computed also apply to calculation of pensions for disability caused by a labor accident or occupational disease.

Article 34. Upon reach 60 years if men and 55 if women, disability pensioners are transferred officially to the category of pensioners for work performed and the age limit. In these cases they may retain the benefits for first and second degree disability.

Section IV: Pension for Disability Incurred Off Duty

Article 35. Employed persons entirely or partially disabled by accidents suffered off duty receive a pension if the established disability is of the first, second or third degree and they have at least 5 years' seniority.

Article 36. (1) The pension is determined in percentages of base pay, differentiated according to salary brackets and years of service. The pension for first degree disability is determined as follows:

	1) Retribuția tarifară — lei —	Pensia în procente din retribuția C turifară pentru (5 ani vechime	Cuantumul minim al pensiei – (C	Pensia în procente din retribuția 7 tarifară pt. 15 ani vechimo	263	Pensia în procente din retribuția C tarifará pt. 30 C	ani vechime Cuantumul minim al pensiei , C
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	$2\ 501 - 3\ 000$	17	500	30	775	55	$1\ 425$
	3 001 3 500	15	510	29	900	53	1 650
	3 501 - 4 000	14	520	28	1 015	51	$1\ 855$
7)	peste 4 000	13	530	27	1 1 2 0	49	2040

1. Base pay (lei)

- 2. Pension in percent of base pay for 5 years' seniority
- 5. Pension in percent of base pay for 30 years' seniority
- 6. Up to
- 7. Over
- 3. Minimum pension (lei)
 4. Pension in percent of base pay for 15 years' seniority

(2) For seniorities between 5 and 30 years, the pension is computed in proportion to the number of years served.

(3) A 1 percent pension increase is granted for each year of service beyond full seniority for the first 5 years and a 0.5 percent increase for the following years, of the base pay on which the pension is computed.

(4) Pensioners with first degree disability receive a monthly sum of 300 lei for medical care in addition to a pension.

(5) The amount of the pension for second degree disability is 85 percent of the pension for first degree disability, and that for third degree disability is no more than 30 percent of the latter.

(6) The pension for third degree disability together with the pay received for work performed may not exceed 70 percent of the pay received as of the date of determining the degree of disability, updated according to the increases for the respective function.

Article 37. (1) Persons performing military duties who have incurred first or second degree disability due to diseases other than occupational ones receive a pension without the requirement of length of service.

(2) The pension of those who were employed on the basis of a labor contract on the date they were called to military service is determined according
to the provisions of Article 36. Those who do not meet the requirement of length of service necessary to obtain the pension, as well as those who were not employed, receive a fixed pension of 455 lei for first degree disability and 390 lei for second degree disability.

Article 38. The provisions concerning length of service and rated base pay, as well as classification in degrees of disability and the medical review, also apply to the pensions for disability due to causes other than labor accidents or professional diseases.

Section V: Survivor Pension

Article 39. (1) The survivor pension is granted to wives and children on the terms of the present law.

(2) The survivor pension is granted if the deceased was a pensioner or met the requirements for obtaining a pension.

Article 40. (1) Children are entitled to a survivor pension up to the age of 16 or, if they continue their studies, until the latter are completed, but not after the age of 25.

(2) Surviving children who have incurred first or second degree disability before the age of 16 receive a monthly benefit of 350 lei for first degree disability and of 300 lei for second degree disability, after the survivor pension ceases and for the duration of the disability.

Article 41. (1) A wife is entitled to a survivor pension for her lifetime upon reaching the age of 55, if she has been married for at least 15 years. If the marriage has been shorter, but at least 10 years, the pension is granted in proportion to the years of marriage.

(2) A wife who has reached the age of 50, who has given birth to more than four children by the date of her husband's death, and who has been married at least 10 years also receives a lifetime survivor pension.

(3) A wife is entitled to a survivor pension, regardless of age or duration of marriage, for as long as she is disabled in the first or second degree. She also receives this pension if she is not employed on the date of her husband's death and has in her care one or more children up to the age of six.

Article 42. A wife who is entitled to a pension of her own and meets the legal requirements for the survivor pension after her husband's death may choose any of these pensions.

Article 43. A wife receives a survivor pension only until she is employed, but for no longer than 6 months from the date of her husband's death if she does not meet the requirements of Article 41.

Article 44. (1) The amount of the survivor pension is calculated on the following basis: (a) The pension of the deceased supporter, if he was a pensioner;
(b) The pension to which the supporter would have been entitled, according to law, for the work performed and the age limit or for disability.

(2) The survivor pension is based on percentages of the holder's pension as follows: 50 percent for a sole survivor, 75 percent for two survivors, and 100 percent for more survivors entitled to this pension.

Article 45. In the case of children who have lost both parents, the amount of the survivor pension is calculated on the following basis:

(a) For no more than three children, the most advantageous pension of one parent alone;

(b) For four children, the most advantageous pension of one parent plus half the pension of the other parent;

(c) For five or more children, the combined pensions of both parents.

Article 46. (1) Payment of the pension is suspended as long as the surviving pensioner is employed or realizing an income from a regular activity as a professional or small tradesman with his own shop. Payment of the pension is also suspended when the surviving wife marries.

(2) When one survivor loses his right to a pension, the others continue to receive the part of the pension that was due them as of the respective date.

Section VI: Determination and Payment of Pensions

Article 47. (1) Commissions on pensions and social insurance have been attached to the collective management organs of the socialist units to strictly enforce the legal provisions on compilation of pensioning documents and maintenance of a correct record of all data and other considerations necessary to establish rights to a pension and other social insurance benefits.

(2) Said commissions are composed of 3-7 members and headed by a representative of the collective management organs. They include representatives of the personnel and payroll sections, of the trade union organization, of the women's commissions and other workers' representatives, as well as the medical specialist.

(3) The complement of the commission is determined by the collective management organs jointly with the trade union committee in the socialist unit.

Article 48. (1) In order to determine the pension, the unit employing the respective person compiles his pension dossier, which must include his work card with entries up to date and any other necessary documents. The pensioning dossier is checked by the commission on pensions and social insurance, which is required to notify the unit management of any irregularities it finds. The unit is entirely responsible for the accuracy of the data in the dossier and on the pensioning card.

(2) If for justified reasons any persons do not have work cards, the activity performed may also be established by documents valid for confirming the length of service according to the legal standards for filling out the work card. (3) If the total of the periods of service contains fractions greater than 6 months they count as 1 year, while lesser ones are disregarded.

(4) Time worked abroad is considered in determining the pension if contributions have been made to state social insurance or if there are regulations to this effect in the agreements concluded by Romania with the respective states.

Article 49. (1) The units are required to send the pension dossier to the Directorate for Problems of Labor and Social Welfare at least 90 days before the date of pensioning for the work performed and the age limit.

(2) For disability pensioning, the dossier is submitted in no more than 30 days of notice of the decision to classify in one of the degrees of disability, and for a survivor, in no more than 30 days of the date of the supporter's death.

(3) The disability pensioning dossier compiled by the commission on pensions and social insurance in a unit must contain the medical appraisement conclusions, confirmed by the enterprise physician and the local hospital.

Article 50. (1) Within no more than 30 days of receipt of the pensioning dossier the Directorate for Problems of Labor and Social Welfare is required to check whether the dossier contains all the data needed to determine the pension and to recommend the decision to pension to the county pension commission.

(2) In case of pensioning for a labor accident or disease, the dossier will be submitted within the same time limit to the county commission on medical appraisement and recovery of working capacity.

Article 51. The pensions are paid to those who were employed on the date of requesting pensioning, as of the date on which their pensioning was approved by decision of the county pension commission. The unit may not order cessation of the activity of the person who has requested pensioning until he has received the decision to pension.

Article 52. (1) The county and Bucharest municipal pension commissions are appointed by decision of the Executive Committee of the County or Bucharest Municipal People's Council, with the approval of the Ministry of Labor and the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions in Romania, and they have the following complement:

Chairman:

- A vice chairman of the Executive Committee of the County or Bucharest Municipal People's Council, as the case may be;

Members:

- A judge designated by the president of the county or Bucharest municipal court;

- The director of the Directorate for Problems of Labor and Social Welfare;

- A member of the Bureau of the County or Bucharest Municipal Council of Trade Unions;

- A representative of the County Union of Agricultural Cooperatives;

- One representative each of the management organs of the Health Directorate and the county and Bucharest municipal women's and youth organizations.

(2) The county pension commissions issue decisions on pensions on the basis of the recommendations of the county directorates for problems of labor and social welfare or those of the commissions on medical appraisement and recovery of working capacity as the case may be.

(3) The county pension commissions consider the appeals of the decisions of the pension and social insurance commissions in units and those of the commissions on medical appraisement and recovery of working capacity.

(4) Decisions of the pension commissions may be appealed, within 30 days of notice, to the Central Pension Commission.

(5) Decisions not appealed within the time limit and decisions of the Central Pension Commission are final.

Article 53. (1) Commissions on medical appraisement and recovery of working capacity operate under the directorates for problems of labor and social welfare of the counties and Bucharest municipality. The commissions are composed of 9-13 members as follows:

- The director of the Directorate for Problems of Labor and Social Welfare or his deputy;

- The director of the Health Directorate or his deputy;

- Representatives of the local trade union organs;

- Representatives of the women's organizations;

- Representatives of the workers in the socialist units;

- Medical specialists.

(2) The membership of the commissions is approved by decision of the Executive Committee of the County or Bucharest Municipal People's Council, with the consent of the Ministry of Labor and the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions in Romania.

Article 54. The county commissions on medical appraisement and recovery of working capacity have the following main functions:

(a) They check the validity and legality of the recommendations of the pension and social insurance commissions in units concerning classification in degrees of disability.

(b) They recommend the decisions to classify in one of the degrees of disability to the county pension commissions.

(c) They analyze recommendations to extend sick leave over 90 days and review the issue of medical certificates for these leaves.

(d) They periodically analyze the state of health of workers in the socialist units and recommend the necessary measures to remedy the defects found.

(e) They direct and control the activity of the pension and social insurance commissions in units on matters of appraisement and recovery of working capacity.

Article 55. (1) The Central Pension Commission operates in the Ministry of Labor and has the following complement:

Chairman:

- A deputy of the minister of labor;

Vice chairman:

- A secretary of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions in Romania;

Members:

- The director general of the General Directorate of Social Insurance and Pensions in the Ministry of Labor;

- The director of the Institute for Medical Appraisement and Recovery of Working Capacity;

- One representative each of the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Health, the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions in Romania, the National Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, and the National Council of Women, appointed from the members of the management organs of these ministries and organizations.

(2) The complement of the Central Pension Commission is appointed by decision of the Council of Ministers.

(3) The Central Pension Commission is an appellate and control organ, and as such it tries and rules upon requests for review of the decisions of the county and Bucharest municipal pension commissions and checks the correct application of the pension laws by the regional units and organs of state social insurance pensions. Article 56. The organization, operation, functions and responsibilities of the Central Pension Commission, the county pension commissions, the commissions on medical appraisement and recovery of working capacity, and the pension and social insurance commissions in units are determined by regulations approved by decree of the Council of State.

Article 57. The pension is paid in person to the holder or deposited in the Savings and Loan Bank upon his request and in his name. If the pension cannot be delivered to the pensioner it is deposited in the Savings and Loan Bank in the name of the holder.

Article 58. (1) The survivor pension granted according to law to children may be used solely for their care and education, regardless of who collects it. Persons who have in their care children benefiting by a survivor pension are required to establish the use of the sums collected solely for the said purpose.

(2) Survivor pensions of children committed to asylums are deposited in the Savings and Loan Bank in their names, after the sums due according to law for their maintenance in these institutions have been paid.

Article 59. (1) Payment of the pension and the other pertinent benefits stops as of the month after the one in which the beneficiary ceases to meet the legal requirements on which they were based.

(2) Sums uncollected by a deceased pensioner for the month in which he died are paid to the members of his family.

Article 60. (1) Payment of the pension and the other pertinent benefits is suspended while the pensioner:

(a) Is serving a prison sentence.

(b) Is domiciled in the territory of another country.

(2) While a first degree disability pensioner is interned in a social aid unit payment of the allowance for his care is suspended.

(3) Payment of the pension is suspended as of the month after the one in which the suspension was caused.

Article 61. (1) In the case specified in Article 60 Paragraph (1) (a), if the conviction has been reversed and the defendant acquitted the sums for the duration of the suspension will be paid, but not in excess of the pension for 1 year.

(2) After the sentence is served, or in case of pardon or amnesty, payment of the pension is resumed as of the month after the one in which the pensioner was released.

Article 62. (1) Pensioners temporarily reemployed are required, within 15 days of hiring, to notify the pension organ of the unit, the date of hiring, and the salary. This provision also applies to the unit employing the pensioners.

(2) The courts are required to notify the respective pension organ within 15 days of the date of convicting a pensioner.

Article 63. (1) Persons who have worked in agricultural cooperative units and have at least 5 years' seniority in the state sector are entitled to a social insurance pension if they have worked in both sectors for more than 10 years.

(2) Moreover persons who have worked in artisan cooperative units or in other sectors with their own social insurance systems and have at least 5 years' seniority in the state sector are entitled to a state social insurance pension if they have worked in these sectors for more than 10 years.

(3) The amount of the state social insurance pension depends upon the time worked in the state sector, while the pension for the time worked in the agricultural cooperative units or in the other sectors is calculated separately, in proportion to the length of service in these sectors.

Section VII: Supplementary Pension

Article 64. (1) The supplementary pension is based on the principle of mutuality among the insured persons, who contribute 2 percent of their monthly base pay for this purpose.

(2) Employed persons may volunteer another 2 percent of their monthly base pay for the supplementary pension, in which case the total contribution will be 4 percent of their base pay. Those volunteering 4 percent of their base pay receive a supplementary pension increased according to the present law.

(3) Contributions for the supplementary pension are retained and paid by the units into special accounts in the Savings and Loan Bank, at an annual rate of 3 percent interest.

Article 65. (1) Contributors according to law to the formation of the supplementary pension fund receive this pension as of the date of cessation of their activity in consequence of pensioning.

(2) For persons who have contributed 2 percent, the supplementary pension is based upon percentages of the base pay used to compute the social insurance pension, according to years of contribution as follows:

Duration of contribution	Percentage of base pay
Over 20 years	12

Over 20 years	12
15-20 years inclusive	10
10-15 years inclusive	3
5-10 years inclusive	5

Article 66. (1) Persons who have volunteered 4 percent of their monthly base pay receive a supplementary pension based on percentages of the pay used to compute the social insurance pension, according to years of contribution as follows: Duration of contribution

Percentage of base pay

С	er 25 years	
2	-25 years inclusive	
1	-20 years inclusive	
1	-15 years inclusive	
5	10 years inclusive	

(2) For persons who have contributed 2 percent to the supplementary pension for one period and 4 percent for another period, the pension is based on the percentages for the 4 percent contribution. In this case every 2 years of 2 percent contribution counts as 1 year of 4 percent contribution.

Article 67. On the date of pensioning persons who have contributed to the supplementary pension for no more than 5 years, the sum they contributed is returned to them plus 3 percent interest.

Article 68. Survivors receive the supplementary pension at the rate of 50 percent of the quotas provided for the social insurance survivor pension.

Article 69. If a person has contributed to the supplementary pension in several sectors with their own social insurance and pension systems, all years of contribution are considered. In this case the sector that pays the social insurance pension also pays the supplementary pension.

Article 70. The provisions of the present law on determination and payment of pensions and on recalculation of the pension benefit or suspension of its payment also apply to supplementary pensions.

Section VIII: Social Aid and Other Social Insurance Benefits

Article 71. (1) In case of illness employed persons are entitled to free medical care in hospitals or clinics and to maintenance and medication during internment, according to law.

(?) While employed persons cannot meet their service obligations due to illnesses requiring medical care, they benefit by sick leaves and compensation out of state social insurance funds.

(3) Workers benefit by treatment or recreation in spas and resorts.

Article 72. Employed women benefit by compensation out of state social insurance funds in case of maternity or for the care of ill children.

Article 73. Employed persons who have suffered accidents or contracted diseases causing serious bodily harm benefit by compensation to buy prostheses or other medical materials

Article 74. A death benefit is granted in case of death of an employed person or a member of his family.

Article 75. The terms on which compensation out of state social insurance funds is granted and the amount of it are determined by decree of the Council of State.

Article 76. Persons unable to work due to age or chronic diseases, invalids and handicapped persons of all categories who are devoid of a livelihood and without legal supporters benefit on the legally provided terms by social aid or care in asylums and social aid institutions and by other forms of social aid.

Article 77. (1) Pensioners and other elderly persons or invalids who have material possibilities but need the care of other persons also benefit by state support in asylums and social aid institutions.

(2) Maintenance costs in asylums and social aid institutions are covered, on the legally provided terms, out of a pension or the contribution of the spouse, children or parents according to their ability to pay.

(3) Asylums and social aid institutions will make it possible for the interned persons to perform a useful activity according to their working capacity.

Article 78. For minors with physical or mental defects, the state organizes special protective and educational units providing for their occupational training and education.

Article 79. During their internment in a hospital, pensioners and members of their families are entitled to free medical care and medication.

Article 80. Pensioners and members of their families are also entitled to medical care and medication for clinical treatment on the terms of the law.

Article 81. Pensioners benefit on the terms of the law by treatment in spas and health resorts.

Article 82. In case of death of a pensioner or a member of his family, a death benefit is granted on the same terms as those for working personnel.

Section IX: Final and Temporary Provisions

Article 83. Requests to any organs to establish a right to a pension, as well as any procedural documents pertaining to this claim, are exempt from any kind of stamp tax.

Article 84. (1) Sums wrongly paid in the form of a pension or other pertinent benefits are recovered according to law from those who have received them. Sums unrecovered after a pensioner's death are no longer pursued.

(2) Sums wrongly paid are recovered from pensioners by decision of the pension organs, which constitutes an executory warrant.

Article 85. Persons who in disregard of the legal provisions cause payment of undue pensions are required to restore them according to law.

Article 86. In determining supplementary and social insurance pensions, fractions of a leu count as 1 leu in favor of the pensioner.

Article 87. Pensions and social benefits determined up to the date of the present law are continued as long as the conditions are met upon which they were based.

Article 88. (1) Pensioners with any degree of disability who are legally subject to the medical review and extant on the date of the present law will be reexamined by the commissions on medical appraisement and recovery of working capacity at the legally provided times.

(2) Persons to be reemployed in consequence of the medical review retain their right to a pension until they are hired, but no later than 31 December 1977. Pensioners with any degree of disability receiving both a pension and a salary as of the effective date of the present law retain this right as long as they are employed, but no later than 31 December 1977. During this period the socialist units are required to provide them with jobs suited to their legally established working capacities. Pensioners for the age limit who are employed as of the effective date of the present law and are receiving a pension and a salary on the legally provided terms retain this right as long as they are employed, but no later than 31 December 1977.

Article 89. Blind persons receive a full pension for the work performed if they have a seniority of at least 15 years if men and 10 years if women, upon reaching the age of 50 if men and 45 if women. These pensioners also receive the full pension for as long as they are employed.

Article 90. Pension claims under consideration in the pension organs will be settled according to the provisions of the present law.

Article 91. The other sectors of activity with their own social insurance and pension systems will draft their own regulations on the principles of the present law.

Article 92. The present law goes into effect as of 1 July 1977, on which date the following are abrogated: Law No 27 of 1966 on State Social Insurance Pensions and the Supplementary Pension, HCM /Decision of the Council of Ministers/ No 252 of 1967 on the Application of Law No 27 of 1966 with all subsequent modifications, and any other provisions contrary to the present law.

This law was ratified by the Grand National Assembly at its session of 30 June 1977.

Chairman of the Grand National Assembly Nicolae Giosan

Bucharest, 30 June 1977 No 3.

5186 CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

'SCINTEIA' ON NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF BELGRADE CONFERENCE

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Oct 77 p 6

[Dumitru Tinu article: "The Assertion of a Constructive Spirit Is an Essential Condition for Implementing the Mandate Entrusted to the All-European Conference"]

[Excerpts] The first stage of the all-European conference of Belgrade-the stage of open plenums at which the representatives of the participating states presented their positions on the items of the agenda established at the preparatory meeting--has concluded.

Certainly the conference is only at its initial stage. After the public speeches the proper working stage, the stage of negotiations, will begin. One cannot, however, ignore the fact that under these constructive general circumstances certain discordant notes have been heard, at variance with the positive general theses contained in the respective speeches. For example, there have been disparaging words about certain states, attempts to discuss problems falling within the competence of other states, attempts at interference and at promoting a polemical spirit. Journalistic circles comment that such discordant notes and accents are, perhaps, linked with the characteristics of publicity; are, perhaps, for "external application"; represent electoral involvement, a kind of concession or "tribute" to certain "rigid," rightist circles. It is true, such accents have been expressed not so much within the conference as on the sidelines, at press conferences organized later by some delegation leaders. However, wherever they were expressed and whatever their aim, one cannot ignore the fact that such actions will not contribute to insuring the constructive and positive working climate that will guarantee the proper progress and successful conclusion of the conference. One cannot completely divorce what is said at the meeting from what actions are taken outside it. And such actions will doubtlessly cloud the general climate, will generate sources of friction and tension.

As is known, during the earlier preparatory proceedings the idea categorically prevailed that the conference must not be a venue for confrontations, accusation and condemnation by placing the basic problems of security on a secondary plane. The above-mentioned facts show that the followers of a nonconstructive line have not completely laid down their weapons, but are trying to revive the polemical spirit and the exchange of accusations. It is obvious that if this line were to be followed with perseverance, the conference would deviate from its natural aims, and the discussions would lead not to progress but to a backlash as compared with the Helsinki stage.

It is, in fact, self-evident that the promoters of such actions have not deemed it necessary to devote one of the respective press conferences to the problems of effectively applying the new principles of interstate relations, nor to the current pressing problem of military disengagement and disarmament, nor to the ways and means of intensifying economic and cultural cooperation. Along the same line, it is surprising that even a UN body such as UNESCO, invited to attend the conference to contribute to developing the process of detente and cooperation in Europe, was drawn into such actions, at variance with the very statements contained in the message extended by UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to the opening of the Belgrade meeting, a message which stressed that UNESCO's mission was to contribute with its efforts and energy to implementing the targets of the [Helsinki] Final Act.

It is known that in all the stages of the Conference for European Security and Cooperation, both in Helsinki and in Geneva, what insured the success of the proceedings was the real desire to cooperate. On the basis of the democratic procedural norms which were unanimously adopted, the Helsinki negotiations were held in a spirit of complete equality and mutual respect, as befits independent and sovereign states. Experience has shown that only by acting in this spirit can problems be solved, can unanimously acceptable solutions be found in keeping with the goals of detente.

It is necessary for the same spirit to impose itself more forcefully at the current conference, the more so now when a new working stage has started. It is known what great hopes peoples have for the current conference, and no on has the right to ignore these expectations. In the name of the responsibility that is incumbent upon them toward world public opinion and the peoples, the participants in the conference have the task of formulating tangible measures aimed at strengthening security and at establishing a Europe of peace and cooperation. Only thus will the conference be able to consider its mission fulfilled.

CSO: 2700

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ROMANIA

'SCINTEIA' HAILS NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 9 Oct 77 LD

[Text] Bucharest, 9 Oct, AGERPRES--On the adoption of the new constitution of the USSR, an ample commentary is published in the 9 October issue of the SCINTEIA which considers this event to be of historic significance in the political life of the Soviet society, of the USSR peoples, in their struggle for passing from the developed socialist society to building communism.

Recalling that the new Soviet Constitution is the fruit of the years long laborious activity that was carried on by the constitutional commission chaired by the general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, the Bucharest daily opines that the reason for the broad approval that was expressed by the whole people is that the new constitution reflects the gains, aspirations and hopes of the Soviet people, that it clearly proclaims and stipulates their rights and duties, featuring also the prospects of social development

The major significance of the new constitution resides in that it lays down and enshrines the profound historic transformations, regulating social life under the present-day conditions when the Soviet Union has turned into a mighty socialist state characterized by an important development of its [word indistinct] forces, an advanced industry, a highly mechanized agriculture and prestigious achievements in top domains of science and (?technology).

Referring to [words indistinct], the SCINTEIA shows that the new constitution [words indistinct] comprehensive and [words indistinct] of the Soviet people's achievements 60 years after the victorious socialist revolution, that it defines the high economic and social development stage the USSR has reached, providing the political and legal prerequisites for the communist construction.

In keeping with the Marxist-Leninist principles, the new constitution lays emphasis on the masses' role in building historical progress, on the uninterrupted development of socialist democracy through the ever broader participation of the working people in running social and state affairs, the improvement of state apparatus, the growing role of public organizations, more intense [word indistinct] control, on consolidation of the legal basis of state [words indistinct]. The new constitution proclaims a complete set of (?political), social and economic rights covering the people's fundamental conditions of life. Broadly laid down are the civic freedoms--of speech, of the press, meetings, assemblies and street demonstrations, the idea of social responsibility being also highlighted, as well as the fact that the civic freedoms must not harm the interests of society and the state, that their exercise can't be divorced from fulfillment by the citizens of the duties incumbent on them.

The new constitution provides a clear settlement to the state national structure of the USSR as a unitary multinational union state. On the strength of the provisions of the new fundamental law, the responsibilities and the role of the Union Republics are growing, and more favourable conditions have been provided for strengthening the moral and political unity of the Soviet people. The SCINTEIA shows that L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his speech at the Supreme Soviet that the proposals advanced during the debates envisioning that the concept of the single Soviet nation be introduced in the constitution, the discontinuance of the Union of Autonomous Republics or sensible limitation of the sovereignty of the Union Republics were wrong.

It is for the first time that a chapter on the USSR foreign policy has been introduced in the Soviet Constitution, and the fact is highly significant that this fundamental document sanctifies those very principles, rules and desiderata which are the [word indistinct] apt to lead to detente, concord and collaboration internationally, to the strong assertion of socialism as the major lever likely to warrant the promotion of real democratic relations among states, the building of a new world, of freedom, peace and progress of the peoples. The constitution explicitly sets forth such principles as renunciation of force and its threatened use, observance of sovereign equality and inviolability of frontiers, observance of the states' territorial integrity, settling the disputed issues peacefully, non-immixture in the home affairs of other states, all the peoples' right to master their own fate, observance of human rights and of the fundamental human freedoms. By being enshrined in the constitution, these principles turn into the basic law, the necessary and [word indistinct] law of all the foreign policy actions of the Soviet state.

The new constitution opens up in its gist fresh and bright prospects to the Soviet peoples, landmarks their road for the future and prefigures their morrow--the class-free communist society.

Evidently, all this has a wide-ranging significance not only nationally [?and internationally), the victories [word indistinct] the 60-year-span since the overthrow of the old system and the USSR placing on the orbit of modern civilization are a matter of satisfaction, and not only for the Soviet people, but also for the communists, the revolutionary campaigners, the democratic and progressive forces everywhere. They tellingly prove that in our age, rapid economic and social progress, eradication of economic backwardness and of the gaps [as received] the industrially developed states, satisfaction of the masses material and spiritual demands to a better degree can't be achieved otherwise than by the socialist road, the superiority of which is demonstrated by both the achievements of the USSR and those of all the socialist countries.

In the spirit of the traditional relations of friendship and comradely collaboration, the communists, the working people, the whole people in Romania view with profound interest and live sympathy the accomplishments registered by the Soviet people, the guidance of the CPSU, which have rendered possible to pass the new constitution. This event is of historic significance in the life of the USSR, the communists, and the entire people of Romania extend to the Soviet peoples the wholehearted wish of gaining more and more success on the bright path the Great October Socialist Revolution opened up six decades ago, in building communism in the USSR.

CSO: 2020

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU CONDOLENCES--Bucharest, AGERPRES 14/10/77--Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, addressed profound compassion to Lieutenant-Colonel Ahmed Hussein al-Ghashmi, chairman of the Presidential Council and commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Yemen Arab Republic, and also sincere condolences to the bereaved family, in connection with the assassination of the president of the Command Council of the Yemen Arab Republic. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 14 Oct 77 AU]

AUSTRIAN TECHNOLOGY--Bucharest, AGERPRES 3/10/77--The Week of Austrian Technique, sponsored by the Romanian Chamber for Commerce and Industry and the Federal Chamber for Commerce of Austria, opened today at the Intercontinental Hotel in Bucharest. Ioan Constantinescu, chairman of the Chamber for Commerce and Industry, and Rudolf Sallinger, chairman of the Federal Chamber for Commerce, pointed out in their inaugural speeches that this event as well as the Days of Romanian Technique, that were recently arranged in Vienna, are part of the preoccupations for an expanded cooperation between the two countries economically, technically and scientifically. The Week of Austrian Technique is an opportunity for the Romanian experts to get to know Austria's achievements in various industrial and agricultural domains. The Romanian minister of the machine-building industry Ioan Avram met this morning with Rudolf Sallinger, chairman of the Federal Chamber for Commerce of Austria. Aspects of the Romanian-Austrian collaboration were discussed. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1917 GMT 3 Oct 77 AU]

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--On 1 July 1977, after the conclusion of the proceedings of the Fifth session of the current legislature of the Grand National Assembly, there were sessions of some permanent commissions whose composition was modified by Decision No 2 of 1 July of the Grand National Assembly. The Commission on Agriculture, Silviculture, and Water Management elected deputy Marin Vasile as chairman. The Commission on Defense Problems elected deputy Vasile Milea as chairman and deputy George Homostean as deputy chairman. The Commission on Health, Labor, Social Security, and Environmental Protection elected deputy Aurica Munteanu as secretary. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part III No 121 bis 1 Jul 77 p 4]

CSO: 2700

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CETINIC DISCUSSES SAWPY ACTIVITY IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 16 Oct 77 LD

[Interview with Marin Cetinic, acting president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, by correspondent Dragica Majstorovic, date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Belgrade--Significant results have been achieved in the activity of the Socialist Alliance since the promulgation of the new constitution. The Socialist Alliance increasingly concerns itself with the basic questions of the working people and is striving to organize itself in a way that will enable them to solve social problems more and more successfully.

These assessments were made by Marin Cetinic, acting president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, in an interview with a TAN JUG correspondent, Dragica Majstorovic. He stressed that difficulties were also being encountered in SAWPY's activity, which was due to lack of understanding and even to resistance. There were examples, even among communists, of the role of the Socialist Alliance being underestimated. A lack of clarity also manifested itself in various forms with regard to SAWPY's role as a unified front of all the organized socialist forces, according to Cetinic.

The conclusions of the 30th session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and Edvard Kardelj's expose make us duty-bound, Cetinic stressed, to carry out a thorough analysis of SAWPY's practice and of the contents and manner of its activity, constantly bearing in mind the development of our system of socialist self-management democracy as a whole.

[Question] What are the main shortcomings in the realization by the Socialist Alliance of the role which it must play in society?

[Answer] Life shows that significant results have been achieved in the activity of the Socialist Alliance since the promulgation of the new constitution. The Socialist Alliance is now increasingly focusing attention on the basic questions of the working people and is striving to organize itself in such a way as to enable them to solve social problems more and more successfully. SAWPY's activity is making itself increasingly felt through the constant increase in the direct influence which our society's grass roots exercise on important decisions adopted at various levels. This is also felt in the development of a democratic atmosphere in general, in the consolidation of the unity between the working people and our nations and nationalities, in the strengthening of internal and external security, and in the promotion of international ties based on the policy of nonalinement. All this has helped increase the awareness that even the most complex problems can be solved and the greatest difficulties overcome by adhering strictly to self-management. It goes without saying that the work of the Socialist Alliance is also suffering considerably from such shortcomings as sectarianism, practicism, vagueness and lack of consistency in carrying out the agreed actions.

[Question] What do you consider to be the causes of these shortcomings?

[Answer] It is certain that the main cause lies in the level of our development. Numerous elements of the old system still persist in our self-management practice and in various spheres of our socioeconomic and political systems.

However, there still are difficulties which stem from a lack of understanding and even from resistance. I am primarily referring to the still considerably pronounced tendencies to underestimate the Socialist Alliance, to restrict its political activity to what I would call peripheral questions. There are examples, even among communists, of the role of the Socialist Alliance being underestimated because of the failure to understand fully that the stress of political activity should be in the Socialist Alliance.

A lack of clarity also manifests itself in various ways with regard to SAWPY's role as a unified front of all the organized socialist forces, while its role as an organization of all the working people and citizens is neglected. It is clear that the Socialist Alliance is both of these things, and that it is only in both of these capacities together that it can be equal to its true social tasks.

Not infrequently one of the main causes of the incomplete and, I would say, inconsistent affirmation of the role of the Socialist Alliance also lies in the fact that many of its leaders manifest themselves in their work at political forums, which deprives them of the capacity to act as coordinators of democratic cooperation of all the organized socialist forces inside the SAWP as a front. In this also lies the cause of the consequence of the quite common practice where the initiatives for work and activity do not emanate from the rank and file and the organization and percolate in the direction of the leadership, but in the opposite direction, from the leadership in the direction of grass roots organizations and their members.

I should also like to draw attention to the quite widespread view according to which workers need not be active in the Socialist Alliance, because they are already active in their own organizations of associated labor. It is clear that their political activity in the latter has a prime claim on them, but that is not where this activity should end. That would turn SAWPY into an organization for the political involvement of those who in most cases are not actively in employment. Our basic aim must be to ensure that the working class is able, through the Socialist Alliance, to realize its political influence on all decision-making in society, and not just on the decisions adopted within the factory.

[Question] Attention is increasingly drawn to the exceptional importance of the organizing and activity of the Socialist Alliance at the grass roots, especially in the local organization. What results have been achieved in this respect?

[Answer] This is certainly the most important task today. In the local community, which according to our constitution, is the most important social organism and democratic form of realizing and satisfying the direct interests and needs of people, we already possess a very highly-developed structure of sociopolitical and other organizations, as well as various self-managing institutions, such as committees, commissions, delegations, assemblies and councils of the local communities, tenants' councils, tenants' assemblies, and so forth. Despite this, the role of the local communities and their services is still quite weak, and the activity of these institutions and organizations is often uncoordinated and without final results.

The local organization of SAWPY should be capable of coordinating all this and insuring the dominant influence of the working class and working people.

[Question] What tasks are set before SAWPY in connection with the realization of the working people's constitutional right to control the entire social income?

[Answer] The realization of this role means that, first, the worker in associated labor should be constantly involved through the trade unions in all the activities of the Socialist Alliance and at all levels and, second, that the Socialist Alliance, through its front-like activity, should secure the influence of the whole of our society on all the essential processes in the development of income.

[Question] The importance of the work of the sections in the Socialist Alliance has been particularly stressed in recent times. What would you like to emphasize in this connection?

[Answer] Practice has convincingly demonstrated the fact that the various discussions organized in the sections are the best way for the Socialist Alliance to gauge the current problems of delegations, delegate bodies and self-managing communities in various spheres of work and social life. The sections are that part of SAWPY's activity, that place and framework in our entire democratic political structure where the interdependence of the partial and overall social interests is appraised, the common policy for the corresponding spheres of social life is established, and proposals are made to the appropriate organs in connection with the problems which they are competent to tackle. In fact, the Socialist Alliance should increasingly shift the stress of its work to the sections and not only permanent sections, but also the temporary ones which are set up to consider particular questions, which would involve a much wider circle of the people whose interests are concerned and who have the necessary qualifications and are involved. I think that a highly-developed section activity is the best way to overcome sectarianism in political life.

The SAWPY leadership must not treat the sections as if they were its auxiliary organs. On the contrary, the sections should be independent in their work in order to be able to act as creatively orientated and responsible bodies of society. This means that, among other things, they should consist of delegates of sociopolitical and other organizations, and of skilled and scientific workers, and of people from those delegations of associated labor which are directly interested in the questions which, at the given moment, are on the agendas of the assemblies and other delegate bodies. In this manner we shall assure that the work done in the sections is done in a democratic way and is socially responsible. It is through the sections that the Socialist Alliance should establish itself as a form of democratic consultations involving the whole of society.

It is in all this that the irreplaceable role of the Socialist Alliance as the front of organized socialist forces in our political system lies.

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

OFFICIALS REVIEW YOUTH DEFENSE TRAINING SYSTEM

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Sep 77 p 3 AU

[Report by Tripo Vucinic]

[Summary] "A meeting of representatives of the Executive Councils of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces and of universities, the Federal Committee for Science and Culture and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense was held in Zagreb in the assembly building of the Socialist Republic of Croatia on 16 September. The meeting discussed the implementation of the system of training and education of youth for all-people's defense, a system based on the ideological and programmatic foundations for preparing the young people for allpeople's defense and social self-protection determined by the LOY Presidium and the SFRY presidency. It also discussed the implementation of social accords on the unified foundations of this system in elementary, secondary, higher and high schools and of accords on the schooling and training of cadres for work in all-people's defense outside the armed forces."

In his introductory report at the meeting, Lt Gen Veljko Kadijevic stressed the great value of the experience gained in the implementation of the system of training and education of youth for all-people's defense in the last 3 years. Judging by everything that was said at the meeting, it is clear that "the social awareness and responsibility for the education of young people and especially for their timely preparation and training for all-people's defense have increased. The system clearly determines who is responsible for the fulfillment of the individual tasks within the system, and those concerned have accepted their tasks as their regular obligation and responsibility."

The meeting participants pointed out that the availability of a sufficient number of well trained instructor cadres in schools and faculties represents one of the basic conditions for the implementation of the entire system of training of youth for all-people's defense. At present "the situation is sill unsatisfactory as regards the instructor cadres in school and faculties. There are many vacancies, the number of instructors is still small compared with the number of students, and it still happens that the instruction is given by insufficiently professional and by ideologically unfit persons."

It was reported at the meeting that good results have been achieved in the teaching of all-people's defense subjects in those faculties at which cadres for all people's defense instructors' positions and for work in national defense outside the armed forces are being trained. The first class of students has now entered its third training year. More than 3,000 students are now attending these courses and another 500 students will be admitted to these courses in the current school year.

Participating in the discussion at the meeting, Col Gen Stan Potocar, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army said among other things: "We had anticipated far more problems in the realization of the entire system of training of the youth for all-people's defense. However, there are not many problems. This is primarily due to the fact that the entire task has been carried out in an organized way and with full determination being shown by the most responsible organs and their leaders. The problems which are now appearing precisely because of the successfully achieved results should not have a discouraging effect but rather, on the contrary, they can and must be overcome."

Calling attention to the results achieved in the entire system of youth training, General Potocar pointed out that this system has already proven itself correct and has shown all of its qualities, but that its greatest value is in the fact that it has been woven into our entire education system, that its creators and realizers are all the responsible social factors which directly and specifically concern themselves with education and instruction, and that with it, we are insuring a timely preparation of the youth for all-people's defense.

"There are some who reproach us for militarizing youth," the chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army said: "No, we neither wish to do this nor do we do it. The all-people's defense concept requires total engagement, the engagement of every single person, especially of the youth which represents our shock combat force. We are enriching the all-people's defense with what we are doing because we are preparing and training the youth in good time."

Speaking about the practical training of the young people of ages from 17 to 18 years, General Potocar emphasized that this question, too, must soon be solved in the most favorable way.

Thanking all those who are responsible for fulfilling specific tasks in the field of training and education of the youth for all-people's defense for their achieved results and for their efforts, Col Gen Stan Potocar called on them to make joint efforts in the coming period.

CSO: 2800

END