

JPRS 71957

29 September 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1590

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET	1. Report No. JPRS 71957	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.																		
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1590		5. Report Date 29 September 1978	6.																		
7. Author(s)		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.																		
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		11. Contract/Grant No.	13. Type of Report & Period Covered																		
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above		14.																			
15. Supplementary Notes																					
16. Abstracts The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.																					
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors <table border="0"> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs</td> <td>Propaganda</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Albania</td> <td>Political Science</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria</td> <td>Sociology</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia</td> <td>Military Organizations</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> 17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms 17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda	<input type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia	
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<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia																					
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 74																		
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price PCAD 4																		

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'PRAVDA' PUBLISHES EAST GERMAN LEADER ON GDR-USSR FRIENDSHIP

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 78 p 4 LD

[Article by Erich Muechenberger, member, SED Central Committee Politburo and president, German-Soviet Friendship Society: "In Alliance With the Future"]

[Text] Berlin--Right from the first days of its formation in 1946 the SED has regarded the strengthening and further development of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union as its international duty. The constantly strengthening combat alliance between our Marxist-Leninist parties is the inviolable basis of the relations between the peoples of the GDR and the USSR. This is enshrined in the new SED program and revised regulations adopted by our party's ninth congress.

The entire history of the international workers movement is confirmation that proletarian internationalism is an essential precondition of successful working class struggle. Substantiating the internationalist nature of the working class, F. Engels pointed out: "Since the position of the workers is identical in all countries and since their interests are identical and they have the selfsame enemies; they must struggle together and they must counterpose to the fraternal alliance of the bourgeoisie a fraternal alliance of the workers of all nations." And it is not for nothing that the "Communist Party Manifesto" which proclaimed the birth of our revolutionary movement enshrines the immortal words which have become the mobilizing slogan of millions: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

Our party sees it as its revolutionary duty to be a reliable detachment of the international workers movement. And so it is always guided in its policy and ideological work by the tasks of insuring the unity of the working people's national and international interests. "Proletarian internationalism," Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has stressed, "is dear to every communists. The party regards it as the paramount task of its ideological and political work to assert it firmly in the consciousness of every worker and every working person."

Thus our party is continuing the proven traditions of the German revolutionary movement and the Communist Party of Germany [KPD]. Born

in the flame of the 1918 November revolution, right from the first days of its existence the KPD adopted a firm policy line of creating an alliance with Lenin's party and the Soviet state. Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin, Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck did everything possible to strengthen the international idea of class solidarity among German workers and the SED is consistently continuing their work. The KPD was in the front ranks of the solidarity movement in defense of the young land of the soviets which developed under the slogan: "Hands off Soviet Russia:" Opposing the pernicious influence of anti-Sovietism, the KPD made great efforts to disseminate the truth about the world's first worker and peasant state. The "Society of Friends of the New Russia" which was created in 1923 and in which outstanding figures such as Albert Einstein, Paul Oesterreich, Kaethe Kollwitz, Arnold Zweig and others participated occupied an important place in the German Communists' work. Thanks to this organization's activity, the number of people interested in truthful information about the land of the soviets grew constantly. This was the precondition for the creation in 1928 of the "Society of Friends of the Soviet Union" which had 25,000 members by 1932. Its traditions and legacy live on in our country to this day and are directly continued in the activity of the German-Soviet Friendship Society.

Even in those distant years the KPD was concerned to insure that delegations of German workers, peasants and intelligentsia could visit the Soviet Union and see for themselves the creation of the new world. Many people proved in needs their friendship with Lenin's land by participating directly in socialist building. They included Comrade Erich Honecker, who participated in the construction of the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine.

In its ideological work the SED pays great attention to molding a socialist concept of history in the working people and our young people and strives to preserve in people's consciousness a living memory of the path of the development of friendly and fraternal relations between our parties and peoples. Ernst Thaelmann's wonderful words have been and are of tremendous political importance to this day: "The decisive question for the international workers movement is the question of attitude toward the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union.... Your attitude toward the Soviet Union also answers the question of which camp you belong to regarding issues in German politics: The camp of revolution or the camp of counterrevolution?"

The course of history has confirmed the correctness of these words and has provided much evidence that those who yield to the pressure of the lies and slander of anti-Sovietism naturally always find themselves in the mainstream of imperialist policy. Voluntarily or involuntarily, they contributed to the development of fascism right up to its most brutal and criminal form--anti-Bolshevism, with whose aid the Hitlerites attempted to provide ideological camouflage for their barbaric struggle against socialism in the USSR.

During the Great Patriotic War our friendship and cooperation were embodied in the deeds of the German communists and the representatives of other progressive forces who were loyal combat comrades in arms of the Soviet class brothers. They unservingly maintained loyalty to the alliance with the land and party of Lenin and were prepared to give their lives for our friendship. As we say this, we recall both those who were thrown into the Gestapo torture chambers, those who courageously worked as secret agents and those who carried out antifascist propaganda at the front and in prisoner of war camps.

The USSR selflessly aided the German communists and representatives of other progressive forces, receiving them in its country and enabling them to struggle against the common enemy--fascism--from the Soviet Union's territory. The citizens of the land of the soviets educated by the CPSU were always able to see the difference between the German working people and the fascist war criminals. And, routing German imperialism, the glorious Soviet Army liberated the German people from the fetters of fascism. This was the start of a totally new chapter in the history of the internationalist cooperation between our parties.

Under the SED's leadership the GDR people, utilizing the historical opportunities which had taken shape, implemented fundamental antifascist democratic transformations and are now successfully building a developed socialist society. In this way they have fulfilled the behests of not only the many thousands of fighters in the German workers movement but also the millions of Soviet soldiers who gave their lives for the sake of peace and the happiness of the peoples.

For almost 30 years a new consciousness--the consciousness of being GDR citizens--has been formed in our country's inhabitants under the SED's leadership and with the participation of all social forces, including the German-Soviet Friendship Society. And it is based primarily on the realization that only the friendship, firm alliance and fraternal cooperation between the peoples of the GDR and the USSR have made it possible to achieve the level of development of our state which we have achieved.

Our people will never forget that after the end of the war it was precisely Soviet soldiers who helped us to overcome fear and hunger, that it was precisely Soviet communists in the uniform of Soviet Army officers who were the selfless advisers of the German antifascists regarding the building of a new life and that it was precisely the Soviet Union which helped the GDR's industry to meet its requirements for raw materials and fuel as a counterweight to the imperialist economic blockade.

The experience of the Soviet Union, which has implemented the general laws of socialism, has been and is of invaluable importance for our worker-peasant state. With the aid of the USSR and the other socialist countries the GDR has been able to rebuff the imperialists' attacks on its sovereignty. Thanks to the joint efforts of the fraternal countries the diplomatic blockade was penetrated and lifted in 1972. This success for the GDR was at the same time an important victory for the entire community of socialist states in the struggle against imperialism. Now, in unity with the USSR and the other fraternal countries, the GDR is striving to make a worthy contribution to world politics.

The relations between our countries are regulated by many agreements and primarily by the treaty of 7 October 1975 signed by Comrades L. I. Brezhnev and E. Honecker. The GDR and the Soviet Union are faithful friends. Our relations are becoming increasingly broad and effective and have long since embraced every sphere of social life.

Thanks to the implementation of the CEMA comprehensive program, to the socialist states' coordinated foreign and defense policy and to the cooperation in the cultural and ideological spheres, a further rapprochement whose development is being purposefully promoted by the CPSU and the SED is taking place between our countries' peoples. An increasing number of citizens of both states are being involved in this process and considerable credit for it attaches to the German-Soviet Friendship Society.

At its 11th congress in Berlin last May the society--in accordance with the 11th SED Congress decisions--outlined responsible and complex new tasks of its activity. The delegates' speeches testified to their profound understanding that the alliance with the CPSU and with the USSR is an alliance with the future and is the characteristic feature of the socialist social system and one of the biggest gains of our socialist homeland. And here it was correctly stressed that the tasks of strengthening this alliance require energetic work to expose each and every form, means and method of the criminal ideology of anticommunism and anti-Sovietisms.

The 11th German-Soviet Friendship Society Congress demonstrated the large scale of our organization's activity. The houses of German-Soviet friendship which operate in every bezirk in the republic are centers of spiritual and cultural life and the site of fraternal meetings between GDR citizens and social figures and cultural and scientific representatives from the Soviet Union. In his greetings message on the 30th anniversary of the formation of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, our great friend Leonid Ilich Brezhnev made the following assessment of this process: "This friendship based on the principles of socialist internationalism and on the fundamental commonality of aims is a mighty creative factor in our joint efforts to build socialism and communism, an important link of the fraternal alliance of the socialist peoples and an integral element of lasting peace in Europe and throughout the world."

The GDR citizens watch the development of the USSR with tremendous interest and they rejoice at the successes achieved by Soviet working people under the leadership of the CPSU. In the GDR today there is probably no collective, no institution, no National People's Army unit which does not have links with Soviet friends. Friendship with the land of October is a component part of our daily life.

The working people of the German socialist state are now preparing to greet the 30th anniversary of the formation of the GDR. We are glad and proud that this jubilee will at the same time be a triumph of our inviolable friendship.

CSO: 1800

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERS SEND TELEGRAM TO BULGARIA

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Sep 78 p 1 AU

[CTK report on Czechoslovak leaders' telegram to their Bulgarian counterparts on the occasion of the Bulgarian state holiday: "Congratulations To Bulgaria"]

[Text] Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR President and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal have sent a congratulatory telegram to Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council, and Stanko Todorov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, on the occasion of the state holiday of the Bulgarian People's Republic. It reads:

Dear Comrades, on the occasion of the state holiday of the Bulgarian People's Republic we send the most cordial comradely greetings and sincere congratulations to you, the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic and to all Bulgarian people on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, all working people of our country and on our own behalf.

The working people of the socialist Czechoslovakia follow with sincere sympathies the successes the fraternal Bulgarian people are achieving in fulfilling the tasks set by the 11th BCP Congress in building an advanced socialist society in their country and esteem the contribution of the Bulgarian People's Republic--as a firm link of the community of the socialist countries--to the struggle for peace, security and progress in the world. We highly appreciate that friendship and all-round cooperation are constantly strengthening and intensifying between our fraternal communist parties and countries, friendship and cooperation that are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, firm and indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

We are convinced that the fruitful and all-round cooperation between our countries, which are firm components of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, will

continue to develop successfully to the benefit of the people of both our countries, to the benefit of peace, socialism and progress in the world.

Allow us, dear Comrades, to wish you, the Bulgarian communists and all Bulgarian people from the bottom of our hearts many further successes in building an advanced socialist society.

CSO: 2400

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV, TODOROV GREET DPRK LEADERS ON NATIONAL DAY

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Sep 78 pp 1, 6

[Greetings from Todor Zhivkov and Stanko Todorov to Kim Il-song, DPRK president, and Yi Chong-ok, DPRK premier, on the occasion of North Korea's national holiday]

[Text] Dear comrades, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian people, and on our personal behalf, we send the KWP Central Committee, the DPRK Administrative Council, the fraternal Korean people, and you personally most cordial greetings on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the proclamation of the DPRK.

The creation of the DPRK is closely related to the historic events of August 1945, when, in crushing the machine of the Japanese imperialism, the Soviet Army completed its liberating mission in the Far East and revealed to the Korean people broad possibilities for revolutionary transformations and for a free and independent life. The first state of workers and peasants in the history of the Korean people is also the personal accomplishment of many generations of selfless Korean patriots, bringing the Korean revolution to a successful completion under the leadership of the communists.

During these three decades the Korean people have traveled a difficult path full of heroism and success. At the beginning of the fifties, U.S. imperialism and Seoul's reactionaries began an aggressive war against the DPRK, creating a serious obstacle in the socialist path of the young republic. The Korean people and their vanguard, the KWP, with the assistance and solidarity of the socialist countries and all progressive mankind, successfully resisted the aggressors and the warmongers.

After a short period, socialist Korea was restored from its ruins, and in close cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries turned into a modern state with a developed industry and agriculture, and increased well-being for the entire people. The Bulgarian people

and Bulgarian Communists sincerely rejoice at the great working successes of the industrious Korean people and wish them new successes in socialist construction.

The BCP and Bulgarian people highly value the friendship and cooperation between our two parties, countries, and peoples and sincerely want to further expand and develop them. In the name of peace and socialism in the world, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, from the bottom of our hearts we wish the DPRK working people even greater successes along the road of socialism and the unification of their country.

CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR LEADERS GREET DPRK LEADERS ON STATE HOLIDAY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Sep 78 p 1 AU

[CTK report on CSSR leaders' telegram to their DPRK counterparts on the occasion of the DPRK state holiday: "Telegram To The DPRK"]

[Text] Gustav Husak, General Secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR President, and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal have sent a congratulatory telegram to Kim Il-song, General Secretary of the Korean Workers Party and DPRK President, and Yi Chong-ok, chairman of the DPRK Administration Council, on the occasion of the DPRK state holiday. It reads:

Dear Comrades, On behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, all Czechoslovak people and on our own behalf we send the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party [KWP], the Administration Council, the people of your country and to you personally comradely greetings and cordial congratulations on the occasion of the state holiday of your country--the 30th anniversary of the declaration of the DPRK.

The declaration of the DPRK on 9 September 1948 was a decisive landmark in the history of the Korean people, who--together with the people of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries--took the path of building socialism.

In the three decades since its foundation the DPRK and its people, under the leadership of the KWP and relying on the consistent international solidarity of countries of the socialist community, achieved many successes in the defense, construction and development of the socialist society.

The working people of the CSSR follow with interest the efforts and successes of your people in fulfilling the tasks of the second seven-year plan of developing the national economy and support the proposals of the DPRK Government for a peaceful and democratic reunification of the homeland.

We are convinced that the traditional relations of friendship and mutual co-operation between our parties and countries will continue to successfully develop and intensify to the benefit of the people of both our countries and in the interest of further strengthening the unity of countries of the socialist community on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We wish you, the KWP, the Administrative Council and all people of the DPRK many new successes in building socialism in your country, in the efforts for a peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea and in the struggle for social progress and peace throughout the world.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HUSAK CONGRATULATES ETHIOPIA ON NATIONAL DAY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Sep 78 p 1 AU

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Ethiopia"]

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, has sent the following congratulatory telegram to Lt Col Mengistu Haile Mariam, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and the Council of Ministers of Socialist Ethiopia, on the occasion of his country's national day--the fourth anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution:

Esteemed Comrade,

In the name of the government and the people of the CSSR as well as in my own name I am sending you, the Provisional Military Administrative Council, the government and the Ethiopian people, most sincere congratulations and greetings on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution.

The working people of Socialist Czechoslovakia, together with the people of the other countries of the socialist community and progressive, anti-imperialist forces of the world, are firmly standing on the side of socialist Ethiopia, and hold in sincere esteem the significant successes which the Ethiopian people have achieved in the realization of revolutionary changes in their country, in the liquidation of the feudal and capitalist exploitation, in the defense of the independence and territorial unity of their country against the attacks of domestic and foreign reaction. The progressive and democratic forces of the world will forever respect and revere the workers, farmers, militiamen, soldiers and members of the revolutionary intelligentsia who bore the greatest sacrifices in the name of the Ethiopian revolution.

Esteemed comrade chairman, with pleasure I take this opportunity to express the firm conviction that the mutual relations of friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and socialist Ethiopia will continue to expand and deepen in the spirit of international solidarity, for the benefit of the people of our two countries, in the interest of peace and progress in the world.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ARTICLE ATTACKS PAYING, RECEIVING OF BRIBES

Prague PRACE in Czech 6 Sep 78 p 4

[Article by J. Kubik: "Let's Not Wear Blinders"]

[Text] A man's blood sample was taken in order to determine his alcohol level after a traffic accident. He promised the laboratory worker a monetary "reward" for pertinent adjustment of the result. Another worthy individual offered payment for delaying execution of a prior sentence. They did not succeed and moreover were now facing prosecution for offering bribes.

But there are more cases of one individual offering and another accepting or even demanding a bribe. It is a public secret that some patients go to see the doctor with an envelope containing their savings, sometimes accumulated over many years. A dentist from Litvinov told me some time ago that he had great difficulty convincing an old woman to sit down, only because he did not take her Kcs 50 note. She did not believe that some one who did not accept a reward could understand his work. Nevertheless, some people take money shamelessly. And numerous people assure for themselves not only preferential care but also acknowledgement of work disability. As long as bribe offering was caused by a critical situation of a patient facing a rather serious surgical operation, it was only the receiver who was prosecuted. Functionaries of housing cooperatives and people interested in apartments have been tried for offering and receiving bribes. Corruption while selling a socialist organization's car to one of its employees and other violations have not remained unpunished.

One hundred sixty-two persons were sentenced for the punishable deed of bribery in our country within 1 year. Our legal regulations against corruption of workers protect society's interests. By offering bribes and corruption individuals are only pushing their interests they are seeking undeserved advantages and to exploit the situation to other people's detriment. These are socially damaging phenomena which seek to undermine the workers' trust in the impartiality of the states and the economic apparatus. In the cases tried in 1971, 7.4 percent of all culprits were sentenced to unconditional imprisonment lasting between 6 months and 1 year. In 1976, this was [done] in 25.7 percent of all cases. These sentences are meted out mostly for receiving bribes.

Unfortunately, by far not all payers and receivers of bribes are apprehended. The problem is that this punishable activity is usually limited to two persons who are mutually interested in keeping it secret. But it cannot be maintained that nobody would know about it. A doctor receiving rather voluminous envelopes from patients can hardly escape the nurses' attention. If a mechanic accepts tips for preferential repairs of cars, his coworkers would have to be blind in order not to see it. A salesman retaining goods in short supply for someone can hardly conceal it from his colleagues. Also responsible here are the pertinent basic trade union organizations whose members and sometimes even functionaries show tolerance to these negative phenomena.

It seems that courts do not sufficiently use the opportunity to take up similar cases in front of a broader collective of workers in plants and organizations. But even the trade union organizations at work sites where graft and corruption exist do not oppose the culprits openly. Simultaneously, timely handling of such cases within the collective could produce an educational effect--on a broader range of workers, too. Opposing of negative phenomena cannot be left only to state organs and repressive measures. Creation of a public opinion which would be irreconcilable toward all violations of the principles of socialist morality is equally important.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

NATIONAL COUNCIL PRESIDIUUM MEETS--At its meeting yesterday, the Czech National Council Presidium discussed a government proposal for awarding the Jan Sverma journalist prize. The proposal was introduced by Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier. Minister Vladimir Blazek gave information about the fulfillment of targets by the Federal Transport Ministry in the Czech lands. Finally, the Czech National Council Presidium noted with satisfaction a report on the completion of the grain procurement plan in the republic. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0430 GMT 13 Sep 78 LD]

COURT UPHOLDS HIJACK VERDICT--Bratislava, Aug 30, CETEKA--The Supreme Court of the Slovak Socialist Republic today confirmed the verdict passed by the District Court in Bratislava on Florian Kristof, Karol Janrich and Stanislav Urban on charges of endangering an aeroplane and attempting to leave the republic. Moreover, the Supreme Court qualified the defendants' action as attempted abduction to a foreign country. The defendants (?attempted) to hijack a Czechoslovak Airlines plane on its regular flight from Bratislava to Prague this April, intending to force the pilot to land the plane in Frankfurt am Main. The sentences are: Florian Kristof 9 years and six months in prison, Karol Janrich 8 years and Stanislav Urban 6 years. The verdict has come into force. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1824 GMT 30 Aug 78 LD]

CSO: 2020

EAST GERMANY

CONTROVERSIAL SED OFFICIAL DISCUSSES COOPERATION WITH WESTERN SOCIALISTS

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 147, 4 Aug 78 p 3

/Report from Berlin: "East Berlin Wants Closer Cooperation with Socialist Parties." A translation of the East Berlin FORUM article discussed below this commentary/

/Text/ The East Berlin FDJ organ FORUM expressed itself in favor of closer cooperation between socialist and social-democratic parties on one hand and communists on the other hand. The theoretical-ideological differences are not insurmountable obstacles in the struggle for important progressive changes in society, in which "all formations of the working class" are interested. Among them are the struggle for peace, military detente and disarmament, social progress, as well as the solution of worldwide concerns as, for instance, the fight against hunger and diseases and for the preservation of the environment. In spite of it, the periodical indicated, there are still difficult programmatic, technical, and political obstacles which are a hindrance to closer cooperation, but agreement can definitely be reached to partial questions.

Cooperation With Social Democrats Weighed

East Berlin FORUM in German Vol 32 No 13, Jul 78 p 14

/Article by Hermann von Berg: "Reform of Reformism? Social Democracy--An Ally in the Struggle for Peace?"/

/Text/ A few weeks ago at the end of April, the Socialist Internationale conducted a conference in Helsinki which dealt with the problems of disarmament. Before that, during its 13th congress it made the following statement about it: "For the Socialist Internationale general disarmament continues to be its final goal."

A representative each from the United States and the USSR were invited to the conference as guests. The Soviet side was represented by Boris Ponomarev,

politburo candidate of the Central Committee of the CPSU. This procedure is something new in the history of relations between communists and socialists, a first working contact for a fundamental thematic, the positive solution of which is decisive for the continued future of humanity.

This was made possible, among other things, through the fact that in recent years the Socialist Internationale strengthened the positions of those politicians who are coming to understand the following: The course of detente is based on a real understanding of the international situation. The majority of approximately 4 million members of 19 parties and a voter potential of approximately 60 million people in Europe are behind them.

With a penetration of West European monopolies into African, Caribbean and Pacific territories, the Socialist Internationale, a worldwide association of socialist and social-democratic parties, also gained a foothold in these areas, and it is no accident that Willy Brandt is the chief of the North-South Commission of the World Bank. In the central office of the supernational power of the EC in Brussels, socialists and social democrats have a majority on the 13-member commission. The socialist faction in the European Parliament is numerically the strongest and the Federation of European Social Democrats, a regional branch organization of the Socialist Internationale, is considered the most tightly organized representation among party formations which have in the meantime been organized on a supranational basis in West Europe. Representatives of the Socialist Internationale are also furnishing influential leaders for the European Labor Union Federation, and in the meantime their strategies have caused great difficulties for multinational concerns. Still, the overall influence of the SPD is not always visible. It is based on the economic, financial and military power of the FRG, main partner of the United States in NATO, but it is also based on the conceptual work of the party.

Are Compromises Possible?

As is known, there are many fundamental theoretical-ideological differences between communists and social democrats, and in an ideological confrontation no compromises are possible because truth is indivisible. But practical politics lives on compromises. (For that very reason Lenin may have characterized politics as science and art.) This means that when dealing with socialists, communists must use the dialectic process for political cooperation and philosophic criticism. In this process theoretical-ideological differences cannot be considered an insurmountable obstacle in the struggle for important progressive changes in society, in which all forms of the working classes are interested. Among them are the struggle for peace, military detente and disarmament, social progress, as well as the solution to worldwide concerns, such as the battle against hunger and diseases or for the preservation of the environment.

Communists have always cared a great deal about conducting the process of detente on the broadest possible basis of action. Thus, some progress was

made in various areas of political cooperation with parties of the Socialist Internationale. In spite of these there are still difficult programmatic, tactical and political obstacles which are blocking a closer cooperation. Many of these have historical origins, because the history of the labor movement was always marked by a serious struggle between the revolutionary ideology and opportunism.

Influence of Reformism

Today the world view of reformism represents a mass trend in the labor movement of capitalist industrial nations, with the exception of France and Italy. In the FRG it has almost achieved a monopoly. During the 1950s and 1960s, because of objectively favorable conditions, social-democratic parties implemented a number of political and economic daily demands for working people and, consequently, gained a measure of confidence which gives them a great deal of weight within and outside governmental responsibilities.

At the present time objective conditions for the upswing of reformism have changed. Persistent mass unemployment and permanent inflation show a clearer picture of the historic perspective of capitalism. The results of the scientific-technical revolution which, after World War II, initially contributed to the economic boom and the improvement in the standard of living are turning more and more against the producers of riches who are rationalized away from their jobs in great numbers.

The economic-political measures to increase of mass purchasing power, which is pursued in order to compensate for the loss of markets in the East and in the colonies, are now failing because of chronic inflation. The regulatory mechanisms of the crisis cycle are failing, not only those of the upswing.

These objective changes are also causing subjective changes in the reformist concept which, in any case, is by no means homogenous and the opportunities for antimonopolistic alliances are growing.

At the present time efforts for a reform of reformism can be observed. They are pursued by political forces which prefer the traditional reformism, with an anticapitalistic goal, to the reformist neocapitalism of the rightist oriented Social Democrats, as manifested above all, in the Godesberg program of the SPD. Apparently, programmatically and politico-tactically, there seems to be a majority within the Socialist Internationale inclined toward the "left" trend of the traditional reformism, which differs from the model of West German Social Democracy. In 1951, in its founding manifesto, the Socialist Internationale stated that it wanted "democratic socialism," in order to overcome the "capitalist system with an economic order in which the interest of the community is above the interest of profit."

Third Way Remained Fiction

In this connection it is interesting that the resolution of the 13th congress of the Socialist Internationale, which took place in November 1976, speaks of the "obvious failure of international capitalism" (a statement which, incidentally, interested Willy Brandt, chairman of the SPD and the Socialist Internationale, but not Chancellor Schmidt).

If empirical facts are used as criterion for verbal theses, the programmatic part of this statement can be accepted that to date no party of the Socialist Internationale has furnished a government which has overcome the capitalist system. In Sweden, a country which is ordinarily praised as a "model" of this kind of country, the Social Democracy was voted out of office after 30 years in government, and nothing distinguishes this country from state-monopolistic systems of its neighbors.

Also in practice, the imaginary theory of a "third way" between capitalism and socialism has remained fiction.

Naturally, this topic is a continuous issue between communists and socialists; no agreement can be reached concerning a total concept. But partial questions can lead to agreements. There are always considerable differences in the position of certain parties of the Socialist Internationale, and also within the national leaderships there are considerable differences. Still, there are starting points for a dialog.

For example, a delegation of the Central Committee of the SED submitted to the 13th congress of the Socialist Internationale a document entitled, "For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe," which was adopted in June 1976 during the Berlin Conference of Communist and Labor Parties in Europe. Its contents clearly characterizes our position toward the reformist labor movement. We are not to be misled by a policy or world view "which in essence" means "a subordination of the working class to the capitalist system." *¹ At the same time communists are affirming their willingness for cooperation on an equal basis, "particularly with socialist and social-democratic parties in the struggle for peace, democracy and the progress of society." *²

*Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeitsparteien Europas. Dokumente und Reden /Conference of Communist and Labor Parties in Europe. Documents and Speeches/, Berlin 1976, p 26

* Ibid.

PEKING'S CHANGING POLICY TOWARD WESTERN EUROPE ANALYZED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 23 No 8, Aug 78 signed to press 19 Jul 78 pp 73-84

[Article by Prof Dr Stefan Doernberg, director, Institute for International Relations, Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Potsdam-Babelsberg: "Basic Features and Changes in Peking's Policy Toward West Europe." This article is a preprint of the preface to a book by Andrey Stepanov, to be published by Staatsverlag der DDR under the German title, "BRD und China" (FRG and China)]

[Text] Present-day international relations represent a network of many bilateral and multilateral relations. Since the entrance, in 1949, of the People's Republic of China on the international scene, the foreign policy pursued by this populous country, rich in traditions, holds an important position in international affairs both at global and regional level. For various reasons relations between the People's Republic of China and Western Europe are of particular significance. These relations serve most illuminatingly to reflect the most important changes in Peking's foreign policy. It is precisely the attitude to Western Europe, this outstanding imperialist power center, which mirrors the trend of the total concept of Chinese foreign policy relative to the fundamental problems of the present time.

In Europe are concentrated the major economic and politico-military forces of the opposed social systems, of socialism and imperialism. The development of international relations on this Continent is of prime importance for the total system of international relations, for peace and social progress the world over. We are therefore bound to be greatly interested in observing the attitude of a country such as the People's Republic of China regarding the normalization of state relations and a healthier climate in Europe, both from the aspect of European politics and as a criterion for the attitude of this great nation to the basic problems of world politics. This applies especially to relations between the People's Republic of China and the FRG which, due to its economic and military potential, holds an important role among the capitalist countries of Europe.

The foreign policy of the USSR, the GDR and the other countries of the socialist community steadily, inventively and flexibly pursues the Leninist line of the foreign policy of peace. This policy responds to the interests of peace loving peoples all over the world and finds an echo also among those realistic politicians in capitalist countries, who appreciate that there is no real alternative to detente and peaceful coexistence when one considers the shift in the international balance of power toward socialism and peace and the dangers involved for all countries in case of another world war.

The consolidation of peace and the deepening of international detente are the cardinal issues of our time. The accomplishment of these tasks (which requires the comprehensive implementation and stabilization of peaceful coexistence between countries with varying social systems) is of vital importance for the struggle for social progress in all parts of the world. Moreover, in view of the dangers of nuclear armament and other weapons of mass destruction, their quantitative and qualitative development and the perilous accumulation of such weapons, the assurance of peace--in the true meaning of the word--has become a matter of life or death for mankind as a whole.

International politics, therefore, are now concerned with decisions of far reaching and long-range importance for the development of international relations involving the peaceful future of mankind. In this situation the leading politicians of all countries have a great responsibility toward their own peoples and the peoples of the world. To meet this responsibility requires serious efforts in the search for mutually acceptable and therefore stable settlements to achieve the de-escalation of conflicts, the complementation of political detente by military detente, an end to the arms race and disarmament.

The Soviet Union, the chief power for peace in the world, has jointly with the other socialist fraternal countries championed detente and peaceful coexistence, security and mutually beneficial cooperation. In view of the increasingly widespread coincidence of this policy with the peoples desire for peace, it is steadily becoming the determining factor in the overall system of international relations. The appreciation is spreading even outside the socialist countries that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries peace policy does not pursue selfish ends nor threatens anyone. The constructive foreign policy of the socialist nations, seizing on any realistic suggestion serving the interest of peace, has greatly helped the realization and dissemination of this acknowledgment.

In contrast to the majority of nations, those who determine the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China believe they can disregard the realities of the current world situation and their share in the responsibility for securing the peaceful future of mankind. They ignore the dangers inherent for their people and their country in a policy of tension and conflict involving the accumulation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. They believe--erroneously--that it is possible in today's world to add fuel to conflicts and tensions without being affected by their perilous consequences.

This mistaken appraisal of today's world and the status of the People's Republic of China in it, caused by greater power chauvinistic attitudes, provides the basis for the pursuit by the leaders responsible for Chinese policy of a concept of international relations, which evidently amounts to the exacerbation of tensions and conflicts and involves conspiring with the most reactionary and aggressive forces of imperialism against peace and social progress.

The fearful lessons of the two world wars caused by imperialism are deeply embedded in the consciousness of the peoples. As the result of the peace policy pursued by the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community Europe is experiencing the longest period of peace in modern history. Detente prevailed against the "cold war" and the "policy from strength" propagated by imperialism, becoming the decisive trend in international relations.

The peace programs of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congress were wholeheartedly endorsed by the Eighth and Ninth SED Congresses. At this time they are more than a guideline for the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist community; they provide a program for action for millions of people. Essential elements of these programs have already been implemented. That is evidenced in particular by the progress made in anchoring security and cooperation as reflected in the code of the fundamental principles of international relations reaffirmed in the Helsinki final act by the most senior representatives of the European countries, the United States and Canada. An important point in the evidence is the fact that it was possible to include the Federal Republic of Germany in detente. As a firm ally of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community as well as by precise steps in bilateral and multilateral relations with capitalist countries, the German Democratic Republic and its peace policy took an active part in this development.

The victory of the trend to detente in international relations continues to involve hard-fought struggles against the most aggressive forces of imperialism and all foes of world peace and detente. This struggle has become even more acute now, when we are concerned with the material consolidation of detente, an end to the arms race and effective progressive disarmament. Influential circles of the military-industrial complex in NATO as well as other prime movers of anticommunism attempt to set the clock back to the time of the "cold war" and get going another round of qualitative and quantitative rearmament.

In this situation it is particularly deplorable that, for many years, the policy of the Chinese leadership has been directed more and more openly against the socialist nations policy of detente, acting as a stooge for the most aggressive forces of NATO. It thereby became "an important reserve of imperialism against socialism." In thus analyzing the situation, the 25th CPSU Congress emphasized the "enormous danger for all peace loving peoples...(represented) by Peking's feverish attempts to sabotage detente, prevent disarmament, sow mistrust and hostility among the nations; by Peking's efforts to provoke a world war and warm its hands at the ensuing conflagration."¹

Still fully valid is the statement made by the SED at its ninth congress, that the Chinese leaders "have openly espoused an attitude of anti-Sovietism and direct cooperation with the most reactionary wing of international monopoly capital" and that the "great power chauvinistic and anti-Soviet line of Peking...(inflicts) severe damage on the interests of peace and socialism."²

After Mao Tse-tung's death in 1976, Peking's foreign political line waxed even more dangerous to peace, and became still more blatant. The best evidence was supplied by the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of China (12-18 August 1977), when the first socialist state was again maligned as the chief enemy of the peoples. By libeling the socialist social order in the USSR as "social imperialism" and slandering Lenin's foreign policy, Peking attempted to go one better than the fable of "red imperialism" invented by the most aggressive forces of imperialism to justify the arms race.

At the first meeting of the Fifth National People's Congress (26 February-5 March 1978) the antisocialist and hegemonistic bent of Peking's foreign policy became even more prominent. The constitution then adopted provided a legal basis for the assertion that the USSR is "China's chief enemy." The establishment of the "broadest international united front" was proclaimed a constitutional duty, and this front was to confront primarily the Soviet Union and other socialist countries--in Europe as well as Asia.

Peking's foreign political actions immediately following this meeting demonstrated the importance attributed to this constitutional duty which is not only unusual but, in this day and age, virtually inadmissible in international law. The increased emphasis on visits by senior Peking emissaries, including military men, to various countries of Asia and, in particular, Europe, is proof that all variants available are being tried in order to further endanger peace. The policy actually pursued toward the West European countries, including their integrating union, the capitalist EC, as much as the approaches to U.S. circles hostile to detente and, finally, the benevolent attitude toward acts of aggression by neocolonialism and reactionary regimes in Africa, Asia and Latin America clearly shows that Peking seeks anti-Soviet and antisocialist alliances everywhere. Increased expansionary drives and great power chauvinistic practices in Southeast Asia--especially against socialist Vietnam--fit smoothly into this extremely dangerous and adventurist conception.

In the last 30 years the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China--including its attitude to the FRG--was subject to various modifications. The 1949 establishment of the People's Republic of China was an event of world historical significance. It revealed the weakness of imperialism and showed up the favorable prospects arising for peace and the progress of mankind from close cooperation between the great Chinese people and the Soviet Union as well as the other socialist countries, and also from China's friendly relations with all peace loving peoples.

Until the mid-1950's the development of international relations offered many examples confirming this appraisal. Though even at that time China's foreign policy was not free from contradictions, overall it was dictated by a basic socialist orientation. Subsequently, though, it became abundantly clear that at its core was bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism and hegemonism of an obviously anti-Soviet stamp. The development of this steadily more pronounced anti-Soviet and antisocialist foreign policy went hand in hand with internal changes, the ruin of the socialist achievements in the first half of the 1950's, the establishment of a military-bureaucratic dictatorship. To the foreground moved elements of that policy which subsequently became increasingly marked and aimed--by inciting tensions and conflicts, especially between the USSR and the United States as well as between the countries of opposed social systems in Europe--to be able "to sit on the mountain peak" and observe "the tigers mauling one another in the valley," thus approaching more closely to the realization of their own great power chauvinistic goals. Lack of principle and adventurism paired off, and as a result general Chinese foreign policy became a factor counteracting the interests of peace and social progress in the world and aiding and abetting the forces of imperialism, which are hostile to detente. Even when, in the 1960's, Peking appeared completely to support the GDR's attitude toward the aggressive revanchist FRG policy of aspiring to sole representation, it was quite possible to recognize their interest in maintaining the tensions and conflicts in Central Europe. The more so since, at the same time, contacts were made with circles in Western Europe (including the FRG), not least those who do not hide their basic antisocialist attitude and hostility to detente.

In the early 1960's, as a result of the all-round consolidation of the socialist community of nations and the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, fundamental changes occurred in the international balance of power, shifting it toward socialism. This provided the prerequisites for a shift also in international relations, completed in the early 1970's. The strengthening of the economic potential and the defensive power of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, made feasible military-strategic parity of the defensive Warsaw Pact with the countries of the NATO Alliance. The consequence was the obvious failure of the imperialist roll-back policy (in Central Europe the measures adopted on 13 August 1961 were an inescapable reflection of that fact), and not least the breakdown of the imperialist colonial system, which created a new situation in the worldwide conflict between socialism and imperialism. At the same time we witnessed the immeasurable growth of the arms race unleashed by imperialism and, therefore, the material preparation for yet another war.

The Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist countries--joined by an increasingly broad section of the world public, including influential bourgeois politicians--thereupon concluded that the assurance of peace had become the most important task, vital for mankind; that it needed the utmost effort and that, at the same time, there were increasing opportunities for a settlement on the basis of common and compelling interests in the sense of the comprehensive realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations between nations of differing social orders.

What was Peking's reaction? Instead of, in the best interest of the great Chinese people, providing a substantial contribution to the policy of assuring peace and detente, the further consolidation of the anti-imperialist forces, the Peking Government emphasized the policy of provocative statements and actions--hostile to both peace and progress. The Chinese leadership more and more concentrated on the attempt to drive a wedge between the socialist countries, the workers movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movements on the one hand, and the country of Lenin and the CPSU on the other. Hiding behind ultrarevolutionary phrases and with the help of left opportunist splinter groups, Peking endeavored to launch a claim to the leadership of the three main revolutionary streams of our time.

Peking's hegemonistic and profoundly antisocialist ambitions exerted a destabilizing effect on the international situation. However, their progenitors clearly failed to achieve the desired ends. While able to obstruct the further shift in the international balance of power in favor of socialism, they could not really prevent it. The transformation of international relations on a democratic basis, the victory of detente, continued their triumphal advance. Peking's reply was not confined to the support of all actions and manifestations directed against the growing strength of the socialist community of nations. The Chinese leadership also more and more openly consorted with the most divergent forces of international monopoly capital up to and including the most inveterate foes of detente. To underpin this policy, Peking developed the concept of the "three worlds." This clearly denies the crucial contradiction of our era, that between socialism and imperialism, as well as the class nature of countries with opposing social systems. Peking replaces this concept with arbitrary characteristics which are determined by the great power chauvinistic interests of the Chinese leadership.

According to this concept which was modified at various times in accordance with the changing tactical interests of Peking, the USSR and the United States represent the "first world." The European countries, Japan and Canada account for the "second world." In this interpretation the "third world" includes, together with China, all countries of Asia (except for Japan), Africa and Latin America. This "doctrine" serves "to justify" the massive attempt to create an anti-Soviet and antisocialist coalition between Peking and imperialist countries (especially the European NATO countries and Japan) as well as the intensive efforts to split the socialist community and divide it from the USSR. (As we all know, Peking propaganda claims that the socialist world system no longer exists.)

As early as the 1960's, in their proposals for the establishment of a major West European imperialist power, leading representatives of big capital in Western Europe and especially the FRG (for example CSU chairman Franz Josef Strauss) suggested an anti-Soviet alliance with Peking and proclaimed the illusory as well as counterrevolutionary goal of changing the socialist countries allied to the Soviet Union into an "intermediate Europe" cut loose from the USSR.

Following the normalization of relations between socialist and capitalist countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence, particularly pronounced in Europe, Peking in the 1970's became the preferred place of pilgrimage for aggressive imperialist politicians, especially from the FRG. The vital connecting links were represented by militant anti-Sovietism, the non-recognition of borders--whether on the Ussuri or the Elbe--and the striving for the boundless pursuit of the arms race.

This community of the Peking leaders with the most aggressive imperialist forces was also reflected in the propaganda against the Moscow Treaty of 12 August 1970 between the USSR and the FRG--the cornerstone of the system of bilateral and multilateral treaties initiating normalization in Europe. At the same time Peking unleashed a campaign against the basic treaty between the GDR and the FRG, concluded on 21 December 1972 and part and parcel of this system. Bonn interpretations violating in the terms of the treaty were openly supported, and so were slogans referring to "keeping open the German question" and the machinations and demands of revanchist forces in the FRG defiantly to strive for the annexation of the socialist GDR to the imperialist FRG. Peking's attitude also reflected its disappointment that all attempts to play off the GDR against the USSR had logically and hopelessly failed in their purpose.

Peking also found a common language with the forces of the military-industrial complex in the imperialist countries when it was a matter of reacting to the results of the all-European conference. Disregarding the plain rules of logic, the attempt was made to represent as a Soviet "confidence trick," played on all other signatories, the balance of interests achieved in complex and laborious negotiations between the various social systems and the attending countries, (some of which belonged to opposing military-political alliances) and confirmed by their leading representatives in the final act. On 5 August 1975 the Peking newspaper RENMIN RIBAO described the result of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as a "USSR trick" in order "by means of so-called 'security and cooperation' to dismantle West European defenses, undermine the unity of Western Europe, squeeze the United States out of Europe and hide its own aggression and expansion in Europe." By this attitude Peking's propagandists openly placed themselves at the side of the most reactionary forces of imperialism and in fact sought to outdo them in incitement against international detente and the community of the socialist countries as the initiator and chief force of this process.

The Peking leaders efforts together with the most reactionary forces of imperialism to discredit the results of detente in Europe and--if possible reverse that trend are dictated by the fear that these principles will increasingly obtain universal application and thereby become a more and more serious obstacle to Peking's great power chauvinistic plans. Furthermore, the constant sabre rattling, the fable of a USSR military threat and, therefore, unabashed anti-Sovietism, are intended to deflect the attention of the popular masses from the effects of internal crises and deformations. Any symptom of dissatisfaction--with the difficult economic situation and its

consequences, for example--is to be canalized by keeping the popular masses in a permanent state of fear and war psychosis.

Precisely this goal is served by the further refinement later undergone by the Chinese leadership's foreign political concept, oriented against international peace. This is demonstrated most clearly and comprehensively in the editorial published in RENMIN RIBAO on 1 November 1977: "Chairman Mao's Theory of the Threefold Division of the World--A Significant Contribution to Marxism-Leninism." Its pseudo-scientific lingo claims to provide a programmatic document of Chinese foreign policy after Mao Tse-tung's death and the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China. The article virtually apes the imperialist concept of the "balance of terror" as the alleged basis for international security. To allow no doubt about Peking's sympathies in the worldwide conflict, the emphatic rearmament of the NATO countries is justified as being in the interest of peace. This represents the attempt by Peking's propagandists to weaken the struggle and the vigilance of the peaceful forces against the dangers emanating from aggressive NATO circles. At the same time they aim to undermine the peoples confidence in the peace policy of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community (a confidence which has grown further with detente), to incite to mistrust and new tensions and create a broad front against the chief force for peace in the world.

In agreement with the frankly reactionary and militaristic forces of imperialism the Chinese leaders proclaim that detente endangers peace. With the utmost lack of principle the Soviet Union is libeled the "chief warmonger." And that at a time when it is beginning to be appreciated everywhere how much the prudent attitude of the Soviet Union, its constructive foreign policy and its efforts for the security of the socialist countries have contributed to the fact that there is no longer a fateful inevitability of wars and that now, despite the continued operation of the inevitabilities of imperialism--including expansionism and aggression--we have a real opportunity to prevent a world war.

The Peking propagandists would like to dupe people into thinking that another world war can at best be delayed but must inevitably occur. Peking's military preparations must therefore "be oriented to a major war which might erupt sooner than expected." On the other hand the same people deny the danger to peace arising from imperialism, asserting for example that the United States has lost its influence on the other imperialist countries, that the "imperialist camp once led by the United States (has) fallen apart." Peking therefore elevates NATO to a "factor for peace" because "obviously these countries (Western Europe and Japan--author's comment) must, in view of the threat of Soviet social imperialism, look to 'protection' from the United States" seeing that "the currently greatest threat to Western Europe evidently arises from Soviet social imperialism."

In this Peking concept with its profound hostility to detente relations with the FRG assume special importance, and that for various reasons. The Chinese

leaders hope to use these relations to incite tensions and conflicts with the socialist countries as well as undermine those fundamental principles of peaceful international relations which were confirmed in Helsinki and are of profound importance for international detente. These hopes are based mainly on the expectation that revanchist tendencies will once again gain the upper hand in FRG policy, and that this country might once more take on the role of West European outriders for the "politics of strength" against the socialist nations and detente. Peking therefore loudly beats the propaganda drum and displays a curious sympathy for the build-up of NATO, for "hard attitudes" of the FRG toward the USSR and the GDR, for the development of the neutron bomb and its dispatch to Western Europe--in short for everything which may obstruct detente. At the same time the Peking leaders take into account the vital role of the FRG in the EC and the fact that the FRG is the strongest European military power in NATO.

Anti-Sovietism and anticommunism generally, adventurist ideas and the foreign political operations arising therefrom, the emphasis on the military factor, its use in politics and the continuing arms race, the intransigent hostility to the conquering new quality of international relations--detente --, these and many other manifestations of a profoundly reactionary foreign political strategy are the real bases cementing Peking's collaboration with influential revanchist circles in the FRG. In other words: Both parties display their lack of understanding for the needs of the present, including the interests of their own countries. The result is a highly dangerous policy which resembles a constant playing with fire, threatens world peace and, most of all, opposes the vital interests of their own peoples.

We must remember also that it is not only a matter of the afore mentioned community between the partners; each one of them, in addition, endeavors to carry on his own no less adventurist and dangerous game. Expansionist circles in the FRG hope that the "Chinese card" will serve to provide a means to pressure the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other countries of the socialist community; to refurbish the obsolete great power ambitions of German imperialism--also in the interest of hegemonistic aspirations toward present-day allies in the EC and NATO. Not least the alliance between the "Blacks" and "Red China" is to show a profit at the domestic level and help advance the influence of the forces on the right wing of monopoly capital; this in turn would be bound to have an adverse effect on FRG foreign policy.

By activating their relations with the FRG Peking's ruling circles pursue their own power political aims. They wish for support in the expansion of their military strength, the modernization of their army; they aim to use export earnings also to financially back diversionary operations in other countries. At the same time they intend to interfere in West European politics so as to promote and incite conflict situations in Europe, which will ease Peking's pursuit of an adventurist and aggressive line in Asia.

In its issue of 31 December 1977 the influential British journal, THE ECONOMIST, pertinently characterized the real aim as follows:

"Should Peking involve England and the West in an alliance with the USSR, it will be prepared to fight the Russians to the last English and French soldier."

The NEW YORK TIMES commented the increasing trend toward direct cooperation between the U.S.military-industrial complex and China by saying the United States "have nothing to gain and much to lose by helping China acquire a significant offensive potential."

Even in the FRG more and more voices are raised in warning of the dangers of plotting with Peking against international security. Realistic politicians, even among the ruling circles, are well aware that it may be highly dangerous and disadvantageous for them to go too far in helping Peking's adventurist and tension-promoting policies.

In this day and age peace is indivisible. Nobody therefore can be indifferent to the development of the situation in any region or to the relation between two countries. Normal and sober relations between all nations must serve the mutual advantage and international detente, encourage an atmosphere of confidence. Whether such countries are neighbors or not, whether they are large or small--such relations are in the interest of all peoples. On the other hand relations directed against third countries, which deliberately produce new tensions, serve expansionist and great power chauvinistic efforts --these contradict the needs of detente to which there is no reasonable alternative now or in the future.

The socialist countries have always advocated the consolidation of normal and sober relations between those countries which serve peace. For many years, therefore, the GDR supported the efforts for achieving diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the FRG. The expansion of economic relations between these two countries for their mutual benefit, their contacts in the field of culture, science or sport may also help the improvement of the system of international relations. We must, however, strictly reject all actions directed against the stabilization of world peace, the vital interests of the peoples--including all provocative insults addressed to socialist peace policy which serves the social progress of mankind. That holds true in particular for such key issues as the end of the arms race and the achievement of specific disarmament measures. Just here, in the interest of their great power chauvinistic goals and boundless own rearmament, the Chinese leaders--while mouthing pseudo-revolutionary phrases--assume an obstructive stance which is fully compatible with the interests and practical policies of the forces of the imperialist military-industrial complex.

This Peking policy goes hand in hand with the severe impairment of and damage to relations between the People's Republic of China and the socialist countries --up to and including provocations against the USSR at the common border of the two countries. The resolute rejection of this antisocialist and hostile line (which was elevated to the rank of a constitutionally anchored government policy), remains a task of prime importance. At the same time the GDR as well as the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries advocate--for

reasons of principle--the complete normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China and the return (provided China agrees) to the friendship which characterized these relations until the 1950's. The GDR especially supports the USSR's persistent efforts for the restoration of normal and good neighborly relations to the People's Republic of China. Relations between the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and all socialist countries, if inspired by the interests of peace and the peoples, would have excellent effects on the further organization of GDR relations with the People's Republic of China. The GDR consistently retains its willingness, proclaimed at the Ninth SED Congress, "to normalize relations with China in accordance with the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference and other principles of international law."³

FOOTNOTES

1. "CPSU Central Committee Report and the Coming Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Affairs. Reporter: L.I. Brezhnev," Berlin 1976, pp 14, 15.
2. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED. Berichterstatter: Genosse E.Honecker" [SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress. Reporter: Comrade E. Honecker], Berlin 1976, p 136.
3. As above, pp 136 f.

11698
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EAST GERMANY

DISMISSAL OF LITERARY JOURNAL'S EDITORIAL STAFF DISCUSSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 19 Aug 78 p 16

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum, Berlin: "Too Much 'TEMPERAMENTE'?--Editorial Staff of the FDJ Cultural Journal Dismissed"]

[Text] As the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU just recently learned, the editorial staff of the GDR literary journal TEMPERAMENTE were fired at the beginning of July. This has been verified now by several leading GDR writers. Observers believe this action is a clear sign of a tightening up of cultural policy in the GDR.

A total of five issues of the journal, subtitled "Pages for Young Literature," have appeared since Autumn 1976. TEMPERAMENTE was especially popular among young people and quickly sold out at the newsstands.

"The pages," according to one writer, "were not printed by the right people." The reason given for the dismissals in East Berlin writers' circles was that the editors practiced "the opposite of party-mindedness," and that was a glaring fault in the GDR, especially for those fathers."

In their first issue, which appeared in Autumn 1976, under the caption "Curriculum Vitae" one read: The fathers can be named: FDJ Central Committee, Ministry for Culture, Verlag Neues Leben [New Life Publishing House] and others." And one remembers the speech of FDJ Secretary for Culture Christel Zillman, at the Culture Conference of the State Youth Association. "We believe that the still immature works of young artists should be discussed, but this publication must be followed by the true conflict of opinions." The first issue hopefully proclaimed: "Under favorable circumstances it will reveal which are the important, common experiences, the basic experiences of this generation, which has more to do than wallpaper the house which will be called communism. Without their creative ideas and efforts we would lack more than wall decoration."

The former editorial staff is now no longer needed at TEMPERAMENTE, even as "wall decoration." The editor-in-chief (since the third edition)

meanwhile is again writing literary articles for the FDJ-newspaper JUNGE WELT, for which he had previously worked (an article by him on the 100th Anniversary of Alfred appeared on 10 August). One of the two associate editors, Fritz-Jochen Kopka (husband and lyricist of the singer Barbara Thalheim), is working as a freelance writer in Berlin. Even before the firing the associate editor, Michael Berger, had gone to the Humboldt University as an assistant.

Four of the journal's readers were also fired: Jochen Laabs (prose), Richard Pietrass (poetry), Joachim Walther (documentation) and Frank Hoernigk (drama). They had however signed only salary contracts with TEMPERAMENTE.

The journal itself however will continue to be published. The former associate editor of the official GDR literary journal, the NDL [NEW GERMAN LITERATURE], Eberhard Scherner, has been mentioned as the new editor-in-chief. He evidently is supposed to bring TEMPERAMENTE back on to the course for which the youth journal was intended from the beginning and which the editors evidently did not hold to: The principle of party-mindedness, as described in May by Klaus Jarmartz in the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND while discussing Lenin's "Concerning Art and Literature": "The principle of party-mindedness in literature consists in always acting for the interests and the struggle of the working class and all other workers and for social progress. Literary activity associated with the revolutionary proletariat cannot be an individual affair, independent of the general proletarian cause. Lenin demanded the close coordination of literary activity with organized party work."

A GDR writer believes that "this will be achieved when the FDJ court poets are printed in TEMPERAMENTE in future. As was apparent only afterwards, TEMPERAMENTE was launched at a very inopportune moment. The first issue appeared directly before the Biermann expulsion in Autumn 1976. The third issue was not supposed to be distributed. The reasons given in writers' circles were that this issue contained a story by Klaus Schlesinger "The Decline of the Retail Trade," and an excerpt from Paul Gratzik's novel TRANSPORT-PAULE. The story by Schlesinger (he was a signer of the Biermann protest letter) was published in the meantime in his short story collection Berliner Traum [Berlin Dream] in the GDR and the FRG. Gratzik's novel was published by the Hirnstorff Verlag in Rostock and by the Rotbuch Verlag in West Berlin. The "fathers" are also supposed to have taken offense at photographs from the working-class district Prenzlauer Berg. The publication of pictures of old buildings with courtyards is said to have discredited the SED's ambitious apartment building program: In East Berlin recently the 1-millionth new apartment was ceremoniously turned over to a worker family in the presence of SED General Secretary Erich Honecker.

At that time TEMPERAMENTE, according to the imprint, was still a bimonthly publication with Kopka designated as editor-in-chief and Berger as his associate. It was understood that the writer Karl-Heinz Jacobs (also a Biermann supporter) would take over as editor-in-chief with the fourth issue.

TEMPERAMENTE however received another editor-in-chief: Rulo Melchert. After a long silence, issue 1/77 appeared at the end of 1977 (signed to press according to the imprint 28 July 1977). It was also announced that in the future the journal would be published only quarterly.

The "Pages for Young Literature" moreover revealed an extremely varied picture of tendencies in the new generation of international literature of a leftist character. After the reorganization many more Soviet authors were published than before. However, special emphasis was placed on introducing young GDR authors. They reported unhindered, as had become prevalent after the Eighth SED Congress in 1972. The editorial program could be described by 2 aphorisms, which were printed in issues 1/77 and 2/77: "I will be prevented from being creative" (Karl Kraus) and "We will search for the truth, however we only want to find it where it please us" (Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach).

"Art needs space. Art creates space." The new editor-in-chief had begun his lead article ("Watchword: Elbow room") with this sentence. However for GDR writers, as the events involving TEMPERAMENTE indicate, the elbow room is becoming narrower. GDR writers are indeed speaking of a distinct change in direction; the reins are being pulled tighter. The members of the TEMPERAMENTE editorial staff, for all their tolerance, always kept integration in mind and possessed a "firm class standpoint." They were always ready to make concessions to the "fathers," however, that was obviously not enough.

As an aphorism of Walter Petri goes, published in issue 1/78, the last issue published so far (signed to press 8 November 1977): "One thing about truth is always the same, one always learned it too late."

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GDR BOOK ON DETENTE, ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN EUROPE REVIEWED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 23 No 8, Aug 78 signed to press 19 Jul 78 pp 111-113

[Review by Dieter Vogl of book by Guenter Hinkel and Wolfgang Nicolai, "Entspannung und Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit in Europa" (Detente and Economic Cooperation in Europe), Staatsverlag der DDR, East Berlin 1978, 64 pp]

[Text] Issues involved in detente, the consolidation of European security and the development of cooperation between countries with varying social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, are the focus of many scientific papers and reports. The new brochure in the series "Blickpunkt Weltpolitik" [Focus on World Politics] is within the range of these treatises. It is the advantage of these brochures that they deal with topical issues at an appropriate theoretical level and in language intelligible to the general public. That applies to the latest publication also.

It no longer needs much proof to claim that, since the 1970's, beneficial changes have occurred in the relations between countries with differing social systems, especially in Europe. As a result of the shift in the international balance of power as well as the purposeful and coordinated foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact countries; thanks to the efforts of communist and workers parties in mobilizing peace loving forces in the capitalist countries, and not least the attitude of realistic circles in the bourgeoisie, it was possible in Europe in particular to achieve changes which opened a broad field to the development of peaceful coexistence and, consequently, cooperation between countries with differing social systems.

At the same time, though, especially in the period after the successful conclusion of the KSZE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe], the complexity and contradictoriness of the development trends in current international relations has become very evident. E. Honecker commented this as follows:

"In the present world situation favorable and unfavorable phenomena intermingle, especially with regard to such a vital human issue as the permanent security of peace. Nobody can gainsay the progress made on the way to detente. At the same time the resistance of the foes of detente has obviously

increased and resulted in massive attacks on the policy of peaceful coexistence." (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18/19 February 1978)

A hard political, ideological and diplomatic struggle has erupted around the implementation of the KSZE final act in general and also about the nature, the meaning and prospects of detente. In strenuous wrestling with influential imperialist circles which intended to reverse the results achieved in the consolidation of peace and security in order to obtain a return to the cold war, confrontation instead of cooperation, the countries of the socialist community frequently demonstrated their resolution and took the appropriate initiatives to comprehensively buttress detente and thereby guarantee its irreversibility. There can be no doubt that the abandonment of the arms race and disarmament have become key issues for the advance of detente. It is vital for the permanence of political detente that it should now be complemented by appropriate measures in the military sector.

Economic cooperation between countries of varying social systems is an inevitable element of detente. Assuming the reciprocal effects of politics and economy, this is an important field offering many opportunities purposefully utilized by the socialist countries to expand the material foundation of detente. Starting from this assumption, the authors of the brochure state:

"While, on the one hand, peace and security offer favorable conditions for economic and scientific-technological cooperation, the expansion of economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries, their collaboration in the settlement of generally interesting global problems may, at the same time, stabilize peace and international security" (p 5).

Following a brief description (in the first section) of current conditions for economic cooperation between the countries of differing social systems, the authors show that this cooperation was and is a firm element in the policy of peaceful coexistence consistently pursued by the socialist countries. They analyze the interrelation of security, detente and economic cooperation, explaining the political effects of this cooperation.

They deal in greater detail with the importance of the KSZE final act for the evolution of economic cooperation in Europe. The second section is devoted to the factors encouraging economic relations between countries with different social orders. The third section deals with the organization and main trends of economic cooperation between the CEMA countries and capitalist nations. The authors arrive at the following correct statement:

"Since the mid-1970's, after the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, not only has foreign trade assumed larger dimensions, new types of economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries, especially in Europe, are taking shape also as the result of the scientific-technological revolution" (p 33).

Such arrangements as industrial cooperation, scientific-technological cooperation (both briefly explained by the authors) as well as cooperation in the field of environmental control, raw material and energy supplies, and traffic, assume increasing importance. Foreign trade, though, continues to occupy pride of place in economic relations between socialist and capitalist countries.

The authors analyze the volume, structure and direction of East-West trade. Despite inflationary trends on the capitalist world market this trade has, ever since the 1960's, developed faster than world trade. In this connection they point out quite correctly that the economic and political importance of East-West trade cannot be related exclusively to volume.

"In fact the most important aspect is that of using its growth as an active tool of the policy of peaceful coexistence. This presumes the settlement of various problems arising from the different attitudes and trade policies of socialist and capitalist countries " (p 36).

The authors describe these different attitudes. A serious obstacle to the further development of East-West trade is the system of restrictions they sketch, which the imperialist states singly as well as within the scope of international organizations or regional economic integrationist structures continue to practice toward the socialist countries both in the matter of policy and trade.

In the concluding sections the authors deal with the role of the ECE with respect to economic cooperation in Europe.

The brochure, briefly and factually, provides an excellent survey of the topical problems concerning the development of economic relations between countries with differing social orders and the political effects of such relations. This text enriches GDR literature on these issues. We recommend it to the widest readership.

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EAST GERMANY

WEST GERMAN ASSESSMENT OF ULBRICHT 'RENAISSANCE' PUBLISHED

Bonn DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 4 Aug 78 p 4

[Article by Henning Frank: "Ulbricht's Return--Honecker Discovers His Predecessor. The GDR's Founding Father, Put on the Shelf by Honecker Even Before His Death, Is Receiving New Honors in East Berlin"]

[Text] When Ulbricht died on 1 August 1973, Erich Honecker, his sole political heir, pledged that he would "always honor the memory of the great son of the German labor movement and consistent proletarian internationalist."

Lotte, Walter Ulbricht's widow and the administrator of his estate, had to wait almost 5 years for the fulfillment of this promise. On 30 June 1978, his 85th birthday, the entire leadership of party and state met at the grave of the great old man of German communism. It was the first time since his burial, which had to be delayed because of the 10th World Youth Festival which was held at that time in East Berlin.

The fact that Lotte Ulbricht stood next to the SED chief was no accident. A stubborn rumor had persisted in the GDR that Ulbricht's wife, angered over Honecker's ungratefulness, had moved to Switzerland. The former first lady of the GDR would have been justified in doing that, because after his forced resignation at the beginning of May 1971, Ulbricht had already been put on political ice by his successor and his contribution to the theory of Marxism-Leninism had been declared null and void.

This dismantling of the lifework of one of the most successful German politicians since Otto von Bismarck increased after his death. There was a systematic removal of all traces which had been left in the GDR by the man who for many years was Konrad Adenauer's opponent. For all practical purposes Walter Ulbricht's existence was hushed up. In this respect Erich Honecker was also an excellent pupil of his master. In the meantime what nobody thought possible has happened. The image of the man without whom the GDR would have been unthinkable just a few years ago is now only a memory.

Nobody can blame the SED chief for the fact that he is now adopting this image in spite of it and that he is polishing it a little. After all, he has to be prepared at all times against the possibility that, because of the many years of neglect of Ulbricht's heritage, someone else may show an interest in it and use it against Erich Honecker. Just how cautiously he is handling the matter is demonstrated by the surprising rediscovery of Walter Ulbricht through NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the central organ of the SED. None of the published photographs show him with Erich Honecker, his former crown prince.

Rather, he is portrayed with Wilhelm Pieck, the "first German workers' president," who in recent years was supposed to replace Ulbricht as a father figure. However, no matter how hard those in charge in East Berlin tried to improve the image of the former chief of the Communist Party, who in spite of his joviality was colorless and unimportant, they did not succeed in making him the architect of the GDR and ignoring the dominant role Ulbricht played after 1945, during the decisive maneuvers in the Soviet-occupied territory of Germany. In contrast to Wilhelm Pieck ("Wilhelm-Pieck-Stadt Guben"), nothing, apart from the Walter Ulbricht Leuna Works, not a single street, let alone a city, in the GDR, bears the name of this man, which had almost become synonymous with the socialist German state. Even so, it is he and not Pieck who merits "a permanent place in the history of the SED."

For this reason, the memorial article on the 85th birthday of the "important leader of the SED and great proletarian revolutionary" contains a new denial of the statement that Ulbricht resigned against his will in 1971: "His age, his responsibility toward the entire party and the people--he declared--did not permit his continued engagement in such strenuous activities. The time has come to pass on this function to younger hands." The fact that age and sickness were not the only factors forcing Ulbricht into political retirement is an open secret even within the corps of SED functionaries.

A definite indication of this was the demonstrative absence of Ulbricht from the eighth SED party rally in the middle of June 1971. "Because of his service to the party" he was elected "SED chairman" (a function which, incidentally, never existed according to party statutes). Still, because of his opponents in the SED politburo, Erich Honecker must take care not to acquire the reputation of Ulbricht's Brutus, because no matter how undisputed his leadership role is at the present time, it could change quickly if Moscow ceases to hold its protective hand over Honecker. For this very reason it is important to the SED chief to enter into the annals of the SED as the long-time crown prince of Ulbricht and also his chosen successor.

However, it is not only that; apparently Erich Honecker wants to use Ulbricht's rediscovery to also justify his policy toward Bonn, which is not uncontested within his party leadership. It was, after all, his

predecessor who in the 1960s permitted pensioners to visit their relatives in the Federal Republic. And under Walter Ulbricht negotiations began between the governments of the two German nations for a normalization of their relations.

The fact that Ulbricht, in contrast to Honecker, was until the end in favor of a reunification of the two parts of Germany, even if under a red flag, is a different matter. After all, even his successor did "not completely eliminate the restoration of a unified Germany, under communist rule, as mentioned recently in a newspaper interview. At the present time, however, East Berlin's chief of party and state cannot tackle the long-range goal, not even on the side. There are too many problems with domestic policies which have to be solved. First of all, there is still the unsolved situation in supplies, the dispute over intershop stores, and, finally, the growing unrest among the young generation, which no longer wants to be patronized by the SED.

According to samples recently published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, it is doubtful that he will find a solution to these problems in the works of his predecessor which have not yet been published. Ulbricht's statement that the happiness of children and family is inseparably tied to socialist structure and the strengthening of the republic is of no more help to Honecker in his attempt to solve the problems as is his statement that socialism can be even against its most faithful supporters was proven by Ulbricht himself when he eliminated his political enemies.

Thus, he experienced this inhumane treatment himself after his resignation. For this very reason his rediscovery through the SED is a poor consolation for his widow, particularly, since the fifth anniversary of the death of Ulbricht, on 1 August 1978, was not mentioned at all in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

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HUNGARY

WORK OF PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH CENTER DISCUSSED

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 12 Aug 78 p 7

[Interview with Director of the Mass Communications Institute, Dr Tamas Szecsko: "Public Opinion-Inc. Mirror"]

[Text] [Mass Communications Center and Its Functions] What do we like to read about? What is our opinion on disarmament or the chance for a world soccer championship? In the mirror of data, headings and charts we can see ourselves reflected; the quality and quantity of culture, information, the consuming of words and speech. And those who "keep alive" this multi-dimensional mirror are the workers of the Mass Communications Center. We spoke with Dr Tamas Szecsko, a sociologist, the director of the institute established in 1969 about some theoretical, practical and organizational problems of what is for Hungary a new branch of science.

[Question] You form your conclusions from samplings and percentages. The observation of Disraeli, the late prime minister, comes to mind: with statistics it is impossible to prove anything and the opposite of anything.

[Answer] I can also supply you with a sarcastic observation about ourselves. This "bon-mot" is attributed to Andre Malraux, "This probing is like medical science, less exact than it claims to be, but more exact than anything else."

[Question] To continue with the analogy: are the researchers of mass communication district doctors who "understand everything" or are they specialists?

[Answer] Our topic is the formation of everyday knowledge and the effect of propaganda; public opinion, the public mood, reaction to events, the analysis of the recipient.

[Question] Aren't other institutions also dealing with these types of examinations?

[Answer] Among the tasks of the mass organizations is the measuring of the public moods: from time to time, the Institute of Social Sciences and, on occasion, the Cultural and Sociological Institute looks into one aspect or another of public opinion. At any rate, we are the ones, the profile economists, who professionally and systematically deal with this subject, the people. Sometimes we feel a little bit like Munchhausen because lifting ourselves by our hair we try to rise above our problems: from day to day we must find new principles and methods or with energetic criticism apply the existing ones to conditions.

[Question] Are the topics to be found lying on the street? Do they suddenly spring from the heads of the workers at the institute? Do they perhaps work to order? In other words, how do they undertake any kind of probe: by searching for arguments pro and con to support the initial premises or by examining the truth?

[Answer] The only starting point is experience. We receive from the customer--from an editor or an information policy section--the order, what they wish to know. First we try to pinpoint those questions which we can examine with the means at our disposal. When possible we coordinate the working hypothesis with the customer: are we really barking up the right tree? Also we inquire in the field how people feel about the given theme. In this way we avoid possibly introducing the problem into their heads. Then we compile a few lists of test questionnaires which determine which of our questions aren't working. After this preparatory work we begin the examination of the sample--which incidentally is a statistically perfect representation of the stratification of the adult population.

[Question] According to Werner Heisenberg, the intervention of the measuring instrument disturbs the situation under examination, which with the introduction of the instrument is no longer the same. In our case the subject knows what is expected of him. It is feared that his behavior and his opinion--independent of his subjective intentions--will not be "an original response."

[Answer] Let me also cite a psychological experiment. Two groups of mice with completely identical backgrounds were given to university students so that they might instruct them in some kind of task. The one group of mice was rated as slower, the other as more intelligent in the accompanying data although there was no such difference. As a result those regarded as more intelligent learned the lesson more quickly because they were automatically treated as such.

[Question] So, are there also loopholes on the paths of science? Of course, that's obviously why the theoretical "main thrust" was formulated by our institute.

[Answer] Essentially our dealing with the phenomenon of everyday communication determines our work. We try to remain open and sensitive to topics, methods and social problems. At the same time we are aware that we work on a political research base and that the work completed here requires a high sense of responsibility and commitment.

[Question] Commitment and objectivity?

[Answer] I'm glad that you didn't say "or". Recently at a professional gathering of reporters I heard: commitment is natural, but we must also be objective. I don't understand this. Within the concept of commitment is the element of evaluation but I can only rank truth through a filter of the hierarchy of values. Our responsibility in this is: the more thoroughly we can point out the relationships, the more certainly and realistically we can evaluate and recommend to those who use our work.

[Question] For the realization of this, the so-called problem sensitivity is necessary.

[Answer] Thirty to forty percent of our topics are independent analyses. Our chief goal is to be one step ahead of the already formulated requirements of society. There were only rumors about the return of the Crown when my colleagues recommended that we be prepared. Thus by the time they asked us to probe public opinion our questioners were ready to go at the push of a button.

[Question] Therefore, are they dealing even now with questions which only years later will occur to us?

[Answer] The research topics which now figure in our work plans are such that today's students will be able to profit from the outcome of our investigations. Today what a viewer will do when he has several TV programs to choose from is no longer a timely dilemma. Within a few years, however, complex possibilities of reception will take shape in the entire country. Now we are trying to observe Győr for a longer period of time and maybe in fifteen years we will be able to say something about the currently only presumed communications situation. However, the examining of the future picture offered by mass communications also plays a role in our plans. For example, we wonder whether the fact that socialist society is more future-oriented and more teleological than any so far will manifest itself in the hierarchy of values relayed through mass communication.

[Question] A concrete question: how much time do we spend by the TV and radio?

[Answer] Two to two and a half hours daily. The healthy balance typical of the industrially developed nations has also begun to appear in ours.

[Question] Professor McLuhan not only predicted that the Marconi-constellation would replace the Gutenberg-galaxy, but also, according to him, the newest medium, television, would crowd out the older, radio.

[Answer] That's not exactly true. It's rather a question of the instruments of mass communication becoming richer. From another viewpoint our era presents a unique picture: In the thirties only radio burst onto the communications scene. Likewise in the fifties television expanded the then existing framework. During the seventies, however--barely perceptible to us as yet--several novelties demand a time for themselves in the age of mass communications. Together, the program-transmitting satellites, the video-cassette and cable television have essentially transformed the former "division of labor". The so-called third generation cable systems--in which the connections are two-way and which involve the use of computers--already mean new quality. In Japan, for example, an experimental information system was installed at a housing complex equipped with cable. The apparatus which are in each apartment perform eight to ten functions: for the correct code they will produce a photocopy of the daily paper or if somebody wants to let his neighbors know something, then he programs the information into his own computer and it appears in every apartment. With such a system it is no longer unusual for children at home to be actively able to participate in their school classes.

[Question] Will the four walls of our apartments turn into TV screens--will Bradbury's vision come true? Will the completely isolated, practically motionless man who is locked in himself come into existence?

[Answer] Technology will not determine this, but rather the societal environment. In a society which tends towards isolation, even without a cable system, man will be forced into himself. The aforementioned experiments were inspired chiefly by economic necessity. Essentially it is cheaper to let information travel than men. There was, for example, a UNESCO general assembly at which Nairobi, the locale, and Paris, the brain center of the organization, remained in constant multidirectional contact. In practice there was created, from the informational point of view of the two cities, an integrated whole.

[Question] In Arthur C. Clarke's book, which also appears in Hungarian, "In the Contours of the Future," according to the time map of telecommunications and information, he thinks the personal radio, the global library and the different kinds of remote sensing equipment will become realities within 50 years. I wonder how the mass communications researchers will accept this challenge?

[Answer] More and more, mass communications experts worldwide are examining the functions of systems--how a common community affects public opinion. And while in the sixties the system meant exclusively the central mass communications instruments, now in more and more countries, the local, for

example, urban, regional communications instruments are the subject of research. At the same time research into a prevailing worldwide system is unavoidable. It's not only that artificial satellites are making borders vanish. The world is now like a big drum--wherever you hit it, it reverberates everywhere.

[Question] The Mass Communications Research Center is a young institute. The motive and justification for its existence, among numerous others, is symbolized by the few preceding thoughts. Do you feel that you've found your niche, that there's a demand for your work?

[Answer] When examining the political communications of the capitalist countries it is striking that they are built exclusively for instruments of mass communications, they function through them. On the other hand, in socialist countries radio and television are not the exclusive forums for informing the public. The personal methods which we have are more humane and fundamentally more democratic, I feel, since in this way not only a transmitted, but also a direct political information exchange exists. In this system, we are one kind of political feedback. It's true, there is certain information which only we are capable of giving--we know something which is only our own--but it is evident to us that the results of our work can only be understood, and must be understood when combined with the other feedback.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

VOIVODSHIP SECRETARIES DISCUSS AGRICULTURE--The 4 September Warsaw session of the secretaries of the PZPR voivodship committees who are responsible for agriculture and food was chaired by Central Committee Secretary Jozef Pinkowski. The session discussed problems of party work in rural areas and the current tasks of farming, especially in fodder stockbreeding, and evaluated harvesting progress, preparations for fall field work, the supply of farm production means to rural areas and the implementation of farm produce procurement and of the accumulation of winter reserves. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Sep 78 p 4 AU]

NOWY SACZ PARTY PLENUM--The 31 August plenum of the PZPR voivodship committee in Nowy Sacz, which was chaired by Committee First Secretary Henryk Kostecki and attended by Zdzislaw Andruszkiewicz, director of the Central Committee Department of Social Organizations, Sport and Tourism, and by Eugenia Kempara, chairman of the National Council of Polish Women and the League of Women's main administration, was devoted to the place and role of women in the Nowy Sacz voivodship's socioeconomic life. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Sep 78 pp 1, 4 AU]

HEALTH PROTOCOL WITH FINLAND--The Polish-Finnish mixed committee for cooperation on health and social affairs has held a session in Helsinki to review and evaluate the implementation of the accord on cooperation in the aforementioned areas. The committee has signed a protocol on cooperation in 1978-90 which provides, among other things, for organizing Polish-Finnish medicine weeks, seminars, exchanges of scholarship holders and so on. The Polish delegation was led by Vice Minister of Health Tadeusz Szelachowski. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3 Sep 78 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU INTERVIEW WITH 'LE FIGARO' JOURNALIST

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Sep 78 pp 1, 5 AU

[Text of interview granted by President Ceausescu to LE FIGARO journalist Michel P. Hamelet in Bucharest on 30 August 1978]

[Text] As already reported, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received French journalist Michel P. Hamelet on 30 August and granted him the following interview:

Question: In the current international situations, great importance was attached by Western countries, and certainly by the socialist countries too, to Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Romania. What importance do you attach to this event?

Answer: President Hua Kuo-feng's visit to Romania took place in response to my visits to China, and especially in response to my recent visit to that country in May. Thus one can state that it is part and parcel of normal practice in international life, since it is the result of the good relations between Romania and China. Being the first visit at such level by a leader of People's China to Romania, it marked an important moment--and we have called it an historic moment--in relations between our countries.

Question: I would like to know what importance you attach to this visit at the international level.

Answer: This visit was an opportunity to exchange broad views on the complex problems of international life, and from this viewpoint it was closely followed by public opinion everywhere.

I must mention that we reached joint conclusions regarding the need to resolve international problems by negotiations and the need to insure each nation's national independence and the establishment of lasting peace in the world.

The visit took place at a time when the PRC had begun a new policy of rapid socio-economic development and, at the same time, of actively participating in international life--a fact which is important for the development of present-day mankind.

Question: It is said in the West that you have offered your good offices in the question of rapprochement between China and the Soviet Union.

Answer: As you know, China and the Soviet Union maintain diplomatic relations, and have conducted direct negotiations for some time on a number of problems concerning themselves. Thus the question of good offices is not posed in any way.

What can be said, however, is that Romania firmly advocates the solution of problems between these two socialist countries by peaceful negotiations in order to surmount their divergencies and strengthen their cooperation.

Question: Romania has its say in all international problems. What can you tell us about the U.S. position on relations between China and the USSR?

Answer: We advocate normal relations among all states. Therefore we deem it necessary that normal relations between China and the United States should be reached, as well as progress in negotiations which are currently taking place between the United States and the Soviet Union on certain military problems.

Certainly we always view the normalization of relations between various states as a necessary target which should not by any means be achieved to the detriment of other countries. On the contrary, the normalization and development of relations between different states, especially between the larger states, must contribute to the assertion of the principles of equality and respect for the independence and sovereignty of all countries, and must lead to exclusion of the use or threat of force in international life.

Question: Do you think an understanding between East and West is possible without ideological changes by one or the other?

Answer: As is known, the "cold war" stage has been surmounted and a trend toward detente has been initiated without a discussion of ideological matters or of differences in the social system.

The development of cooperation between East and West, or rather between the socialist and capitalist countries, must be achieved on the basis of peaceful coexistence, proceeding from the existence of different systems and therefore of different ideologies and from the fact that this reality will continue to exist for a long time. It is therefore necessary to seek ways and means for international cooperation and understanding by respecting each one's political concepts and systems and each people's

right to freely choose its path of development without outside interference.

Question: Eurocommunism is often referred to in the sense I have outlined. What are your views on this?

Answer: Eurocommunism by no means poses the question of ideological revision. The question is to seek ways and means of implementing the principles of socialism, taking the socio-economic and historical conditions in the developed capitalist countries into consideration.

I think the problem must not be appraised on the basis of assertions made in polemics, which are not always objective, but by proceeding from a scientific analysis of general trends in social development and from the fact that each party's independent policy--as in fact each state's independent policy--is a necessity of contemporary development.

Question: What do you think of the evolution of the internal situation in Romania? Does your valuable struggle for national independence herald new steps along the path of democratizing your institutions? Are there deficiencies that hamper your action? What are they, and what solutions do you envisage?

Answer: I can state that, on the whole, Romania's domestic development is good. This is illustrated, on the one hand, by the high development rate of industry and by the progress recorded in agriculture and the other sectors of the national economy. On this basis we have been able to insure a rapid development of education, science, and culture and a general improvement of the country's civilization, as well as a more rapid improvement of the people's living standard.

Anyone who objectively follows--even superficially--Romania's development cannot help noting the progress recorded in these fields. All this has forcefully strengthened the country's national independence and has enabled it to carry out an active policy at the international level.

At the same time, in the context of insuring the socialist society's progress, we have adopted firm measures to improve leadership and expand democracy. Certainly, there is a principled difference between how we view democracy and how it is viewed by the capitalist countries. We proceed from the necessity of creating an appropriate framework for the active and direct participation of the people's masses in leading the entire socio-economic activity and the state at all levels. In this respect, we have adopted a number of measures, unique in their nature, by creating working people's councils in all economic units as leadership bodies within the framework of which the working class represents at least 30-35 percent. At the same time, we have created new bodies at a national level attached to the Grand National Assembly, such as the Congress of People's Councils and the Chamber of People's Councils, the Working People's Congress and the Working People's National Council, the National

Agricultural Council, and other similar bodies in which thousands upon thousands of working people are active. These people are directly working in the production process and adopt decisions regarding the country's entire socio-economic life and Romania's domestic and foreign policy.

Question: In your opinion, what is more important in the society's development: ideology or concrete conditions?

Answer: I think that one cannot counterpose ideology and concrete socio-economic conditions. On the contrary, there must be organic unity between them.

Certainly, a clear ideological concept creates the preconditions for a clear program and guidelines for the country's development. However, this concept must also be in keeping with each country's concrete conditions. Within the general concept of socialism, we are trying to seek the most suitable forms for implementing it under the concrete conditions in Romania.

I do not want you to think that we claim everything goes well here. We still have a lot to do to fully achieve the principles of socialism, to generally develop the forces of production, to raise the people's general degree of knowledge and culture, and to insure the most appropriate democratic forms for the participation of the working people in the society's leadership.

Question: A year ago I planned to write a new book on Romania entitled "From Independence to Freedom," in order to illustrate what has been achieved in Romania. Both independence and freedom after independence are what count for a country.

Answer: Certainly, national independence and freedom are essential factors in the life of a people. All the more so under the conditions of the contemporary world. The guarantee for each nation's and each people's independence and freedom is an essential factor for social progress and peace.

There undoubtedly is a close link between national independence and individual freedom. When looking at the present-day world, we note that when people are not fully independent, no individual freedom can be guaranteed. One can hardly speak about individual freedom when people are oppressed or when their right to independence is restricted in one way or another. Thus individual rights and freedoms are closely linked to insuring national independence.

The winning of national independence creates conditions for the free assertion of the human personality and of man's freedom. In this respect, too, however, there are different ideas and viewpoints. We are partisans of complete freedom and equality between people, and we do all we can in this direction, beginning with securing the necessary material and cultural conditions for them. When someone has nothing to eat, he cannot

feel free. When he has to hunt for a job and wait for months to find it, one cannot say that that man is free. Free is he who benefits from secure work conditions, who does not have to worry about tomorrow, and who is able to look to his and his family's future with trust and confidence.

At the same time, we view freedom within the context of the society's general interests. It is said in certain countries that people should be left to do what they want, no matter the interests and rights of their fellowmen. We disagree with such an idea. As a matter of fact, nature itself demonstrates, even in animal life and therefore at an inferior level, that the individual must take into consideration the interests of the community in which he lives. Let me give an example: Bees are very well organized, and they generally do collective work; only in this manner are we able to obtain honey. If, however, a certain number of drones emerge in a bee family which eat without producing anything, the bees kill them and spare only one of them for reproduction purposes.

All the more so in society, among people who think and reason, the question arises to find a balance between general and individual interests and blend them. This is certainly not easy. Sometimes opposing, contradictory tendencies appear. We must try to find ways to achieve a harmony of interests, however, because only then can both individual freedom and national freedom--the freedom of the whole of society--assert itself forcefully.

Question: Within this context, where do you place freedom of opinion?

Answer: We believe that within this framework, each citizen must have the opportunity to have his say on all questions of social development and on the state's general policy. It is in this direction that we have taken action in our society by developing socialist democracy and creating concrete conditions so that people are able to govern society themselves.

At the same time, we do not grant the freedom--nor will we ever do so--for convening a fascist congress in Romania, as happened for instance in France. One might argue that freedom of opinion is thus restricted. However, we believe that we must proceed from the position of achieving harmony between general and individual interests. If general interests require that certain freedoms should be restricted--such a freedom as I have referred to--then we are for restricting them. Our position is for a complete ban on any activity of fascist organizations. At the same time, we do not conceive of freedom for terrorist organizations, for drug addiction propaganda, or for other practices threatening the health of young people, the people, and the nation. I am of the opinion that these problems require a more general discussion to clarify what is to be understood by freedom and by restriction of individual freedoms.

Question: What do you think of the further evolution of Romanian-French relations, at a time when a visit to Romania by President Valery Giscard d'Estaing has been announced?

I must mention with great satisfaction that, on the whole, relations between Romania and France are good. In the economic field the level of exchange has continuously increased, although the hope that France should hold a leading place in Romania's economic relations has not been achieved. Progress has also been recorded in scientific and cultural cooperation and in education and other fields.

On the whole, we have achieved good results in cooperative ventures with France, and these are beginning to set an example of fruitful and mutually advantageous cooperation between two countries with different social systems. It goes without saying that the longstanding tradition of sound Romanian-French relations has contributed to this, as has the fact that Romania and France are both interested in promoting a policy of security in Europe, of peace and cooperation throughout the world based on the principles of equality and respect for each nation's independence.

We can obviously achieve much more. Therefore it is with interest that we are looking forward to President Valery Giscard d'Estaing's visit to Romania, in the belief that it will make relations between our countries more dynamic and will open up new prospects for expanding Romanian-French cooperation in all fields.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

REASONS FOR DISMISSAL OF HEALTH MINISTER NICOLAESCU DISCUSSED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Sep 78 pp 1, 2

[Article by Eugen Florescu: "A Receptive Responsible Attitude in Support of What Is New--For the Implementation of the Party Policy on Protecting the Health of the Population"]

[Text] One of the most conclusive expressions of the profoundly humanitarian policy of our party and state is the great concern which is demonstrated today in Romania for assuring--along with the creation of the best material and intellectual conditions placed at the disposal of the members of society--the care and protection of the health of all citizens of the country. In this regard we have moving evidence of the great and uninterrupted attention which the leadership of the party and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally are giving to assuring that each citizen will be healthy, will enjoy life fully, and will be happy. Moreover, this concern has become law and the facts fully confirm the determination with which it is being implemented. Compared to the 7,600 doctors in Romania in 1938, our population today benefits from the knowledge and competence of more than 36,000 medical cadres with higher studies; the number of intermediate health personnel has risen from 11,360 in 1938 to more than 130,000; and the health establishments have modern apparatus and six times as many beds as they had before World War II--about 200,000 compared with only 30,800 in 1938. One can say with pride that this gigantic army of life--which has an impressive material base at its disposal--is better and better carrying out its obligations to the people whom it serves.

Certainly, all these represent an important contribution to an especially gratifying success--the result of the general improvement of the conditions which the members of our society enjoy. The average life expectancy in Romania has increased to 70 years from 42 years which it was four decades ago. All these things represent a very good foundation for the most noble battle which can be waged--the battle for health, continued with noble assiduousness and enscribed in a place of honor in the Party Program as a basic element for raising the quality of life and maintaining the vigor and youth of our entire nation.

The frequent analyses of this sector, the valuable directives of the secretary general of the party, on the basis of which the Higher Health Council, and the Academy of Medical Sciences were organized and which formed the basis for the recently adopted law on ensuring the health of the population--the first health law ever adopted in our country--are indicative of the efforts which are being made for the continued improvement, both quantitatively and qualitatively, of the entire medical assistance system.

In the present Five-Year Plan alone, health units with more than 38,000 beds are earmarked for construction--more than 7,000 more beds than existed in Romania in 1938. Therefore, it is obvious that along with what society makes available to the health network, increased tasks are assigned to the workers in this field, beginning, certainly, with the cadres charged with bearing the responsibility for organizing the system for protecting the health of workers, especially, the Ministry of Health. And, of course, the workers in this ministry and its leadership cadres have important skills in applying the party policy in the health sphere and in obtaining the results mentioned.

As the discussions in the party plenums in the Ministry of Health have revealed, attention has been drawn to numerous shortcomings resulting from a cumbersome, rigid work methods, burdened by a bureaucratic mentality, oriented primarily toward the formal aspects of the solution of problems entrusted to the health sector. Ignoring one of the essential aspects of the democratic principle of collective leadership which presupposes a close collaboration and cooperation with medical cadres and a constant dialogue with the patients, the direct beneficiaries of the policy of health care, some comrades in the leadership of the ministry, including the minister himself, seemed to be glued to their chairs, thus operating far from the living pulse of the problems for which they were responsible. What can be a better indication of this situation than the fact that, in 1977, the average number of days spent in the field by members of the bureau of the leadership council of the Ministry of Health did not exceed 10 days and some members, including the minister and the deputy ministers barely spent 1 or 2 days in the field!

In general, it is known that to be a doctor means to be very receptive to every appeal and to be prepared at every moment to give the assistance needed, with a maximum of solicitude. This quality is all the more necessary when the person has a position of responsibility in the health system so how can it be present if the person is far removed from the people and from the subordinate units? It is no wonder that suggestions and criticisms formulated in an open and comradely manner, including those contained in letters from workers, were often ignored or neglected. Some of the comrades in the leadership of the ministry were of the opinion that one should not discuss them, on the pretext of defending the prestige of the cadres attacked or of the ministry itself. This is a strange view about criticism, now, in 1978! The fact is that the activity of guidance and control, of concrete support of the territorial health organs--a basic task of the workers of this ministry--was not carried out

which, obviously, was in contradiction to the very great tasks assigned by the party in the area of the continued improvement of the protection of the health of the population.

As a result, as is known, Doctor Nicolae Nicolaescu was recently dismissed from the position of minister of health, by presidential decree.

Making a detailed, critical and self-critical analysis of the causes which led to such a decision, the session of the party committee of the ministry found the decision to be profoundly just, stressing the great responsibility which each Communist and each worker has in executing, in an exemplary manner, the health policy of our party.

During the session, there was justified criticism--among other things--of the way in which the former minister considered that the institution which he headed should deal with the fulfilling of an obligation of the greatest importance, written in the Party Program--namely, the discovery of new methods for combatting illnesses and prolonging the life expectancy. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said at the session establishing the Higher Health Council: "We have a medicine which is generally good, with a distinguished tradition; we have distinguished people; unfortunately, some medical schools have begun to disappear and new ones have not yet appeared." Also, the secretary general of the party mentioned that research must stem not from the need to have as many scientific reports and papers as possible but from the need to obtain as much success as possible in preventing and combatting the diseases which cause suffering to thousands and thousands of men."

Certainly, this requires the application of energetic measures for the radical improvement of activity in this field, acting in a spirit of broad cooperation and noble self-sacrifice for the health of men. The party leadership stated that action should be taken to create a work atmosphere in which the interests of the entire collective would be placed above the personal interests of some people and, especially, in which all forces capable of contributing to the development of Romanian medicine would be involved.

How have some cadres in the Executive Bureau of the Ministry of Health and, first of all, the minister himself, actually proceeded? Unfortunately, by the adoption of a conservative, closed and rebellious attitude towards attempts to introduce something new. In a completely unexplainable manner, such efforts ran into an indifference which sometimes took brutal forms: The outright rejection of new ideas, of proposals for new medicines or treatment procedures characterized the work style of the minister and of some of his close collaborators; an expression of a wholly destructive conservatism--such an attitude is in flagrant opposition to the spirit which should prevail in contemporary scientific research and which derives from the principle that no hypothesis should be rejected a priori and that even the smallest suggestion should be encouraged, especially when it is

a question of the health of men. Indeed, for the modern man of science and good will, such a discriminatory practice takes on the dimensions of irresponsibility, a fact which becomes all the more serious if the practice emanates from bodies which are supposed to promote research.

Some reports on meetings found in the ministry, reveal that a fault-finding, even repressive attitude was taken toward those who present new ideas or proposals, instead of giving them support and being receptive to them. Persons who persisted in presenting their ideas were sometimes called insulting names, with threats that they might be declared mentally incompetent and sent to the insane asylum.

Even after certain experiments, expressly requested and officially executed, among higher circles, there was an attitude of ignorance of the cases and moves were made to abandon the experiment and to bury them in silence. It had reached the point where, as is known, when some medicines--produced with great effort, against the will of the minister--were requested by patients or by firms abroad which had tested them, the minister adopted the attitude of boycotting. All the time under the pretext of prudence.

Of course, prudence is absolutely necessary in medicine. However, a responsible prudence, which is not conservative and retrograde in essence, presupposes not the a priori rejection of a new solution but its discussion, and, especially, its detailed examination, with a maximum of care, so that even the smallest valuable element will be utilized.

It is strange that at a time in which the entire medical world is studying traditional therapeutic methods which contain a millenary experience of man in the struggle against diseases, some specialists in the Ministry of Health treat these traditional practices in a superficial manner. But it is deeply human to make use even the smallest step on the road to the amelioration of the suffering of the sick. And, even if the research fails--which is possible and understandable in the difficult struggle for progress which the sciences are waging--it is totally unacceptable that the person who proposes a new idea or a new method should be labelled a madman!

Despite all the scientific achievements obtained so far, the struggle for the health of men, the struggle against disease remains an open struggle. This is why the entire corps of workers in the ministry should act in the spirit of the policy of our party and of the directives of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, by increasing responsibility, at a rapid and more effective pace, for executing all the functions assigned to them, for implementing activity programs on schedule and properly. It is necessary to progress--to a much greater extent than at the present time--to the activization of all health institutions, of the Academy of Medical Sciences, and of the immense potential reserve which medical training represents, up to the collective of the most remote health unit. Also, it is necessary to work for a much closer collaboration with all the institutions which can and must assist in the struggle for health, regardless of the specific nature of these institutions or personnel determined to contribute to the development of research.

Of course, all ideas and all suggestions should be studied thoroughly and analyzed with maximum care so that medicines or methods with negative effects are not introduced into therapeutic practice. However, there is no conflict between scientific strictness and objectivity and they must not impinge in any way on receptivity to the new. So-called learned superiority, attitudes of indifference, unprincipled competition, and disdain in regard to those who formulate innovative proposals must be categorically eliminated from the practice of the ministry and of the medical institutions. Moreover, just as in other fields, there are legal provisions and norms in this domain. They must be observed and cadres with the most training should be proud to support worthwhile ideas which are in the service of man and of the noble mission of medicine. Utilizing, with maximum efficiency, the capacity of the Academy of Medical Sciences, it is necessary to take into consideration, as the Communists in the ministry felt, the proposal that all the commissions of specialists be activated so that they will competently carry out the activity of giving guidance to research and researchers and so that they will have their say in evaluating medical phenomena, in examining the ideas connected with medical practice and scientific research and in the entire activity of discovering the new in this domain.

The organizational measures which have been taken recently in the Ministry of Health are intended to lead to new successes in the general improvement of medical care. It is the obligation of the leadership cadres of the ministry to act with devotion, concern and responsibility to strengthen the militant spirit in this very important sector, to do everything to utilize the forces which are at our disposal, to make use of each new idea, in the spirit of the most progressive traditions of the Romanian medical school and of the noble and humanitarian general policy of our party for the general improvement of the level of the material and intellectual civilization of the Romanian people.

CSO: 2700

LEADERS GREET DPRK COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Sep 78 p 1 AU

[Text] To Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party [KWP] Central Committee and DPRK president; Comrade Yi Chong-ok, premier of the DPRK Administrative Council, Pyongyang.

On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian people, and on our own behalf, we take great pleasure in extending cordial greetings to you, the KWP Central Committee, the Administrative Council, and the fraternal Korean people, as well as a warm message of friendship on the 30th anniversary of the creation of the DPRK.

Under the leadership of the KWP and its great leader, Comrade Kim Il-song, the heroic and talented Korean people have achieved great victories in their liberation struggle and the fatherland's defense war against imperialist aggression and have successfully brought about profound revolutionary changes and are enthusiastically building the new social system, thus turning the DPRK into a flourishing socialist state with a modern industry and agriculture, with a fully developing science and culture, and with ever stronger international prestige.

Communists and all Romanian people highly value and sincerely rejoice at these remarkable achievements recorded by the friendly Korean people, and reassert their active solidarity with the Korean nation's just cause and complete support for the constructive proposals made by your party and state regarding the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korean territory and the fatherland's peaceful and independent unification, without any outside interference.

We express the conviction that the good Romanian-Korean relations--an example of cooperation between two socialist countries--will continue to expand and deepen in the spirit of the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed in 1975 and of the declaration and decisions adopted at the summit level in Pyongyang this year. These have created excellent prospects for strengthening friendship and militant solidarity and for continuously developing cooperation between the RCP and KWP, between the

Socialist Republic of Romania and the DPRK, to the benefit of both our peoples, of unity among socialist countries, and of a strengthening of the anti-imperialist forces--and to the benefit of the cause of progress and peace throughout the world.

On the DPRK's anniversary we wish you, and through you the fraternal Korean people, new and ever greater successes in implementing the historical tasks of building socialism and communism, in the struggle for fulfilling the second 7-year plan, for increasing the people's well-being and happiness, and for achieving the vital aspirations of the Korean nation aimed at the country's peaceful and independent unification, and at living in a united, free, and flourishing fatherland.

[signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Manea Manescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

SECURITY ORGANS PROMISE TO INCREASE VIGILANCE

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Aug 78 p 5

[Article: "Festive Meeting on the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Creation of the Security Organs"]

[Text] A festive meeting was held on 30 August in Bucharest on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the creation of the security organs.

Participating were members of the leadership of the Ministry of the Interior, generals and superior officers, workers in the central apparatus of the Department of State Security and in other units of the ministry and guests.

The participants in the meeting received with enthusiasm and satisfaction the message of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, supreme commander of our armed forces, addressed to all workers in the Ministry of the Interior.

Comrade Tudor Postelnicu, minister state secretary in the Ministry of the Interior, chief of the Department of State Security, spoke about the significance of this event. He recalled the activity of the security organs over the past three decades and he discussed the tasks assigned to them in the light of the party documents and laws of the country, and in the light of the guidelines and directives given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, for the continued improvement of work, for the raising of the political-ideological and professional level of the cadres and the execution, with revolutionary vigilance and firmness, of the missions entrusted to them and of the obligations to the people and to the socialist fatherland.

At the conclusion of the meeting, those present, in the name of all the workers of the Ministry of the Interior, in an atmosphere of vibrant enthusiasm, devotion, and strong emotion, addressed to the RCP Central Committee and to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu the following telegram:

Celebrating the 30th anniversary of the creation by the party of the security organs, our thoughts and feelings filled with warm gratitude and

profound respect are directed with boundless love toward you, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the most beloved and esteemed son of our people, the wise and farseeing leader of the party and state, preeminent personality of the international communist and workers movement and of the contemporary world.

Thanking you from the bottom of our hearts for the continuing concern which you are showing day after day for the guidance of the security organs and of the Ministry of the Interior, we wish to assure you, at the same time, beloved and esteemed comrade supreme commander, of the boundless devotion of all the workers of the security organs, of the party organs and organizations, and of the Communists to the fatherland, the party, and the people and of our firm determination to work unstintingly for the unflinching implementation of the policy of the party, in which the fundamental aspirations and interests of our socialist nation are brilliantly embodied.

We report to you that all the state security personnel, understanding their mission in society, responding to the confidence and esteem which they enjoy on the part of the party and the people, are fully involved in the struggle for the execution of the tasks and missions assigned by the party and of your orders and directives.

At the same time, we are aware that the raising of our entire activity to the level of current demands and needs requires, as you request of us, that this activity be placed on a scientific basis and that there be increased concern for the continued raising of the political and ideological level of the cadres, of their professional competence, of their spirit of vigilance, responsibility, and discipline in work.

Militating with determination for the implementation of the tasks assigned to us in the documents of the 11th Congress and National Conference of the RCP and of the valuable guidelines and directives which you have given us, the entire personnel of the security organs will act with Communist enthusiasm and responsibility for the continued perfecting of work so that, with the support of the workers, in close collaboration with other state organs and with the mass and public organizations, we will execute in an irreproachable manner the tasks and missions entrusted by the party and people. Placing at the center of our activity the strict observance of the laws of the country, the prevention of infractions and other antisocial actions, we will take, at the same time, all measures which are required for the firm protection of the interests of the people and of our national independence and sovereignty.

We assure you, beloved supreme commander, that by following, during our entire lives, your shining example of fervent patriotism and noble Communist self-denial, of revolutionary boldness and firmness, of tireless struggle placed in the service of the well-being and happiness of our socialist nation, we will also be in the future, as you request of us in the message addressed to all workers of the Ministry of the Interior, worthy and devoted soldiers of the party and people; we will execute your orders and the orders of the fatherland unflinchingly; we will do our duty without sparing anything, even our lives, in order to carry out in an exemplary way the missions of the security organs.

DISTORTERS, DENIGRATORS OF SOCIALIST REALITY CONDEMNED

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 23 Aug 78 p 21

[Article by Vasile Iancu: "The Distance Between Truth and Defamation"]

[Text] In the great ideological confrontation of the contemporary world--a confrontation which puts a way of thinking placed in the service of man which has become an active instrument in the struggle for the achievement of a better and more just world in opposition to a way of thinking which expresses, in essence, a conservative tendency, a tendency to maintain the social status quo or, to retouch its nonessential aspects in order to re-define the position of man in regard to the means of production--more than once, a reflection based on appearances and illusions or even on a distorted presentation of the complex social phenomena with which countries which are building socialism by different means and different methods are confronted has attempted to present itself as authentic and reforming, as honest and critical. More than once lectures on the building of socialism have been presented from various tribunes by persons who, in the name of objectivism and impartiality, have distorted, in essence, the comprehension of the great social phenomena of the contemporary world. The distortion of the great objectives of the building of socialism, the tendentious presentation of the modus operandi of its political and administrative structures, the attempt to emphasize the idea that the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system is not a superiority of content, the desire to hide the fact that the creative spirit of the masses can manifest itself fully in the framework offered by a social system where the means of production no longer belong to a narrow group or narrow groups of individuals who [claim] that they and not others are the spokesmen for the so-called "free initiative" which means, primarily, the freedom to profit from others' capacity for work--these are only a few of the pillars of resistance of that type of propaganda which power groups which regard with more and more hostility the broad irradiation of the generous ideas of socialism want to transform into a veritable ideology, capable of putting up resistance to revolutionary theory and practice, to the humanistic concepts embraced by the working class in the action of transforming society. This type of propaganda, with its aspirations of becoming an ideology, has had an influence, in many cases, on the mental processes and attitudes of some

thinkers who, we believe, were honest in their innocence. Unfortunately, however, the results have been the same: pen-wielders who are more or less informed about the way in which information can be manipulated, or at least who are enamored by the sensational, a few spokesmen (but not so few so as to make this unimportant) of the specific interests of the social strata or categories to which they belong, have produced denigrating pages whose main merit was that they cast doubt on everything, even the usefulness of their own idea process.

The elimination of the exploitation of man, the elimination of private ownership over the means of production, common to all states which are implementing socialism--and this fact was strongly emphasized by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in his memorable address to a recent session of the central party and state active--guarantees the complete superiority of the new system, and offers the opportunity for the full affirmation of the personality in a framework devoid of restrictions, in which there is full respect for the fundamental right of man in society, the right to work and to make an effective contribution to the development of the collective to which he belongs. No alteration of this essential truth--regardless of where it might come from--and regardless of the aura of authority which might be formed around it--can eliminate from the thought of those who are energetically erecting a new and just social edifice the awareness of the fact that their resolution and firmness will determine whether or not the edifice which they are building will fully correspond to the desires and aspirations for progress, freedom and peace on the part of the human collectives to which they belong.

Distortion and falsification of historic realities--it is a verified fact--belong to an arsenal of outmoded propagandistic methods. The bankruptcy of these methods has been constantly demonstrated by the tumultuous events of the past decades. Inexorably, the ideas and actions of socialism in Romania triumphed despite all skepticism. If today in the world concert of nations Romania is recognized as a country with its own position and individuality, if today her social system is able to protect the interests and tranquillity of the many people within the country, if the voice of her authorized spokesmen is listened to with attention abroad, since it is well-known that it reflects a fruitful and thorough work experience placed in the service of man and his welfare, then this is a direct and concrete response to all the insinuations and falsifications.

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

PRESS NOTES ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS CLASHES WITH STATE

[Editorial Report] PREPOROD, the bi-monthly publication of the Islamic clergy in Bosnia-Hercegovina (Sarajevo), criticized in its editorial of 1 September 1978 (page 2) the local SUP (Secretariat for Internal Affairs) officials in one area (unnamed) where a reader complained that they had forbidden him to keep this Islamic paper among the reading matter in his shop because his store was a "public place." The editorial replied: "Whom does PREPOROD disturb if it is found on the table in an artisan's shop?! Is this a banned paper, socially harmful and dangerous....? Is it some kind of infectious disease that one catches if one touches it? Cannot an honest citizen of this society who is a believer freely read a religious paper in his own shop if he wants to? Should he close up his shop so that no one sees him reading it? He who cannot tolerate PREPOROD, he who hates it, who would prefer to burn it up--this is his private affair and it will not upset anyone as long as this euphoria of his does not begin to threaten ...the freedom of others who do not think as he does. We realize ...that such cases are the result of individual caprice and not the practice of society, but if these [cases] are passed over and tolerated, we fear that such individual examples will multiply so that PREPOROD will not be permitted even in cafes or in one's pocket on the street, because these are public places!"

Similarly, the first August issue (No 15) of this publication (on page 2) cites instances in which teachers and opstina officials in Kosovo Province continue to hamper or prohibit religious instruction for Moslem children in villages in Vucitrn, Suva Reka, Gnjilane, Pec, Podujevo, and Orahovac opstinas.

At the same time, RILINDJA, the Albanian-language daily organ of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovo (Pristina), complained in an editorial on 10 August 1978 (page 2) of the unauthorized attempt by Moslems in the village of Brades to tear down their 200-year-old place of worship ("an important historical monument") and build a new mosque, although "they complain at the same time that they have no money to build

a much-needed clinic." The editorial noted the large number of people in the village of Brodosavce who have made pilgrimages to Mecca but do not have the money to send their daughters to secondary school. In citing a sign in a mosque in Prizren announcing a seminar for "students who want to learn about the Moslem religion," the editorial warned against these and other indications of the "reverse side of religion."

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'FIGARO' ARTICLE SCORED FOR CRITICIZING YUGOSLAVIA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jul 78 p 2

[Text] Seventy-five years ago, A. G. Matos wrote in his letters from Paris that "geography is not the Frenchman's strong point." Many other distinguished writers have frequently made the same assertion. Recently even the minister and academician Alain Peyrefitte admitted in his book "The French Illness" that his countrymen are confused by geography. However, a long article published July 19 in the daily newspaper LE FIGARO serves us as an example that there are Frenchmen for whom history, even the most recent history, is not exactly a strong point.

We are talking about the front-page commentary published under the title "Tito's Unusual World" written by LE FIGARO's journalist Jacques Guilleme-Brulon, a newspaperman who was brought out of moth balls, by all appearances, for this occasion.

In other words, Guilleme-Brulon attempts to analyze the current situation of Yugoslavia in the world and social relations in Yugoslavia itself. In this attempt he begins with the assertion, expressed already in the first sentence, that "on this planet there are unfortunate places the future of which can never improve, in spite of the convulsions which history imposes on them, and which are condemned to delve even more deeply into adventures linked with their geopolitical situation." According to Guilleme-Brulon, such an unfortunate place is the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The author of the article says that Yugoslavia is ruled by Tito who "really became known to the world in 1948 when he hypocritically said 'No' to Stalin." These two quotations sufficiently show Guilleme-Brulon's manner of thinking, so it is superfluous to quote his "thoughts" verbatim in which, for example, he states that after Tito Moscow will seek that the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia return to it the capital and interest which it lost in ideological sphere because of the break in 1948. He also states that "self-management is a misunderstanding" and that nonalignment disappeared with the deaths of Nasser, Sukarno, Nehru and Makarios. At the end of the article the whole thing is seasoned with a quote from Mihajlo Mihajlov, who for this occasion is promoted to philosopher, just as earlier some journalists promoted him to a literary figure, although he is only a petty pamphleteer.

Guilleme-Brulon, who my French friends tell me is quite along already in years, probably slept through World War II, when Tito became world renown because of the resistance against Nazi Germany. Even LE FIGARO itself wrote about this not so long ago, reminding its readers that Tito was the only army leader in World War II on the side of the Allies who was wounded in battle. Other French newspapers also wrote about this, but perhaps by shifting Tito's international affirmation to 1948 Guilleme-Brulon conceals the complexes of those Frenchmen who offered no resistance to Nazism.

There is no sense in polemicizing with arguments founded on unfamiliarity with and denial of history. But it is, nevertheless, to say the least strange that Guilleme-Brulon, a commentator long ago worn out, was re-activated to write about Yugoslavia although he has not done so in recent times. It would be unrealistic to expect every article about Yugoslavia in the foreign press to be complimentary. In recent years in France there have been complimentary articles about the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as critical ones which are the result of certain convictions of their writers but which, nevertheless, in contrast to Guilleme-Brulon respected historical facts. In February 1976 when LE FIGARO also published an article about Yugoslavia in which all the facts were turned inside out, I met the author sometime later and asked him how he could write falsehoods. He replied: "I am a mercenary. (Je suis un mercenaire)." I believed him to be sincere.

Coming several days before the beginning of the nonaligned ministerial assembly in Belgrade, Guilleme-Brulon's article can also be a mercenary deed. But the mercenary mentality in France has always been in minority, though it has constantly brought into question French political reality and the significant humanistic traditions of French thought. Maybe precisely because they have no sense for history, people like Guilleme-Brulon are always quickly dismantled by history.

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MICUNOVIC'S MOSCOW MEMOIR GIVEN BRIEF REVIEW

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 117, 19 Aug 78 p 40

[Review by Zoran Petrovic of the book "Moskovske godine 1956/1958" by Veljko Micunovic, Liber University Publishing House, Zagreb, 1977, 10,000 copies, 530 pages; for an interview with Micunovic, see JPRS L/7922, 28 July 1978 (FOUO 12/78), this series, pp 1-11; for related materials, see JPRS 71752, 25 August 1978, this series, p 106]

[Text] What we have here before us is one of the "books of the year," a best-seller that has been on all Yugoslav lists, in all the constituent republics: "Moskovske godine 1956/1958" (Moscow Years 1956/1958, published by Liber, Zagreb). Its author is Veljko Micunovic, Yugoslavia's ambassador to the USSR in those years and currently a member of the Council of the Federation. I must say straight off, without beating around the bush, that Micunovic's Moscow dairy reads like the most exciting novel or action movie--and a true movie, at that, authentically documentary. The theme is equally exciting and ever current: Yugoslav-Soviet relations, their ups and downs, misunderstandings and agreements.

Among Yugoslavs, Micunovic is the one who spent the most time--alone or in company--with Nikita Khrushchev, termed by many historians the "most controversial" Soviet head of state [sic], the man who initiated "de-Stalinization" but failed to complete it, the man who wrote the "secret report" to the 20th congress but failed to implement it, a man who was full of controversial features, positive and negative. On this, and not only on this, Micunovic testifies brilliantly and lucidly.

The book covers the most important and most interesting period of our relations with the Russians [sic]: the first exchanges of visits after Stalin's death, the "thaw" after the 20th congress, Khrushchev's opponents and opposition, the events in Poland and Poznan [sic], the uprising in Hungary, the war over Suez, the case of Imre Nagy and the new conflict with Soviet policy after Nagy's execution, the secret visit to Brioni by Khrushchev and Malenkov before the intervention in Hungary, the clash in the Soviet leadership in 1957 and the fall of the Stalinist trio, and many other less-known facts and events. It is written vividly, on the spot. For many younger readers, it will be real textbook material. For older readers, it will be a source of new knowledge and a nostalgic reminder.

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BRIEFS

TITO CONGRATULATES--President of the Republic and LCY President Josip Broz Tito has sent the following telegram to Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. "It is with satisfaction that on the occasion of the national holiday of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, on behalf of the Yugoslav peoples, the LCY Presidium and the LCY presidency and on my own behalf, I send you, the BCP Central Committee and the State Council and the people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, congratulations and best wishes for new successes in building socialism in your country and for your personal happiness. "I am convinced that good-neighborly relations between our two socialist countries will be promoted in the mutual interest and for the benefit of understanding. Cooperation and progress in Europe and the world." [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Sep 78 p 1 AU]

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