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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EAST-WEST COOPERATION ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES AFTER HELSINKI APPRAISED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 9, Sep 76 pp 36-53

[Article by Jerzy M. Nowak, adviser to the minister in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Department of Studies and Programming: "Cooperation Between East and West on Humanitarian Issues in the Period Following the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe"]

[Excerpts] The year which has passed since the conclusion of the KBWE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; hereafter CSCE] naturally does not provide a due historical perspective for making a thorough evaluation of implementation of resolutions in the area of culture, education, information and contacts between peoples. However, it does authorize certain observations to be made on the subject of events and trends in cooperation which have appeared in these fields, particularly in East-West relations.

The observations and reflections presented below are focussed around the following three problems:

An evaluation of the significance of the CSCE Final Act in the area of "cooperation on humanitarian issues and other issues";

An initial assessment of experience resulting from practical implementation of the recommendations of the Final Act in international relations on matters of culture, education, information and contacts between peoples;

Developmental tendencies and perspectives appearing in the area of the subject matter of "basket three" in relations between East and West states.

In discussing this group of problems the experience of Poland in this area was given main consideration.

Significance of the CSCE Final Act on Humanitarian Issues in the Context of Practice

1. From a certain time perspective it is becoming more obvious that the fundamental significance of the CSCE on humanitarian issues is the result of the acceptance of the principle that cooperation in the area of culture, education, information and contacts between peoples will occur between states on the basis of the principles of interstate relations established at this Conference. In conformity with the spirit of the Final Act, this cooperation must serve both to maintain peace and form good-neighbor relations, and the spiritual enrichment of the human individual.

This means that states, through their own organs, will form facilities and levels to extend contacts between peoples as well as an exchange of information and cultural goods between institutions, organizations and individuals. In other words, the resolutions of the Conference will regulate cooperation, exchange and contacts in these areas on the level of interstate relations, and not directly between individuals, organizations and institutions. This is clearly expressed in the resolutions contained in the introduction to the agreements in the section regulating the problems of contacts, information, culture and education, in conformity with which "cooperation should be implemented with full respect for the principles regulating relations between participating states."¹ This assumption contains three implications:

First, the participating states accepted an obligation for active and positive action in their mutual relations in the international arena on humanitarian issues;

Second, the states took directly upon themselves responsibility for the effects of the activity of their organs, and also of institutions, organizations and individuals, in the area of culture, information, education and contacts between peoples.² For some Western states it was a novelty to accept the idea of humanitarian cooperation within the framework of broadly conceived interstate relations;

Third, the Western countries acknowledged the equality of the various forms of government of the states participating in the Conference.

2. It has already been emphasized many times that the CSCE Final Act constitutes in essence an extension of the principles of peaceful coexistence to the field of humanitarian issues,³ in which the majority of Western countries attempted to impose on the socialist countries a model of relations and exchange which has application in the group of states with a uniform bourgeois system. This concerns a model espousing contacts between individuals, a dominant role of private enterprises in the exchange of information and cultural goods, and universal application of the mechanisms of the capitalist market economy.⁴ Acceptance of such a

model would essentially mean approval for commercialization of culture in socialist countries with all the consequences of this deed. This is a matter of such a negative phenomenon as the fact that in this process the dominant evaluation of a cultural good or of a cultural service would be the pure viewpoint of commercial attractiveness (often derived from the perfection of the distribution system), and not from the viewpoint of real value.

The Final Act in the Declaration of principles governing mutual relations among participating states and in the section "Cooperation on humanitarian issues and other issues" states that this cooperation and these relations should be based, among other things, on principles of sovereignty, non-interference in internal matters, equality and reciprocal benefits. At the same time frameworks and conditions for honest cooperation were set up, eliminating to a considerable degree temptation to interfere. The range of cooperation after the Conference shows that the letter and spirit of the Helsinki resolutions are more and more considered in the process of negotiations and settlements for the future.

3. The importance of systematization and embodiment of the area of cooperation in the broad complex of so-called humanitarian issues on the basis of the CSCE is revealed in the following facts:

New impulses were created, new content was given to bilateral and multi-lateral exchange of states and the adoption of new initiatives and projects was encouraged. International practice since CSCE shows that the recommendations of the Final Act are realized in bilateral relations;

Confirmation was given to the importance of connections, which exist between political and economic relations and between cultural and humanitarian relations for the formation of a system of security and cooperation in Europe. As a result both in the West and in the East there is a greater tendency to define the concept of security in a considerably broader sense than formerly;

Conditions were improved for the joint development of a denser and more permanent network of mutual contacts and cooperation, what L. I. Brezhnev defined as "Materialization of detente."⁵ This is proven by the increase in the number of cultural, scientific, informational and other agreements concluded.

4. In the section on so-called humanitarian issues, the common attitude of the signatories of the Final Act in regard to the most general problems of relations and cooperation in the area of culture, education, information and contacts between peoples was formulated and defined. In the course of many months of difficult negotiations, the meaning of several concepts was verified or standardized.⁶ During the discussions it was demonstrated that even in the area of such concepts as "culture,"

"information," and "basic studies" the meaning was not the same in the understanding of all conference participants. Agreement in this area is a matter of great importance because distinctive systematic and philosophic differences lie at the base of the specific details of the system of organization of cultural life and information and of differences in their content.

Interstate contacts after CSCE already permit us to state that agreement on concepts facilitates discussions, leads to a reduction in time needed for them and enables more efficient elaboration of documents and agreements, as well as the development of cooperation.

5. The CSCE Final Act, particularly in "basket three," once again confirmed the thesis that ideological confrontations must not be a factor reducing the effectiveness of cooperation. This corresponds to the Marxist idea in socialist countries about the maintenance of ideological confrontation under conditions of detente and cooperation.⁷

At the stage of detente today the question comes more and more often to a dilemma: how to reconcile the factor of competition and rivalry with cooperation, "in order to evoke positive reflexes, and not only conflict,"⁸ and to develop an objective transition to the development of relations and collaboration.

The document signed in Helsinki delineated the perspectives for broadening cooperation and established criteria according to which states should act in exchange and contacts on humanitarian issues. The preamble of the section devoted to this group of problems establishes three general categories of value, recognized as goals of cooperation, which states should have under consideration in disseminating information, cultural goods and so forth among themselves. These are:

Favoring the strengthening of peace;

Understanding among nations and formation of an atmosphere of trust between them;

Spiritual enrichment of the human personality.

These are very general categories leaving a wide margin for interpretation. However, despite this, with good will on all sides they can play a more and more important practical role in relations between states. Already today they are conducive to the management of cooperation. They also contribute to the gradual removal of illusions in regard to possibilities for influencing the societies of other countries, creating a better climate for pragmatic judgment, beneficial for all sides, of everyday affairs in relations on a cultural and civilizing level.

At the same time the recommendations of the Final Act created various possibilities for bilateral and multilateral meetings of politicians, diplomats, experts and journalists, who contribute to the elimination of the tendency toward a view of the world which is too much of a dichotomy, and the removal of simplifications and extreme differences between propaganda slogans and reality.

Just as in the economic sphere,⁹ there still exists in the area of cultural and humanitarian issues unused possibilities for applying mechanisms of cooperation without the intrusion of structural, ideological and other differences. Thus the Final Act outlined the way which should lead to greater agreement on the scale and structure of exchange in the widely conceived area of culture, education, information and contacts between peoples with the objective capabilities of the East and West. These possibilities refer to ideological levels, structural differences and economic conditions (including, for example, currency exchange difficulties associated with the increase in tourism). Signs of the development of such a trend are appearing today, to a greater or lesser degree, in post-Conference cooperation between many countries of different structure.

6. There is often a tendency to magnify the importance of dissimilarity as an element hindering cooperation. However, it can be noted in many cases that it can even promote an increase in exchange and contacts by strengthening interest in a specific culture or varied conditions of producing culture, for example, a national socialist culture.

In many countries interest is developed by the socialist political, social and cultural changes in Poland, a Slavic country, historically developing with a great deal of influence from the Latin civilization. The transformations accomplished particularly refute the opinions, often voiced in Western countries, that socialism is something foreign in the area of the Latin civilization and culture of Europe.¹⁰ The internal development of Poland and other socialist countries shows that it is precisely the socialist structure which is capable of protecting and propagating on a large scale the cultural and civilizing accomplishments of the past and using them for further social and cultural development.¹¹

We also often have to do with cosmopolite or nihilistic tendencies belittling the value of national cultures and their identity. These tendencies can also produce an unhealthy atmosphere in regard to the cultural cooperation between states.

Interest in dissimilarity, with due respect for it, is therefore a positive factor in strengthening bonds and cooperation. This is why there is essential significance in the practical implementation of the recommendations of the CSCE Final Act, which encourage support for "the development of interests in the cultural heritage of participating states" and for

"exchange of knowledge referring to cultural differentiation."¹² Among other things, this refers to research on the possibilities of development of cultural tourism, the establishment of European routes for tourists interested from this point of view and so forth. This is a subject of consideration in many countries, including Poland.

7. In appraisals referring to the CSCE, it has been stressed many times that the adoption of resolutions by the Conference was based on the principle of consensus. The latter was rightfully recognized as an expression of democracy and respect for the sovereign differences between states, particularly effective when countries wish to find a material solution for controversial problems.¹³ Today the CSCE experience in this area is not without significance for the process of implementing the Final Act. This is because it is possible to make constant use of the tested method which has proven to be serviceable in seeking compromises and assuring the interests of all states participating in the Conference, particularly in such complex areas as humanitarian and other issues.

In short it may be stated that the practice of relations between states participating in the CSCE demonstrates that the Final Act has become a point of reference in negotiations and a criterion for evaluating the progress of countries. The content of this document has made possible considerable enrichment in the subject of discussions and the emergence of new initiatives. However, it does not mean that there are no endeavors to demean the nature of the resolutions adopted. The declarations of some Western governments do not always go hand in hand with their practical conduct.

Experience and Activity of Poland in Implementing the Resolutions in the Area of "Basket Three"

1. As Edward Gierek declared in Helsinki,²² Poland attaches the greatest consideration to the documents agreed upon as a result of the CSCE. In the name of the Polish nation he expressed his approval of the resolutions of the Conference and a desire for their concrete implementation. The resolutions of the Seventh PZPR Congress and of the Polish Sejm²³ confirmed this position, as well as a desire for complete realization of the Final Act in all of its parts. This obviously refers also to the areas of culture, education, information and contacts between peoples.

After all, activity in these fields was nothing new for Poland, and the development of cooperation in some issues even preceded the settlements in Helsinki. This is clearly testified to, for example, by the consistent tendency to increase Polish artistic contacts in the period preceding the Conference and during it.²⁴

This set of problems has been a traditional subject of Polish activity in the international arena. Among many actions it is worth recalling the

resolution prepared under Polish initiative about the defense and further development of cultural values, accepted by the UN General Assembly on 14 December 1973.²⁵

Poland has also been advanced in cooperation and in solving many humanitarian issues. Even in the time of stress in Polish relations with West Germany in 1949-1969, Poland, guided by humanitarian motives, gave permission for about 450,000 persons, who wished to join their families living there, to emigrate to West Germany.

In practice humanitarian issues have also been resolved in relations with other countries, including the United States.

Tourist traffic has also grown steadily with Poland, despite the difficult foreign exchange problems associated with it.²⁶

After the end of the CSCE Poland intensified its activity and cooperation in this area. In conformity with the ideas expressed by Edward Gierek on "educating society for peace," it sought to popularize the content of the CSCE resolutions and the subject matter of the Conference by introducing it into teaching in the middle and higher schools. Likewise the party and social organizations disseminated the ideas from Helsinki into society.

On the international level it immediately began discussions with foreign partners for the purpose of strengthening contractual bases for cooperation in various fields. Since the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki it has concluded cultural agreements with Portugal, Greece and West Germany, that is, with countries with which contractually regulated cooperation had been impossible in the past for various reasons.

On the basis of the recommendations of the Final Act, new programs of cultural cooperation were worked out²⁷ with France, Italy, Finland, Norway, Holland, Denmark and Sweden. Before this year is over new programs will have been worked out, including Belgium.

This activity, carried out within the framework of the government program of implementing the CSCE resolutions, has been in accord with all of the above-mentioned tendencies appearing in the European arena. This includes numerous meetings between experts and specialists, attempts to reduce the lack of proportion in cultural exchange, an expansion of forms of cooperation used up to now and settlement of many humanitarian issues.

The special meeting of high officials of the ministries of foreign affairs of Poland and France (in addition to annual consultations of the press departments of the MSZ [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]), devoted to the

implementation of CSCE resolutions on all levels and the adoption of decisions about their further continuation, may serve as an example of the total conduct of realization of the various resolutions of the Final Act.

3. While achieving the CSCE resolutions, parallel in four humanitarian areas, Poland is devoting a great deal of attention to cooperation in the sphere of education.

The matter of checking the material of school textbooks has a special place in this area. While it is true that corresponding decisions of the Final Act, from the point of view of opposition from some Western states, do not completely heed Polish propositions and demands,²⁸ a basis is nevertheless being set up in accord with UNESCO recommendations for expanding work on the verification of textbooks, as well as the supplementation of encyclopedic, geographic and statistical works and publications of the "who is who" type.

The wide scope of this kind of publication and its function in forming a reciprocal picture of countries and nations cause their content to have tangible importance in the development of reciprocal understanding between nations and the education of future generations. Poland is holding conversations on this matter with all of its partners. The most advanced cooperation so far in this field is with France, Austria and West Germany.

The recommendations of the Final Act about the need for facilities to teach rather restricted languages provide certain opportunities for the promotion of the Polish language, and by the same token, greater availability of Polish culture and science beyond the boundaries of the country. Here, too, it is important to seek new forms of cooperation, such as joint publication of dictionaries, textbooks and guides, broaching new points in the teaching of languages and so forth. Some of the resolutions in the programs of cultural cooperation concluded with France, Italy, Finland, Sweden and other countries are aimed in exactly this direction.

The activity of Poland in scientific and educational affairs shows up in various new fields, such as in the development of joint research programs, cooperation in statistical departments and so on.²⁹

Along with other socialist countries Poland has undertaken activity to stimulate UNESCO to act in favor of all-European cooperation in the area of education. Fulfillment of a Polish proposal, the location of the European Bureau of Scientific Cooperation of UNESCO in Warsaw, would serve the implementation of the CSCE resolutions well. This would contribute to a more effective regional distribution of headquarters of international organizational authorities, profitable for their activity.

Already preparations are being made in Poland in the context of the CSCE, for a conference of ministers of education of European countries, the so-called MINESPOL II.

4. In the area of culture Poland has concentrated in discussions with its partners on possibilities for working out new mechanisms of cooperation and the gradual elimination of difficulties, particularly discriminatory practices. Obviously this also has reference to equalizing the balance of cultural exchange with the majority of Western countries, unfavorable for Poland. It is necessary to gradually:

Put into practical language the principles of reciprocity spoken of in the Final Act: better reciprocal understanding, trust, reciprocal recognition and information;

Achieve new forms of cooperation (for example, joint production of films with cultural themes and so on).

Here Poland is taking the initiative and is waiting for a positive response from Western countries. However, it is judiciously giving its attention to the fact that improvement in the existing state of affairs also depends on many of its own actions, such as: greater consistency in action, thorough investigation of cultural markets and the perception of Polish art abroad, and raising the quality and technological level of our advertising and propaganda.³⁰ Suggestions for consideration and the reformation of the organizational principles of our cooperation abroad are already appearing.³¹

The CSCE has contributed to intensifying Polish cultural relations. Here it may be anticipated that in the course of time measures taken by Poland and other countries in favor of international legal regulation of the exchange of cultural goods and the strengthening of international protection of cultural goods will increase.³²

5. Poland is not a borrower from the West in the field of information, either. For various reasons (linguistic, economic and not rarely discriminatory), the presence of the Polish press and publications in the West is relatively meager. This fact should be given consideration by Western parties in examining the implementation of the CSCE resolutions in relations with Poland. With some countries, for example, with Italy, understandings have been achieved for increasing press sales points and other facilities in this area.

In speaking of the availability of the foreign press in Poland, it is worth recalling the International Book and Press Clubs. In 71 reading rooms in all of the major Polish cities, every citizen can take free advantage of several hundred foreign press titles. In addition several Western countries have their own reading rooms or information centers in Warsaw and other cities.

It is obvious that there is still a great deal to do, particularly in the area of radio and television exchange. A symposium entitled "Exchange of radio and television information between countries of different social systems in the light of the CSCE Final Act," which took place in Krakow in May 1976, was devoted to this task. For the first time since the end of the Conference a representative meeting of practitioners and theoreticians in information exchange was organized in this way. As a result of the exchange of opinions, better discretion was gained in the area of actual possibilities of cooperation, and also of subjects of information exchange between countries of different systems. Agreement was reached in the fact that, regardless of current information exchange, jointly prepared films and radio programs about the life in different societies will contribute to mutual recognition and understanding between nations.

In implementing the principle of "in order to cooperate it is necessary to meet," the Association of Polish Journalists held an international meeting of journalists on 27-28 October 1975. This was "Jablonna III," devoted to a discussion of the CSCE Final Act, the exchange of thought and positions on this matter.³³ This was the first journalistic meeting of this type since the end of the Conference.

Aiming at the expansion of cooperation in the area of spreading radio information, Poland is not confining itself to an exchange of materials and to emphasizing the importance of the statements of the Final Act that this information should correspond "to the interests of mutual understanding between nations and the goals defined by ... Conference." Facts about radio propaganda, counter to the CSCE spirit, to generally accepted norms of international law and to good manners, are presented to those states on whose territory this type of activity is carried on or financed.

6. Another object of Polish attention is the development of international cooperation in the area of contacts between peoples. It is important that this cooperation be based on understandings in various areas. Some Western partners of Poland show a tendency to minimize agreements in this area, especially in matters of care for citizens of one country in the territory of another country. In view of the existing differences and in the level of prices and services and foreign exchange difficulties, this is of more than passing importance.³⁴

The agreements concluded will also promote the development of tourism. For its part Poland, in accord with the CSCE spirit, is flexibly settling a number of border formalities³⁵ and problems associated with family unity and so on. Poland is still ready to enlarge the practice of visa facilities with Western partners, but in many cases runs up against a lack of understanding in this matter. In agreement with the CSCE recommendations, it is to be anticipated that there will be an elimination of discriminatory practices, often used in regard to Polish citizens by other states, signatories of the CSCE Final Act.

The results of the CSCE have also given a stimulus to Polish youth organizations to create a wide plane of direct discussion on implementing directions and means of a greater share of youth in the act of developing cooperation and strengthening peace in Europe. About the middle of June 1976 there took place in Warsaw the European Assembly of Youth and Students, attended by about 1,500 delegates from 200 national organizations of 31 countries, of varied ideological and political orientation, under the slogan: "For lasting peace, security, cooperation and social progress." This is one of the positive examples of initiative and effort which can be adopted for the purpose of implementing the CSCE ideas.

In short the consistent implementation by Poland of all CSCE resolutions, including the area of humanitarian issues, is a contribution to the building of a European structure of detente and cooperation, an example of action and open consideration of this group of problems.

Some Negative Tendencies in Implementing the CSCE Resolutions

In the course of implementing the CSCE resolutions there also appear many negative phenomena, which can have an unfavorable effect upon the progress of cooperation in the area of humanitarian issues. Some of these phenomena are objectively conditioned and result, for example, from economic difficulties and ideological differences, while others are of a subjective nature.

It does not appear that the process of implementing the CSCE Final Act is promoted by tendencies appearing in the case of some Conference participants, capable of being expressed in the following simple positions:

1. Concealment of those parts of the Final Act which were recognized for various reasons as unfavorable or as less essential. For example, in the Western press commentaries, the meaning of the Declaration of obligatory principles in relations between states, including humanitarian issues, are often omitted. In excessive exposure of some "third basket" matters, such as family unity and marriage contracts between citizens of different states, the recommendations about the need for the development of contacts between organizations, athletic exchanges and so on are often neglected. In stressing the importance of information exchange or exchange of specialists, there is still no complete acceptance of matters from the area of education, although the latter would contribute very concretely to the process of implementing the achievements of the Conference. Stressing some resolutions at the cost of others is a dangerous path, because it leads to disruption of the balance of agreements and interests of states.

2. Disruption caused by bourgeois interpretation of some concepts, such as human rights, freedom of the press, freedom of information and consideration of these explanations as the only correct and compulsory ones.

It is evident today that different concepts of these ideas exist in the two systems. Here it may be noted that differences often relate to matters of interpretation, for example:

Neither the socialist states nor the Western ones question the critical freedoms and rights expressed, for example, in the General Declaration of Human Rights or in the Pacts of Human Rights. On the other hand there are definite accents, on the socialist side for social and economic guarantees and on the Western side for an absolute status of individual political rights, understood in agreement with models functioning within the framework of the bourgeois democracy system;

Neither the East nor the West questions the advantages resulting from the flow of information between states of different systems and the need for expanding this information in agreement with the Final Act. The problem comes down to the concrete application of the results which spontaneous information flow may have for the peaceful coexistence of these states (a postulate of the socialist countries for responsibility for information content).

For the good of all-European cooperation the capitalist states should cease trying to force the socialist side to accept a different interpretation of some concepts. This is a completely hopeless attempt, anyway.

3. Adoption of an attitude based on the absurd assumption that the resolutions in the area of humanitarian issues place obligations only on the socialist countries, and not on all participants. We read in various Western publication, "You signed the resolutions, and we shall wait and see how you fulfill them." This refers especially to the "third basket" in regard to which some Western states themselves do not make great efforts in an attempt to implement the recommendations in this area. Similarly, no steps have been taken to eliminate the radio propaganda which is in contradiction with CSCE recommendations.

4. Unwillingness to expand contractual bases for cooperation, avoidance of compulsory expressions and concrete obligations and emphasis on implementation of humanitarian resolutions only outside of institutions and agreements. This is a rather extreme expression of the goals of implementing the Western concept of "free passage of people, thoughts and ideas."

We may sometimes also come across financial arguments for justifying the inability of involvement in full cooperation. This is sometimes a realistic argument, but it cannot be abused to hinder East-West cooperation in this field, too. In recent years it is possible to note a constantly increasing role of the state in the capitalist system, and a policy of state intervention has become a general phenomenon, particularly in periods of crisis. Therefore it is difficult to understand why state

organs of capitalist countries should not become actively involved in the development of exchange and cooperation with countries of different systems.

Abundant experience in the field of economic and commercial relations clearly shows that elements stimulating exchange and elimination of discrimination are political factors.³⁶ The influence of a Western government, for example, on communication media, is mainly achieved through suitable financial means, subsidies and direct contacts. The first are important in such fields as scientific and library programs and exchange, exchange of persons carried out through professional organizations and so on. On the other hand the second are important for improving the atmosphere in these fields. In areas of humanitarian issues state organs can therefore play an essential role by eliminating inequalities and artificial barriers.

The CSCE is an important step in this direction. It is already high time, for example, to reflect jointly on how to produce a situation in which information opposed to the aims of the Conference and unfavorable to mutual understanding between nations will not be found in the mass media resources of states participating in the CSCE.

Directions of Development and Perspectives for Cooperation

The main danger of the negative tendencies, which appear in humanitarian cooperation, is found in the fact that they lead to irritation in mutual relations and produce an atmosphere of so-called calculation based on real or alleged offenses.

A feature of the new period should be cooperation applied to the needs and conditions existing in Europe, divided into two different systems of states. The achievement of cooperation in humanitarian issues, in the face of persistent philosophical and ideological competition, must be carried out in such a way that the existing political, ideological and economic realities and individuality of organizational systems of culture, education and information are observed.

A constructive approach to an expansion of cooperation by all states participating in CSCE must be based on respect for the interests of partners and elimination of all attempts to interfere in their internal affairs. Then it will be possible to negotiate in an atmosphere of trust and to provide for the interests of both sides, to form a broad political and legal framework for cooperation and to combine them in the European system of security.

A realistic approach to the development of cooperation in humanitarian issues before the meeting in Belgrade in 1977 should embrace:

The formation of positive practise in bilateral relations and on a multilateral level, the creation of a political climate favorable to the development of cooperation on humanitarian issues and a broadening of the area of agreement on different matters;

The formation of positive precedents in the implementation of resolutions already accepted on the individual levels of culture, education, information and contacts between peoples, and

Acceptance of an attitude of restraint and patience so that the meeting in Belgrade does not become a forum for reciprocal accusations or for "settlements" for fictitious or real offenses. It should be the occasion for summing up positive experience and outlining directions for further cooperation.

In addition such an approach has a universal nature and should apply to the entire process of detente and cooperation.³⁷

The development of cooperation in conformity with such assumptions, crowning the meeting in Belgrade with success, and disarmament and other agreements should lead to long-term, advantageous consequences in the area of security. Efforts to maintain idealistic differences and national identity, which will undoubtedly occur in this process, are not in contradiction with the idea of strengthening cooperation on humanitarian issues and giving it concrete forms.

As a result the development of events after the CSCE should approach a condition and period of cooperation in the area of culture, education, information and contacts between peoples with the anticipation and hope that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe have awakened.

FOOTNOTES

1. For the Polish text of the CSCE Final Act, see SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, 1975, No. 10.
2. It is difficult to separate opinions on this question, sometimes expressed in Western countries as if part of the preamble mentioned "did not have to refer to cooperation on a non-state level," of so-called organizations, institutions and individuals (for example, G. Henze, "New tasks in the detente policy of freedom of motion and improved possibilities for information exchange as goals of the CSCE," EUROPA ARCHIV, 1975, No. 18, p. 573). After all, it is obvious that state organs should see to it that all activities on their territory should be in conformity with the principles of interstate relations established at the Conference, no matter what the object of their action is.
3. See, for example, J. Symonides, "Declaration of principles of interstate relations of CSCE," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, 1975, No. 10, p. 48.

4. K. Zygulski in his article, "Planning in the area of culture," ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 10-11 April 1976, describes this problem in the following way, "Culture ... represents a kind of goods in the form of things or services; these goods must be produced and then, with the aid of the trade network, marketing and advertising, sold to the consumer." Thus, in such a system culture is treated as any other field of economic life.
5. In an address at Phase III of the CSCE in Helsinki on 31 August 1975 and in a report made to the Central Committee of the KPZR [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] at the 25th Congress of 24 February 1976.
6. See the interesting reflections regarding information in M. Szulczewski, "International circuit of information," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, 1976, No 5, pp 42-43.
7. For recent publications on this subject, see B. Sujka, "Ideological confrontation under conditions of peaceful coexistence," NOWE DROGI, 1976, No 5, pp 14-25; W. Markiewicz, "Cultural and scientific exchange, dialectics of cooperation," NOWE DROGI, 1976, No 3, pp 141-149; from Soviet literature, J. I. Igricki, "Detente and ideological warfare," NOWAJA I NOWIEJSZAJA ISTORIJA, 1976, No 1; M. Jowczuk, "The spiritual culture of Soviet society and the contemporary ideological struggle," WOPROSY FILOSOFII, 1976, No 3.
8. J. Chlopecki, "Dobrobyt dla wszystkich [Prosperity for all]," Warsaw, 1976, p 156.
9. See M. Dobroczynski, "International economic cooperation and the processes of detente," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, 1976, No 1, pp 13-22.
10. A similar but somewhat different opinion appears in the work of Hans Peter Schwarz, "The policy of Western attachment or the reason of state for the Federal Republic," ZEITSCHRIFT FUER POLITIK, December 1975, pp 307-337, which ascribes to cultural factors an important role in the components of the structural, political and other connections of West Germany with the West.
11. See K. Zygulski, "The place of Poland in world culture," SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE, 1974, No 1, p 23.
12. At this point it is worth recalling that at the time of the Geneva Conference Phase II of the CSCE, astonishment was caused by the position of many Western delegates, particularly member countries of the EWG [European Economic Community], categorically opposing the acceptance of a clear formula proposed by the East German delegation on showing respect for the cultures of other nations.

13. See A. D. Rotfeld, "The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Legal Problems," PANSTWO I PRAWO, 1976, Nos 1-2.
22. See text of address by E. Gierek delivered on 31 July 1975 in Helsinki in the publication "Wielka Karta Pokoju. Materialy KBWE [Great Map of Peace. CSCE Materials]" Warsaw, 1975, p 4.
23. "Materialy VII Zjazdu PZPR [Materials of the Seventh PZPR Congress]," Warsaw, 1975, pp 134 and 281-282; resolution of the Polish Sejm of 23 October 1975; see also the press expose of the Council of Ministers of P. Jaroszewicz of 27 March 1976 presenting the program of the new Polish government.
24. For example, in 1969-1974 the number of translations of foreign literature into the Polish language increased from 276 to 345 items, not counting republications. In an analogous period the number of theatrical team trips increased from 31 to 51 and the export of fictional films from 137 to 232.

This growth has occurred from year to year; for example, in 1973 209 musical, song and dance teams entertained in Poland, while 596 traveled abroad, and in 1974 respective numbers were 232 and 689. The number of trips of Polish musical teams and soloists is also high; for example, they were respectively 562 and 1,069 in 1974 (according to data from the Bureau of Cultural Cooperation Abroad of the Ministry of Culture and Art).
25. "Resolutions, 28th Session, 3148 (XXVIII)," p 87.
26. In 1975 Poland was visited by 9,320,000 foreigners (1.9 million in 1970), while 8,166,000 Poles traveled abroad (0.8 million in 1970).
27. It is worth mentioning that in Polish treaty practise the concept "agreements on cultural cooperation" is usually very broad and, in addition to culture, can embrace science (but without scientific and technological problems), education and information.
28. Contained in the document CSCE/II/L/136 of 28 April 1975, particularly in point 6.
29. An original achievement is, for example, the development of cooperation between statistical offices, including those of France and Austria, in the area of comparison of statistics. They have practical application because they enable orientation in reciprocal economic capabilities, exchange and so forth. The same is true of strengthening cooperation with the Conference of European Statisticians in the direction of unifying statistical methodology on a European scale, making an important contribution to world statistical research.

30. T. Kaczmarek, "Current problems of cultural exchange abroad," *NOWE DROGI*, 1976, No 4, p 54.
31. M. Jaworski, "Cooperation and confrontation," *TRYBUNA LUDU*, 30 March 1976.
32. On this subject see H. Nieciowna, "Miedzynarodowa regulacja prawna obrotu dobrami kulturalnymi [International legal regulation of the return of cultural goods]," *PISM* [Polish Institute of International Affairs], Krakow branch, 1974 (typescript).
33. Materials from the meeting published in the collection "Wspolpraca europejska [European cooperation]," Warsaw, 1976.
34. For the sake of illustrating the problem it is worth citing one of the examples. For example, persons in Poland from one of the Western countries pay the equivalent of \$12 to \$20 for 1 day's stay in a hospital. At the same time a Polish citizen going to this country pays about \$150 for 1 day, and in specialized cases even up to \$370. What is more, before accepting a patient the hospital assures itself at the Polish consulate that the bill will be paid and even refuses the most urgent intervention (including unexpected ones), if it lacks such a guarantee in a written form. Similar phenomena occur in relations with many Western countries.
35. For example, the cancellation in May 1976 of the obligation of filling out precise declarations at border points.
36. M. Dobroczynski, "Op. cit.," p 14.
37. See R. Baturo, "International detente: premises and content," *NOWE DROGI*, 1976, No. 4, p 163.

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BULGARIA

TODOROV REPORTS TO NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Oct 76 pp 2, 3 AU

[Report read by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers on the country's socioeconomic development during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period, to the second session of the Seventh National Assembly on 27 October 1976]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly deputies, today the supreme organ of state power is exercising one of its basic rights and obligations--namely to discuss and adopt the Seventh Five-Year Plan on the development of the Bulgarian People's Republic. This plan contains the basic trends adopted by the 11th BCP Congress. It reflects the aspirations of the Bulgarian people and creates prerequisites and conditions for further socialist construction of our motherland. The plan represents a continuation of the trend of accelerated development that has been a characteristic feature of our economy every since the April 1956 plenum of the BCP Central Committee.

Let us draw up a balance sheet on the fulfillment of the tasks assigned to us by the 10th Congress and on the implementation of the law on the Sixth Five-Year Plan during the period 1971-1975.

--The national economy is developing at accelerated rates of speed. Within the last Five-Year Plan period the total social product increased by 48 percent and the national income 46 percent. Industrial production increased by 54 percent, and capital investments 50 percent. The intensification of the economy increased. Technical equipment and technological methods were renewed in a number of branches and activities of material production, which considerably increased the volume and improved the quality of production.

--Great social measures have been implemented. The December program on the improved living standard has been worked out and is now being implemented. Real incomes increased by more than 32 percent. The social consumption funds increased at accelerated rates of speed, the production and consumption of a number of goods has improved. The 5-day week was introduced throughout the country.

--The role of science was enhanced. We are aware that science is more and more successfully contributing to the development of material production and to the intellectual sphere. The structure and essence of national education are

changing, education is increasingly linked to practical life and to the training of the young generation for creative and useful labor. The material base was further built and administration and organization on the cultural front continue to develop.

--Cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries is being successfully implemented. During the last Five-Year Plan period this businesslike friendship developed on the basis of the comprehensive program of socialist economic integration.

--The relations between our country and the Soviet Union were inspired by a new significance and entered a new state of dragging closer together and integration. This fact introduced essential, positive changes into the economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation and became a factor for the further development of productive forces and of intellectual life in our country.

The generally good fulfillment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan developed and consolidated the material-technical basis. One of the important indexes is the size of the basic funds in the production sphere, which by the end of the Sixth Five-Year Plan period amounted to approximately 33 billion leva. The structure of social production has changed. The relative share of industry in the national income increased from 49 to 54 percent. Socialist social relations are developing, the people's moral-political unity is strong. Bulgaria took a new, long step along the path of its socialist development.

A solid material and intellectual prerequisite was achieved, permitting us to resolve even greater tasks. These tasks were outlined by the 11th Congress. On the basis of the party program, the Central Committee theses, the basic directions for the country's socioeconomic development during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period and the July plenum decisions and in conformity with the recommendations given by Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers has worked out and is now submitting to the National Assembly for discussion and adoption the draft project on the uniform plan for the socioeconomic development of Bulgaria during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period 1976-80.

In preparing the plan large use was made of the programmatic target-oriented approach and of the comprehensive programs worked out in recent years in connection with solving basic socioeconomic problems. Our scientific potential was more intensely involved in connection with explaining the trends of development under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution and in conformity with the needs of the country. The plan insures the implementation of the tasks assigned by the 11th BCP Congress. The plan conforms with the main socioeconomic task of the Seventh Five-Year Plan adopted by the congress--namely to implement unrelentingly the party line to more fully satisfy the people's material and intellectual needs. This will happen through insuring a dynamic and well-balanced development of the national economy, accelerating labor productivity, increasing the efficiency and quality of production and through modernization, reorganization, concentration and accelerated introduction of scientific-technical achievements, as well as through raising the socialist consciousness

of the working people and consolidating the socialist way of life. This task will be implemented under the circumstances of our further, comprehensive drawing closer together with the USSR and under the conditions of intensified integration with the CEMA member-countries.

The draft project was worked out in conformity with the new approach adopted in planning--namely, the method of distributing the country's resources primarily on the basis of the efficiency achieved. The capital investments are concentrated mainly upon modernization, reorganization and expansion. Preference is given to new achievements in science and in technical progress. Attention is paid to utilizing more efficiently the labor resources as well as to making the necessary reduction of administrative-management personnel. The plan insures prerequisites for maintaining a stable balance of payments and for achieving an excess of receipts over payments in the foreign trade balance. The application of the multiplication approach contributes to the most correct possible tackling and solving of the problems of concentration and specialization of production. Optimal proportions were established in the national economic sector by finding the best solution for this Five-Year Plan period as regards the classification of the technological consistency of production and other advantages.

High efficiency and high quality are characteristic features of the draft plan. This becomes evident from the basic indexes that were set: In 1980, social labor productivity is envisaged to increase by 49.5 percent compared with that of 1975; the profitability of production is envisaged to increase from 6.86 leva to 16.14 leva; the material expenditures, without amortization in the production costs of 100 leva worth of production, are envisaged to be reduced by 5.28 leva, for the total period of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. During the Seventh Five-Year Plan period the relative share of production at worldwide level and above is envisaged to increase from 35.4 percent to 53 percent of the total volume of industrial production. This is a general problem of our socio-economic development. The high quality of production is a basic prerequisite for high economic efficiency. Each leading organ must take into consideration the inseparable link existing between quality and efficiency. The compiling of the Five-Year Plan is a great test for cadres at all levels. In working out the plan, we had to overcome great difficulties. They stemmed mostly from the shortage of raw materials and labor resources and from the unstable international economic situation. In certain ministries, economic organizations and okrug people's councils the new planning approach was not timely understood and applied. Today, however, we can report to the National Assembly that, thanks to the constant care devoted by the Politburo and by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, thanks to the efforts of the government, of the state planning committee and of other organs, the plan was successfully compiled and the draft project conforms with the tasks and requirements of the 11th Congress.

Now, the basic slogan of the 11th party congress--"efficiency and quality, quality and efficiency"--has become the core and the essence of the plan and of its concrete indexes. The tenets of the July Plenum on strict observance of the Leninist principles of management are being implemented. The April line has been adopted and prerequisites are being created for implementing the party strategy at the present stage of development.

I. THE ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY ON THE BASIS OF HIGH EFFICIENCY AND QUALITY

Comrades,

The accelerated and well-balanced development of the Bulgarian economy is its characteristic trait in the years of socialist construction. The 1976-80 plan continues this positive tradition. The plan insures accelerated and stable rates of economic growth and social progress, new features of the socialist way of life. During the Seventh Five-Year Plan period the Bulgarian People's Republic will take one of the leading places in the world in terms of the rate of speed of economic development. The dynamic character of our national economy within the forthcoming years will brightly distinguish itself against the background of stagnation and recession reigning in the capitalist world, and this will be an important sociopolitical feature of the general character of the Seventh Five-Year Plan period.

By 1980, the national income is expected to increase by 49.5 percent, or by an 8.4 average annual rate.

The relative share of the "accumulations" fund in the distributed national income will amount to an average of approximately 28 percent for the total Five-Year Plan period. Approximately 77 percent of the planned capital investments will be concentrated in material production: 68.3 percent will be devoted to modernization, reorganization and expansion of plants, while 53 percent will be devoted to modernization and reorganization alone. This will considerably improve the technological structure of the capital investments, while the building and assembling work represents only 32.6 percent of investments in this sector.

Thanks to more efficient draft solutions, savings of the building assembling work amounting to 350 million leva will be achieved during the 1977-80 period. A further industrialization of construction is envisaged, the schedules for building and commissioning basic funds will be cut down through concentration of capital investments and through reduction of uncompleted building projects.

The achievement of the planned increase of the national income will depend to the greatest extent upon the manner in which the investment program is implemented. We are all aware of the existing difficulties in the program outlined since the capital investments for only 1 year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan period will reach almost the amount of the investments of the entire Fourth Five-Year Plan period. However, our country has a solid material technical basis and an experienced staff of building workers, and if we create the necessary efficient organization, we will be able to cope with the situation.

During the Seventh Five-Year Plan period we will commission basic funds totaling 31.1 billion leva. Thus, by 1980 the reorganization of basic funds will reach 48.5 percent. A high and stable rate of increase is being insured by increasing intensification and by raising the efficiency of the economy and of all spheres of socioeconomic life.

Almost the entire increase of the national income during the Five-Year Plan period will be guaranteed by higher social labor productivity. Considerable improvements will be carried out in utilizing labor resources. These labor resources will be optimally distributed among the economic branches. The qualifications of workers will be improved and organization as well as labor norms will be improved to perfection. The use of shift work must be increased in the industrial sector by 8 points, in the building sector--by 17 points and in transportation--by 6 points. It is envisaged to reduce the full-day losses of working time per worker. All this, as well as the specialized training of cadres, will insure an increase of individual labor productivity.

A planned increase of social labor productivity is feasible. Compared with the Sixth Five-Year Plan period an additional increase of labor productivity by 5.5 point is being envisaged for the total of the Seventh Five-Year Plan period. In order to resolve this question we must take advantage of the existing reserves. It is particularly important to timely implement the mechanization and automation of production processes envisaged by the plan, to implement the scientific organization of labor and management and to introduce modern technological methods in production. Karl Marx said, as early as in his time, that the decisive factor is not what is being produced, but how it is being produced, and by what technological process.

The dynamic development of the national economy is also insured through a fuller exploitation of production capacities. In the enterprises with an interrupted production process shift work will be increased--a minimum double-shift regime will be introduced in all national economic branches by 1980. By increasing the shift work utilization factor the yield of funds (based on the national income produced per 100 leva worth of production funds) will increase during the Five-Year Plan period by 3.8 points and from 26.8 leva in 1975 it will amount to 30.6 leva in 1980.

It is clear that we will have to overcome great difficulties because the trend in the past was reversed--the fund yield was dropping.

Is there a reason for assigning ourselves such a task? Yes, there is!

In many Bulgarian enterprises, there are unutilized production premises and expensive and highly productive machines, which are not sufficiently exploited. The shift-work is insignificant as regards the use of the equipment. The equipment does not work on the basis of a 7-day regime. The planned capacities of a number of plants have not been reached, while at the same time, the very process of the exploitation of machines is rather prolonged. This fact, however, represents a peculiar reserve, which with an efficient organization, without additional investments, could increase the production volume. This will naturally change the trend from dropping of the fund yields to an increase of the latter. It is our duty to take advantage of this opportunity, to timely organize the most efficient possible exploitation of production capacities.

An efficient and economical use of raw materials, other materials, fuel and power is one of the most important factors for the intensification of development and for a greater efficiency in national economy. During the Seventh

Five-Year Plan period the production of a unit of national income will take place under the conditions of a considerably smaller expenditure of materials. By 1980, it is envisaged to produce 100 leva worth of national income by spending 203 kilowatt hours of electric power as against 211 kilowatt hours used in 1975; other fuel, 228 kg as against 249 in 1975; ferrous rolled metal, 17.1 kg as against 21.4 in 1975; cement, 31.3 kg as against 32.2 in 1975. By gradually reducing the expenditure norms, material expenditures (without amortization) of 100 leva worth of national income for the total of the Seventh Five-Year Plan period will be reduced by 8.2 points.

The task is great and difficult, it demands persevering efforts and complicated measures. We all are aware of the tremendous difficulties involved in implementing this task and of the great responsibility we are assuming in trying to cope with this task. The savings of raw materials and of other materials depend to the greatest extent upon the designers, building engineers and technical experts.

It will be necessary, with the active participation of the workers collectives, to reduce the expenditure norms and to cut them down to the level of the advanced countries. The workers collectives must guarantee by all means the reduction envisaged by the plan. The control organs will strictly hold responsible those who fail to implement this important requirement.

The government adopted a national program on reducing raw material, fuel and power expenditures. This program includes the main positions of basic materials. The Central Committee and the government attach great importance to this program. It is necessary for the enterprises to implement also other ideas and initiatives likely to insure the planned reduction of material expenditures.

In order to implement the program, we must most strictly observe technological discipline, improve supplies and stop violations of progressive expenditure norms, as well as prevent excessive expenditures.

In all complexes and economic organizations the production process must be organized in a manner likely to insure production of high-quality goods, sought after on our domestic and on the international markets, goods produced with the materials that have been invested according to plan. The output of substandard production must be reduced to a minimum. We must increase the intensified processing of basic materials and raw materials. It is necessary finally to effect a change in the comprehensive collecting and utilizing of secondary raw materials, other materials, fuel and power, just in the manner in which this problem has been resolved in rich and highly developed countries.

To reduce material expenditures is a task of vast scope. The Central Committee and the government are expecting each working man--worker, designer, construction engineer, scientist, plant manager and minister--to actively contribute to this task. The accomplishment of this task must become a nationwide cause.

Better utilization of labor resources, production equipment, raw materials and other materials guarantees a reduction of production costs by 12 percent in 1980 as compared to 1975.

As regards a dynamic and efficient development of our economy it is necessary to introduce scientific and technical achievements at an accelerated rate into production and into the comprehensive life of the country. The plan is based on a programmatic-target oriented basis and its implementation involves the most important scientific-technical problems that outline the strategic trends in socioeconomic development.

We must use on a large scale the experience of other countries through joint research work, consultations and exchange of documents, as well as purchase of licenses and other such methods. More than half of this work will be carried out in cooperation with the USSR.

Conditions are being created for a further concentration of science upon the basis of basic tasks. The trend is toward an intensified development of the scientific front by improving the qualitative composition and the qualifications structure of the cadres engaged in the scientific sector and by improving the material-technical base of scientific research and development work.

The country's scientific potential will be concentrated on improving production standards, on introducing scientific and technical research and solutions, so as to insure a planned reduction of labor, raw material, other materials, fuel and power expenditures, and so as to increase the intensified processing of raw materials. The basic trend in the activities of our science will be to renew production in the basic branches and in particular, in electronics and machine building.

We all must become well aware that a high efficiency of development combined with the existing labor resources is possible only if we introduce consistently and on a large scale the scientific-technical achievements in production. Science today represents a decisive factor for intensifying the economy and we are obliged to utilize fully this important production force.

Exceptionally great importance, as regards high rates of economic growth and the efficiency of social production, must be attached to the expansion and intensification of Bulgaria's participation in socialist economic integration and to the drawing closer together between our national economy and the economy of the Soviet Union. The draft project reflects the results of the coordination of our plan with the plans of the CEMA member-countries and the long-term trade agreements signed with these countries. The comprehensive program envisages the solution of great, long-term economic problems on a multilateral and bilateral basis.

The CEMA member-countries agreed to include, for the first time, in their plans for the 1976-80 period, paragraphs on bilateral and multilateral integration measures. In our plan there is such a paragraph and we are guaranteeing its implementation along with all other decisions contained in the plan.

During the Seventh Five-Year Plan period the process of drawing closer together between our country and the USSR in all sectors will be intensified. Bulgaria has no greater trade partner than the Soviet Union. More than half of our

exports go to the Soviet country. Bulgaria is the greatest deliverer of lifting-transport machines, electronic computers, electric motors, calcinated soda, cigarettes, fruit and vegetables for the USSR. In 1980 approximately 50 percent of our exports to the USSR will be represented by goods of the machine building and electronics industry. These great and constantly growing permanent deliveries to the USSR are giving us the opportunity to organize a large-scale serial, **specialized**, and efficient production of various machine-building industry products.

The Soviet Union will continue to deliver to us the vitally necessary machines and equipment, complex projects and equipment of a high technical standard. During this plan period, too, that of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, the basic part of the most important raw materials, materials and power for our country will again be delivered by the Soviet Union.

In order to be, also, in the future a welcome trade partner of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries we must demonstrate a greater sense of responsibility toward the obligations assumed as regards the quality of our goods, as regards their variety and technical standards: We must observe the delivery schedules.

With its participation in the construction on Soviet territory of the Ust-Ilimsk Cellulose Combine, of the Asbestos Combine, of the "Vinitza-Albertisza" pipeline, of the "Orenburg-Western USSR Border gas pipeline and other such projects, Bulgaria's insuring for itself long-term deliveries of energy raw materials, cellulose, asbestos, iron ore concentrate, ferrous alloys and fodder, among other things. Cooperation in the timber industry sector is very important to us, so that we may be supplied with the necessary timber and so that our timberlands may be restored.

Specialization and production sharing with the CEMA member-countries is expanding. The stress is laid upon machine building, the chemical and metallurgical industries and the production of building materials, among other things. In 1980 the share of specialized production and production sharing will amount to over 30 percent of our exports to socialist countries, including over 35 percent to the Soviet Union.

Together with the Socialist Republic of Romania we are envisaging the joint construction of the "Turnu-Magurele" Machine Building Plant in the Ruse Giurgiu area and the electric power grid for the export of electric power from the USSR to Bulgaria.

The plan devotes attention to production-technical and market cooperation with firms from developed capitalist countries.

Compared to other, to the non-socialist, countries our comprehensive trade-economic cooperation with the developing states will develop at accelerated rates. A solid basis for intensive relations with these countries is the fact that our basic interests coincide with the basic interests of these countries.

Foreign trade exchange of goods will increase by 1980 by 60 percent as compared to 1975. The progressive structural changes in imports will continue, while the share of machines and equipment will attain approximately 50 percent of the total volume by the end of the Five-Year Plan period.

Taking into consideration the enhanced role of foreign economic relations in the development of the Bulgarian economy, it is of exceptional importance to fulfill the plan on exports.

Our two machine building ministries must concentrate their efforts on the production of such goods as our partners are looking for and are willing to purchase. The highest possible production quality must be insured: New, scientific and technical solutions, designs and construction methods must be more boldly introduced. It is necessary for the Ministry of Foreign Trade and for the foreign trade organizations in cooperation with the production enterprises, to study more thoroughly the general economic situation and to outline a better market strategy and tactics, guaranteeing the implementation of foreign trade exchange.

The executive committees of the okrug people's councils and of the Sofia City People's Council are actively participating in the compiling of the uniform plan on a territorial basis and in working out the problems of the territorial distribution of the production forces. A constantly rising living standard of individual territorial units is envisaged, as well as a constant drawing closer together of the living standards of the population in various territorial units. The social labor productivity must increase through an improvement of the territorial organization of social production and through a comprehensive development of okrugs and microrayons.

By developing the basic economic branches, conditions are being created on a territorial basis for improving the settlements network and for reducing the concentration of population in the great urban centers.

The economies of Kurdzhali, Smolyan, Razgrad, Shumen, Turgovishte and Blagoevgrad okrugs will develop at rates higher than the average. The same applies to certain border towns and to individual microrayons, which are lagging behind in their development in Tolbukhin, Mikhaylovgrad and Vratsa okrugs. Over 2.7 billion leva is being concentrated on these territorial units.

The distribution of new capacities conforms to the demands for a rational utilization of resources, to the specific natural conditions and peculiarities of the environment and to the intensification of territorial concentration and specialization of production.

II. IMPROVEMENT OF THE BRANCH STRUCTURE IN THE MATERIAL PRODUCTION SPHERE

Comrades, the dynamic and efficient development of Bulgaria during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period will be implemented on the basis of progressive, structural changes in the national economy. The relative share of industry continues to increase. In producing the national income the relative share of industry

will increase from 54 percent as it was in 1975 to 60 percent in 1980. Regardless of the fact that the volume of agricultural production is growing, its share in the national income is diminishing relatively and will represent 18.6 percent in 1980. Industry will consolidate its leading position in the economic sector: It will increase its share in implementing the production of expanded industrial output, in covering the needs of the domestic market and in developing foreign economic relations.

Industrial goods are being modernized on a large scale, their variety is expanding and their quality improving. On this basis the profit per 100 leva of production funds is increasing by 13 leva for the entire period of the Five-Year Plan. Social labor productivity in the industrial sector will increase within the 5 years of the Seventh Five-Year Plan period by 76.5 percent. The production costs of 100 leva worth of industrial production are being reduced by more than 13 percent.

The branch and internal branch structure of industry is further improving. The production of those branches on which scientific-technical progress and the efficiency of national economy depend to the greatest extent will develop at accelerated rates of speed. Such branches are: The machine building industry, the electronics, chemical and petrochemical industries. The relative share and volume of industrial production of these branches will attain approximately 50 percent in 1980.

Along with preference given to the increase of heavy industry production a rapid growth of those branches that produce mass consumer goods are also being rapidly developed. The variety of mass consumer goods will also be expanded and their quality will improve.

Ministries and departments worked out general projects for concentration and specialization on the basis of the multiplication approach. During the forthcoming period great changes will be carried out in the organization of production and of production relations on the scale of the entire national economy.

In order to keep up high and stable rates of development in the national economy, the power supply and raw material basis of our country will be developed at accelerated rates. In 1980, 39 billion kwh of electric power will be produced. The main factor in the development of this branch is represented by the accelerated modernization and reorganization, by expansion of the material-technical base and higher efficiency.

Metallurgy will advance on the basis of modernization and reorganization. By the end of the Five-Year Plan period, the construction of a third metallurgical base will begin. In 1980 ferrous rolled metal production is envisaged to attain 3.7 million tons. Variety will improve and the share of high-quality brands of steel and rolled metal will increase.

The chemical and rubber industries are developing at accelerated rates, and the petrochemical industry, above all. The intensive processing of oil will increase. The main trend in the chemical industry is the production of modern, future oriented polymeric materials and fibers. The qualitative indexes of the branch are improving and the production costs will be reduced, while labor productivity will increase at the same time.

Cement production will reach 8.9 million tons, while its quality will improve at the same time. The production of construction materials will increase too. Because of a shortage of production capacities the needs of the country for tiles and stoneware pipes are not fully met, the state planning committee and the respective departments involved must resolve these questions in their annual plans.

The development of the machine building sector will continue at accelerated rates. The production volume in 1980 will increase 2.1 times as compared with 1975 by preference being given to the production of systems of machinery, technological lines and complete projects. The basic sub-branches upon which efforts are concentrated are the heavy machine building industry, the transport machine building industry, metal casting and the forming of materials.

Conditions are being created for a greater intensification and higher efficiency of the machine building branch. The expenditures of rolled ferrous metal are being reduced. The production costs are being reduced by 20 percent. The production marked as "quality production" and "Number 1" is envisaged to attain 60.3 percent in 1980 as compared with 42 percent in 1975.

In 1980 the production of heavy investment equipment will approximately triple as compared with 1975.

Electronics is developing rapidly. The production of this branch will increase 2.2 times. The major position will be assigned to electronic computer technical equipment, which will increase 2.1 times and to communications equipment envisaged to increase 2.5 times. The prerequisites for a large-scale electronization of production, administration and of daily life services are being created. Problems exist in connection with television sets, radio sets and certain other goods. The ministry of electronics and electrotechniques must concentrate their attention upon high production quality, a contemporary technical standard, form and variety.

The shipbuilding development is assigned the task of insuring a material base for water transport and a considerable export on the basis of specialization and production sharing with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries.

The transport machine building industry will also develop. At the same time our specialization within the CEMA framework will be intensified. New types of electric cars and motor cars will complement the varieties produced in our country. In the metal cutting machines sector preference will be given to high precision lathes with programmed computer steering. Their relative share in the total volume of production will represent 22 percent in 1980.

The other branches of production and machine building goods will develop within the Five-Year Plan period, mostly on the basis of specialization within the CEMA framework and for the purpose of covering the needs of the country.

The Five-Year Plan is assigning important tasks also to the light and food industry branches. The main task is to improve the quality of production and to

increase variety by overcoming at the same time the difficulties in the production of certain goods.

The development of the textile industry will be carried out mainly along the path of reorganization and modernization. By 1980 the production of cotton fibers will reach 414 million square meters; the production of wool fibers, approximately 68 million square meters; the production of silk fibers, 57 million square meters; and the production of knitwear, 152 million square meters. The relative share of chemical fibers will represent approximately 56 percent in 1980. The share of non-woven textile goods is growing. The quality is expected to improve considerably. In 1980 over 60 percent of the production will be at or above worldwide level.

The tailoring, footwear and furniture industries are developing to satisfying the needs of the population, while the glass industry, procelain and ceramics industries are also expected to cover the needs of food industry, machine building and construction, as well as the needs for export.

The increased purchasing power of the Bulgarian people obliges the Ministry of Light Industry and its enterprises to improve the quality and to increase considerably the relative share of high-quality and refined goods.

An important food industry trend will be the production of readymade and partly cooked food, which will be increased about triple. Meat production will be increased by 53 percent; vegetable oils by 58 percent; and soft drinks by 77.5 percent.

Agriculture will have a great share in the economic development and in improving the people's well-being during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period. The volume of agricultural production, compared to that in the Sixth Five-Year Plan period, is envisaged to increase by 23.9 percent. The measures outlined will make the branch more efficient: At the same time social labor productivity will increase by 40 percent in 1980, as compared to 1975. Material expenditures will be reduced, on the basis of 100-leva production costs, by 4.4 percent during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period.

The chief task in agriculture is to attain an accelerated rate of production in the animal husbandry sector through increasing the number of animals and their yield.

In plant growing, efforts are to be concentrated mainly on a greater production of grain fodder and green fodder. The average yields are to increase through an improvement of the variety composition, through the use of chemical fertilizers and means for plant protection, through the expansion of irrigated areas and through the use of complex mechanization.

One of the key problems of our agriculture is fodder. This problem is a cause of concern every year. It must be resolved. The government adopted a comprehensive program on overcoming the fodder shortage and decided to adopt the method of the uniform fodder balance as early as this year. This fact demands

of the Ministries of Agriculture, Food Industry, Machine Building, Metallurgy and Chemical Industry to implement their obligations conscientiously, as regards the comprehensive program. The responsibility of okrug people's councils is also great in this respect. The most important share however, belongs to the agro-industrial complexes. As early as this year they must adopt the small-scale concentrated feeding methods of ruminant cattle, as it is practiced in the advanced countries. This demands a strict observance of discipline in the agro-industrial complexes, in order to guarantee the production and purchasing of the planned quantities of grain and in order to utilize coarse and fresh fodder. The control organs must constantly check on and seek strict responsibility of those who violate discipline.

As to the national agro-industrial complex, capital investments worth 5.07 billion leva are envisaged. This is a tremendous investment considering the size of our country. Along with these investments the material-technical base of the agro-industrial complexes will be consolidated. The agricultural sector will be supplied with more highly productive machines and transportation equipment. We expect the agricultural cadres and all those working in this sector to use most sensibly each leva invested in this sector, thus insuring high efficiency.

We must much more efficiently utilize the basic means of production in the agricultural sector--namely the soil. We must protect this soil against being wasted for non-agricultural purposes. Particular attention must be devoted to utilizing the soil in mountainous and semi-mountainous areas.

During the Seventh Five-Year Plan period the uniform transportation system will be further developed. Freight transport in 1980 will increase by 42 percent. Delivery times of freight and passenger transport will be shortened. The turnover of means of transportation will be accelerated and empty runs will be reduced. The freight capacities of transportation means will be more fully used. Investments worth approximately 3.5 billion leva are provided for the uniform transportation system. By the end of 1980 double railroad lines will attain 735 km while the electrified lines will attain approximately 50 percent of the current lines of the total railroad network.

The Sofia-Pazardzhik and Sofia-Glaboevgrad super-highways and the "Varna-Ilichvsk" ferryboat will be commissioned and the tonnage of the Bulgarian merchant fleet will increase.

Conditions are being created for the building of a contemporary system of complex information services at all levels of social administration of the population. For the communications sector 417 million leva of capital investments, or twice the means invested during the Sixth Five-Year Plan, are envisaged.

The building complex will resolve important problems. A number of initiatives were outlined to increase building efficiency. The use of labor and of construction technical equipment will be improved. The expenditures of basic construction materials will be reduced to 1 million leva of construction materials. Efficient, new materials and goods will be used in the building sector. In the final, exact decision on building projects, priority must be given to production

capacities about to be commissioned and to housing projects. Through concentration of efforts 12,000 projects will be built during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period, planned on a national scale, compared to the 15,860 that were built during the Sixth Five-Year Plan period. In order to guarantee the building of the planned production capacities and housing projects it has become necessary temporarily to stop the construction of administrative buildings.

III HIGH ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY--THE BASIS OF IMPROVING THE PEOPLE'S PROSPERITY

Comrade National Assembly Deputies, the draft project submitted to you entails deep concern for man--which is the basic essence of the BCP policy, the significance and supreme goal of the BCP's manysided activities.

The rates at which the economy is envisaged to develop, the rates at which efficiency is envisaged to increase and labor productivity is envisaged to grow, all these rates insure conditions for a fuller satisfaction of the material and intellectual needs. They insure conditions for developing the socialist way of life, conditions for improving the social structure of our society.

In working out the problems of the living standard, we tried to insure a further implementation of the December program observing the principle-minded requirements of the July plenum on social policy.

The plan embodies the principle that only those things can be distributed and consumed that have been produced, that have been created. Everyone must become aware that the prosperity of our entire nation lies within the industrious hands of the people, that without labor and efforts, without the production of more material goods we cannot undertake anything in order to improve the living standard.

It is envisaged that the real per-capita income should increase by 25 percent throughout the Seventh Five-Year Plan period. By 1980 the nominal workers wages will increase by 16.5 as compared with 1975, while at the same time the average amount of these wages should reach 170 leva. The minimum workers wages will be increased to 90 leva monthly. The new tariff and organizational chart reform envisages that workers wages of those working in individual branches and in the national economic sector as a whole are to be attained through a strict application of the following principle--the planned wages and each increase of these wages should be earned through labor. This is an important Leninist principle, the significance of which was categorically stressed at the July Plenum and it must be observed in practical life.

In conformity with the December program and the decisions adopted by the 11th BCP Congress the public consumption funds will also increase. In determining their structure we demanded that the rates of the increase and the trends toward expenditures should be strictly subjected to the basic strategic task of the Five-Year Plan. The public funds are being increased by 37 percent. The means devoted to the development of education will increase by 43.9 percent, the means devoted to health protection and physical culture--by 34.8 and the pension funds--by 39.4 percent. By the end of the Five-Year Plan period 90.0

percent of the children from the age of 3 to 7 will be raised in kindergartens. The number of places in social welfare institutions will also increase.

The socialist way of life and the aspiration to improve the living standard are closely linked to the state of the services sector. The draft project on the uniform plan envisages the priority development of this sphere as compared to the growth of the material production and to the income of the population. Services must reach the norms of a comprehensive satisfaction of the needs of the population for services, and the cultural standard of services must be raised.

The reserves existing in the okrugs must be more fully used and their existing base must be reorganized and expanded. Shift work in the services sector must be increased. It is particularly important in this case to classify the needs according to their importance, to spend the means granted by the national institutions and to insure a great economic and social effect.

The draft plan insures considerable means and resources for further improving trade services and public catering. Retail turnover will increase by 40 percent. Approximately 250 million leva is being insured for construction, reorganization and modernization of the material base. The correct distribution and utilization of cadres and means must be insured. A correct distribution and utilization must insure a considerable improvement of the forms and cultural standard and of services.

The draft plan insures the norms of consumption as regards the most important food and non-food products and durable consumer goods as outlined in the basic trends.

Along with the increase of production and imports of mass consumer goods outlined for the Seventh Five-Year Plan period, conditions are being created to overcome the existing shortage of certain goods and to increase the variety of goods. The ministries, the producing departments and the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Public Services must take additional measures to increase production and improve the quality of these goods. It is the duty of these institutions to perfect the existing mutual relations among producers, the trade network and the consumers, as well as to insure a regular supply, variety and quality of goods on the domestic market.

It is necessary to use more fully the power of the existing capacities and to organize at the same time the production of consumer goods in those plants that produce means of production. The managers of enterprises, economic organizations and ministries will be personally responsible for the quality of goods which are produced for the population.

Serious attention must be paid during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period to daily life services too. The volume of industrial services is planned to be higher by more than 70 percent for certain basic services connected with facilitating household work. This increase will be considerable. Laundry services will be

increased 5 times; cleaning services, 5.4 times; automobile services, approximately 4 times; radio and television services, 2.2 times.

Now the main thing is to create more convenient forms of services, more convenient for the citizens and more efficient for the national economy. Attention must be devoted to subscriptions for services, which has a number of advantages but it is being introduced slowly and insufficiently.

In the health protection sector efforts are mainly concentrated on prophylactics, the struggle against mass diseases. In 1980, 90 hospital beds and 22.5 sanitarium beds, as well as 28.4 physicians per 10,000 people will be insured. Okrug, municipal and city people's councils must devote constant care to the health of cities and settlements, to health protection and to the protection of the people's working ability, as well as to the further development of physical culture and sports.

Within the system of recreation and tourism the organization, modernization and use of the material base will be improved. Measures are being taken for the material base will be improved. Measures are being taken for the utilization of the health resorts throughout the year. The recreation of working people during the 2 rest days of the week will become more developed and more interesting.

The plan on the Seventh Five-Year Plan contains a concrete task as regards improving the socioeconomic and production conditions of labor. For this purpose 740 billion leva will be granted. The problem is to most efficiently utilize this money, to reduce considerably the number of working accidents and to improve labor health. The planned expenditure of these means demands of us to seek the active contribution of the working people's collectives, of the trade unions and of other social organizations.

Increasing attention is being devoted to traffic safety. A program of comprehensive practical measures is being adopted. For its implementation the ministries, okrug people's councils and social organizations must spare no efforts, because the end result of these efforts is human life.

The Five-Year Plan creates prerequisites for solving urgent problems and for preserving the environment. For this noble goal 810 million leva is being granted and must be used sensibly and expediently to implement the tasks assigned by the 11th Party Congress. We should not tolerate the situation surrounding this socioeconomic necessity nor should we neglect it, but we must hold strictly accountable those state and economic organs and social organizations responsible for Bulgaria's beautiful landscape.

In order to resolve as soon as possible the housing problem and in order to satisfy the needs of more people, the plan provides for the building of 470,000 housing units, which is 50,000 more than outlined in the directives of the 11th Congress. The average area of one apartment during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period is envisaged to be 70 square meters while the relative share of 1-room or 2-room apartments will be considerably increased. The distribution of these

housing units according to okrugs and departments is made with a view to giving priority to covering the needs of workers engaged in decisively important branches or production capacities. Means are envisaged for accelerating the building of housing areas by insuring the construction of these housing areas comprehensively, on the basis of norms, with the respective, necessary service premises, infrastructure and means of transportation.

The housing program demands the joint efforts of investors and building experts, of the okrug party and state leading bodies, central departments and in particular, of the Ministry of Construction and Architecture. We must insure the timely preparation of the building draft projects. We must supply building organizations with the necessary number of cadres so that the program may be implemented. The government must strictly check upon and hold personally responsible anyone who impedes or fails to fulfill his obligations with the necessary energy in the housing construction sector.

During the Seventh Five-Year Plan period a rich program is being outlined for the building and modernization of the material-technical base of culture, arts and the mass information media. Attention must be devoted to the task assigned by the 11th Party Congress as regards the nationwide esthetic education and development of a harmonious personality.

The capital investment plan of the "Creative Arts, Cultural Activities and Mass Information Media" complex amounts to 2.853 billion leva if one includes 17 million leva for the Sofia City People's Council and 90 million for the okrug people's councils. Main projects, some of which will be completed during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period and others commissioned at various respective stages, are the following: The National radio-tv center, the center for newspapers and periodicals and the "Buzludzhav" Memorial Complex, architectural and sculptural complexes created in honor of the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state.

The material prerequisites contained in the plan for the Seventh Five-Year Plan period represent a solid basis for the development and flourishing of the arts and culture, for expanding the people's access to the intellectual values: in this sector, too, we must seek high quality and efficiency.

During the Seventh Five-Year Plan period the transition to general secondary school education will be completed in general lines. The quality of the learning process will improve and the full-day school system will be expanded. By 1980 50 percent of the students from first to seventh grade will be included in this system, 5,317 new classrooms will be built, the educational system will increasingly improve with a view to resolving the task assigned by the party--namely that the young generation must be integrated above all in material production.

The building of the material-technical base of socialist society during the years of the Seventh Five-Year Plan period is significant for the comprehensive consolidation of the country's defensive power. Side by side with the fraternal armies, and above all with the Soviet armed forces, our people's army will also in the future defend the national and international interests of the Bulgarian

People's Republic and the interests of the countries of the socialist community; it will make its worthy contribution to consolidating the Warsaw Pact.

The activities of the organs of the Ministry of Interior will be consolidated and improved. The role of these organs in protecting the public order, in stopping economic and other violations, in insuring the strict observance of legality and in intensifying the struggle against negative phenomena will be enhanced also in the future. In this respect, the adoption of a new law on the people's militia will also help.

I would like to report in particular to the National Assembly that the plan for the Seventh Five-Year Plan period insures sufficient means for the development of our capital--Sofia. It is envisaged to achieve progressive changes in the structure of the capital's economy; the importance of branches will increase, branches that offer the opportunity to use most efficiently the great potential of scientific and highly qualified executive cadres.

In order to improve the infrastructure of the city, investments of 1.25 billion leva are envisaged, of which 518 million alone is envisaged for housing construction. Considerable means are devoted to the comprehensive building of housing areas and for improvement of services to the population. For the water supply, central heating and development of city transport a total of 2.51 billion leva is envisaged. We are devoting 163 million leva to the building of highways leading out of the city, tunnels and high-bay bridges, as well as other highways and transportation means. By the end of the Five-Year Plan period we will begin the construction of a subway. Since we are devoting so much means to the capital, it is our right to demand that the Sofia City People's Council and Sofia Citizens work in such a way as to please all Bulgarians and develop Sofia as the most beautiful city of our socialist motherland.

The necessary funds are provided to consistently implement the decision of the BCP Central Committee and of the Council of Ministers on the development of Plovdiv City.

Our comprehensive social program during the Seventh Five-Year Plan is in keeping with the tasks assigned by the 11th Congress in this sphere. This program is in full harmony with the goal of socialist production and with the needs of our social development. This program also undoubtedly confirms the possibilities of our economy and shows how much can be done for the people when their well-being is the main aim of the party and of the socialist state.

IV. BASIC TASKS OF THE 1977 PLAN

Comrade National Assembly Deputies, together with the Seventh Five-Year Plan, we are also discussing the draft plan and draft bill on the socioeconomic development of Bulgaria in 1977. Please allow me to characterize briefly these two documents.

The national income in 1977 is provided to increase by 8.2 percent; the social productivity of labor by 8.1 percent; the volume of the industrial production

by 8.9 percent; and agricultural production by 4 percent. Capital investments amount to 5.711 million leva. The rates of economic growth are in conformity with the results expected from the national economy during 1976.

The living standards of the people will grow on the basis of the rapid development of production forces. This growth is characterized by an increase in the real income of the people by 4.9 percent, the volume of retail turnover by about 7 percent and the industrial services of the people by 11.2 percent.

All this will be accomplished in harmony with the Leninist principles on socialist policy and with the decisions of the July Plenum. The salaries' increase will be carried out in conformity with the quality and quantity of labor. The public funds for collective consumption will be increased at accelerated rates. Conditions will be created to include more children in kindergarten and in nurseries. Some 75,500 houses are provided, to be built in 1977.

The high rates of economic growth and the improvement of the material and cultural standards of the people are a synthesized expression of the total great work performed by the government, the ministries, departments, the okrug people's councils, the economic enterprises and organizations to compile an efficient plan for 1977.

This plan will create conditions for further specialization and concentration on the basis of a multiplicational approach, territorial concentration and specialization of production and for expanding the scope of modernization and reorganization of the production funds.

Priority will be given to the development of a structure determining the branches of the Bulgarian economy. More plastics, synthetic resins and glues, chemical fibers, silk and other basic chemical products will be produced.

Machine-building production in 1977 will increase by 16.7 percent. At the same time the consumption of the most important construction material--rolled metal--will be substantially reduced. The products of heavy machine-building will particularly rapidly increase. The production of computer and organizational equipment continues to develop at accelerated rates.

The products of the light industry and of the food and catering industry will substantially increase.

The production of basic agricultural crops and animal husbandry production are planned to substantially increase in 1977. This requires that the large reserves of our socialist agriculture be utilized. The measures for processing and protecting the land must be implemented and the irrigation areas, water resources, the material-technical base and the manpower must be comprehensively utilized. In 1977 the state will secure 20 kg of chemical fertilizers for each decare and will deliver to agriculture a considerable number of tractors, combines and other agricultural equipment. All this must bring an increase in the yields and also raise the profitability of agriculture.

In order to fulfill the construction program successfully, the necessary capital investments must be provided for and the production of construction materials must be increased. Further basic funds amounting to 5.7 billion leva, including 4.3 billion leva in the production sphere, will be invested in 1977. The resources stemming from the new capacities are also included in the composition of the material balances. This requires that the commissioning program be regularly fulfilled and the efforts for the timely building of these capacities must be concentrated in this respect.

The fulfillment of the 1977 plan will begin in approximately 2 months. In all branches and enterprises in the entire national economy preparatory work is now underway for the regular fulfillment of the plan, as of the first days of the new year.

The successful fulfillment of the 1976 plan is already a promising event. We have a good beginning in the implementation of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. For the past 9 months of 1976, industrial production has increased 8.2 percent or 1,159 million leva more than in 1975. The worker collectives in construction and transportation have also achieved successes. The cooperative farmers and mechanizers have waged a great and difficult struggle to fulfill the agricultural plan. An abundant harvest of grain and fodder crops is expected, while total grain production will amount to 8.7 million tons. The yields of the other agricultural crops are also good. The present task is to successfully harvest and utilize all these crops.

The BCP Central Committee and the government express cordial gratitude to the workers of industry, construction, transportation, agriculture and to the scientific workers and specialists as well as to all working people for their active participation in the struggle to fulfill the plan of the first year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

The key problem in 1977 is--to consolidate and develop this success, to overcome the shortcomings allowed to occur particularly in the quality indexes. Let us make 1977 a year of high effectiveness and of high quality in all branches and social spheres.

Comrade National Assembly Deputies, even the best plan is only a beginning of a huge, comprehensive and difficult task. We are facing much work and also a struggle to fulfill all that is assigned by the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

It is necessary to mobilize the entire potential of the Bulgarian nation. Bulgaria has a limited amount of manpower and the need for highly qualified executive cadres is great and will further grow. Our duty is to utilize them in the most rational manner and to increase the efficiency of the work of those involved in the national economy. May each brain and each pair of hands participate in building up the socioeconomic power of Bulgaria.

We have the necessary leading cadres who proved their qualifications and political maturity. It is necessary now that all our cadres--party economic administrative and at all levels--start living with the problems of the Five-Year Plan.

The requirements on them are great and will constantly grow because the tasks facing us are also great as regards their scope and responsibilities. However, the opportunities of the cadres and the funds the state entrusts to them are also great.

The state and economic organs have an entire complex of rights and levers for highly effective socioeconomic work. Under the conditions of an increased political and labor activity of the people, everything will depend on the cadres, their conscientiousness, competence and organizations.

Our party and state highly value the economic leaders. They entrusted these leaders with a huge material-technical base, and human, material and financial resources as well as with the right and obligation to develop the economy in conformity with the demands of matured socialism. This confidence is combined with high requirements and this confidence should be responded to with whole heartedness, enterprising spirit and will power for the fulfillment of the tasks assigned.

After being adopted by the National Assembly, the law on the Seventh Five-Year Plan will be distributed by the government to the ministries and administrations, which will approve the plans of their economic organizations and will map out complex plans for the okrugs.

The worker collectives must be assisted in working out their counterplans on the basis of the approved obligatory state tasks, as required by the economic mechanism. These counterplans must embody the courage and innovative spirit of the working people and their irreconcilability with formalism and bureaucracy so that they can become a factor for socioeconomic development.

Contracts must be signed at all economic levels. The mutual deliveries and particularly the cooperative deliveries must be specified. Sales must be determined as to types and kind, and the necessary plan resources--scientific and technical decisions and material labor and financial resources--must be guaranteed. The material-technical supply of production must be improved.

Most serious care must be devoted to the qualification of all cadres--from the worker to the specialist, from the chief of a department to the director. The complicated productions, the new technologies and constructions necessitate raising the organization of economic activity and strictly observing the requirements of the scientific organization of production, management and labor.

The Ministry of Construction and Architecture and the other construction organizations must insure the construction program as it is planned. This particularly strongly affects the basic production projects and mostly those that will produce raw and processed materials and products for exports. The investors must for their part insure a rapid commissioning of the planned capacities and also of the new reorganized projects. No lagging and deviation in the housing program should be allowed to occur.

The export products in their kind, assortment and quality and according to the demands of the customers, must be delivered regularly. And the foreign trade organizations must sell these products at the best conditions for the country.

Strict planning, financial and accountability discipline is a substantial prerequisite for the plan's fulfillment. The government and the Central Committee received indications of some violations of discipline that aimed at favoring individual economic organizations or their sections. This necessitates undertaking efficient measures for eradicating this malice. This is the categorical commandment of the July Plenum. The committee for state and people's control, the other control organs and okrug party committees must be irreconcilable toward everyone who becomes involved in dishonorable activities, must create an atmosphere of high exactingness and must not allow any violations of state discipline.

A change in labor and technological discipline and a merciless irreconcilability toward these who do not respect it are needed. Efficient administrative and other measures against careless and unconscientious workers and employees must become a practice. All those who neglect the social interests and their obligations and who try to live off the account of the people should not expect any indulgence and concessions. At the same time, all measures must be undertaken to improve labor, the everyday conditions and to raise the labor standards of each collective and of each worker.

It is particularly important to widely and with good arguments explain the plan, organize the political work for its fulfillment and develop the socialist competition campaign.

The creative strength and energy of the workers class and the working people will help to uncover and utilize all reserves for effectiveness and good quality. At the July Plenum Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized that the principle of securing maximum effect of each leva spent must become the basic meaning of the counterplan and of the socialist competition campaign. The national initiatives that are directly connected with improved effectiveness and with good quality must become standards in the work of the worker collectives.

The effectiveness and good quality of production must become personal attributes of the workers, cooperative workers, leaders and specialists at all levels and also of the scientific-technical cadres. This is because our offensive today for high effectiveness and good quality is not only a worthy response to the commandment of the 11th BCP Congress but also a sound basis for the broadness of our steps toward the next 10-year period.

Together with the communists, the loyal militant comrades and brothers in destiny--the united agrarians--will also march in the vanguard of this struggle. We pay tribute to the contribution of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union members, frontrankers in production; and we are confident that during the Seventh Five-Year Plan, they will continue to be frontrankers in the struggle to raise the effectiveness and standard of agriculture.

The party Central Committee and the government are confident that the fatherland front, the trade unions, the Dimitrov Komsomol and the creative and technical unions will also contribute to the struggle for high effectiveness and good quality, for the fulfillment of the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

The Bulgarian trade unions are responsible for reorganizing the socialist competition campaign. Its meaning, aims and organization must be enriched and carried out in conformity with the stipulations of the July Plenum. Their duty is, together with the economic organizations, to organize the elaboration and fulfillment of the counterplans.

All Bulgarian people and public expect much of our komsomol. Youth is called upon to be in the front ranks in the struggle for fulfilling the Seventh Five-Year Plan, to be irreconcilable toward conservatism and primitive ways of work and to please us with their creativity and courage.

The press, television, radio and film journalism also have a responsible share in the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan. They must more and more zealously participate in fulfilling the party commandment for effectiveness and good quality. Great are their possibilities to popularize the positive experience, assist in eliminating the shortcomings and create an irreconcilable attitude toward bureaucrats, squanderers, idlers and those affected by petit-bourgeois mentality.

The mass information media are tireless assistants of the Central Committee and the government in revealing the great treasure of reserves--men, material resources, weather, financial means and organization of labor. The press, television and radio are powerful spotlights for the positive and negative aspects of our life and a major factor for the every day all-national control which is so necessary for us.

The correlation of forces in the world is changing more and more to the benefit of peace, progress and socialism. This creates favorable conditions for developing the socialist system and for successfully fulfilling the Seventh Five-Year Plan. The international policy of our party and state is determined by the Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism, which has been tested by life and also by our energetic participation in the struggle for peace, security and social progress. The Bulgarian People's Republic, in unshakable unity with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, has its place and share in making victorious the spirit of Helsinki, in enhancing the role of the United Nations and safeguarding peace and security in Europe and in the Balkans. Our geographical position, our internal and international actions and our economic ties assign us a great responsibility as an example of a socialist state.

Socialist Bulgaria will be only 36 years old in 1980 but it will be a country with strongly developed production forces, with enviable material and cultural standards.

To fulfill the Seventh Five-Year Plan will mean for our country achieving greater heights in its comprehensive development. In 1980 we will produce a per-capita national income amounting to 2,320 leva, 4,370 kwh of electric power, 420 kgs of ferrous rolled iron, 1,000 kgs of cement and 1,180 kgs of grain for bread and for fodder.

The Seventh Five-Year Plan is an emanation of our ideas, possibilities and experience. This is why the implementation of the Seventh Five-Year Plan is a responsibility facing the future of everyone of us.

Esteemed National Assembly Deputies, the National Assembly is the supreme organ of the Bulgarian state and it is responsible for the comprehensive socioeconomic life of the country. The deliberation and approval of the Seventh Five-Year Plan and of the 1977 plan is a further manifestation of socialist democracy and sovereignty of the Bulgarian people.

The government deeply believes that the National Assembly deputies will positively appraise the submitted draft bills on socioeconomic development of the country. Your authoritative vote of support and confidence will inspire millions of working people--the workers class, cooperative farmers, people's intelligentsia, youth and all strata of the people--to build with confidence and diligence a developed socialist society in our motherland--the Bulgarian People's Republic.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV GREETES UNESCO ON 30TH ANNIVERSARY

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Nov 76 p 1 AU

[Report on telegram from Bulgarian State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov to UNESCO Director General Amadou Mahtar M'Bou]

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council sent a telegram to Amadou Mahtar M'Bou, director general of UNESCO on the occasion of its 30th anniversary:

After conveying most sincere wishes for new successes and even more useful activity the telegram points out that during the last 30 years UNESCO has become a reliable support and important factor of international cooperation in the field of education, science and culture. This cooperation is becoming increasingly wide and more and more varied and is finding increasingly useful and future-oriented forms in the process of the consolidating and maturing of the organization itself.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov expresses his high appreciation of the contribution of UNESCO also to the consolidation of peace and security in the world, to the complete elimination of colonialism and racism, to development and progress, to mutual understanding among the peoples.

The noble ideals of UNESCO have always found a lively response among the Bulgarian public. The participation of the Bulgarian People's Republic in implementing the tasks and programs of this organization are constantly expanding and becoming more varied. We are ready also in the future to support all initiatives of the organization aimed at preserving and raising human dignity, aimed at expanding access to knowledge, to arts and culture, as the telegram points out.

Confidence is expressed that UNESCO will also work in the future for the cause of peace, cooperation and progress throughout the world.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

ORGANIZATION OF SERVICE IN NAVY SHIPS DISCUSSED

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 9, 1976 pp 117-120

[Article by Capt First Rank Konstantin Ploshtakov: "Once More on the Organization of the Service and Ship Regulations"]

[Text] Problems of the organization of service aboard a navy ship are as old as sailing. We would hardly stray too far from the truth by believing that starting with the moment when two or more people boarded for the first time a boat, a raft, or any other means of navigation included in the general concept of ship, the problem of division of their functions among them, i.e., of the creation of a certain organization, arose. Even as of then, someone either proclaimed himself or was appointed by others the leader, regardless of his precise title, assuming the obligation to determine the realm of activities of the others and to control their actions.

Naturally, things change constantly. However, comparing the organizations of ancient and modern ships, we would see that both have far more in common than the ships themselves. Both then and now, the commander heads the navy ship's company -- an individual granted great authority and responsibility.

The article by Captains First Rank Doncho Kostov, Pavel Panayotov, and Stefan Damyanov, published in this periodical, cover a number of problems directly related to the organization of the service on navy vessels. With full justification and quite competently, the authors direct the attention to the so-called "petty matters" which in fact are not petty but show quite adequately the extent to which the organization of the service has been developed and how the service is performed aboard a given ship. A brief look at the past indicates that the considered problems have been of long duration. In the course of their solution, extensive experience has been acquired. Its main,

essential and determining aspects are reflected in the present regulating documents as well -- regulations, instructions, orders, and others, while another part is transmitted from generation to generation without written records as a rule. This is the tradition of which the navy is justifiably proud. Capt First Rank Donchev correctly points out the traditions inherited by our navy, making another discussion of the problem unnecessary.

According to the navy's ship regulations, the senior assistant to the ship's commander is the main individual in charge of organizing service and order aboard ship. Naturally this does not relieve the commander of responsibilities. Therefore it may seem that there are no problems. One knows clearly what to do and who is responsible for doing it. Nevertheless problems exist. They are manifested in the different attitudes adopted toward the problems to be resolved. Essentially the elaboration of the organization aboard ship is the equivalent of the elaboration of a proper attitude toward the ship's service, developing into a way of thinking and living.

Years ago, something occurred between two commanders of identical type vessels. Subsequently told, the story was funny. I cite this case, for it is instructive. One of the commanders invited his colleague to visit him in his cabin. In the middle of the conversation, the guest fell silent, looking at the ceiling. He angrily summoned the deputy commander and was confused at the sight of an unknown person. It appeared that he had noticed a rusty spot on the nickel-plated ribbon on the ceiling. He forgot that he was a visitor and was preparing to look most sternly for the person guilty of such a disgrace in his own cabin. There is no point of describing reciprocal apologies between the guest and the host. The most important thing was the attitude toward "petty matters" in the service and the intolerance of the fact that "this can do." It is true that even when the ribbon is rusty, the bulb operates. All the shells can be fired too. The question is, however, for how long can they go on firing, and when do they stop doing so?

To develop the organization of the service aboard a vessel means for the entire crew to learn its duties and be able to carry them out. There is no time at which one could say that everything aboard a given ship has been elaborated and that further pushing would spoil things. Even the best drawn-up schedules and activities, left without control and practice, soon lose something. In this sense the basic duty of the commander and his senior assistant is to have a clear idea of what has been achieved and to be able to maintain and improve it, and at the same time, to determine what in the organization needs corrections, and how to do them purposefully, rather than letting things develop by themselves. Let us cite a very recent example. We recently visited

an excellent ship in which one immediately felt the presence of a strong commanding hand. Along with other things we saw, we attended an arms and technical means inspection. Every navy man knows that this schedule reveals very well the way the organization of the service aboard the vessel has been developed. Everything was excellent. Clear orders, full reports, energetic and accurate actions, and things which please and prove that the people have not wasted their time. However, there was nevertheless a "but." We simply timed the individual activities and saw that this was not regulation timing. The beginning and the end were proper. Some activities, however, were carried out in less or more time. Yet, each activity has been allotted precisely the amount of time needed. Haste means that something is being omitted or hurried along. A delay affects the subsequent actions. Could it be that time norms have become obsolete? If so, however, why were they not amended! It turned out that nothing of the sort had taken place. It was simply that the senior assistant was not timing operations, confident that his people had been trained to be precise to the second. Possibly this may have occurred on another occasion. Yet, where was the commander? He must have abandoned for a while control of something, thus initiating a violation of the organization.

The main purpose of the organization aboard ship is to insure the maximally possible combat capability of the vessel with full utilization of the possibilities of its weapons and technical facilities. However, this cannot be achieved only through the development of the main battle order. We could claim without exaggeration that this elaboration is not the most difficult, and that, compared with others, it takes relatively little time. It is merely the logical completion of lengthy training and the elaboration of a number of problems. In practical terms, the combat readiness of the ship is insured uninterruptedly, through daily work in implementing a number of superficially insignificant measures in terms of combat readiness. Let us take two of them: the daily maintenance of material facilities and the arms and technical facility inspection. These are interrelated measures. The purpose of the first is to control the condition and of the second to insure the immediate elimination of all faults and adopt preventive measures. In this case, the word "combat" is not used. Yet, what is the worth of a ship with a proper weapon utilization organization if poorly maintained? The neglected hull of such a ship could be pierced even before combat, while apparatus and weapons may break down at most crucial times. In this sense, all ship activities are directly linked with its combat capability. Guard duty obligations should be considered from the same angle.

Perhaps of late the ship's order creates the greatest number of questions and arguments. A trend in developing according to which technological achievements have made it necessary to amend certain concepts and norms

on this question. Naturally, changes must and do occur. A sensible person would not hinder but would even contribute to their timely occurrence. However, it is a different matter whether everything changes and if so, how. Many things have changed, but many things endure a long time. Requirements concerning the cleaning of decks have not changed between the time of the galley and the epoch of the missile boat. One fights the dust whether with a rag or a vacuum cleaner. Even though today a gun is loaded not with a keg of gunpowder through the muzzle but by pushing a button at a distance, this is not to say that the gun should not be cleaned. The fact that a rope is not made of hemp but of capron does not mean its loop could be knotted rather than woven. At the same time, no one today would run around the ship blowing a whistle, shouting in the berths the various ship orders. This is no longer necessary with the ship's system. Therefore the question is not that of changes that may take place but of erroneous attitudes. It is as though as the educational level of the seamen rises, some kind of shame is beginning to appear of engaging in usual ("common") sailor's work. Those who think thus clearly prove the fact that education does not mean culture. Furthermore, let us remember the existence of the concept of sea standards.

A number of examples of undesirable and unresolved "petty matters" could be indicated. Many of them, however, have already been described convincingly in articles published on this matter. The reason for their existence is found in the reduced exactingness of some ship commanders and their assistants. Only thus could we also explain the fact that more of them may be found in some ships while they have almost disappeared in others. They are found most rarely wherever good traditions of love for service aboard ship and for one's ship have been established and maintained.

5003

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

CAPACITY OF GREEK ARMORED UNITS REVIEWED

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 9, 1976 pp 121-128.

[Article by Col A. Mikhaylov: "Greek Armored Large Units in Basic Types of Combat"]

[Text] Under the influence of the democratic movement and as a result of the unsuccessful adventure in organizing a coup d'etat in Cyprus in 1974, the Greek military dictatorship fell. The civilian cabinet headed by Karamanlis which replaced the military junta declared that the country would withdraw from the NATO military organization, motivating this step with the reason that the bloc's leadership had not helped Greece in its conflict with Turkey. However, the Greek military political circles are not taking factual measures to implement this decision and are continuing to participate in a number of military undertakings of this aggressive bloc.

In the structure of its armed forces, the Greek command continues to be guided by NATO's "flexible reaction" strategy. Troop combat training is based on American regulations and instructions taking national characteristics into consideration.

Land forces are the main type of Greek armed forces. Armored units and large units are their main striking force.

As reported by the foreign press, in recent years the Greek armored troops have been subjected to a number of substantial changes: the size of the personnel and combat equipment has been increased; new positions have been introduced in a number of units and large units. The striking and fire power of subunits has been increased. In 1968, for example, the number of tank battalions in an armored division rose from 4 to 6; the number of tanks reached 360 while the number of personnel was increased by 3000 people. American M48 tanks were introduced.

The raising of a separate armored brigade was undertaken in 1969. At the same time, tank battalions were set up in all infantry divisions placed at the disposal of NATO's command (one in each). Furthermore, it has been planned for army corps to have their reconnaissance tank subunits.

Due to termination of U.S. military aid to Greece in 1974, within NATO's framework the Greek government concluded a number of bilateral agreements with the governments of France, the FRG and other NATO members for purchase of new model weapons and combat materiel. France delivered 60 AMX-30 medium tanks; it is planned that another 130 such tanks will be delivered to the armored forces by the end of 1976.

Today the Greek land forces include armored division, a separate armored brigade, and 9 tank battalions within the land divisions.

According to the foreign press, by the turn of 1976 the Greek armored units and large units totaled some 860 medium and over 200 light tanks, and as many as 100 field artillery guns (105 or bigger caliber, and over 400 armored troop carriers and other combat equipment).

The armored division is the main large unit. According to military specialists, the existing organization and armaments of the division meet the requirements of waging modern troop combat under conditions of use of both nuclear weapons and conventional armaments. Tank and motorized infantry battalions are the nucleus of its combat power.

According to foreign press reports, an armored division includes the command, headquarters, headquarters company, 3 combat commands (A, B, and C), 6 tank and 4 motorized infantry and reconnaissance battalions, a mixed field artillery battalion, 3 self-propelling field artillery battalions, a combat engineers battalion, a communications battalion, an army air force company, and a logistic support subunit.

An armored division numbers 13,000 men, as many as 360 medium tanks, 4 203.2-millimeter self-propelling howitzers, 18 155-millimeter self-propelling howitzers, 54 105-millimeter self-propelling howitzers, over 350 armored troop carriers, and 8 airplanes and helicopters of the army air force.

The combat command of the division consists of operative groups with staffs and necessary control facilities. In peacetime there are no permanent subunits under their command. According to the division command instruction, they control the organization and course of subunit combat training. In the course of exercises and combat operations the combat commands may be given 2 or 3 tank and 1 or 2 motorized infantry battalions, 1 or 2 self-propelling field artillery battalions,

and a sappers company. The tank battalion (527 men) includes a control company and 3 tank companies. It has a total of 55 medium tanks (American M48 tanks).

The motorized infantry battalion (about 750 men) consists of an administrative headquarters company, 3 motor infantry companies, and heavy gun companies. All in all, the motorized infantry battalion has 12 mortars, about 60 armored troop carriers, and other armaments.

The reconnaissance battalion consists of headquarters, administrative company and three reconnaissance companies on armored troop carriers. The battalion has over 20 medium tanks.

The mixed field artillery battalion (470 men) has administrative batteries, 203.2-millimeter self-propelling howitzers (4 weapons) and 155-millimeter self-propelling howitzers (6).

The self-propelling field artillery battalion consists of an administrative battery and 3 105-millimeter self-propelling howitzer batteries (6 weapons each).

The combat engineers battalion is equipped with bridge facilities, making possible the building of crossings with some 50-ton capacity.

The individual armored brigade has headquarters, headquarters company, 2 tank battalions, with 3 tank companies each (17 tanks in each), a motorized infantry battalion (3 motorized infantry companies), a self-propelling field artillery battalion (3 batteries of 6 105-millimeter howitzers each), an antitank artillery battalion, 6 companies (reconnaissance, communications, engineering, repairs, supplies and transportation, and medical), a police platoon, and an army air force flight.

All in all, the separate armored brigade has a regulation force of 3600 men, 119 medium tanks, 18 105-millimeter self-propelling howitzers, 24 mortars, 54 recoilless guns, 92 armored troop carriers, and 4 airplanes and helicopters.

The infantry division tank battalion has an administrative company and 3 tank companies. The battalion's table of organization calls for 55 medium tanks and about 530 men.

As reported by the foreign press, the armored equipment used by the Greek land forces is mainly American and French: 500 M48 tanks, 300 M47 tanks, 200 M24 and M41 light tanks (all American), and 60 AMX-30 tanks (French). The M113 armored troop carriers and self-propelling howitzers (105, 155, and 203.2 millimeter caliber) are also American made.

Specialists have estimated that the almost entire American armored equipment used by the Greek forces has become largely obsolete and that even the 190 French combat vehicles are unable to improve substantially the tank fleet.

It is believed that the AMX-30 tanks, to be received in 1976, will be assigned to units and subunits to replace obsolete American tanks.

In the views of the Greek command, armored units and large units can launch headlong attacks, break up dispositions, destroy enemy forces individually, engage in reconnaissance, operate actively in security actions, and, together with the infantry and the other branches, set up antitank defenses. Possessing high mobility and considerable armor, they can perform offensive and defensive tasks under circumstances in which both nuclear and conventional armaments are used.

It is believed that the actions of the armored forces would be most effective in the massed use of tanks. However, their use with individual units and even subunits, particularly in strongly rugged mountainous areas, is not excluded.

In attack, armored large units are used, as a rule, in the direction of the main strike, to fulfill the main assignments. In the course of combat operations involving use of nuclear weapons, the large armored units (division or individual brigade) may be used in the first army echelon or the army corps and participate in breaching enemy defenses. In an attack involving use of conventional weapons, armored large units will operate mainly in the second echelon to develop the successes achieved and gain important targets or lines in depth in the enemy defense lines.

In breaching prepared enemy defenses, it is planned to use the tank subunits of the advancing infantry division mainly to give direct support to the infantry.

The armored division is a powerful striking force in the hands of the field army commander. However, it could also be attached to the army corps advancing in the direction of the main strike. Furthermore, it could be used on a decentralized basis within reinforced combat commands.

In an attack within a corps, should nuclear weapons be used, the armored division operates above all in the first echelon in the direction of the main strike (Figure 1).

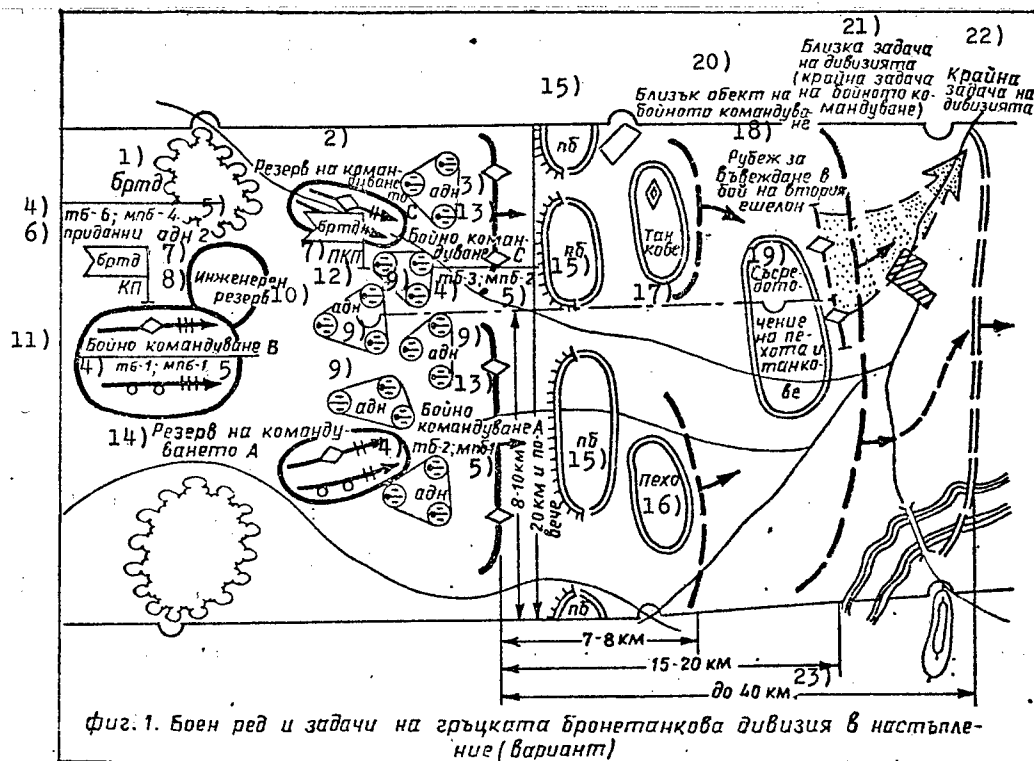


Figure 1. Battle order and targets of an attacking Greek armored division (variant)

- Key:
1. Armored division.
 2. Command reserve.
 3. Artillery battalion.
 4. Tank brigade.
 5. Motorized infantry brigade.
 6. Reinforced artillery battalion.
 7. Armored division.
 8. Command post.
 9. Artillery battalion.
 10. Combat engineers reserve.
 11. Battle command.
 12. PKP [presumed expansion: permanent combat post].
 13. Battle command.
 14. Reserve of command A.
 15. Permanent deployment.
 16. Infantry.
 17. Tanks.
 18. Line for engaging second echelon in combat.
 19. Concentration of infantry and tanks.
 20. Immediate battle command target.
 21. Immediate division target (and target of battle command).
 22. Final division target.
 23. No more than 40 kilometers.

As operative reserve of the field army commander, the armored division may be used as a mobile group with a view to developing successes and capturing important targets deep within enemy lines.

The armored division may convert to the offensive in motion or on direct contact with the enemy. The first attack method would be used should the enemy be considerably inferior in terms of strength and combat readiness or developed his defenses hastily, or else should the attacker have adequate fire power or nuclear ammunition.

Attack from motion may take place directly or from the concentration areas selected at a distance of 30 to 60 or more kilometers. It is believed that an attack on the run will take place at the beginning of the war when the division engages in battle from the permanent deployment areas.

An armored division attacks in direct contact when the enemy has prepared his defenses or has been faster in his deployment.

Using the American rules of battle use of armored forces, the Greek command believes that the width of the sector within which the armored division attacks will depend mainly on the combat assignment, the nature of the area, and the enemy composition, the force, and facilities. A division operating in the first echelon of the army corps may be given a strip of up to 20 kilometers or more wide. Depending on their composition, reinforcement facilities, and targets, the combat commands may be assigned a strip 8 to 10 kilometers wide. The attacking tank battalion is given a sector whose dimensions (2 to 3 kilometers) are determined essentially on the tasks performed and reinforcement facilities.

Should nuclear weapons be used, the targets of an attacking division are individual. In the use of nothing but conventional weapons, the assignments may involve individual targets as well as lines. The immediate division target is to destroy the enemy in the first defense line at a depth of 15 to 20 kilometers; the end target is to seize targets at a 35 to 40 kilometer depth. The immediate target of the battle command may be 7 to 8 kilometers deep and the end target may be 15 to 20 kilometers in depth.

Advancing in difficult terrain and without use of nuclear weapons, the targets will be located at a small depth and may be the following for a division: immediate, 10-12 kilometers; end, no more than 20 kilometers.

The order of battle of an attacking armored division would depend on the target, the width of the attack sector, the nature of the

topography, and the strength of the expected enemy resistance. Usually the division deploys its battle order in one or two echelons. Most typical, however, is the battle order of a two-echelon division: the first includes two battle commands, while the second includes one. Advancing along a wide front, the division's order of battle may be structured in a single echelon. With a single echelon structure, a reserve is set up consisting of a reinforced tank (motorized infantry) battalion, and occasionally a reconnaissance battalion.

In the course of the combat operations the self-propelling field artillery battalions are assigned to the first echelon battle command while the regular mixed field artillery battalion and the assigned assigned battalions from the army corps or the field army remain, as a rule, at the disposal of the division commander.

In the views of the Greek command, combining fire with maneuvering is the basic principle of the offensive battle of an armored division. That is why, planning the organization of combat, considerable attention is paid to certain fire targets, and particularly to the close coordination of the procedure for dealing nuclear strikes with troop maneuvers.

The bringing out of the division from the concentration area to the starting line is planned usually for the night or under limited visibility conditions, using two or three itineraries in the following sequence: reconnaissance subunits, vanguard, main forces, and rear protection. The division artillery may move under cover of the vanguard forces in such a way that at time of deployment of the main forces it may be ready to open fire. Before reaching the starting line, each tank and motorized infantry division battalion deploys, 3 to 4 kilometers earlier, into company columns and subsequent order of battle. Meanwhile, artillery and air force preparations are made combined with the possibility to launch a nuclear strike. As the tank motorized infantry division subunits reach the line of attack, the support artillery fire is shifted to strike in depth at enemy defenses and the flanks of the advancing forces.

It is believed that the attack of an armored division will be characterized by high mobility, speed, decisiveness and extensive use of maneuvers such as enveloping and outflanking.

Following execution of the immediate assignment by the division, the plan calls for leading into battle the second echelon (reserve) which will participate in implementation of the final task, in order to increase the pace of the offensive. After it has become engaged in battle, the division may set up a reserve consisting of no more than a reinforced tank battalion, or else one of the battle commands may be withdrawn to the second echelon.

In order to increase the pace of the advance of the armored division, a tactical air landing (up to two reinforced battalions) may be made 25 to 40 kilometers within enemy lines, for seizing and retaining important targets deep within defense lines until joined by the advancing forces.

It is recommended for the enemy counterattacks to be repelled with some of the division's forces within its first echelon, supported by artillery fire and air force strikes. In some cases, subunits of the division's second echelon (reserve) may be used for this purpose.

Following implementation of the final assignment, the armored division will either secure the positions reached or will be assigned a new task in developing the offensive further within a field army striking group or army corps, or separately.

In the views of the Greek military command an armored brigade may be used both within the army corps and separately. Operating within the army corps it will find itself more frequently in the second echelon and will be assigned the task of developing the success achieved by infantry divisions in the first echelon and pursuing the retreating enemy, or else covering the flanks of the army corps or other all-army large units. As part of the army corps first echelon the armored brigade may be used in the main direction for implementing the most important tasks together with the infantry divisions.

The attack combat assignment may be 15 to 20 kilometers deep for an armored brigade, or 6 - 8 kilometers deep for a tank (motorized infantry) battalion. The width of the offensive sector may be 4 to 6 kilometers (sometimes up to 8 kilometers) for the brigade and 2 to 3 kilometers for the tank battalion.

In the views of the Greek military command, as a rule the armored brigade attacks the enemy in its weak and vulnerable defense sectors and in areas convenient for use of tanks and armored carriers. It is recommended for the armored brigade subunits to bypass heavily fortified enemy positions. Should it become necessary to breach them, preliminary mass artillery and tactical air force strikes are planned. In the course of the offensive great attention is paid to tank-motorized infantry interaction.

The infantry division tank battalion is a powerful striking weapon in the hands of the division commander. In an offensive, he could use it in its full strength to develop the success achieved or may assign it by company to the first echelon infantry divisions as direct support. In a mountain offensive it is planned for the tank to be used in small subunits to perform limited tasks, mainly as support of

the infantry operating along roads and in the plateaus and broad valleys. The Greek military command believes that in defensive operations, armored forces could be used to reinforce the infantry or create strong and mobile reserves for launching counterattacks and counterstrikes.

An armored division may be organized and used as mobile or position defense. Occasionally it may also resort to retreating operations, even though they are not considered a type of defense. Under conditions of probable use of nuclear weapons it is recommended for the division to be used as a field army reserve, acting as a strike group in launching the counterstrike. Should the armored division operate within the army corps, it would be placed, above all, in the second echelon.

In the course of operations in operative depth, the possibility is not excluded for the armored division to be used separately in organizing and conducting defense operations on a broad front, in the defense of water obstacles, and along tank threatened directions.

It is believed that an armored division may convert to defensive operations under different circumstances: in the course of offensive operations or in unsuccessfully developing head-on contact, when the division has been separated from the main forces while its subunits have suffered considerable manpower and equipment losses; or in the course of defensive operations of the field army or army corps, should the division be in reserve or in the second echelon.

The division may convert to defensive operations also in the case of an unsuccessful counterstrike on the part of the field army or of a counterattack of the army corps second echelon.

In defense, the armored division may be reinforced by two or three mixed field army or army corps battalions and several nuclear weapons (if operating within NATO's combined armed forces).

As a reserve of the field army or in the second echelon of the army corps, usually the armored division will be deployed in a dispersed or battalion formation at a depth of 25 to 40 kilometers from the front line. Depending on the circumstances in its deployment area, defense positions may be equipped, and blocking and cutoff positions may be created and camouflaged with various engineering obstacles; routes for withdrawing from the earmarked lines and for deployment and counterattacks will be prepared as well.

Should the division participate in the counterstrike within the field army's striking group, or should it launch a counterattack (Figure 2) within the army corps second echelon, equipment at one or two deployment

lines will be planned for its units along each of the contemplated directions of combat operations. The defense positions of the reserves of the division's first echelon or the cutoff positions may be used as such lines.

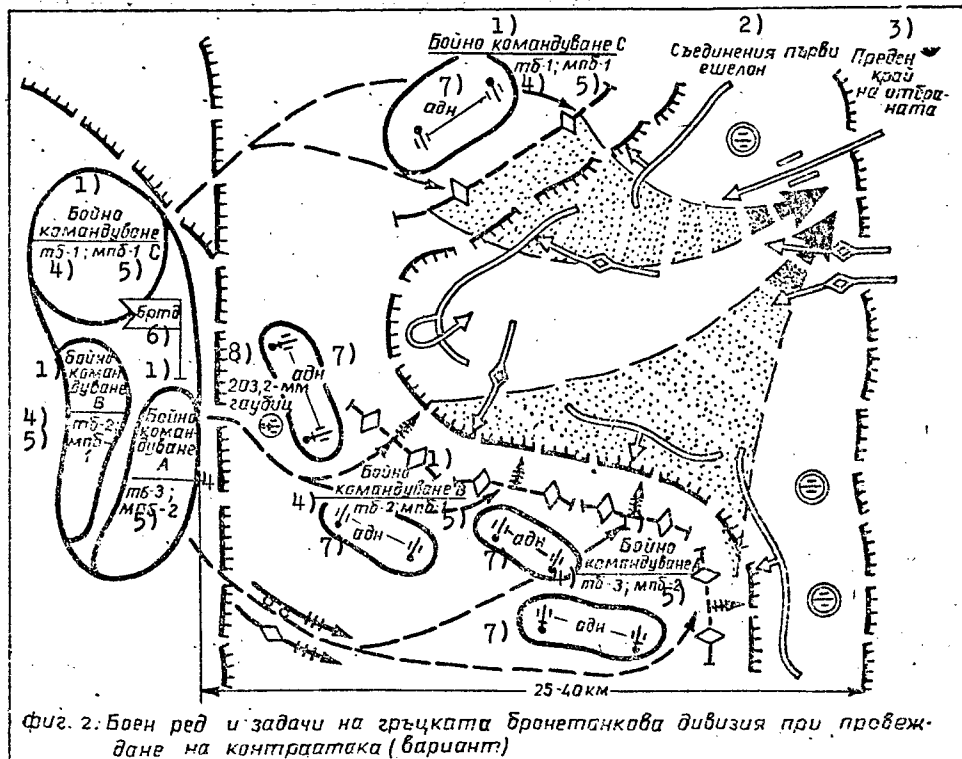


Figure 2. Order of battle and targets of a Greek armored division in launching a counterattack (variant)

Key: 1. Battle command. 2. First echelon large units. 3. Defense front line. 4. Tank battalion. 5. Motorized infantry battalion. 6. Armored division. 7. Artillery battalion. 8. 203.2-millimeter howitzers.

During the counterstrike (counterattack), as a rule the division may structure its order of battle in two echelons: a first echelon consisting of two battle commands which include most of the tank battalions (4 - 5); the second echelon would include one. The withdrawal of the division to the deployment lines will be based on the nature of the topography and follow several routes (usually 1 or 2 routes are prepared for a battle command), mainly under cover of darkness, requiring two and a half to five hours.

Leading an armored division into combat with a view to securing the field army flanks, the launching of a counterattack by the divisions in indirect contact with the enemy will be contemplated as well.

In the absence of the necessary conditions for the division's participation in the counterstrike or in launching a counterattack, it could be used to reinforce the first echelon forces which may have suffered considerable losses as a result of the nuclear strikes of those advancing or in blocking the enemy forces engaged in defensive operations.

The units and subunits of the armored division operating as field army reserve or in the second army corps echelon may occasionally be assigned to fight enemy air landings.

As a rule, it is planned for the armored brigade to be used in defensive operations within the mobile army corps reserve or within the second echelon for counterattacking in depth. In the absence of direct contact with the enemy, the armored brigade in the second army corps echelon may cover the troops with part of its forces. Occasionally, operating in flat areas in a tank threatened direction, it could defend itself in the first echelon as well and engage in active holding operations.

In defense, the infantry division tank battalion is used most frequently together with its second echelon for launching counterattacks aimed at destroying the wedged enemy group in restoring the integrity of the defense. In defending the infantry division in mountainous areas, it is recommended for the tank battalion to launch counterattacks along the valleys and shallow riverbeds.

5003
CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

SOVIET SCIENTISTS IN BLAGOEVGRAD--Soviet senior scientific assistants Svetlana (Kyesakova) and Valeriy Popiliev are visiting Blagoevgrad. They visited the branch of the Sofia University and educational establishments in city and okrug and also met certain officials. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 13 Nov 76 AU]

SOVIET-BUILT SHIPS FOR BULGARIA--The 16,000-ton tanker "Maritsa," which is being built in Leningrad, will be delivered to Bulgaria by the end of 1976. The town of Nikolaev shipbuilders are building 50,000-ton ore-cargo ship that will be the largest Bulgarian dry cargo ship. Some other ships are also being built at present in the Soviet Union that are destined for the Bulgarian passenger fleet. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Nov 76 AU]

GREEK TRANSPORT COOPERATION--Sofia, 9 November (BTA)--The minister of transport, Mr Vassil Tsanov, today received Mr Yoanis Lambros, the Greek Railway chief. Cooperation between Bulgaria and Greece in transport is developing favorably on the basis of the agreements signed between the two countries in 1964 for settling the road transportation of goods and passengers and of transit railway transport in a mutually advantageous way. Good conditions were established between the two countries for the transportation of transit goods, Bulgaria being able to increase their amount by 30 percent this year in comparison with 1975. Good prospects exist also for expanding the volume of passenger transport. It is envisaged to reconstruct the Koulata-Promahon Railway section with a view to increasing its load handling capacity. As a result of this the Bulgarian railways in the future will take up an increased traffic coming from Greece. A diesel carriage will run between Sofia and Saldnika daily and more carriages will be used on the Sofia-Athens train service [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 9 Nov 76 AU]

CSO: 2200

EAST GERMANY

SPEECHES BY BLOC PARTY HEADS AT 1 NOVEMBER PEOPLE'S CHAMBER SESSION

Ernst Goldenbaum, Democratic Peasant Party

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Nov 76 pp 5-6

[Text] Mr President! Esteemed Deputies!

The government declaration submitted by the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, is filled with the ideas, goals and tasks presented to all our citizens in the election summons of the National Front for the People's Chamber and bezirk legislature elections. They have been fully confirmed in the outstanding election results. The election appeal by the National Front thus became the government program.

The firm foundation for the policy of our socialist workers and farmers' state as presented in the government declaration lies in the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress, which have proven themselves in practice and are pointing far into the future. It lies in the indestructible fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries, in the firm rooting of our GDR within the socialist community of states and in the further deepening of socialist economic integration.

And thus we are advancing on the road of socialism and peace, as explained by SED Central Committee General Secretary and State Council Chairman Erich Honecker in his statement before the People's Chamber: Together with all social forces united within the National Front we shall continue in making changes for the good in the life of our country. The DBD [Democratic Peasant Party] will contribute to it also as best it can.

In his government declaration the chairman of the Council of Ministers has presented the tasks that must be solved in pursuit of the Ninth SED Congress resolutions through the efforts of all the people in all domains of the economy. The rapid increase in the capability of our economy, the fulfillment of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, continues as the centerpiece of our work. A successful solution of these tasks is insured by the creative initiative of the working class, the class of the cooperative farmers, the socialist intelligentsia and the other working people.

The government declaration poses great tasks for socialist agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry. Production and production efficiency must systematically be further improved in order to insure stable and constantly improving supplies in high-grade foodstuffs for the population and raw materials for industry, to bring more and more closely in line the rural and urban working and living conditions, and to overcome gradually the essential differences between town and countryside.

That calls for further complex socialist intensification of agricultural production, the extensive application of scientific-technical progress and the transition toward industrialized production methods.

Also in agriculture it has become more and more evident that scientific-technical progress is the key to high achievement and production efficiency. We are deriving great benefits here from the research engaged in jointly between scientists of the Soviet Union and of the GDR and from the application of Soviet methods.

Noticeably higher yields have thus come from consistent science application of the methods used by the agrochemical centers in fertilizing and in growing new types of cereal. The application of the GDR forage evaluation system helps save more than half a million tons of forage grain. Irrigation used for as of now approximately 10 percent of our farm acreage has proven itself. By 1980, the proportion is to be doubled.

Through the use of straw as forage, science has virtually brought about a revolution. Through chemical straw treatment and pelleting, already increased 50 times between 1971 and 1976, fodder requirements for GDR cattle are being met even now for almost a whole month.

Also the solution of complicated weather problems caused this year clearly demonstrated the advantages of socialism. The SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Council of Ministers took far-reaching measures which permitted the economic plan to advance smoothly toward its fulfillment also in agriculture.

To stabilize our forage stocks, additional grain is being imported, and here again it is the Soviet Union providing us with fraternal assistance.

The GDR working class furthermore assisted the cooperative farmers with fertilizers, machinery and equipment. Despite increased allocations for agriculture made by the government, the cooperative farmers' income, as planned, month by month and toward the end of the year, remains secure, while consumer prices remain stable.

Cooperative farmers were happy to hear what SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker had to say about it, and new initiatives came from it. What he said also impressively expressed that agricultural development is part of the overall economy. I would like to affirm that the members of

our party, from the cooperative farmers to the agronomists, will help fulfill the 1976 economic plan with confidence, initiative and energy and use all reserves for creating the best possible conditions for next year.

Under capitalism, lean years are being misused by the capitalist enterprises in exploiting the farmers in distress for making higher profits. And the consumers are being cheated right along with it. Seed crops in the FRG, for example, went up by 36.6 percent within one year, livestock feed by 18.1 percent and Diesel fuels by 14.5 percent. Nor do consumer commodity prices in the towns fall short of those kinds of increase rates. Harvest losses this year have accelerated the ruin of small and medium-size farmers and decimated the income of the workers who have to pay more and more for victuals.

Under capitalist rule, the profit interests of industrial monopolies and banks and of the large estate owners oppose those of the workers and farmers. In trying to disguise these conditions, the organ of the FRG farmers association deplores the fact that there are only 25 "farmers" left among the deputies in the lower house. They no longer dare speak of 25 farmers straight, without quotation marks. Those so-called farmers, one must know, are landowners as in olden times, be they members of the nobility or not, who at the same time are members of the boards of corporations of the industrial monopolies and banks and have the say-so in the farmers association. To call them farmers means stretching the point.

The president of that association is a landowning aristocrat whose holdings in the Netherlands had been expropriated, being enemy holdings, in 1945, yet he also owns large estates on FRG soil. His name is Constantin Bonifatius Herrmann Theodor Aloisius Maria Baron Heeremann von Zuydtwyck.

He holds memberships on approximately 20 different boards in corporations and, talking in terms of money, owns several millions, which probably also includes the compensation he received from the FRG for his expropriated holdings in neighboring Holland. His name, Zuydtwyck, means "sweet-soft." Yet the baron is neither sweet nor soft vis-a-vis his tenants or in his attitude toward farmers in the FRG. By the way, he had been earmarked as a CDU/CSU candidate for minister of agriculture in the shadow cabinet.

His deputy in the farmers association is like him in quality: Landowner Baron Otto von Feury of Bavaria, a close friend of Franz Joseph Strauss.

This might suffice for showing what the representation of the working farmers' interests comes down to there. It is the old world of capitalism, to us a matter of the past for decades by now. It also demonstrates how correct has been and is the path the farmers have been taking in the GDR alongside and under the leadership of the working class and its party -- the way of socialism!

The government declaration stakes out the goals and tasks for the new time period in the further shaping of the developed socialist society which will lead us to new successes. Based on the alliance between the working class and the class of the cooperative farmers, the socialist intelligentsia and the other working people, under SED leadership, we shall continue in strengthening our socialist workers and farmers' state all round.

By increasing our economic capability we are creating the foundation for further improvement in the working and living conditions. In alliance with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries we are successfully advancing further on the road of socialism and are continuing our policy of peace. Our international solidarity remains extended to all peoples struggling for their liberation from imperialist exploitation and suppression.

The members of our party too will do what they can to help implement the fine policy of our workers and farmers' state for the good of the people. We shall invest all our capabilities in the socialist competition of agriculture in order to help meet the 1976 plan soundly and thus create preconditions for fine results next year. And we shall also, through the "Join-in!" competition, contribute to the beautification of towns and communities and, in particular, promote rural housing construction.

In full conformity with the will, expressed in the elections, of the members of our party I announce our complete agreement with the government program, which obligates us to help making it effective as best we can.

Gerald Goetting, Christian Democratic Union

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Nov 76 pp 5-6

[Text] Mr President! Esteemed Deputies!

The GDR people unanimously decided on 17 October to advance further on the proven path our republic has been taking, the way of socialism and peace. The tasks and goals staked out in the election appeal fully conform with the government declaration. The election program of the National Front has become the government program. This once again convincingly proves that the will of the people forms an inseparable unity with the policy of its supreme power organs. That is guaranteed by the nature of our social order, the character of our state power and our socialist democracy in practice.

The government declaration demonstrates that socialism and peace are one and the same. Socialism needs peace as our great work of construction can systematically be continued only in peace. Socialism wants peace because for the working people who are constructing socialism peace is the most vital need. Socialism provides for peace because, in the form of the socialist community of states, it is strong enough today to make peace reliable and permanent -- even against the stubborn resistance from the enemies of détente in the imperialist camp.

In socialism, Christian fellow citizens can make real, in full conformity with state policy, what is incumbent upon them through their mission for peace. Here they can have the certitude that whatever they undertake on behalf of the growing strength of our state and its ever closer collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries will ultimately promote peace. Here they can know that every good deed on behalf of our common socialist cause will at once be of benefit to the security on our continent, the solidarity of the peace forces all over the world and also, the solidarity with the young nations struggling for peace and social progress.

The CDU fraction thus welcomes with special gratification that the GDR's constructive peace policy has been reemphasized in the government declaration by the chairman of the Council of Ministers. That policy has helped maintain peace for us and the peoples of Europe for as much as 30 years now. That policy finds the agreement of all those who deeply care for peace and security and understanding and friendship with the peoples. It also provides respect and confidence in our republic by uncountable peace-loving Christians in other countries. It is and remains our government's foreign policy line.

The government declaration proves that socialism and freedom belong together. Real freedom is insured where exploiters and oppressors are definitively done away with. Freedom exists where the working class has the power firmly in hand and exercises this power purposefully, together with its allies, for the good of all the people. There is no freedom without socialism, as socialism itself is inconceivable without freedom.

In socialism, Christians have the freedom to live in accordance with their faith and to put into effect all that they have been charged with in their social conduct, in harmony with the life and aspirations of all of society. Christian duty and civic duty pursue the same goal here in the social sphere, responsible action for the benefit of the whole within which the individual is embedded.

He who in the class society wishes to prove himself a Christian in action and serve his neighbor in a complex sense, while advocating social justice which goes beyond his personal sphere, soon enough runs up against the barriers of that society. In our state, on the other hand, entirely new possibilities are open for Christian citizens in answering the call for service to the commonweal. That they are freely and joyfully living up to their civic responsibility is something they have demonstrated during the weeks prior to the elections and, once again, on election day itself: through good deeds for the benefit of our republic, their conscious and informed participation in the discussions of election meetings and their voting for National Front candidates.

Socialism and democracy are forming an inseparable unity. Every citizen is called upon to participate in the work, in planning, in the government.

Socialist society offers a clear perspective to every citizen, regardless of age and sex, world-outlook and religious persuasion. This basic truth governing our lives -- confirmed by the SED Central Committee General Secretary and Chariman of the GDR Council of State, Erich Honecker, in his statement before the People's Chamber on 29 October -- has long become for uncountable Christian citizens a matter of fact, a firm component of their lives and of their own participation. The exercise of their civic rights and duties is something they are taking for granted. They thereby serve the total social entity as they are serving themselves.

Time and again, in the weeks during the election movement, we have seen impressive examples for how Christian citizens speak and act out of deep inner loyalty to our state, offer well thought out suggestions and recommendations, make themselves available for participating in the National Front committees and other social bodies -- wherein they do not differ from any other citizens. How unsuitable were the means by which the adversary once again has been trying, especially in recent weeks, to break the Christians out of our people's political-moral unity -- and how pitifully have those maneuvers failed, defeated by the firm alliance of all popular forces!

The outcome was the very opposite of what imperialism had intended: The relationship of trust connecting all peace-loving and humanistic forces in our state with one another has become closer than ever. We have all grown in our tasks during the election movement and united still more solidly. Many Christian citizens have learned to see through the insidious machinations of imperialism still more thoroughly and to confront them. They have come to comprehend thoroughly that the policy of our state is in harmony with their own interests. This has strengthened their willingness to help solve those tasks which we jointly posed for ourselves in the election appeal of the National Council.

Socialism means social security and safety. This insight precisely is what allies so many Christian citizens ever more closely with our socialist state. Day by day they sense more clearly the unity of economic and social policy. In their own personal environment they can observe that we are making good headway in pursuit of the main task. Higher achievements insure a better material and cultural standard of living. That is and remains the centerpiece of our social policy. The government declaration has once again underscored this unequivocal state of affairs. It is going to release new activities for the implementation of the economic planning tasks so that our more far-reaching social program can also be fulfilled.

Everyone can see from the sociopolitical measures successfully carried out during the last 5 years and from the projects for the immediate future set down in the government declaration that good performance on behalf of society pays. The benefits from it go to the working people in the production process as well as to those citizens who, veterans of labor, enjoy secure and fulfilled senior years, and also to others who for health reasons have to resort to the services from society.

Big capital cares for man only to the extent that the exploitation of his labor provides profits. Here, among us, in contrast to capitalism, however, no one is pushed onto the fringe of society because he is old or ill or weak. On the contrary: everyone enjoys our prosperity to the extent that the possibilities of society are growing. Of course, one can only consume what was first jointly produced; yet the fruits of such diligent work by the working people are meant for all, intended for all the people.

Socialism opens clear prospects for the future. Here everyone knows how development is going to continue. Therein also lies a fundamental difference between our social order and capitalism. Socialism alone can pose and solve the tasks of the present with a sure perspective on the future. Socialist policy implies social security. Only socialist policy conforms with the vital interests of the working people.

The Christian citizens know they are included in this policy of social security. By their performance in socialist competition, in their enterprises and cooperatives, through all the good they do in having towns and communities compete with each other, they are actively engaged in reinforcing the foundations on which rests the social security of each and every one in our society. By their work they help further shape the developed socialist society and thereby create fundamental preconditions for the transition to communism, for that long-range plan, that is, that so greatly affords us security and assuredness about the future.

Socialism is true-to-life humanism. Socialism brings to fruition the aspirations of the best in our people, centuries old, for humanity, for dignified human existence. This is an order of true human dignity, worthy of man and rating man at his true worth in that his well-being is placed in the center of all social action. Socialism grants all members of society genuine opportunities for freely releasing their creative capacities and abilities in their service to society.

Thus it continues and completes on a historically new level what humanists have had in mind at all times. Socialism finally invests man with his full rights because it tears out the social roots for the disfranchisement of man. Socialism brings to realization man's striving for happiness because it brings about the happiness of all the people. Socialism insures the peaceful existence of the individual in seeking the peace for all peoples.

Peace and freedom, social security and safety, humanity and human dignity -- here are the basic values through which we Christian democrats feel committed to doing our best for socialism; for it is making these concerns the end and purpose of all social processes. This certitude of ours has been reinforced by the Ninth SED Congress resolutions.

The policy outlined therein serves peace and the peoples' friendship. It serves the well-being of our fellowmen and social progress. This policy is crystallized in the government declaration. The CDU fraction is in total agreement with it. We are getting started with energy and optimism. Through

new achievements on behalf of our socialist fatherland, we Christian democrats wish to contribute to bringing to realization all that was sketched out in the speech by the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Dr Manfred Gerlach, Liberal Democratic Party

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Nov 76 pp 5-6

[Text] Mr President! Esteemed Deputies!

The GDR citizens find confirmed in the government declaration the clear decision made on 17 October through a free, general, equal and secret vote, in line with the election appeal of the National Front.

The course of the alliance of the people under the leadership of the working class party is clear. Already the experiences and results of the few months since the Ninth SED Congress have shown us that each step in the direction it has pointed out for us makes more perfect the social conditions for ever greater wealth of humanistic relations, for the good of the people, for the happiness of the individual. The road leading to mature socialism and then to communism is the road of genuine freedom and of the people's sovereignty, the road of social progress leading us securely into the third millenium.

The members of the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party] and the citizens close to it are proud of belonging among those who are building this road. They know, and they find themselves confirmed by the overwhelming agreement millions have given to the joint election proposition of the National Front, that their specific contribution, their active participation in the National Front, in shaping the socialist society, is wanted more than ever, materially and spiritually. They know that the consistent continuation of the successful course of the main task demands their active involvement more than ever and that they will have to prove themselves ever again as subject of our development in the historical process of penetrating political, economic, social and spiritual-cultural transformations. They know that alliance partnership means alliance responsibility, alliance action, and they are all the more committed in acting in this sense the more they find that the general social line of our people's leading force always also takes into account their own interests and needs.

Socialism -- this experience the liberal democrats can only confirm from more than 3 decades of living social practice -- is synonymous with peace and freedom, democracy and security.

The members of my party, predominantly people of non-proletarian origin who feel deeply committed to humanism, find confirmed in political everyday life of the workers and farmers' power that socialist humanism is the most comprehensive realization of human rights, based on the steady improvement of man's working and living conditions. Whereas capitalist society is determined by an insurmountable opposition between the basic law of the exploiter order focusing on profit and the vital interests of the people's majority, socialism, with each year that it exists, demonstrates the inseparable

connection between high speed of production development and the steady improvement in the people's material and cultural standard of living. Freedom, democracy and human dignity are none but pretenses, sloganry and hypocrisy, where exploitation of man by man, political oppression and mental manipulation are in force, where capitalist class society turns man into an object of capitalist power. But they prove to be facts for the working people of all classes and strata where the working class has gained the freedom of action and where it, together with its allies, has assumed the exercise of power. True democracy is rooted in the socialist order. It culminates in the freedom for constantly being involved in work, planning and government. And yet it leaves no doubt that the prerequisites for real humanism must be regained each day anew. Even Goethe's vision of free men on free ground implies this insight, when he makes his Faust pronounce: "Freedom and life are earned by those alone who conquer them each day anew."

Together with all citizens of the further strengthening alliance of the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front, we shall, as Erich Honecker emphasized at the Karl-Marx-Stadt mass demonstration, fulfill the historic Ninth Party Congress resolutions: "We have done great things and we shall do still greater things."

The government declaration by the chairman of the Council of Ministers makes the point that the successful policy of the GDR is continuing. This has the full agreement of the LDPD, its fraction and all its members. Strengthening our socialist fatherland and, thus, the large family of the socialist community rallied around the Soviet Union is a concern to which we shall all dedicate our capabilities and abilities. We have the good fortune of living in a society that has the maturity and strength to turn into reality what generations previous to ours had hoped and yearned for. Through the work we all do will the great humanistic ideals of freedom and human dignity assume real, socialist form.

The great achievements by the working people in all spheres of the economy, which also characterized the election preparations, have created sound foundations for further implementing the Ninth SED Congress resolutions. What now matters is to make use of the dash and elan of the election movement for fulfilling, and if possible overfulfilling, all 1976 plan positions in order thereby to create the best preconditions for a good start in the new planning year. Socialist competition in the enterprises and cooperatives and also the National Front competition in the towns and communities, in support of the fulfillment of territorial planning tasks, are forms that vividly express socialist democracy. In this way, far exceeding the immediate and visible material advantage every citizen can sense, the historic process of the further rapprochement among the classes and strata of our people is also being significantly fostered.

We are aware that the unity of economic and social policy which was confirmed in the statement by the chairman of the Council of Ministers demands a continued strong improvement in economic achievement. It will be achieved

by way of a consistent and complex application of all intensification factors. And there the key role of scientific-technical progress is becoming greater all the time. Socialist economic integration, especially in collaboration with the USSR, is becoming more and more important. Such basic matters in GDR economic policy are going to determine during the 7th legislative period of the People's Chamber our collaboration with the voters and also, of course, the political-ideological work with the members of our party.

The LDPD is making a specific contribution to the solution of the main task by continuing requisite developments in the service, repair and direct supply responsibilities for the population. That entails stronger political-ideological indoctrination within the framework of the National Front for craftsmen and tradesmen, and the members of our People's Chamber fraction are taking part in it too. A clear and far-reaching orientation has been issued, in terms both of economic policy and alliance policy, for the area mentioned here, by the Ninth SED Congress. It is of great importance for the citizens' working and living conditions and their sense of comfort under socialism.

The farther reaching promotional measures decided on in February this year, which have meanwhile been rendered more precise by a number of legal regulations, confirm the unity of theory and practice. Craftsmen and tradesmen in the various trades and enterprises, as demonstrated by our experiences in the election movement, have properly recognized how solid the developmental possibilities are which are offered to them in the long run by the workers and farmers' state, in contrast to what any capitalist state would offer them. They also come to understand better and better that there is an inseparable connection between promotion by socialist society and the need for constantly improving their achievements. To them also the further intensification is indispensable. That calls for their rigorously exploiting the rich possibilities for socialist cooperative work through the collaboration among enterprises dealing with various forms of property under the management by state-owned enterprises. We seek to help them in this and to bring their own initiatives fully to bear on it.

We welcome and support the efforts the state organs and craft and trade enterprises are making in largely gaging actual requirements the public has, in obtaining capacities required and closing existing supply gaps. That also includes creating the requisite material-technical preconditions. We also think it is necessary to use the construction workers' capacities more and more, and possibly exclusively, for repair and value maintenance measures because only then can the housing construction program, the centerpiece of our sociopolitical program, become fully effective.

Five years ago our fraction called the government declaration pronounced before the People's Chamber a humanistic, democratic and realistic program. The same can be said about the new government program which is now under

deliberation. And yet, there is a qualitative difference here. Thanks to the successful fulfillment of the targets assigned by the Eighth SED Congress, that is to say, thanks to the creative initiative of millions of working people, the prudent leadership for social processes by the working class party and more and more perfect state management and planning, we now have for a starting point a significantly higher economic and overall social level to work from. We can deliberate on targets that have to do with the formation of fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism and further enrich all citizens in the material and spiritual-cultural sense.

We know each success in the realization of the main task, each action taken in pursuit of the economic plan, every domestic success is at once also a foreign policy success that safeguards peace and strengthens socialism. Every step ahead at the same time however gives us a greater responsibility in reliably protecting peace and socialism and defending the achievements of true-to-life humanism, freedom and democracy, self-determination and human dignity.

Led by such motives, the LDPD fraction fully concurs with the statement from the chairman of the Council of Ministers and expresses the confidence in the activities of the Council of Ministers.

Wolfgang Roesser, National Democratic Party

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Nov 76 pp 5-6

[Text] Mr President! Esteemed Deputies!

The government declaration by the chairman of the Council of Ministers presents all political and social forces in our country with a realistic and constructive work program. It fully and completely conforms with the needs of our people, the requirements of our social development, the interests of the citizens of all classes and strata. It accords entirely with our common concern.

Thus it is only logical that the election appeal of the National Front pervades the government declaration. The election appeal has been and is the course chosen by the Ninth SED Congress. The election movement gave an impressive upbeat for its realization drawing on the strength of all the people.

We national democrats value the mighty acknowledgement of the policy of our workers and farmers' state also as a result of our own alliance policy, practiced alongside the ruling working class and its party. It is not too bold to say that the corroboration of our alliance policy manifests an outstanding characteristic in the election decision made by the citizens in our country. This surely is true: What connects all of us and, above all, unites us in all our acts is our unshakeable confidence in proven SED policy, our solidarity with our socialist state in which the working class exercises power, together with all other working people.

And that is why we national democrats feel endorsed, in that we have always seen a causal connection between the historic mission of the working class and its historic task and our alliance and alliance policy.

This standpoint of principle it is which makes us affirm our government's program. And we shall demonstrate this by working for its implementation.

The course is made certain because of the power the working class holds in our country. It is guaranteed through our republic's firm membership in the socialist community of states. It is vouched for, above all, by our firm fraternal affiliation with the Soviet Union. This fraternal alliance is the decisive precondition for our people's freedom, its peace, security, and the growing prosperity of all citizens.

The course aiming at social security within and security and peace outside, which our state is taking, fully conforms to the vital interests of our people.

We find ourselves confirmed in our views by the clear statement in the government declaration to the effect that the united strength of our socialist community has gained a new power ratio in its struggle against imperialism, carried through the policy of peaceful coexistence and enforced the turn toward detente in international relations.

Quite properly, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has placed the ideological struggle against, and vigilance toward, imperialism in this context. The defense and safeguarding of what has been achieved are therefore a firm component of our socialist peace policy.

Intensified revanchism hitting us, especially from the FRG, which threatens the vital interests of all European peoples, finds us, in the socialist community, in the state of extreme vigilance. How cunning the methods and how sophisticated anticommunist demagoguery may ever be -- our successful development cannot be halted even by attempts of massive interference in our domestic affairs. Our people's political-moral unity -- as was recently proven once again -- is greater, the achievements of socialism are stronger and ever more clearly demonstrate their superiority. Moreover: He who cannot guarantee fundamental human rights such as the right to work and the right to education has no right at all to offering others advice in matters of freedom and humanity.

Matter are exactly as the government declaration has stressed: All attempts at placing in doubt the state sovereignty of the GDR, its internal order and the inviolability of its borders will run into the determined resistance from the states of our socialist community.

The further strengthening of socialism -- internationally as well as within our republic -- therein lies the realism of our foreign and domestic policy goals. In other words: We are going along with the government declaration and its requirement on the realization of the directive for the 1976-1980 Five Year Plan.

Our plans are realistic and our targets are optimistic because the creativity, the impelling initiative of millions of working people in our country, is part and parcel of the plan, the people being, in fact, the decisive asset for securely advancing and continuing with the main task as directed by the Ninth SED Congress.

Thus the policy of the main task is what determines all work in my party too. For that reason we see in the government declaration a high demand made on our social coresponsibility. The government program indeed reminds each member of our party, irrespective of his occupation or social sphere, of the civic responsibility incumbent upon him, in the knowledge that it is worthwhile in our society to make plans and to stand behind them with one's own efforts. That is as true in public as in private, within the family, in the city, in our state!

It is the further shaping of socialist social relations, the formation of socialist democracy and of the socialist way of life, which makes total demands on the artist as the physician, the salaried employee and the scientist, the craftsman and the tradesman, in their occupational and social work, providing real possibilities for them to participate more and more extensively in the management of government and thereby prove themselves as socialist citizens.

You will understand that it gives us special gratification to find that the government declaration in its complex requirement for economic development pays most careful attention to the place and tasks of craftsmen and tradesmen because their supply, repair and service activities -- and I should also mention in this connection their value maintenance activities -- have an immediate connection with the further shaping of the socialist way of life.

Thus we see in the involvement of craftsmen and tradesmen in the further shaping of the developed socialist society not merely a matter of economic utility, but a principle of socialism and of the alliance policy in our socialist society. And that also is the way the craftsmen and tradesmen themselves are looking at it. There are many examples in the ranks of my party that come to mind. Let me mention a few.

There is the chairman of the "Construction" PGH (Artisan Producer Cooperative), Horst Guenther, who in his collective, by setting up an assembly-line for value maintenance and repairs, achieved an 11 percent increase in labor productivity per capita of full-time labor per annum.

There is the chairman of the "Form and Color" PGH, Kurt Bordak, of Seelow, in whose PGH every member took on the obligation to remodel one apartment in the "Join-in!" competition -- and those were 62 members.

There is the chairman of the "Glueck auf" PGH in Sollstedt, Josef Pfeiffer, whose PGH set up late hour activities for remodeling apartments for shift workers.

There is Gerd Erxleben of Leipzig, master-worker in electrical engineering, who carried out repairs without cost in two nursing homes.

There is the butcher Horst Siegel in Lichtenstein, who understands the term coresponsibility in our alliance as a call for improving supplies and who put out, together with other members of his family, services within the framework of the National Front competition, at a value of M 5,000.

And there is the baker Stefan Boettger of Zeitz, who contributes to improving the supply situation for the population by means of rationalization measures, explaining that he does what he does for the sake of a safe future for our socialist state.

The historic achievements of socialism in our republic -- the workers and farmers' power, the public property in the means of production, socialist planned economy impervious to crises, socialist democracy, the high level of education and culture, socialist morality and ethics -- all these historic achievements of socialism form the decisive and secure foundation for the work and life we all enjoy.

Our concurrence with the government declaration and with the proposal on the composition of the Council of Ministers is borne by the experiences and results of joint activities for the benefit of the people. Our agreement is based on the willingness by our membership to join in this.

Thus the NDPD [National Democratic Party] fraction is in favor of the government declaration, for it guarantees the fulfillment of the Ninth SED Congress resolutions, insures the proven course of the main task and gives assurance for social security and freedom for everyone.

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