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ALBANIA

MARXISM-LENINISM AGAINST EUROCOMMUNISM, REVISIONISM

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Dec 77 p 2

[Article by Prof Zija Xholi, dean of the Faculty of Political-Juridical Science: "For A Deep, Vital And Militant Assimilation of Marxism-Leninism"]

[Text] The teaching of Marxism-Leninism with its three component parts--the history of the Workers Party, dialectic and historic materialism, and political economy--occupies a special position in the communist education and ideological preparation of students. Thanks to the work of teaching departments, and dean and, first of all, thanks to the constant concern of the Party, their teaching and study have been increased year after year. This is shown in students' life and work, as well as in the better and better results which they have achieved in the three components of our school--teaching, productive work, physical tempering and military training.

The first and main source from which we have learned how to achieve the Marxist-Leninist education of students and which has inspired us has been and is the classic works of Marxism-Leninism. The unlimited respect for the teachings of our great teachers, with which our party and comrade Enver Hoxha have educated and educate us, is of special value not only because it is not possible to assimilate the Marxist-Leninist philosophy without knowing the work of its genius founders, but also because today it has become the target of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism and the many and various bourgeois and revisionist falsifiers.

It is a very important duty to teach Marxism-Leninism in relation to the Party documents, the ideas and teachings of the broad theoretical work of comrade Enver, and the rich experience of the building of socialism by our people. To systematize the fundamental ideas and teachings of the party and comrade Enver and to adapt them better to the demands of teaching programs and to students' level, the teachers in departments of Marxism-Leninism have composed lectures which are the fruit not only of individual work, but also of collective work. But, however important and

necessary the lectures and texts may be we do not overevaluate them and we must not overevaluate them. We only see them as good aids in the students' hands helping them to study and understand more easily the classic works of Marxism-Leninism and comrade Enver Hoxha's works, which remain the unshakable foundation of the study and assimilation of Marxism-Leninism.

In his teachings and recommendations on the paths to be followed by the natural sciences in their development, comrade Enver Hoxha forcefully emphasizes the Leninist idea that "our scientists of socialism must teach with patience and be the most enthusiastic supporters of Marxist philosophy, in short, they must be dialectic materialists". On this basis, the teachers of philosophy, particularly those who teach in the faculties of technical and natural sciences, are giving particular attention to document the argument for materialism and dialectics with the present data from the sciences and to expose the idealistic and metaphysical interpretations made about them by present-day philosophers of the imperialist-revisionist bourgeoisie. With this they aim at helping the students to orient themselves correctly also in this front of ideological class struggle, as well as to correctly interpret the elements of the sciences they study. Naturally, this broad duty cannot be solved solely by the efforts of teachers of Marxist-Leninist sciences, or can be solved partially. It demands the participation and involvement of all teachers of all the sciences which are taught at the university. In this field, especially after comrade Enver's speech "On the further revolutionization of the school", a transformation has begun in our university; it is being expanded and deepened from year to year. The efforts of the departments and the successes they have achieved in the ideological struggle to establish the ideological Marxist-Leninist axis in every science and to generalize the elements of each science in a materialistic and dialectic manner make it possible to move on to a more fruitful cooperation among the science departments and between the latter and the department dialectic and historic materialism in order to undertake combined studies.

Students do not learn Marxist-Leninist science as a pack of ready-made knowledge, far away from life and the struggle, but as a science that leads the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for overthrowing the old world of capital and for constructing the new world of socialism, as a science that was born and grew in the struggle against its ideological enemies, and as a science that, in the encounter with its ideological opponents, shows its value, correctness and invincibility. The relentless struggle of historic importance for the fate of our fatherland and the people, as well as for the entire world revolutionary movement, which our party, headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, has carried on and is carrying on against modern revisionism of all types and hues, and its unquestionable facts and arguments for the defense and development of Marxism-Leninism, and the passion for and unshakable conviction in the correctness of the cause of the revolution and socialism--(all are the subjects which) the teachers of dialectical materialist philosophy have tried to bring in the auditoriums and teaching halls, to implant them in the



awareness of every student, and to transform into objects for teaching and educating. In their lectures, seminars and in all their educational work, the teachers of the Marxist-Leninist sciences have accompanied the theory and practice of the revolution and socialist construction with the criticism and unmasking of the open and stupid or hidden and refined falsifications of the modern revisionists.

In the criticism of the tendencies of the present Soviet, Yugoslav, French, Italian, and other revisionists, as well as in the discovery of their nuances and evolution, the recommendations of comrade Enver has been taken into consideration, that is, that the present tendencies of revisionism, however "original" they may be presented, cannot be fought successfully without relying on the ideological legacy of the classics of Marxism-Leninism which have anticipated and exposed in their works many judgments and attitudes of present day revisionists. Thus, with the abandonment of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat, which today is preached by the supporters of the so-called "Eurocommunism", they do nothing else but repeat the revisionist theses of Bernstein on the abolition of the class struggle and the denial of the revolution, which were criticized by Lenin. The anti-Marxist preachings of the present-day revisionists of all hues cannot be correctly understood and consistently fought if we do not have a good knowledge of the great principled struggle carried out by Lenin against the social-chauvinistic theses of the Second International in the defense of Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the class struggle, the socialist revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Broadly speaking, all the distorted analyses which the revisionists make of our epoch and all their reactionary conclusions which, ultimately, aim at denying the socialist revolution and at keeping the existing bourgeois-revisionist order, rest on a distorted philosophic base and are inspired by metaphysical and idealistic treatments. Therefore, they can be rejected and can be successfully criticized only on the basis of a materialistic understanding of history, proletarian party-mindedness, and the materialist dialectic, in short, on the basis of the dialectical materialist scientific theory and method which our great teachers have created and perfected in their works.

The Italian, French and Spanish revisionists have gone so far in their kneeling before the bourgeois ideology as to have completely abandoned the requirement for the assimilation of Marxism-Leninism by party members; they claim that people with all sorts of philosophical concepts, and even with theological concepts, can come to the party. Also this revisionist absurdity was countered by Lenin in his work "Materialism and empirio-criticism". In this work Lenin teaches us that we must know how to make a distinction between dialectic materialism and the schools of various idealistic currents which exist or which might appear, that the party can fulfill its role only if it relies consistently on dialectic-materialist philosophy, and that the party educates the party members and the broad masses with its principles.

Criticism of the distorted anti-Marxist concepts and practices of the old and new revisionists, of the past and of our days, is not only a great political-ideological duty, but also an important condition for knowing and for assimilating Marxist-Leninist philosophy. This is also the basis for Comrade Enver's recommendation that the cadres, communists and everyone must be taught Marxism-Leninism not simply by stating the Marxist theses, principles and conclusions in a "calm" manner, but in the struggle against the points of view and arguments of its ideological opponents and, first of all, of the modern revisionists. And this can be carried out properly not through slogans, watchwords, and declarations, but through arguments and facts which can result only from a serious and continuous study. Being orientated by the many-sided analyses and criticism of the present trends of revisionism, made at the Seventh Party Congress, the teachers of the departments of the Marxist-Leninist sciences of the university have included in their scientific work plans study papers, lectures, and reports on the special aspects and characteristics of the various revisionist trends and of their anti-Marxist and reactionary theories and practices.

Teaching Marxist-Leninist science in a correct manner, placing the teaching of all the other sciences on a dialectical materialist ideological basis, and finding ways to link students with the people's life, with the class struggle, and with revolutionary action, under the leadership of the party organizations, a patriotic and revolutionary student youth is growing in the university, a youth faithful to the ideals of the party, the revolution and socialism, and a youth which possesses the strength and intelligence to break any kind of imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement. The teachers of the departments of the Marxist-Leninist sciences, as well as all the students of the university, are guided by the recommendation of the Seventh Party Congress, and particularly by Comrade Enver's observation, that "we must not hear that there may be young men and young women among us who do not understand, or do not understand as much as they should, the theory of our great teachers in its Marxist-Leninist ideological breadth and depth". All the possibilities exist to implement this duty. These possibilities, however, in order to be converted into reality, demand a struggle and persistent work, of which the teachers and students will give new proofs, convinced that the teaching of Marxism-Leninism and the strengthening of Marxist-Leninist ideology are not matters of a simple teaching, but vital matters connected with the future of the new generation, with the guaranty of socialism, and of the progress toward communism in our country.

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## ALBANIA

### REMNANTS OF OLD MARRIAGE CUSTOMS MUST BE ELIMINATED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 9 Dec 77 p 3

[Article by Jergji Mihali: " 'Remnants' of a Backward Custom..."]

[Text] The dowry is a backward custom which has nothing to do with the traditions of our people. The Korce grandiloquent aristocracy had no shame in bargaining for dowry and trousseau. On the contrary, these "carnival of Korce" people made much noise parading dowries in the streets of the city and in exposing them for some days before and after the marriage. The matter had gone so far that the moral-ethical and intellectual worth of the woman were of second rank and the new bride was valued according to the quantity and quality of the dowry and trousseau which she brought to the house of the bridegroom. Therefore, the dowry and trousseau were the key points in concluding bourgeois marriage contracts.

In a certain way this custom was also carried out in the strata of the working people; therefore, review BOTA E RE called it a "serious social sore". The people themselves satirised it in their songs. Nevertheless, the backward custom of dowry remained as a sore of the past and continues to appear also in our days.

In the general framework of the struggle against all backward customs and religious prejudices, the Democratic Front organizations have worked to arouse social opinion against the dowry. There are essential changes compared with the past. The people would laugh with mockery (if they did not call it madness) if they see passing in the street a coach or a taxicab loaded with decorated dowry, as in the past. The majority of our boys and girls, leavened with the ideas of the party, contract marriages on healthy foundations, contemptuously rejecting the dowry custom as an alien and shameful thing.

The party has given the woman the position she deserves in the family and society by raising up her personality. Our girls have become workers, innovators, and leaders in production, doctors, engineers, agronomists, economists and specialists in the various branches of the economy, culture, and sciences, and direct participants and leaders of the socialist

state. These incalculable values of the moral and political image of our woman serve as the foundation for contracting marriage by the majority of our youths who would consider it shame to bargain for a dowry. In cooperation between them, the organizations of the Democratic Front, the Trade Unions, the Youth, and the Women have fought so as to spread and to constantly reinforce these correct concepts on the creation of the new family, seeking to foster healthy social opinion against the backward custom of dowries. A result of this was the initiative of the working women of the carpet production enterprise to contract marriages without dowry. However, although marriages without dowry are becoming increasingly more numerous, in the city of Korce and in more than a few cooperative families the backward custom of dowry is kept and is carried out in various forms, sometimes openly and some other times hidden. Recently a marriage took place at city quarter nr. 2 and the huge and luxurious dowry of the girl is still spoken about. They say that the girl's mother was a good, former social activist and, as soon as she retired, she shut herself in the house and did not participate at all in the social activities of her quarter because she worked hard to prepare the dowry of the betrothed girl, in which she had put all her embroidery art. Was this mother so anxious to furnish the new house of the girl? Not at all: the bridegroom had his house furnished with all the good things. But it is the power of the backward custom which makes that woman show herself to the world as "strong woman", it is the concept of bourgeois luster. It is not an isolated incident. There are families which work year after year for the dowries of their daughters, which include most costly carpets and tablecloths, and mattresses, blankets and pillows covered with satin and filled with wool, embroideries of all kinds, heavy furniture, different indoor and outdoor clothes for the bride and the bridegroom, gifts for every member of the family of the bridegroom, and many other things. The girl's family could not but feel this heavy economic burden, and this is only one side of the question. The other side, a very important one, is the ideological content of the backward custom of dowry, which is nothing else but a form of trade in girls and which seriously affects the girl's personality. This ideological content is not properly understood by all; therefore, it happens that sometimes people who have completed higher education, good male and female workers, parents, or boys or girls, who hold leading positions in the economy or who are social activists, fall in the trap of the custom of dowry. Although rare, these incidents seriously harm the propaganda of the mass organizations, because they become focal points for contravening the new social opinion. Some time has elapsed since the initiative of the working women of the carpet enterprise was heard; its echo started to decline after a social cadre of the enterprise married a girl with a dowry, thus giving a bad example. Some times the activists of the Front and Women's have difficulty in carrying on their propaganda in this direction in city quarters, because the one who keeps the wrong concept in his mind can easily say: "All right, I agree that giving a dowry is a bad thing ... but why did so-and-so, a person elected to the government...to the Front...an enterprise director...marry his daughter with a dowry?". The person who speaks this way, of course, has many "cabbages" in his head, because he does not see the hundreds and

hundreds of positive examples but takes a sole negative one to contravene the healthy social opinion. Experience shows that, like any other backward custom, the dowry custom has deep roots which cannot be easily uprooted. Sometimes it continues acting under camouflage or hidden under the mask of the new: on the wedding day, the girl does not bring anything to the husband's house, thus creating the impression that she was married without a dowry. However, the truth is different, the dowry has been prepared and has been brought gradually during the entire period of betrothal. They start by ordering complete bedroom furnishings (possibly from Pogradec), furniture covered with walnut, armchairs, carpets and so forth. Let us understand: when the equipment for the new family, which is being created, is bought with the mutual and equal contribution of the boy and the girl, then there is nothing bad and it has nothing to do with the manifestation of the custom of dowry. But, in fact, on many occasions these expenses are entirely met by the girl, and this is a dowry in the full sense of the word.

In order to prepare this dowry, some girls do not feel any economic obligation to the family. That is, they eat and drink at home, but all their salary is kept aside and spent for the dowry. The petit-bourgeois mentality of the dowry makes these families think that this is a legitimate activity and that the girl can live off the family and use her salary for the dowry. It hurts to see that young girls themselves, and sometimes good workers, stubbornly keep this attitude because they have remained the slaves of a very backward custom.

Why does this happen? The main reason must be sought in the lack of educational work to eradicate the petit-bourgeois concepts inherited from the past which, even today, are fostered by the old backward opinion. In weddings there also are people who see and hear all, and do not miss a thing in regard to the dowry which the girl has brought. This is not pure curiosity, but a concrete manifestation of an old outlook which contravenes social norms. Such backward people do not mind praising a "traditional family for marrying a girl with a big dowry" and talking and denigrating a family for "giving a girl in marriage with only the clothes she is wearing". Evil tongues create backward opinion, and good people fall under their influence. This was nicely expressed by an activist of the Women's organization at a meeting recently held in the city on social problems: "I myself was married in a simple ceremony, without dowry and without a white gown. -- she said, -- I married my first and second boys also in a simple way, against any backward custom. However, for the third boy, the daughters-in-law and some others told me: Look here, mother, we were married without a white gown, it is not a bad thing; let us take this bride dressed and adorned with white veil and gown,... I agreed, I felt sentimental and, if unwilling and not understanding, I fell in the trap of backward custom".

The old backward opinion carries on its work as long as it does not meet a strong barricade of the healthy social opinion. This is a problem for

which the Democratic Front and other mass organizations must show greater concern in the struggle against the dowry custom. There must be an organized and concrete work so as to clarify not only the economic character, that is, the fact that dowry is a heavy burden on the girl's family, but above all the ideological character of the dowry custom which seriously affects the party policy regarding the raising of the woman's personality in the family and society and directly hinders the creation of the family on healthy social bases.

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BULGARIA

DOCUMENTS ON BULGARIAN-SOVIET 1971-1976 RELATIONS PUBLISHED

Sofia ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 30 Dec 77 p 3

[BTA Announcement: "New Documentary Collection on Bulgarian-Soviet Relations"]

[Text] The BCP publishing house has issued a collection of documents entitled "Bulgaro-Suvetski Otnosheniya 1971-1976 g." [Bulgarian-Soviet Relations 1971-1976], jointly with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is the third of a series of identically named collections dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The two preceding volumes covered a period of 1944-1948 and 1948-1970.

The collection includes the most important documents related to Bulgarian-Soviet Relations between 1971 and 1976: treaties; joint declarations, communiques, and announcements on meetings and talks between party-government parliament and other Bulgarian and Soviet delegations; speeches and interviews by Bulgarian and Soviet party and state leaders; letters, messages, and telegrams sent by the leaders of the two countries, and others. Some of the documents are published for the first time.

Over 180 documents reflect Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation, convincingly proving the fruitfulness of the friendly relations existing between the two countries and depicting the uninterrupted process of ever closer rapprochement between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR.

A number of documents reflect the fraternal relations existing in the fields of international relations, economics, and culture.

The new documentary publication clearly proves the strengthening unity and all-round and dynamic development of the historical process of cooperation and rapprochement between the BCP and the CPSU and between the Bulgarian Peoples Republic and the USSR.

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BULGARIA

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER URGES BETTER COMBAT TRAINING

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 11, 1977 pp 3-9

[Article by Colonel General Tencho Papazov, deputy minister of national defense: "On Further Advancement of Combat Training and Upgrading Its Effectiveness"]

[Text] Implementing the decisions of the 11th Congress and the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum, and in honor of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the centennial of the War of Liberation, in the 1977 school year the personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army worked adamantly and persistently to enhance even further the combat capability and combat readiness of large units, units, and subunits. This resulted in new successes in combat training. The number of excellent soldiers and excellent subunits rose. The quantitative and qualitative growth of graded specialists improved.

Commanders and staffs improved preparations, field training, and coordination. They broadened their experience in organizing and holding classes and exercises under complex conditions simulating real battle conditions.

The staffs planned combat operations more purposefully and promptly and displayed greater skills in resolving problems of all-round troop support in preparations for and course of combat operations.

The troops increased significantly their marching speed and mastered better problems of deploying subunits, breaching through enemy defenses, and surmounting on the run water and nuclear mine obstacles. They increased their practical skills in developing and engaging in firm and active defense. The struggle for the destruction of enemy tanks and anti-tank weapons was waged more effectively.

Fire practice reached a higher level. The personnel achieved better results in fire accuracy with tank weapons in motion. The mechanic drivers increased their driving skills under difficult conditions and at high speeds.



The branches of armed forces, the arms, and special forces improved their technical and special training and broadened their practical skills in supporting the combat operations of motorized infantry and tank subunits. Training facilities are being expanded and improved. New training facilities are being installed. Concern is being displayed for modernizing training aids and technical facilities.

Certain successes have been achieved in the struggle for strengthening army discipline as well.

Great successes were achieved in the field of living conditions of the personnel and their medical care under garrison and field conditions. The rear specialists have improved their training and consolidated their skills and practical habits in resolving specific problems.

The enriched content of political and educational work is contributing to the ideological development of the personnel and the creation of strong military collectives. The ties between ideological work and army life and tasks have become even stronger.

The proper organization and management of the socialist competition is also having a substantial influence on achieving better results in combat and political training.

The successes achieved in combat and political training indicate that the tasks set by the minister of national defense for the 1977 school year were implemented. However, we are not forgetting that independently of our successes the imperialists are also constantly strengthening their armed forces. They are developing and applying new weapon types and systems. They trigger and encourage local conflicts and keep the international circumstances in a constant state of tension. All this makes it incumbent upon us steadily to improve our command-organizational work, master new methods for waging modern combat, and upgrade the effectiveness of the training process and combat coordination of subunits. We are thus contributing to strengthening the combat strength of our armed forces and to the proper implementation of highly responsible national and international tasks.

These requirements and tasks fully apply to the new school year as well. Their successful implementation requires, above all, for the main efforts of commanders, staffs, and political organs to be directed toward further improvements in the organization and implementation of the training process. Training effectiveness must be upgraded through high level organization of the work of commanders and staffs, qualitative elaboration of materials, and profound and purposeful advance training of leaders. The struggle for lowering time norms must become the basis for upgrading training effectiveness, in the course of which we must seek and apply more progressive and effective ways and means of work.

As we know, all measures related to combat and political training begin with planning whose quality largely determines the condition of the training. Accurate planning calls for a most profound study of guiding documents stipulating the obligations of every official and indicating the ways and means for the drafting of planning documents. We must also study combat training programs and accurately understand training directions and characteristics. This will enable us to provide quality guidance of the training process and in overall army life.

Elaborating planning documents, the commanders must focus their attention on classifying assignments by importance, proper time allotments, insuring the availability of the necessary forces and facilities, and promptly submitting the assignments to subordinate levels. In this case, as was pointed out by army general Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, we must firmly and boldly apply the program-target approach with a view to creating conditions for a multiplying effect in the implementation of planned assignments. However, the work of commanders and staffs is not exhausted by planning combat training. Its core is organizational work to upgrade the quality and effectiveness of the training process. Quality and effectiveness should be upgraded by improving the organization and management of the classes. Everyone must understand that the necessary practical skills, high moral and political training, mental resistance, and physical endurance could be gained only through training under field conditions and circumstances maximally resembling real combat. In this connection we must enhance even more persistently the role of tactical training in upgrading the coordination of units and subunits, paying particular attention to small units (platoon, company, battalion).

The organization and implementation of control and assistance have a major influence on improving the effectiveness of the training process. They must be directed not toward the noting of facts but toward preventive work. In other words, subordinates, particularly junior commanders and staffs must be helped in their preparations for future training and exercises. In the course of such control we must make a profound study of the overall organizational work of the commanders and the level of troop preparedness with a view to determining accurately the positive aspects in their work, existing weaknesses, and the help they need for their elimination within the shortest possible time. The grading of the results of such control is of essential significance. Its accuracy must be a sacred principle in our approach to the life of the forces. The objective assessment of the work and efforts of every military serviceman is of tremendous educational role. It creates a healthy atmosphere in the collectives and helps them to improve their work style and methods. Furthermore, our criteria in assessing subordinate units must be high. The level of the criterion is determined by the party's decisions and requirements, the laws of our country, and military regulations, instructions, and orders.

Effectiveness in the training process would be inconceivable without steadily improving the knowledge and methodical skill of officers and sergeants. That is why one of the important tasks of commanders and staffs is to organize and conduct on a higher ideological and methodological level classes and exercises aimed at upgrading the training of officers and sergeants. The ability of commanders to organize and control combat operations, to study more profoundly the combat possibilities of tanks, aircraft, artillery, and anti-aircraft weapons, and to upgrade their ability for their concentrated use and for the defeat of the enemy within a short time must be enhanced even further in the course of rallies and command-method training. Practical field work must be an important direction in training officers at all levels. They must be trained in such a way as to be able to outstrip the enemy in seizing the initiative and retaining it in the course of combat operations. We must increase the ability of commanders to organize stable, deeply escheloned and insurmountable anti-tank defense, use most fully the combat possibilities offered by their fire-power and the advantages of the area, and build an extensive system of barriers and obstacles.

It would be expedient for the training of staffs to be focused on improving further the coordination in the work of the various structural units. In this case a decisive struggle must be waged to reduce the time needed for data gathering and processing, making most expedient decisions, and promptly assigning subordinate staffs and troops their tasks. Such tasks could be carried out successfully if the commanders and senior staffs conduct staff and command-staff exercises and exercises with the troops under complex conditions and demand of the trained units to work extensively and completely on problems related to the organization and waging of modern combat.

Commanders and staffs must pay greater attention to the training of sergeants and master sergeants. Their training must be focused on upgrading their command and method skills and the ability actively to participate in the training process. They must be able to control subunits and fully replace officers in individual training activities under direct guidance provided by the commanders.

Along with improving the training of the command personnel and the coordination among staffs, commanders at all levels must organize and head the combat training of the troops in the course of which the individual soldier and military collective blend within single combat, moral-politically, psychological, and physical qualities, developing, on this basis, their high combat skill, mental resistance, and constant readiness to withstand all trials and retain their combat activeness and inflexible faith in victory over the enemy under most complex conditions.

Such qualities are developed most fully in the course of classes and exercises in tactical and practical-special training. In the course of such studies the troops must be trained to engage in decisive, active, and highly flexible combat operations. They must skillfully deal sudden headlong strikes, rapidly pierce deeply escheloned enemy defenses, strong in

anti-tank obstacles, breach fortified areas on the move, and cross water obstacles at a high pace. The personnel must gain the necessary practical skills to surmount various obstacles and destructions, rapidly to eliminate consequences of enemy nuclear strikes, and prepare themselves for the execution of new tasks.

Tactical fire exercises play a particular role in tactical training. They must take place both in winter and summer, night and day, under all circumstances. The actions of subunits must not be reduced exclusively to hitting the targets. Commanders must be trained to work individually and resolve tactical problems creatively, combining skillful fire control with maneuverability and interaction in the use of various types of fire-power.

The struggle for upgrading the firing skill of tank crews and motorized infantry units should reach an even higher pace in the forthcoming school year as well. In this case the target must be to train within the shortest possible time the tank gunners to fire on the move. They must hit their targets with the first shot at high speed. This could be achieved through regular tank fire practice and on the basis of the solution of firing problems. The firing exercises must be conducted under maximal mental and physical stress.

Serious attention and concern must be paid to the training of drivers and drivers-mechanics. The attention must be focused mainly on the acquisition of firm practical skills in vehicle control and servicing. Classrooms and tracks for trucks and tanks must be extensively used in basic training.

The introduction of new technical facilities in the armed forces and the increased dynamics of modern combat have largely enhanced the significance of the physical and mental training of the personnel. In order to meet this requirement efforts must be focused on upgrading physical endurance and the practical and swimming skills of the personnel.

Drill training must be conducted with greater persistence. The neatness and external appearance of the personnel must be improved considerably. The subunits must be able to act rapidly in precombat and combat deployment and rapidly convert from one to another.

Decisively upgrading tactical-specialized and specialized training must be the main direction to be followed in the training of the various branches and arms. To this effect they must improve their practical skills to deploy rapidly and promptly occupy a firing position, prepare data within a short time, and fire under different circumstances. They must decisively upgrade their fire accuracy in order to hit targets without adjustment fire and only on the basis of total preparedness in deployment on the move in unprepared areas, night and day.

The other units must improve their training in engaging in coordinated and uninterrupted combat operations to cover troops in battle. Particular attention should be paid to their ability to shoot down fast, agile, and low-flying aerial targets under conditions of radar disturbances, and with high intensiveness.

The special units must continue to improve their tactical-special and special training in order to insure the prompt, reliable, and skillful support of troop combat operations. They must study more profoundly and make fuller use of the equipment in lowering their operational norms under field conditions.

The struggle for strengthening the discipline and preventing disciplinary violations, considered in the light of the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and, particularly, the July BCP Central Committee Plenum, calls for the development of a new outlook, a new understanding, and a new approach to the solution of this problem by the commanders. We must develop the type of discipline which would dominate the thoughts, feelings, and, particularly, behavior and actions of the troops, a discipline which could guarantee the implementation of the great tasks facing the Bulgarian People's Army.

Socialist competition must be organized and conducted in order to upgrade the creative activeness of the personnel in the struggle for achieving higher results in combat and political training. In this respect, commanders, political organs, and staffs must light the torch of competition among troops, subunits, and units in a noble competitiveness for mastering the complex military skill. To this effect we must profoundly plan and assume high yet realistic pledges to produce more excellent soldiers and subunits, and grade specialists, and for achieving higher combat and political training indicators. This way the competition may become a mass patriotic movement.

In order to upgrade the effectiveness of the training process we must further expand and develop training-material facilities. Aggressive efforts must be made to complete the main projects in the training centers and upgrade their handling capacity. We must improve systems for simulation, feedback, and target control. Particular attention should be paid to the development and improvement of training ground and field training facilities.

In addition to meeting such stipulations, high successes will be achieved in combat and political training by improving the work of commanders in the education of the personnel in the course of the training process, for education is an inseparable part of training. Party-political work plays a major role. It must be specific and purposeful and closely linked with the problems resolved by the troops. We must improve the methods for working with the men with a view to insuring a steady political influence of all units and categories of military servicemen.

The combat and political training tasks in the 1978 school year will be implemented under the following slogan: "In honor of the centennial of the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish yoke, the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Army, and the 34th anniversary of the Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the Bulgarian People's Army, let us struggle for a decisive upturn in the implementation of the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and July BCP Central Committee Plenum for upgrading the quality and effectiveness of military labor, strengthening the discipline, and raising combat and mobilization readiness to a higher level."

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BULGARIA

PLENUM DECISION TO IMPROVE KOMSOMOL STRUCTURE

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 29 Dec 77 p 1

[NARODNA MLADEZH report: "Plenum of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union"]

[Text] A plenum of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union was held on 28 December 1977.

In addition to the DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union] Central Committee members and candidate members the plenum was attended by members of the DKMS Central Auditing Commission, secretaries of okrug DKMS committees, and Central Committee apparatus personnel. The plenum was also attended by Iliya Vulkov, deputy head of the BCP Central Committee Organization Department.

The plenum was opened by Boycho Shteryanov, DKMS Central Committee first secretary. The plenum's agenda was the following:

1. Report on improving the structure of DKMS organs and apparatus.
2. Information on the preparations by the Dimitrov Komsomol and Bulgarian youth for the Eleventh World Youth and Student Festival.
3. Organizational problems.

Stoyan Stoyanov, DKMS Central Committee secretary, spoke on "Improving the Structure of the DKMS Organs and Apparatus."

The following took part in the discussions of the problem: Radoslav Radoslavov, first secretary of the Veliko Turnovo Okrug DKMS committee; Petur Apostolov, secretary of the Kirkov Rayon DKMS committee in Sofia; Yanka Marmarova, secretary of the Skalitsa village Obshtina Komosomol committee, Yambol Okrug; Ilkl Slavov, secretary of the Burgas City DKMS committee; Enscho Stoyanov, first secretary of the Varna Okrug DKMS committee; Petur Dzhodzhov, secretary of the plant DKMS committee, transforming

elements plant in Sofia; Aleksii Trifonov, secretary of the VUZ DKMS committee, Gabrovo VMEI [High Machine-Electrical Institute]; and Lyubka Yaneva, Komsomol society secretary at the plant for respiratory and anesthetizing equipment in Stanke Dimitrov.

Iliya Vulkov, deputy head of the Organization Department, BCP Central Committee, participated in the discussions.

The plenum passed decisions related to improving the structure of the DKMS organs and apparatus. They call for optimally combining the application of the problems principle with the stipulation of adopting a differentiated approach to the basic youth detachments, broadening the voluntary principle in the activities of Komsomol organs, and rechanneling a certain share of the apparatus to work directly within the Komsomol organizations.

Anastasiy Donchev, DKMS Central Committee secretary, submitted a report on the preparations by the Dimitrov Komsomol and Bulgarian youth for the Eleventh World Youth and Student Festival.

The following participated in the debates on the preparations for the Eleventh World Youth and Student Festival: Nikolay Andonov, DKMS Central Committee bureau member and deputy chairman of the Central Counsel of the Bulgarian Sports and Physical Culture Union; Todor Popov, first secretary of the Plovdiv Okrug DKMS committee; Meglena Minkova, student at the Burgas VKhTI [presumed expansion: Higher Chemical-Technological Institute]; and Ivan Stanev, head of the DKMS Central Committee Ideological-Educational Activities Department.

The plenum passed decisions on developing even greater and more varied activities in the period of preparations for the Eleventh World Youth and Student Festival.

On item three of the agenda, the plenum elected Stefan Nedelchev Maev, secretary of the National Sobriety Committee, member of the DKMS Central Committee.

The plenum which was held at a time when the entire country is marking the 10th anniversary of the adoption of the BCP Central Committee theses on work with the youth and the Komsomol noted that in the remarkable and fruitful 1977 the Bulgarian youth made a worthy contribution to the implementation of the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and the blossoming of our socialist homeland. The readiness of the Dimitrov Komsomol and the entire youth to welcome the national party conference with inspired accomplishments was expressed.

The plenum's participants enthusiastically adopted a letter to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee.



With a feeling of profound emotion the letter expresses filial gratitude to the BCP Central Committee, to all Bulgarian communists and, personally, to Comrade Todor Zhivkov for the atmosphere of trust and concern in which the homeland's youth lives, works, and studies. The letter points out that for the past 10 years the BCP Central Committee theses on work with the youth and the Komsomol, a comprehensive, long-term, and scientific program representing the creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory on youth, has inspired the activities of the youth union and mobilized the efforts of our socialist society for the solution of youth problems. It expresses the readiness of the young Bulgarian generation to invest its labor and enthusiasm to the implementation of all party assignments and answer the concern and trust with worthy accomplishments.

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BULGARIA

EDITORIAL PRAISES ZHIVKOV SPEECH TO VOCATIONAL INSTRUCTORS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Dec 77 p 1

[Editorial: "Remarkable Creative Program"]

[Text] One month ago the best tutors gathered from all parts of the country in the Georgi Kirkov Hall, in the Party House in Sofia. With unconcealed emotion and workers' pride they heard the wise, humanly direct and intimate speech by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the first leader of the Party and the state. The speech was published yesterday in the press and is now available to the entire working class and all working people in our country.

It is a truth that every speech by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and every document drafted and substantiated by him have been topics for thought, and for a responsible consideration of our own work. They have triggered inspiration and the desire to engage in more successful and fruitful work for the sake of our socialist homeland. The speech to the first national conference of best tutors is not only a remarkable work program but yet another example of creative interpretation of phenomena and practical experience, and of the ability to see weaknesses, and indicate and earmark the main ways leading to future progress. In a remarkable way the speech is a study of the contribution made by the 11th Party Congress which developed and concretized program stipulations for the building of a mature socialist society, and determined the basic link in the chain of problems and tasks such as the struggle of the whole people for high quality and high effectiveness everywhere and in everything. A frank and clear answer was given to the question of why did the July plenum undertake such a sharp, bold, yet profoundly principled criticism and self-criticism of shortcomings in material production and social life. The speaker accurately confirmed the general line which was followed. He reasserted the courage and strength of the Party to see weaknesses and their bearers.

The attention paid to the flower of the working class--noted foremen, heads of brigades, shops, and sectors, order-bearers and heroes of socialist labor dedicated to the noble and humane work of tutorship was natural and explainable.

Our Party has always surrounded the workers with its concern. It has highly valued initiators whose undertakings have had a profound social response and significance. Borrowed from the treasury of Soviet experience and having acquired original features and aspects under Bulgarian conditions, tutorship could not fail to be properly rated. Comrade Todor Zhivkov defined accurately and justly "this spontaneous and enthusiastic movement as an effective means of labor, ideological-political, and moral education, and class and professional growth and tempering of the youth in the Bulgarian People's Republic." We can only be pleased and encouraged by the high acknowledgment of the work and accomplishments of the tens of thousands of tutors, described by the first party and state leader as apostles, and their work described as apostolic "in terms of spirit and nature."

The depth with which the role of the tutorship movement was substantiated when our people are resolving the main, the key task of high quality and effectiveness in all areas and fields of life was exceptionally impressive in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech. Unquestionably, the socialist system, the scientific and technical revolution, and the expansion of the detachment of the working class created tremendous opportunities for progress for our homeland. However, the question is justifiably posed: Could we now launch a broad offensive and advance toward the peaks of the scientific and technical revolution and resolve the problems of the use of electronics, the use of catalytic agents in chemistry, and the applications of the achievements of engineering and molecular biology and laser technology while maintaining the old approach and way of thinking and acting? This would hardly be possible without eliminating all hindrances and barriers and establishing and surmounting existing contradictions. These are contradictions between the unlimited opportunities created by scientific and technical progress and the inability to utilize them to the fullest extent; between a splendid young generation, carrying great potential, a developing generation, and its inability to realize its potential in a variety of directions. Tutorship, which is already developing into a feature of the socialist way of life, is also the requirement of "problems of the self-realization of the youth to be resolved on a broad social basis, to be transferred to the production collectives themselves, and to be linked with the experience, knowledge, skill, and spirituality of the best production workers."

This original movement born of the creativity of the masses, is already becoming familiar and enriched steadily, gaining ever broader scope and greater strength. Justifiably, Comrade Todor Zhivkov cautioned that its purity must be retained. It must be strictly protected from bureaucracy and gross regulating. This is something which those who head this movement must well remember and observe. Also properly stressed is the need to develop this movement as organically linked with the other movements, and to blend with the technical and scientific creativity of the youth, thus becoming richer and more powerful.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech to the first national meeting of the best tutors not only inspires and develops the enthusiasm of teachers, educators, and friends of the young workers' replacements and all working people. It also obligates to the greatest possible extent the Party and public organizations and economic, and state organs to penetrate into the essence of the problems, and to interpret their responsibility in resolving the complex problems formulated at the 11th Party Congress and July plenum. The noble and humane work of the tutors could and should gain the support of the entire public. It must become one of the shoots of the future communist ways of working and living!

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### EDUCATION, TRAINING IN MILITARY ACADEMY DISCUSSED

Prague OBRANA LIDU in Czech 19 Nov 77 p 5

[Article by Miroslav Suchanek: "What Kind of People Will They Be at the Beginning of the Next Millenium?"]

[Text] Four years will pass before a young man studying at the Military Academy at Vyskov bearing the name of the three-time Hero of the CSSR and Hero of the USSR hero, Army General L. Svoboda, becomes a commander and adds the engineer's degree to his officer rank.

Is it a long or short time?

During this period the young boys will be trained as commanders and chiefs, many of whom will be promoted to high positions in the army within the next 15-20 years.

There is no trace of exaggeration in the above question or in the reply. Both of them sum up only a bit of reality. After all, as the command and the political organs of the school agree, approximately 90 percent of all higher commanders and chiefs of staffs and of the regiment commanders in our army at the present time are graduates of the Military Academy at Vyskov.

To Become a Commander

He who looks in this school today for the atmosphere of long corridors, rigid instruction, cold lecture-rooms and a lifeless collection of paraphernalia--all dominated by the tense attitude of "studiosi rerum militaris" [students of military affairs]--will be disappointed. In the Military Academy at Vyskov there is naturally an ample amount of everything that insures the excellent standard of college study, but everything here is dominated by the temperamental life of study units and hectic pace of the departments and command groups.

Essentially 75 percent of professional military instruction of future commanders take place on the large drill-grounds, in the tank driving training areas and on the firing ranges. In other words, under conditions under which the school graduates will work with the units assigned to them. To change the face of the school in recent years it was necessary to expend extraordinary effort and to introduce innovations such as state examinations in rifle training, part of which is the actual firing and handling of weapons in general. Instead of theoretically discussing the operations of a tank company in an attack, it is now necessary to actually command such a company. Instead... All this is much more complex than an explanation according to the textbooks because the theoretical knowledge must be translated into practical action and specific decisions. To achieve this objective it is necessary to possess not only the theoretical knowledge but also practical know-how. And there is a world of difference between them in their demands on man.

The school sees to it, however, that the generation of future commanders possesses both the knowledge and the know-how. The colonel from a school department commented on this requirement:

"In order to master everything within a relatively short time, in the course of eight semesters, the classrooms had to be provided with the modern teaching equipment. Only this equipment make it possible to acquire copious knowledge and to learn to work independently. I will not exaggerate when I say that the party and state organs have offered unprecedented possibilities to our school."

#### Not Only Successful Commanders

The chief of the political department, Major General Josef Sirucka, draws our attention to the fact that professional training is only part of the general preparation of a young commander for life. Here it is necessary to learn how to guide and educate people. For the school this specifically means:

"... to educate the students as the active participants in the party and youth organizations' life of the units as well as competent organizers of ideological education, of cultural and sports events--that is our foremost task", says the general. After the completion of study, approximately 70 percent of graduates go to their units as members or candidates of the communist party, and 75 percent of them gain practical experience in the functions in the party and youth organizations in the school. In addition, our students work as instructors or propagandists in territorial youth organizations or as heads of pioneer organizations."

The systematic political training to which they are subjected in the school constitutes the basis of young commanders' successes in the unit. The training in school has been augmented, in accordance with the decision of the command and political department of the school, by the meetings of students in the last year of school with commanders who have

behind them at least 1 year of practical experience in a combat unit. At these meetings, all young commanders have expressed the view that only a combination of professional knowledge and profound ideological political training leads to successes in real life. Study is fully motivated by these findings.

At this point, the following question may occur to a cautious person: do not the students in this school represent some sort of elite? Are they not the chosen people and favorites from whose way all problems must be eliminated?

It is enough to meet any of the students for the doubts to be rapidly dispelled. The students at the military school at Vyskov are boys like all others and yet quite unusual in their consistence, perseverance and effort to attain the set goal.

#### About Trifles and Perfection

Time is the biggest enemy of students, particularly of those in the first year. The people in the last year of school also do not complain that they have too much of it. On the basis of their experience, however, they can handle their daily schedule substantially better during the tense period of examinations.

"Every teacher here regards it as a matter-of-course to teach you how to manage your time," second lieutenant students L. Sevkovic and J. Balak told me. "And we know already now that it is a great gift--not to rush, not to hurry and yet to achieve excellent results."

At the beginning of their studies, this pair spoke of course somewhat differently. Both of them had to work out their own problems, to fight for seconds of time and quite frequently to combat their self, their own comfort and tardiness...In specific instances, side by side, these struggles appear very inconspicuous and quite simple.

The hand on the stop watch held in the hands of the first year student has just started to move. In the very moment when the hand jerked, the hands and fingers of two other students began to take apart a machine gun of the high caliber. Within a few seconds, they change the destructive weapon into a pile of minor and major components carefully displayed on the work bench. A short while afterwards, the reverse process starts and the machine gun is put together again. Within a short time, the students will be able to do this work blindfolded because the requirement to handle the weapon reliably even at night is quite routine.

A few steps farther, the students practice the following, seemingly even simpler task: the boarding and getting off the armored transporter. Here also they fight for every tenth of every second.

To the uninitiated this struggle for these minute fractions of time may appear as a hunt for trifles. Experts, however, maintain that perfection is by no means a trifle, that it grows from little things.

He who grasps this fact has won. And the sooner he grasps it, the better. The school offers innumerable opportunities for this.

#### A Visit from Outer Space and Several Remarks

The drill ground for chemical warfare got soaked with dew during the night, its drops glitter on the grass stalks and sparkle poetically. All the more unreal--like from another world--looks a group of students specializing in chemical warfare. Protective clothing, special shoes, gloves and protective masks completely cover up the people's faces. Everybody, all of the teachers and students in these bulky outfits, however, move accurately and with assurance. They laid out the protective devices on the marked area--a number of chemical preparations and a sufficient amount of water--and started with the decontamination of weapons. Another group works on heavy combat equipment in another precisely marked area and with sensitive instruments determines the minute amounts of radioactivity. In working with these small levels of radioactivity, the students learn to work accurately and reliably in the much more serious situations when the amount of radioactivity would destroy human lives. Another group tests a live chemical substance.

Wait a moment! Stop! Is this instruction not too dangerous a game?

We give a straight answer--this is by no means a game, but a very pertinent and very dangerous reality.

It was not one of the socialist countries which first introduced the combat devices summarily called the weapons of mass destruction and made them part of its arsenal. And we have said many times: we do not want to compete with the West in the manufacture of these weapons and their stockpiling. We advocate an absolute ban on them. But not to be prepared, not to be able to counteract them would amount to the renunciation of the possibilities of indispensable and effective defense. Not to understand these devices and not to be able to control their destructive impact would be the same as to fight elements with naked hands.

Even in this strictly concentrated and exciting job the teachers scrupulously follow the hands of their watch. They have just announced a break.

#### Faces of Soldiers

The time during the short break is necessarily used for taking off the protective mask. And suddenly we see around us young, smiling faces, slightly reddish because of the difficulty in breathing under the mask, the careful morning hair-do is gone by now.



Karel Krca came to the Academy for Ground Troops from the Leather Industry Plants at Trebic.

"Now that I have the first year of study behind me, I say to myself - I know that for sure now--that I have made the right decision. First, I thought, it serves me right because I had not been satisfied with the job I had had before. I do not say that any more. The systematic organization of everything we do, the discipline, all this in fact makes life easier and offers us possibilities and time--this is the most important--for seeing things in perspective."

Ladislav Filip came to Vyskov from a military gymnasium in Moravska Trebova.

"At the beginning, we had a head start over the boys from the civilian schools. We took the fundamentals of army life for granted. But this is also meant, naturally, to help those who were just beginning to serve in the army. All differences have been erased by now, we constitute a good collective."

Student Jan Pataj, Zdenek Benes and some others definitely think that their college is one of the most interesting so far as instruction is concerned. What is life in such a school like?

"Our school is under construction and so the road from one classroom to another always leads through a building site. We often step into the mud when it rains, and the dust whirls during the dry weather period. This is a fact. But there is another thing. There were 35 of us in one room as late as last April, but we have been living in modern dormitories with two beds in one room since May. This is also a fact."

#### Singing and Dancing After School

It was temperamental and dynamic at first glance: the boys and the girls dressed in colorful costumes came out running on the lawn and began to play music and sing. There was only a handful of them and yet you had the impression that they were everywhere as they radiated joy, optimism and good mood. Everybody who stopped by them even for a little while left enriched by a lasting and pleasant experience.

To put it briefly, the students at the academy do not swallow only tactics and firing, and do not take only mathematical and chemical formulas as desert every day. The military school at Vyskov is for normal boys who sing and dance after they finish their daily study. In other words they do what they like and love. It was here that the Tatran ensemble originated. Most of the singers and dancers are from Slovakia, the musicians are from Bohemia and the girls in the ensemble are students at the secondary vocational health school at Vyskov. But they say about themselves: "We are from the Hana area."

These young people managed to convert their enthusiasm and zeal into good art which quite conspicuously reflects the mutual understanding and rapprochement of our national cultures.

In addition to the Tattran, there is the modernly oriented Experimental Ensemble, poems are read in another group, and in still another collective exclusively local folksongs are sung and local folkdances are danced. Among them there are a number of soloists with guitars, trumpets or piano players. It is no wonder that the young people from Vysko have achieved successes even in the top contests among the performing artists.

What Kind of People Will They Be...?

Nothing of what the Vyskov military school gives to the young people is achieved easily. Neither in studies nor in culture or sports. Good results are not attained overnight. Everything is the result of honest work, of a properly organized time schedule.

As the title of this report we used not only an inquisitive, but also exciting question: what kind of people will these young persons be when they are 40?

Can such a question be answered at all?

Certainly. We find it already in the way in which the school prepares the young people for life. The Vyskov Military Academy lays solid foundations. We can build on them even after 25 years.

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EAST GERMANY

DECEMBER 1977 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Dec 77 p 4

[Rene Heilig review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 12, Dec 77, signed to press 8 Nov 77, pp 1329-1438 (plus 'Annual Table of Contents' and index, pp 1-18): "Toward Progress in Science and Technology." Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The cover photo shows the drawing process of a silicon block in its original colors. It alludes rather visually to the primary topic of the EINHEIT December issue, i.e., scientific-technical progress. Four articles are devoted to this topic. In the first, Harry Nick attempts to integrate the scientific-technical progress into the overall process of shaping the developed socialist society. He deals with, as he calls it, "the ever intensifying interactions" among the scientific-technical progress, the upward development of the material-technical base and the perfection of the socialist production conditions and social superstructure.

Next, Herbert Kroker explains how the collectives in the VEB Herbert Warnke Combine for Conversion Technology, Erfurt, intend to contribute toward the overall acceleration of scientific-technical progress and to push consistently forward to the international lead in essential products and technologies. Gerhard Merkel informs the reader about the principal trends in microelectronics and its utilization according to plan; and Justina Marx exposes anti-labor trends in the application of technical progress in capitalism.

As the finale, so to speak, of the 60th anniversary of Red October, EINHEIT has published "Marxism-Leninism and the Revolutionary Renewal of the World," an article by Mikhail Suslov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. In the "Books" section, Henrich Gemkow reviews the new Dietz Verlag publication, "Lenonid Brezhnev, A Short Biographic Sketch."

A contribution by Klaus Weidner on the Eighth Art Exhibition in Dresden is no less worthy of attention.

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EAST GERMANY

ACCELERATION OF SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL PROGRESS, PARTY'S ROLE DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 12, Dec 77 signed to press 8 Nov 77  
pp 1337-1347

[Article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, program head, Institute for Political Economy of Socialism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee: "Scientific-Technical Revolution and Shaping of Developed Socialist Society"]

[Text] By analyzing practical experiences, it is being demonstrated that and how the scientific-technical revolution is used to accelerate the overall progress of the productive forces and of social progress. The scientific-technical revolution, which in its total impact leads to a qualitatively new material-technical base, to a new type of technology, is shown to be a process of social development. Concrete conclusions are drawn for improving the economic and social effectiveness of scientific-technical progress, with a special point made about the responsibility of the party organizations.

Among our fundamental experiences in our more recent past is that with the shaping of the developed socialist society and with the further development of the scientific-technical revolution changes occur in the qualitative role of the scientific-technical progress within the vital processes of society and also in the criteria that underly that progress. All of social life, the development of socialist society in all its domains, has become more directly and cogently dependent on economic progress and it, in turn, on scientific-technical progress. An objectively new weight distribution of the growth factors has taken place. In the outcome of it, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress has become the key problem for our economic growth, the cardinal issue for social progress.

Two points are made about the outcome of scientific-technical progress thus far in the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress and of the subsequent sessions of the Central Committee: For one thing, since the Eighth Party Congress we have more rapidly advanced than in earlier years toward intensification, in scientific-technical progress and in raising the effectiveness

of our economy. The contribution made by science and technology to improving the performance of our economy has noticeably grown. The tasks in accelerating scientific-technical progress have more purposefully been moved into the center of management activity and socialist competition. The authority of the science and technology plan has been enhanced significantly.

And then also the objective conditions of scientific-technical progress have changed significantly, as they in their entirety call for an acceleration of scientific-technical progress, for energetically deepening our intensification. Simply continuing our previous positive development at the same tempo is not enough. "The socialist intensification of our production has to be advanced with the greatest determination. To that end one must above all accelerate scientific-technical progress with the highest resolve and bring about especially high achievements in selected areas."<sup>1</sup>

Under such conditions it is of great practical and theoretical importance to understand the criteria for scientific-technical and for economic progress. Most recent technological developments have shown how futile it is to ponder whether or not the scientific-technical revolution has in fact already begun. There can be no doubt that in recent years a new developmental phase of the scientific-technical revolution has begun. Its effects on all areas of our economy and our public life will be pervasive and lasting. At our party's sixth Central Committee session the point was emphatically made that the accelerated development, production and application of microelectronics will be a key issue in our scientific-technical progress and significantly affect the further development of the material-technical base of the developed socialist society.<sup>2</sup>

We must never lose sight of the fact that very negative effects result from views that are not aiming at making consistent and purposeful use of the scientific-technical revolution. They, when one comes right down to it, accommodate the aspirations of certain bourgeois ideologists who would disparage the role of scientific-technical progress and economic growth altogether. By that they, on the one hand, would like to minimize the real economic difficulties in the developed capitalist countries. On the other hand, they would wish to affect the socialist countries themselves and to paralyze their efforts on behalf of accelerating the scientific-technical progress there. Simultaneously the capitalist countries are doing what they can to get out of their economic difficulties and achieve a higher economic growth rate. Especially the monopolies are making the most deliberate use of the manifestations of crisis for accelerating their technical progress and rationalization. In 1976, for example, industrial labor productivity grew by 11 percent in the FRG, in some industrial branches even by more than 20 percent.

Slighting the scope and speed of the scientific-technical revolution and the problems connected with managing it has always been an obstacle to successfully implementing it in the interest of further consolidating our socialist order, of better satisfying the material and cultural needs of the

people. The remark by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev about the scientific-technical revolution being a main field of contest in the class conflict with imperialism remains wholly pertinent. "A long and heavy struggle lies before us here. And we are determined to engage in this struggle earnestly so as to prove socialism superior also in this area."<sup>3</sup>

Progress has been made in recent years in developing the mechanics in the organic connection between the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism and--in interconnection with it--in providing general theoretical rules underlying these processes. And here one has found the greater economic and the greater social effectiveness of scientific-technical progress to be two closely interconnected aspects.

This is first of all a matter of integrating the scientific-technical revolution within the overall process of scientific-technical progress for the sake of better social controls over the objective nuances in the renewal processes in our material-technical base, for more effectively combining scientific-technical innovations with the rational use and qualitative perfection of the available intellectual and material potential, and for integrating the processes of perfecting the material-technical base with the process of raising the productive forces of our society onto a higher level altogether.

And then it involves the social, that is, economic and social, orientation of the total process of scientific-technical progress, which includes the scientific-technical revolution. This amounts to integrating scientific-technical progress with the overall process of the shaping of the developed socialist society, to gaining better controls over the more intensive interrelations between scientific-technical progress, the higher development of the material-technical base as well as the productive forces on the whole, on the one hand, and to perfecting the socialist production relations and the social superstructure, on the other.

The acceleration of scientific-technical progress since the Eighth Party Congress surely is attributable to our having advanced, theoretically and practically, in both directions. Today the acceleration of scientific-technical progress requires that still more effective solutions are worked out and implemented in these directions and that further advances are made in perfecting the system for management, planning and economic stimulation.

Using the Scientific-Technical Revolution for Greatly Accelerating the Overall Progress of the Productive Forces

Revealing practical experiences have been gathered in the more recent past showing the importance of the scientific-technical revolution to economic progress. Drawing general theoretical rules from them is extremely important and useful for the management and planning of the socialist economy. A fundamental realization from all of it is that in the qualitative further development of the material-technical base, the purposeful implementation

of the scientific-technical revolution and the pervasive rationalization of socialist production are reciprocal determinants. Comrade Erich Honecker recently made a particular point of this special need to produce qualitative innovations in the field of the productive forces and to combine this with a still more rigorous and comprehensive support by social production in its whole breadth.<sup>4</sup> One of the most important dialectical contradictions in the development of the productive forces under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution is that, on the one hand, it is becoming economically ever more important to pay greater attention to qualitatively perfecting the available material-technical potential and to apply the results of scientific-technical progress more and more through the changes made in the available potential and its more rational utilization. However, on the other hand, radical innovations also are gaining increasing importance for our total progress. For example, intensification does not generally reduce the economic role of new housing in the economy. On the contrary, the scientific-technical revolution lends a still newer and higher economic value to it. After all, a rapid introduction of entirely new products and procedures into existing enterprises, so very necessary for the overall intensification process, is often hard or not even possible. Not this type of new housing is what works against the intensification processes but rather that other type that focuses purely on "expanding the field of production" in well known products, long familiar, without exhausting the possibilities for modernization and reconstruction in available enterprises on behalf of a growth in output and performance as needed.

On the one hand, the implementation of the scientific-technical revolution normally calls for considerable preparatory work, so that the depth and breadth of socialist rationalization also partly determine the scope and speed of the scientific-technical revolution. On the other hand--and this is frequently overlooked--there really cannot be any penetrating rationalization today that would ignore the results of the scientific-technical revolution. New qualitative structural lines or more radical technical solutions--as demonstrated by the example of microelectronics--much more strongly affect, under intensification conditions, the technical-economic level of production on the whole. Peak position in chosen areas of production and systematically raising the technical-economic level of all production are inseparably connected with each other in a dialectical way. Peak positions appearing as "solitary beacons" are becoming less and less possible. We need to tie together the revolutionary and the more evolutionary changes in the material-technical base, based on a high, long-range and stable acceleration of economic growth. There no longer is any argument today about the revolutionary changes in technology, the introduction of entirely new procedures and products, being indeed the locomotives of scientific-technical progress. Such changes time and again become new points of departure for improving the effectiveness of social labor by leaps and bounds. It is equally clear, however, that the evolutionary phase in the life of products and procedures--the qualitative improvements for established products and procedures--in no way means a pause, as it were, in the process of scientific-technical progress but also is gaining growing importance in improving social labor effectiveness.

When there is a radical change that makes electronics much cheaper, it is mainly due to systematically exploring the technical possibilities inherent in microelectronics in principle, to the increasingly more secure and effective mastery over the procedures through which electronic components are produced.

Well balanced relations between revolutionary and the more evolutionary technical solutions are altogether one of the fundamental prerequisites for making the scientific-technical progress highly efficient. Important scientific-technical changes are as a rule highly complex. Their preconditions as well as their effects touch on many areas and branches of the economy. And thus their implementation in essence ties in with structural changes in the economy. And that is why an acceleration of the scientific-technical progress all the more requires great stability in the fundamental economic structures. The need for radical changes in certain areas and certain types of production comes together with the factors of internal balance, continuity and stability in their increasing importance. The whole point is this dialectical connection between greater stability and greater elasticity in our economic structures, the development of long-range and stable production and export lines together with a higher adaptability, for instance of the production assortments, greater elasticity in all economic processes. The faster the tempo in the change of the machine systems, for example, the slower should the tempo be in the change of certain components; the larger the variety and sophistication in complex solutions, the more advantageous would be the reduction of the variety in the components and component groups.

The scientific-technical revolution determines the basic lines in the qualitative changes of the material-technical base in its entirety. Whatever differences in views there may be concerning the scientific-technical content of the scientific-technical revolution, in one point there is complete agreement: The scientific-technical revolution is a process of penetrating qualitative changes of the entire production technology, and they are going to change fundamentally the society's material objective conditions of existence and development. The scientific-technical revolution in its total development leads to a qualitatively new material-technical base, to a new type of technology (a concept more and more frequently used in social science literature). This means it is not only a matter of particular, even if important, changes in technology but of a change in its total quality. However great technical advances have been in the last 2 centuries, they yet occurred on one and the same qualitative level, within the type of technology that the industrial revolution had produced under early capitalist production conditions. And the gradual change of that quality, the surmounting of its internal barriers and limitations, is what is meant when we are talking about a new type of technology. These are processes reaching into the far distant future even though they have already begun.

The need for gradually overcoming these barriers in the classical type of technology is something one can feel more and more today in practical respects. The implementation of our demanding social and economic targets increasingly



depends on how those tasks are being coped with. Prerequisite to it is a deep understanding of the basic lines in the qualitative changes in technology, of the need for gradually surmounting old lines and tendencies of technical progress that may be decades or even centuries old and have to be replaced by qualitatively new ones.

The core of such developments lies in the changes in the basic functions of technology. Whereas the classical machinery principally brought to realization the function of transforming energy working on the object of labor, the modern type of technology combines this function of the transformation of energy with data processing (collection, storage, processing and application of data). This involves three groups of qualitative changes in technology which are closely interrelated:

First: The gradual creation of a new type of production technology brings about qualitatively new sources for progress in effectiveness. That, for one thing, finds its expression in that the field of scientific-technical progress is, as a matter of principle, extended into new areas of human labor. This also is absolutely necessary unless one wants to risk a trend reduction in the possibilities of increasing effectiveness. In accordance with its fundamental function of transforming energy, the classical machinery is predominantly encountered in areas where the object of labor is directly changed, in the so-called processing processes. These processes are to this day islands in the application of modern technology, as it were. They are surrounded by manual labor in the concluding assembly processes, the concomitant auxiliary processes (mainly maintenance), the preparatory processes of projecting, design and technical production preparation, and finally also in the management and planning processes. The extension, as a matter of principle, of the field of scientific-technical progress is inseparably connected with implementing another fundamental function, that of data processing, and thus, with a new type of technology. This new machinery is either a combination of energy processing and data processing processes or only a data processing technology. As this function of data processing is found in almost all areas of human activity, the gradual introduction of this new type of production technology will introduce the scientific-technical progress into many areas virtually closed to it thus far. Data processing machinery surely will have as many effects in transforming everything in non-productive areas as in material production.

This production technology also is connected with the possibility of carrying into realization an entire host of qualitatively new technologies occurring under extreme process conditions. Those are technological procedures that are making high demands on speed and precision in control and guidance, with the number of simultaneously controlled and guided parameters increasing by leaps and bounds. This high data processing speed (tens of thousands of logical operations per second) makes possible, for instance, direct time controls, where the determination of deviations from intended magnitudes and the analysis of their causes and conditions are carried out at one and the same time, so that deviations can be precluded from the very start.

The revolutionary effect of microelectronics lies precisely in its initiating a qualitatively new developmental stage in data processing technology. This new developmental phase is marked above all by the combination of two factors: Miniaturizing and a radical cheapening in electronic components.

If one compares the space requirements (output performances held equal) for first-generation computers (electron tubes, approximately 1950) with those of second-generation computers (semiconductors, approximately 1960), the third-generation computers (solid state circuits, approximately 1970) and microprocessing, one arrives at ratios of 10,000:1,000:100:1. Microelectronics has made possible installing the electronic components for a medium performance computer on a chip of a few square millimeters so that they actually can be installed in a wristwatch.

Combinations between microprocessing and industrial robots, having found increasing application in recent years, will evidently lead to particularly revolutionary effects. The first generation of industrial robots working on the cause-effect principle, as it were, has meanwhile been superseded by a second generation with microprocess equipment and sensors, where human sense organs are simulated which will then, in line with the program stored, adapt to changing conditions and can behave purposefully and autonomously within a relatively broad action radius.

Second: Technology prevailing today originated and developed under capitalist conditions when human labor was subordinated to the machine. The advancing maturity of the socialist society makes necessary and possible overcoming the bent of mind that came with it, approaching technical solutions principally from the vantage point of technically realizing production tasks, and will leave to man all that, as it were, which the machine cannot produce effectively and cheaply enough. Filling labor with progressive content, reducing heavy physical work and monotonous mental work, and work done on lower levels of qualification are matters that are becoming more and more important for reaching the goal of socialism and for solving all essential tasks in the development of our society. Our ever greater social homogeneity and the gradual transformation of labor into the principal need of life call for a systematic reduction in the essential differences between physical and mental, industrial and agricultural work.

We need technical solutions from the vantage point of effectiveness and the qualitative character of human labor, a production technology that will be increasingly responsive to the working people's growing level of education and skill and insure favorable conditions for the development of socialist personalities and collective relations in labor, the most important area of human activity.

Third: The production technology prevailing today developed under conditions when air and water virtually were free of charge and the traditional natural resources like ore, coal and others seemed to be unlimited. Today, and still more so in the future, we need a production technology that will bring about

a different quality in the relations between production and the natural environment: Technological procedures with self-contained recycling processes where resources taken from nature that are completely used up or the waste products again will become the initial resources for other production processes. This will both lighten our raw material balances and diminish the waste product burdens on the natural environment.

#### The Scientific-Technical Revolution as a Social Process

The social effects of the scientific-technical revolution, our desire to make use of it deliberately and systematically in the interest of social progress, for the good of man, both submit and require to an increasing degree deeper and more concrete insights into the basic interconnections between scientific-technical and social progress. The social effects of the scientific-technical revolution can teach us a unique lesson about that science and technology may significantly change man's conditions of existence within even one generation, without doing so immediately, wherefore they cause the happiness and well-being of men as well as the distress and misery pressing in on many people, whole classes and nations, today. The outcome of the scientific-technical revolution has emphatically confirmed the fundamental thesis of Marxism-Leninism to the effect that science and technology cannot change the nature of social systems directly, cannot suspend or newly create any essential social characteristics of capitalism or of socialism, for which reason they cannot replace either the working class struggle in capitalist countries for eliminating the capitalist system. At the same time it has become more apparent that scientific-technical progress is of the greatest importance to the development and increasing molding of the basic characteristics and criteria of social systems determined by their property relations and political power conditions, thus turning it today probably into the most important accelerator in social developmental processes.

It cannot be ignored that through the development of the scientific-technical revolution the economic potential of imperialism has grown significantly and it is trying to convert that potential into political action. On the whole, to be sure, the expectations have not been fulfilled which many bourgeois ideologists had placed on the scientific-technical revolution, and disappointment is widespread about its results in the developed capitalist countries. The pessimistic view on the scientific-technical revolution primarily stems from the practical experience that it cannot do away with the social ills oppressing men under capitalism but that, instead, its effects contribute to intensifying the contradictions under capitalism, to turning mass unemployment and inflation, previously occurring only during the crisis phase of the capitalist economic cycle, more and more into permanent manifestations.

Results of the scientific-technical revolution in socialist countries thus far have emphatically confirmed that the acceleration of the scientific-technical progress constitutes the most important objective condition for the increasing development of the advantages and impulses of our social order. They

simultaneously confirm that the acceleration of scientific-technical progress is the key to intensifying social production and that the transition from a primarily extensive reproduction to rigorous intensification is an extremely complicated maneuver in the course of which the quality of the entire economic process as well as the whole economic mechanism will have to change significantly.

Thus the practical experiences have unequivocally proven the fruitfulness of the Marxist-Leninist view to the effect that the scientific-technical revolution is no autonomous process but a social developmental process the nature of which can be disclosed only through our tracing the dialectics in the relations between productive forces and production relations.

The cause for the changes in the productive forces, their upward development, for one thing is found in the contradictions arising in the confrontation between man and nature. Thus the inevitability in the transition toward automation comes from the contradiction between the increasing demands made on speed and precision in guidance and controls for technological processes on the one hand and the limited human reaction capability, hardly allowing for any change, on the other. The purposes and motives of scientific-technical progress, however, are determined exclusively by the given social conditions, the production relations and political power conditions. The same holds true for the qualitative nature of the social mechanism of the impulses that determine scientific-technical progress. That amounts to saying that the scientific-technical revolution produces diametrically opposed social effects and different social contents under capitalist and socialist conditions. This social content of the scientific-technical revolution cannot however be determined exclusively in terms of the production relations under which it may proceed. Were one to approach the problem that way, one might fail to conceive of the scientific-technical revolution as a worldwide process in fundamental qualitative technological changes affecting the entire system of the productive forces, and then one might adopt the thesis of there allegedly being in existence two different scientific-technical revolutions, one socialist, the other capitalist.

Were one to adopt that kind of a thesis, which would give us, as it were, our own, socialist, scientific-technical revolution, one might also conclude that the criteria for the scope and tempo of its implementation are only internal criteria and we need not face those that have been established by worldwide technical developments. Practical experiences would soon teach us something different, were we to bring that kind of approach to our foreign trade efforts. In our approach of course we always let ourselves be guided by having to include in our criteria factors such as a higher degree of creative possibilities in labor, a reduction of routine work, and elements of more strongly shaping the socialist character of labor altogether. We always proceed from the consideration that the socialist production relations actively affect the nature of the technical solutions. Whereas one can find, for example, that complete installations imported from capitalist countries often call for large additional investments in order to reduce physical

stress and mental monotony as well as noise, gas and dust pollution, among us matters like that of course are taken into account from the outset in the projecting and investment stages of our scientific-technical progress.

The thesis of a special scientific-technical revolution of socialism would furthermore suffer shipwreck even with respect to the social-political analysis of the scientific-technical revolution under the historic demands made on it by socialism. All fundamental theses of historical materialism lead us to the conclusion that the quality of the material-technical base that emerges through a long historic process as the outcome of the scientific-technical revolution can be nothing but the material-technical base of communism. Therein lies the social content of the scientific-technical revolution. In order to determine this social content one must consider not only the production relations under which it at any time proceeds but mainly also those that it is aimed at. And those are, unequivocally, socialist or communist production relations. The scientific-technical revolution and socialism conform to each other in essence. But this means that the social relations have to be perfected systematically in such a way that they will offer optimum conditions for the development of the scientific-technical revolution. "We communists proceed from the consideration that only under the conditions of socialism will the scientific-technical revolution run the right course that conforms to the interests of man and society. In turn, only on the basis of an accelerated development of science and technology can the final task of the social revolution be solved and the communist society be established."<sup>5</sup>

#### Enhancing the Effectiveness of Scientific-Technical Progress

A careful analysis of the dialectical interrelations between the development of the productive forces and the production relations also is the basic precondition for determining the necessary scope and tempo in the realization of the scientific-technical revolution, which is gaining increasing importance for our overall economic strategy. It also becomes ever more apparent that it is an inseparable element of the structural policy of the socialist state. Practical experience has confirmed that the necessary tempo of scientific-technical progress in the most important areas of our national economy can properly be determined only if the objectively given developmental tendencies--for instance in microelectronics--are analyzed and a careful assessment is made of available economic resources and of the possibilities of expanding and more rationally using them.

Among the most important experiences in implementing the scientific-technical revolution is that it does not only produce effectiveness but often initially calls for considerable economic investments and for high demands on economic capabilities. Especially those processes that have a significant influence on all areas of the national economy and also on other areas of public life, as for instance microelectronics, are in turn a mirror image of the scientific-technical and economic capability of the entire national economy. It is thus not possible to deduce the necessary developmental tempo of the scientific-technical revolution exclusively from its internal developmental tendencies.

For it is not the implementation of the scientific-technical revolution for its own sake, as it were, that we are concerned with but the implementation of our sociopolitical goals and the strengthening of the positions of socialism in its economic contest with capitalism. And here we have nothing to give away, none of the big nor the small possibilities in improving our effectiveness, none of the simple ways and means in rational economic activity, nor anything pertaining to the systematic tapping of the economic effects in great technical transformations.

Experience has confirmed that improving the economic and social effectiveness of the scientific-technical progress crucially depends on how well we learn to gain ever better practical control over the entire process of deriving scientific-technical tasks from the requirements and conditions of production, from translating social requirements into technical solutions. Among the many interlinking tasks having to do with it, and on the solution of which our party is focusing, are mainly the following:

The translation of social, that is economic and social targets into requirements for technical solutions. The number of criteria has grown in the recent past against which the social effectiveness of the scientific-technical progress has to be gaged. Along with increasing the effectiveness of social labor we have to implement more purposefully such technical solutions as would increasingly render possible progressive labor contents and, with it, bring about more rational relations between production and the natural environment. The development of effectiveness is of course the most important of these three criteria; on it vitally depends how we will advance in the other two directions in which technical progress takes effect.

The translation of future requirements and conditions of the scientific-technical revolution into scientific-technical tasks of today. This mainly means bestowing a higher rank on long-range conceptual work on all economic management levels. That applies as much to economic programs in implementation of complex trends in technical progress as to the intensification concepts of the enterprises and combines. It is obvious that the tasks cannot be derived from comparisons with products and procedures that determine world standards today. Rather, the prognostication on future production requirements and conditions is increasingly becoming a fundamental prerequisite for coping with our current tasks.

The translation of targets relating to the reproduction process of the national economy and of the combines and enterprises into concrete project and subject related ideas for research and development. This of course includes that innovations will make more fruitful the economic potentials already extant in our material-technical base, combining with them to bring about a greater economic effectiveness. Practice has demonstrated that a better control over these relations calls for certain interconnecting links, mainly--confirmed particularly by Soviet experiences--the planning of the technical-economic production level. Through that (characterized by technical-economic index figures of the main products, the most important procedures and the production

installations) economic and social targets for the entire reproduction process can be translated into tasks for perfecting the totality of the current production conditions and products, from which in turn the concrete scientific-technical tasks can be derived.

Bringing together the foreseeable production requirements (in terms of their scope, effectiveness, social objectives) with the developmental tendencies anticipated by science and economic resource estimates. All three components--carefully analyzed and weighed--have to be made the foundation for defining our tasks, with the future production requirements (or the application) being of overriding importance. The "supply of the sciences," the anticipated developmental tendencies in products and procedures, must also of course be taken into account. And it is equally understandable that the resources available will affect the choice of which technological solutions are used. The greater these resources are, the greater the costs (advance costs) that can be invested in these scientific-technical solutions, and the economic effects will then consequently be all the greater as well.

The combination between management activity, the development of the working people's creative initiative and scientific research in the total process of defining tasks and implementing scientific-technical measures. Nowhere else do scientists and technicians have as great an influence on defining research and development tasks as they have under socialism. This definition of tasks has to be seen from the outset as a part--a most important part--of research work.

It is of great importance systematically to involve the working people, the innovators and inventors, in the process that defines the tasks in the science and technology plans. Experience has taught us that scientific-technical creativity, the socialist cooperation between the members of the workers class and the intelligentsia, is all the more fruitful, the more effectively the working people get drawn into defining our tasks. That also means better combining with each other innovator activity and research work and not restricting the field of innovator activity to merely changing technical solutions already in effect in production.

The acceleration of the scientific-technical progress of necessity also calls for greater awareness and purpose in the entire patent policy. It requires systematically orienting the scientific-technical work toward solutions that can be patented, carefully fostering a creative work atmosphere in which demanding scientific-technical tasks are solved within deadlines and carefully protected by patents, and where the issuing of patents plays an outstanding role, materially and morally, in performance evaluation.

#### High Responsibility for the Party Organizations

The greater contribution science and technology are making to the improved performance of our national economy can to a considerable degree be attributed to the fine political activity of the party organizations in the enterprises,

combines and scientific facilities in this field and to the better quality of leadership activity by our party. Among the most important tasks the party organizations have is to struggle for a deeper understanding of the importance of scientific-technical progress to implementing overall party policy, to advancing the development of our society, and to make sure that the attitudes and mental habits resulting from it will indeed become second nature to all of us. (So that, for example, one will never first consider the research and development associates when dealing with short-range tasks, not part of any plan and not having anything to do with science and technology, possibly thinking that they "are not working on a volume right now"; any waste of such valuable working time is worse than myopic and takes its revenge, if not now, then certainly in the future.)

What is involved here is a deeper penetration of the complicated substantive processes combining science with production. What continues to be important is to assure, through party organization authority, a high authority for the science and technology plan, to consider its conscientious and smooth fulfillment a priority task. At the same time it is necessary carefully to analyze which tasks should be adopted into the plan in the first place and to what extent they actually will guarantee the requisite tempo possible for economic progress. Those party organizations are living up to their responsibility which insist on a high-grade long-range conceptual work and insure an interlinking between the conscientious fulfillment of the daily tasks with a careful preparation for the future. Their working for the acceleration of scientific-technical progress includes the promotion of comradely and fruitful cooperation among researchers, designers, masters and production workers. Fostering an atmosphere of creative work, honestly facing comparisons with global standards, involving as many working people as possible even in the process of defining our tasks, orienting their scientific-technical creativity on the tasks in the science and technology plan, bringing the great political and economic potentials of socialist cooperative work to bear particularly on the field of scientific-technical progress--all that belongs among the tasks of party work that must now occupy the center of our attention in order smoothly to implement our program on growth, well-being and stability.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "We Have a Program on Growth, Well-being and Stability," DIE ARBEIT, No 6, 1977, p 6.
2. Cf. "Die Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED auf dem Gebiet der Elektrotechnik und Elektronik, Beschluss der 6. Tagung des ZK der SED" (Implementing the Ninth SED Congress Decisions in Electrical Engineering and Electronics--Sixth SED Central Committee Session Resolution," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1977, pp 41 ff.
3. Speech by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, "International Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow, 1969," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1969, p 208.



4. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Die sozialistische Revolution in der DDR und ihre Perspektiven" (The Socialist Revolution in the GDR and Its Prospects), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1977, pp 31-32.
5. L. I. Brezhnev, "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 58-59.

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EAST GERMANY

DEVELOPMENT OF LAW CONSCIOUSNESS, PARTY'S RESPONSIBILITY DISCUSSED

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[Article by Dr Karl-Heinz Christoph, chief, department of law propaganda, Ministry of Justice; and Dr Gerwin Udke, lecturer in jurisprudence, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "Socialist Law Consciousness To Be Further Developed"]

[Text] Proceeding from the experiences in purposeful work in the consistent implementation of socialist law in enterprises and socialist work collectives, it is being demonstrated that and why socialist law consciousness is of growing importance to solving the Ninth Party Congress tasks for the all round consolidation of our socialist order, the greater effectiveness of social production and the further development of the socialist way of life. From it consequences are derived for the work of the party organizations and widely effective law propaganda.

Six additional brigades of the state-owned Rudolf Harlass foundry plant in Karl-Marx-Stadt joined the contest for the honorific "collective of exemplary order and security" in May 1977. This makes that movement now spread through all collectives in the enterprise. It was not easy to get there. Reservations and doubts had to be done away with. Initially, many were arguing like this: "Order is all right for new installations, but it won't work in our old enterprises." Others thought labor security regulations and other legal provisions would only hamper the struggle for plan fulfillment.

Today almost two-thirds of all the brigades in this enterprises own the honorific "collective of exemplary order and security." Rightly so. It is demonstrated by the order kept in its labor areas visible to anyone. A work climate is there which no longer offers any fertile soil to violations of legality, order, discipline and security. When individuals fail in their duties, other members of the collective do not tolerate that. The argument

starts right at the place where the violation took place in the work collective. This is how instilling responsible attitudes, socialist work ethics and the concern for strictly abiding by the laws became part and parcel of the everyday work of the brigades and collectives and of industrial management activity. It had a lot to do with having the enterprise meet its competition obligation in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution.

As in this enterprise so everywhere in our republic one can encounter rich socialist competition initiatives in implementation of the Ninth SED Congress decisions and thus, for the further strengthening of our socialist state and legal order. They testify to the working people's trust in party and government policy and reflect their greater socialist state and law consciousness. These initiatives make visible how the further shaping of the socialist law consciousness proceeds, particularly through the practical struggle for enforcing strict legality, for exemplary order and security in the socialist enterprises and the residential areas, all done in support by purposeful political-ideological work of the party. At the same time it is shown that through the enforcement of socialist legality a significant contribution is being made to developing the working people's creative work, rich in initiatives.

#### Growing Importance of Law Consciousness

The development of the socialist revolution in the GDR has confirmed this Marxist-Leninist recognition: The demands made on socialist consciousness and on conscious activities engaged in by the workers class and the classes and strata allied with it are increasing while socialism is becoming more mature and while social conditions are becoming more perfect in their entirety. The farther we advance in shaping real socialism, the more varied the tasks become that have to be solved in politics, economics, science and technology, and in the further development of socialist democracy and the shaping of the socialist way of life, and the more they become dependent on each other, the greater also becomes the importance of making the working people's conscious activities rest on Marxism-Leninism. The ability of deliberately shaping state-legal relations plays an important role in this.

The shaping of the developed socialist society--as the SED program states--is "a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes" which makes it necessary "to develop systematically and on a high level all the advantages and impulses, all aspects and areas of public life."<sup>1</sup> Socialist law consciousness here acts as an important intellectual impulse because knowledge and conviction combine in it: The might and right of the workers class are inseparably fused. Socialist right is the will of the workers class turned into law as it conforms to the interests of all working people in socialist society. Its regulations, norms and prescriptions for individual conduct serve the goal of achieving the purpose of socialism, which is to do everything for the good and the interests of the workers class and the other working people, to protect the socialist order and to guarantee all citizens' freedom and human dignity. Socialist law consciousness acts as an important impetus for action because it expresses the positive ideological attitude of the working people, their conscious

attitude toward socialist right as their own law conforming to their own vital interests. For it is from understanding the social necessity and justifiability of the demands of socialist law that one derives the recognition for the rules of conduct developed in it as well as the willingness to act in accordance with these norms and to exercise the rights and duties the state guarantees.

To a special degree this need to consolidate and develop further the working people's socialist law consciousness follows from the objective requirement for strengthening socialist state and legal order all around and for broadly developing socialist democracy, for enabling the working people in a comprehensive sense in participating in the exercise of power by the workers class under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party. As Lenin has taught us, "it is the consciousness of the masses that makes the state strong. It is strong when the masses know everything, can judge everything and do everything consciously."<sup>2</sup> New social potentials arise for socialist legality and its consolidation when the workers class, the members of the intelligentsia and the cooperative farmers turn the norms and demands for conduct that are vested in our law more and more into matters of their own concern. And this they may do through exemplary work in fulfillment of the economic plan, through active work on behalf of order and security on the job or in their residential areas, through exemplary labor discipline or the exercise of rights and duties in the various organs and social organizations. That in turn brings it about that the social base of the socialist state and the authority of its law are further strengthened. State and law thus fuse ever more closely with society.<sup>3</sup> In this process the working people gather their own experiences, and through confrontation with outdated modes of conduct, socialist convictions and attitudes toward society, the socialist state and its legality are ripening, and important aspects of the socialist way of life develop.

More and more working people are assuming responsibilities in the social contest for strictly abiding by legal regulations. The following figures are indicative of that: Right now, 208,874 citizens are working in committees, commissions and workers and farmers inspection committees. There are 225,623 working people working on 25,358 conflicts commissions in enterprises and facilities, and 53,448 citizens are participating in 5,124 arbitration commissions adjudicating the law in residential areas and production cooperatives. There are 50,173 lay judges working on equal terms with the judges in kreis and bezirk courts.

And something else becomes apparent here: With the continuing socialist development of all public areas and spheres of life and with the greater degree of organization in social relations, the demands are also becoming greater that are being made on the law that regulates these relations and on the working people's law consciousness.

Demands of this kind result from the ever growing dimensions of our national economy, from the public wealth created and from the need for augmenting it further. The basic assets in the productive areas of the national economy

are valued at M 387.9 billion today. That gives us a value of M 78,756 per capita working person in industry (1976 figures). A responsible use made of such enormous wealth implies seeking a maximum utilization of such assets and conscientiously observing legal security regulations in order to avoid damage, accidents and fire which, in view of such magnitudes, would amount to great losses. Instilling the sense of voluntarily abiding by socialist legal norms for the protection of socialist property, including damage and fire protection, and insisting on conscious discipline and great vigilance are among the tasks of the state organs, social organizations and all citizens.<sup>4</sup>

And this also always mainly is a matter of further developing the socialist way of life in all our public domains and of further shaping the socialist relations that conform to the humanistic nature of our system wherever people come together. This includes comradesly togetherness in the solution of various tasks, mutual assistance, respect for the personality of one's fellow and the care for the well-being of all. These are ethical interhuman relations assuring the individual every day of his social security. These are achievements that already are among the values of socialism. Next to its economic strength, socialism gains its political strength and radiation also from these achievements and values. Precisely because of it, many new potentials are constantly gained for socialism in its worldwide class conflict with imperialism, the society representing the morality of yesterday.

The further all round strengthening of our state and legal order, the shaping of the socialist way of life, and of socialist moral attitudes in interhuman relations, require that socialist legality be strictly observed in all social domains, in all spheres of life. That implies that attacks against our socialist order and its constitutional foundations, against the socialist achievements and the norms of socialist law be rigorously punished in accordance with the laws. That is in the interest of the protection of socialism and of the citizens' rights, their life and health, and it serves extensively guaranteeing legal security in our state.

#### Law Consciousness Helps Tap Reserves in Effectiveness

Many work collectives contesting for exemplary order and security within the scope of socialist competition have had experiences which amount to this: Socialist law consciousness and the strict enforcing of socialist legality are factors, not to be slighted, in improving the effectiveness of social labor and in further developing the socialist way of life and socialist personalities. That movement it is, after all, and the purposeful political-ideological work that goes with it, where above all those attitudes of thought and action are being fostered that have proven themselves in the solution of economic tasks, such as developing creative intolerance to deficiencies and weaknesses that interfere with the labor rhythm and prevent the legal working time from being fully utilized. And by this the workers are deepening their conviction that it is a point of honor for them to make the fullest use of working hours, protect socialist property, save material, do high-grade work and observe legal and security regulations on the job. In sum, here is where socialist work ethics and the social sense of responsibility develop especially.

The struggle of the collectives for ever more effectively combining the solution of the economic tasks--as conditioned, for example, by the intensification of production--with enforcing socialist law, for more deliberately applying its regulations to improved labor management and organization, for insuring great order and security and explaining the interconnections between economics and law most definitely crystallizes in economic results. Using the results of the state-owned Zemag and the Hydrierwerk and other enterprises and socialist cooperatives in his kreis, the Zeitz Kreis Council chairman was in the position to demonstrate to the GDR State Council in September 1977 that the consistent enforcement of socialist legality and the safeguarding of great job discipline and security have had a positive effect on plan fulfillment.<sup>5</sup>

"Where order and security rule, no losses occur!" or "Any disturbance in the plant is one too many!"--these and other ideological positions expressed by the socialist work collectives illuminate how the working people are assuming more and more their responsibility for the solution of economic tasks and, along with it, the safeguarding of legality. It presupposes a purposeful use made of law propaganda possibilities. One of the things done in the state-owned Rudolf Harlass foundry was to encourage the working people to become active participants in management and planning; it was done through making the fullest use of law propaganda possibilities. Innovator activity was supported through purposeful propaganda, on innovator law for instance, partly by training leaders and innovator activists groups. That made the number of innovator proposals go up from 178 in 1974 to 232 in 1976. The economic benefits derived from innovator activity rose from M 494,000 to M 946,000 per annum.

In other areas too the solution of economic tasks can be fostered by law propaganda measures. That applies, for example, to such matters as using economic law for making cooperation relations more effective, or for optimizing the unity between plan, balance and contract and so forth. Greater attention should be given to this aspect of law propaganda in the future. The whole point actually is to effectuate the unity of economic propaganda and law propaganda on a higher level.

#### More Knowledge About Socialist Law

The effectiveness of socialist law education and the further shaping of socialist legal consciousness crucially depend on how we succeed in further deepening the ideological substance of law propaganda. It means penetrating to the essence behind the manifestations, to the questions of the political power of the workers class and to socialist production and property relations, and it means illuminating the social interconnections resulting therefrom, as was demanded by the 18 May 1977 SED Central Committee Politburo resolution on the further tasks in political mass activities in the party.<sup>6</sup> Acquiring well founded knowledge, based on working class ideology, about the nature of our state and its law, about the inevitabilities in the development of the state, law and socialist democracy while the developed socialist society

is being shaped, and about the dictatorship of the proletariat and its tasks makes possible for the individual to gain a deeper comprehension of the concern and substance in the demands placed on his conduct, as spelled out in all the legal regulations promulgated by the socialist state, and to draw his own conclusions regarding his actions and the formation or deepening of appropriate modes of conduct. This is how the working people's understanding of the basic political-ideological orientations and the value criteria and principles of conduct in socialist law are further developed, and how in them the conviction is reinforced that the political power of the workers class is a reliable basis for establishing law and justice for all working people. Such convictions, inherent in socialist law consciousness, are so very important for the reason that they become an important internal impetus for the individual to be actively and creatively engaged in terms of the requirements for shaping the developed socialist society.

Pursuant to the orientation of the 7 May 1974 Politburo resolution on the next tasks in explaining socialist law and in reinforcing and further developing the working people's law consciousness, it is a matter of more effectively taking care of this concern in the ideological work of the party and other social organizations.<sup>7</sup> During the 1976/77 party study year, for instance, debates were held on important problems in our state and legal order, such as the inseparable unity between the power of the workers class, freedom and democracy, the fundamental opposition between socialist and bourgeois democracy, the guarantees for the rights of personality and legal security in real socialism, and the unity of socialist democracy and legality. It made the participants comprehend more deeply that legal questions always are class questions and that there are no ideas of ethics and justice that apply everywhere and at all times, as Friedrich Engels proved in his controversy with Duehring and as it has been confirmed time and again.<sup>8</sup>

As the discussions of the new labor code and the civil code have shown, the great interest the working people have in concrete everyday legal issues and in the further shaping and perfecting of their rights in the various legal codes, is a fine point of departure for presenting the values and advantages of our socialist legal order. This has been done with much success in many enterprises during discussions of how to draw up labor contracts and of the rights of the enterprise trade union executives, and in assessing the rules on bonuses. Our socialist law provides us with the possibility to make all citizens aware of the achievements, advantages and values vested in law among us, which also includes their historic developments. That applies to the fundamental achievements of socialism, such as the right to work and the basic rights for youth, as much as to the various sociopolitical measures taken by the socialist state, be it labor and health protection or the fostering of the socialist family, especially large families and young marriages. When such matters are tied together with the class character of our socialist state, the following realization is thereby reinforced: The political power of the workers class offers a reliable guarantee for realizing the political and social rights of the working people, for social security and safety within the socialist society.

Law education is effective mainly when it relates legal questions affecting the individual as well as the solutions of those questions to the manifold social concerns in our life. The different legal regulations always ought to be explained in connection with illuminating the class character of our law. It must seek to help shape sound socialist convictions and habits, hence the formation of the socialist way of life. It is in this sense that plans have been made to treat, within the scope of the basic subject of socialist law, to be included in our vocational training starting on 1 September 1977, the concrete issues of labor law, labor, health and fire protection, environmental protection and other legal areas, in their interconnection with political-ideological problems, the class character of our law and the social responsibility the citizen has, and his rights and duties.<sup>9</sup>

#### Requirements on Making Law Propaganda Massively Effective

Working people exercising their basic rights consciously will soon feel they need to know more about the state, law and democracy in order to meet their tasks on the job, for meeting their responsibilities in their territories and to understand world developments. That is shown by their great interest in law propaganda events and publications of that sort and by the great number of inquiries on legal problems. Open court trials in public, conferences for analyzing court proceedings and for discussions of draft laws or explaining laws and other legal regulations have had much of an impact. In 1976, for instance, 12.9 percent of the lectures sponsored by Urania was on state and legal issues. In the same year the organs of justice answered 500,000 inquiries. Many citizens furthermore are sending inquiries about legal problems to the mass media. They sent 7,000 inquiries to the GDR Radio and 5,000, to the editorial board of TRIBUENE. Legal radio programs are very popular. Many young people are reading with much interest the regular publications on problems of how to safeguard socialist legality in JUNGE WELT. Many brochures of the new series "Recht in unserer Zeit" (Law in Our Times) are quickly sold out even though their circulation is high.

Demands raised for more thorough information on legal questions in the enterprises also indicate our greater law consciousness. Production workers, foremen and even economic management functionaries have stressed repeatedly that they have not been adequately informed as yet about problems that have to do with enforcing socialist law. They would welcome more questions about labor law and the application of law in the national economy to be treated within the framework of advanced education, master's training and trade union conferences.

Along with the need for concrete answers to legal questions there also are emerging greater expectations by the working people of the substance and form of law propaganda in a pertinent, vivid, combative and effective manner. Some law propagandists still have trouble with this, especially since research, instruction and advanced training have not always devoted the necessary attention to it in the past.



To make his work truly effective in this area, a propagandist must be familiar with the people's problems and worries. He must be responsive to their concrete interests and questions and familiarize himself with the concrete situation in any given area so as to be able to connect with his listeners' store of experiences and their own level of expertise.

All the demands that were worked out in the Politburo resolution on the further tasks in political mass activities thus apply here too. One also has to be cognizant of the fact that the members of the various social groups differ in the tempo and manner of acquiring a sense of social responsibility and in their social activities. Social differences still existing, differences of position within the social reproduction process and also the after-effects of opinions handed down have an effect on the process that leads to the recognition for what is socially necessary. That has to be dealt with through discriminating, subject and task related ideological-educational work. Important tasks arise in this context for the law propagandists and also for the managers, teachers and educators in public education and vocational training, and for the trade union and FDJ functionaries, for optimizing the substantive presentation of law propaganda among the various groups of citizens and with respect to using always the appropriate forms and methods.

#### Responsibility of the Party Organizations

The growing demands placed on massively effective law education can be met only if, under party leadership, all state and economic management organs, the enterprises, combines, socialist cooperatives and other institutions as well as the social organizations, deal with it in their fields of responsibility and effectively coordinate all requisite activities.

Crucial for it is clarifying the ideological questions in the party organizations that have to do with it. The SED statute has set down that among the duties of the party members is to struggle rigorously for observing socialist legality, order, discipline and security.<sup>10</sup> The 7 May 1974 Politburo resolution in this connection calls on all basic organizations to enable all members and candidates, through effective political-ideological educational work, to observe socialist law in an exemplary manner and to head the struggle for order, discipline and security.

Many basic organizations follow the demand which, in Lenin's formulation, says: "If our conscience is to be clear when we set out to teach the workers and peasants discipline, we are obliged to start with it among ourselves."<sup>11</sup> Tasks for reinforcing law propaganda have been adopted into the plans for political mass activities. The party organizations have taken under their own control the initiatives for a broad development of the movement for exemplary order, discipline and security. Many party executives, in conjunction with an analysis of consciousness development, are dealing regularly in their spheres of responsibility with the status of development in the working people's socialist law consciousness.

That also is the way things are done in the machine tool and processing machine installations in Karl-Marx-Stadt. Every year, the secretary of the enterprise party organization, the plant director, the chairman of the enterprise trade union headquarters and other management cadres confer on the status and substance, the objectives and most important measures of law propaganda in the enterprise. They elaborate operational plans as a uniform action foundation for all those who are involved in law propaganda in the enterprise. Set down in them are clear objectives for the struggle for exemplary order and security, training on legal questions, law propaganda events sponsored by the organs of justice, discussions within the work collectives, publications in plant newspapers and so forth. A joint control is exercised over the fulfillment of the tasks, and the managers include significant results in their status reports. Basic issues are treated in conjunction with the plan tasks of the enterprise in annual law and security conferences. Also in managerial work conferences, in their decisions and in other management measures, they are implementing the principle of the unity between management responsibility, safeguarding legality and the development of law consciousness.

Experiences like that have to be broadly generalized. For in spite of considerable progress in recent years there are still problems and uncertainties in some enterprises. There still are managers who think that actually, by and large, it is the jurists and the organs of justice and security that are exclusively responsible for law education and legal work. And some even think they can in some cases ignore authoritative regulations.

In practice, many managers have come forth with a clear and convincing answer to that: The crucial prerequisite for success in law education and for making legality, order and security prevail in any given collective is the model, the exemplary conduct of the managers themselves. That alone provides authority for their demanding punctilious respect for legal rules. When they commit themselves to further improving their labor organization, to abiding by work regulations and to working according to plan, and when they fulfill their own obligations accurately, then they can also enlist their associates in consistently observing legality, order, discipline and security in their departments.

Practical experiences have confirmed that wherever, in ideological party work and in management activity, the requirements for the further shaping of the working people's socialist law consciousness are taken into account, success is obtained in enforcing the norms of socialist community, whereby rich reserves are being tapped for successfully coping with the greater tasks in the further shaping of the developed socialist society.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 19.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Second All-Russian Congress of the Soviets of the Workers and Soldiers Deputies," "Werke" (Works), Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 246.

3. Cf. Gerhard Schuessler and Wolfgang Weichelt, "Arbeiterklasse, Partei, Staatsmacht" (Workers Class, Party, State Power), Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1976, p 69.
4. Cf. "Programm . . .," op. cit., p 43.
5. For the experiences in Zeitz, cf. also Egon Bergmann, "Further Tasks in Consolidating Socialist Legality in Zeitz Kreis," NEUE JUSTIZ, No 14, 1977, pp 438-440.
6. Cf. "Die weiteren Aufgaben der politischen Massenarbeit der Partei" (The Further Tasks in the Party's Political Mass Activities), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1977, p 72.
7. Cf. Klaus Sorgenicht, "Staat, Recht und Demokratie nach dem IX. Parteitag der SED" (State, Law and Democracy after the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 130 ff.
8. Cf. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 79.
9. Cf. "Lehrplan fuer die sozialistische Berufsausbildung, Grundlagenfach Sozialistisches Recht" (Course Outline for Socialist Vocational Training, Basic Subject Socialist Law), Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1977.
10. Cf. Statut der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Statute), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 8.
11. V. I. Lenin, "Telegram to P. F. Vinogradov," "Briefe" (Letters), Vol 5, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968, p 61.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 12, Dec 77 signed to press 8 Nov 77  
'For Documentation' addendum

Modern Technologies--Effective Management's 'Formula for Success'

[Summary of article by Herbert Kroker, economist, director general, VEB  
Herbert Warnke Combine for Conversion Technology, Erfurt; pp 1348-1353]

[Text] Based on the experiences the combine has had itself, it is being shown how through the proper orientation given to political-ideological work and through purposeful management activities the pre-conditions were laid for decisive improvements in technological work. That includes mainly a long-range technical policy, insuring the unity of production development, technology and production organization, personnel reinforcement in technology and substantive and methodological changes in the work of the technologists, involving the working people in the elaboration of the tasks at the proper time and, especially, a clear position taken by the managers.

Microelectronics and Scientific-Technical Progress

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gerhard Merkel, director, VEB Robotron Center for Research and Engineering; corresponding member, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 1354-1360. A translation of this article is published in JPRS 70576  
1 Feb 1978, TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE--ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS  
No 1719, pp 67-74

[Text] The differences between microelectronics and traditional electronics, and the economic advantages of the former, are described and its three main operational applications are shown. Proceeding from the resolutions of the sixth Central Committee session, economic and ideological tasks in the systematic use of microelectronics are dealt with, and conclusions from the first experiences in the production and use of microelectronics in our republic are also drawn upon.

## Technology in the Service of Capital

[Summary of article by Dr Justina Marx, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 1361-1368]

[Text] A wave of capitalist rationalization is sweeping through the imperialist countries. Bourgeois ideologists seek to hold responsible, particularly, the broad application of microelectronics for the workers' increasing insecurity about their existence that goes with it. The example of controlling scientific-technical progress in socialism proves as much, however, as what is going on under capitalism that unemployment, disqualification and increased exploitation are not the consequence of the new technology but that of its capitalist application, and that in that system rationality and humanism implacably oppose each other.

## Marxism-Leninism and the Revolutionary Renewal of the World

[Summary of article by M. Suslov, CPSU Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; pp 1369-1383]

[Text] The victory of the October Revolution and the experiences gained in the construction of the new social order in the Soviet Union and in other countries have tested and confirmed the basic inevitabilities in the origin, growth and development of the communist form of society. This article treats in detail the inevitabilities in the construction of the developed socialist society. The greater leadership role of the communist and workers parties in all areas of public life is found to be of fundamental importance for it.

## Graphic Discoveries

[Summary of article by Dr Klaus Weidner, lecturer, Humboldt University, East Berlin; pp 1392-1399]

[Text] The Eighth Art Exhibition is drawing a successful balance sheet on the last 5 years of art development in our country. It turns out that socialist party-mindedness, the social determinants behind all effects in artistic ideas, always has to be gained anew. The author finds a new feature of that sort in the desire many artists have to trace those developments in the social psyche of our people which turn insights about social interconnections into personality values.

## Ideological Barriers to Disarmament

[Summary of article by Dr Guenter Kuehne, political researcher, SED Central Committee; pp 1400-1409]

[Text] Concrete facts are adduced to demonstrate the danger of the arms race propelled on and on by imperialism. The article takes issue with the "arguments" of anti-detente forces, such as the theory of the "balance of deterrence," the attempt at blaming the Soviet Union for cranking up the armaments spiral, and the claim that without an armaments industry there would be no technical progress and unemployment would increase. It unmasks the targets and demagogic maneuvers of the aggressive imperialist forces and shows that arms limitation and disarmament are realistic goals requiring active struggle.

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IRAQI DELEGATION VISITS THE GDR

Sindermann Toast at Iraqi Delegation Dinner

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Jan 78 p 3 AU

["Horst Sindermann toast: Cooperation Benefits Both Peoples," given at 8 January 1978 dinner in Berlin for Iraqi delegation led by Vice President Taha Muhyi Ad-din Ma'ruf]

[Text] Very esteemed Mr Vice President, dear Iraqi friends and comrades, permit me once more to very cordially welcome you, Excellency and the personalities accompanying you as dear guests in the GDR. The relations of trustful cooperation and mutual solidarity support between the GDR and the Republic of Iraq have already a fine tradition of many years. The fruitful collaboration between our states which agrees with our peoples' interests is also aimed at further improving the international situation. Therefore we attach a principled importance to expanding and further deepening the cooperation with your country.

Harmony in Basic Problems

We hold the firm conviction that new incentives for our friendship with its rich traditions and for our cooperation will derive from your visit, esteemed Mr Vice President, and from the joint talks.

We note with profound satisfaction that the GDR and the Republic of Iraq hold concerted views on the most important international basic questions. As a nonaligned state the Republic of Iraq has earned great respect for its consistent position in the struggle against the forces of imperialism and reaction as well as for its active intervention for international cooperation among peoples on the basis of equal rights.

It is in this spirit that we also know full well to appreciate the statement of Comrade Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, general secretary of the regional leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and chairman of the Command Council of the Revolution of the Republic of Iraq, that the Republic of Iraq stands firm at

the side of all those struggling against imperialism in Asia, Africa or Europe. This solidarity of the Republic of Iraq with all anti-imperialist peace-loving forces has a considerable share in the fact that the talks between leading representatives of our two states are always marked by an atmosphere of deep friendship, comradely frankness and mutual concord. I am glad that the talks opened between us today are proceeding in that spirit.

Excellency, dear Iraqi comrades and friends, it is with respect and sympathy that we are watching the efforts undertaken by the Iraqi people under the leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party to further advance the process of progressive socioeconomic transformations. During my visit to the Republic of Iraq, I was able to see for myself the sacrificing struggle of your people in overcoming the heritage of the past and in building a new society. The Iraqi people have good reason to be proud of what has been achieved thus far, and we congratulate you, dear friends and comrades, from the bottom of our hearts on these successes. The GDR will also in the future be a faithful friend and comrade in arms of the Republic of Iraq in its aspirations to social and economic progress, happiness and prosperity.

Our thoughts and aspirations are focused on the preserving and strengthening of peace, on the struggle for social progress, human dignity and justice. The results on the path to this goal are evident to everyone today. But reactionary imperialist quarters are intensifying their activities to reverse the wheel of history: Either by fanning the arms race, by attempts at interfering in the internal affairs of states or by the multifaceted machinations to halt the process of national and social liberation of the Asian and African peoples. The dangerous and troublesome situation in the Middle East and Africa's Eastern Horn is a typical example of this. Imperialism and reaction are trying to split the peoples, separate them from their natural allies, the USSR and the other socialist states, in order to reconsolidate their positions in that region.

#### Solidarity With the Palestinian People

The GDR has been and still remains a partisan of a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, a settlement that envisages the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories and must safeguard the assertion of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine--including their right to self-determination and to founding a sovereign independent state. We stand in solidarity at the side of the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the interests of the Arab people of Palestine.

Just like your country, esteemed Mr Vice President, the GDR regards the united action of all the progressive and national forces of the region and their close cooperation with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community as a decisive basis for success of the just cause of the Arab peoples.

As for the tense situation in the African Horn, the GDR advocates a political settlement on the basis of respect for the principles of the UN and OAU charters while preserving the territorial integrity of the states involved in the conflict.



## Purposefully Expand Positive Relations

Esteemed Mr Vice President, the relations between our two traditionally friendly states display a very positive balance sheet. We count ourselves happy in the agreement to expand and consolidate them to a maximum extent. We are ready to purposefully utilize the multifaceted possibilities for a planned long-term development of economic cooperation. The economic potentials of our republic as well as the long-term development aims of the Republic of Iraq provide favorable prerequisites for achieving an even higher level of collaboration between our states in the field of the economy for the benefit and well-being of our two peoples.

Excellency, dear friends and comrades, I beg you to raise the glass and drink to the friendship between our two states and peoples, to the health of our friend Taha Muhyi Ad-din Ma'ruf, to the health of President al-Bakr and to the health of our Iraqi friends and comrades, to the health of all those present.

### GDR-Iraqi Communique on Iraqi Vice President's Visit

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jan 78 p 6 AU

[Joint communique on official visit of Taha Muhyi Ad-din Ma'ruf, vice president of the Republic of Iraq, to the GDR]

[Text] Taha Muhyi Ad-din Ma'ruf, vice president of the Republic of Iraq, paid an official visit to the GDR 7-10 January 1978.

Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, received the vice president of the Republic of Iraq, Taha Muhyi Ad-din Ma'ruf for an exchange of views on basic problems of the international situation, the joint struggle against imperialism and on relations between the GDR and the Republic of Iraq. Taha Muhyi Ad-din Ma'ruf conveyed to Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, to the party-state leadership and to the GDR people cordial greetings from Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, general secretary of the regional leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of the Republic of Iraq, combined with firm determination to further deepen the political, economic and cultural relations between the two states for the benefit of their peoples as well as in the interest of social progress and the consolidation of peace and security in the world.

In a friendly conversation Willi Stoph, SED Central Committee Politburo member and GDR Council of Ministers chairman, and Taha Muhyi Ad-din Ma'ruf, vice president of the Republic of Iraq, consulted on ways and means for further developing cooperation and briefed each other on the development of their states.

Additional talks were conducted by Guenther Kleiber, SED Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Council of Ministers deputy chairman, with Dr Fakhri Qaddouri, president of the economic section in the Revolutionary Command Council; as well as by the ministers of foreign affairs of the two states Oskar Fischer and Dr Sa'dun Hammadi.

I. Official negotiations were conducted between Horst Sindermann, SED Central Committee Politburo member and GDR State Council deputy chairman, and Taha Muhyi Ad-din Ma'ruf, vice president of the Republic of Iraq, in the course of which were discussed the current international situation and the concerted positions in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and for social progress in the world.

Participating in the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and mutual understanding, were:

For the GDR side: Guenther Kleiber, SED Central Committee Politburo candidate member and GDR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, minister of general engineering and agricultural machinery and vehicle building, chairman of the GDR side in the "Permanent Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation GDR-Iraq"; Oskar Fischer, SED Central Committee member and minister of foreign affairs; Horst Kaminsky, State Bank president; Roland Schuhmann, deputy foreign trade minister; Karl-Heinz Lugheim, GDR ambassador plenipotentiary and extraordinary to the Republic of Iraq.

For the Republic of Iraq: Dr Sa'dun Hammadi, minister of foreign affairs; Dr Fakhri Qaddouri, president of the economic section of the Revolutionary Command Council; Zuhair al-Bayragdar, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Iraq to the GDR; Wisam al-Zahawi, head of the first international section in the ministry of foreign affairs.

Horst Sindermann briefed the Iraqi guest on the creative initiatives of the GDR working people in implementing the resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress and on the extensive experiences accumulated by the SED in carrying out the socialist revolution and in many years of complex struggle against imperialism. He stressed the basic importance which the GDR party-state leadership attaches to the constantly deepening friendship and cooperation with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community.

Taha Muhyi Ad-din Ma'ruf expressed the Republic of Iraq's high appreciation of the outstanding achievements of the GDR working people under the SED's leadership in shaping the developed socialist society. He paid tribute to the GDR's consistent peace policy and its solidaristic support of all peoples struggling for their national and social liberation.

Taha Muhyi Ad-din Ma'ruf informed Horst Sindermann about the important successes scored by the Iraqi people under the leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party [ASBP] in the political, economic, social and cultural fields in implementing the decisions of the Eighth ASBP Regional Congress on the road

of socialist transformation and the development of democracy, strengthening national independence and the determined defense of the revolution.

Horst Sindermann paid tribute to the revolutionary experiment and the Republic of Iraq's role in the struggle for peace, justice and social progress, against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. He expressed high respect for the revolutionary achievements accomplished by the Iraqi people under the ASBP's leadership.

Both sides noted with satisfaction that the friendly relations between the GDR and the Republic of Iraq are developing and deepening on the basis of mutual support in the struggle against imperialism, and joint adherence to the ideals of peace, national independence, solidarity and social progress. They declared their firm determination to expand the fruitful and mutually advantageous cooperation in the political, economic and cultural fields, to hold regular consultations on important international problems and to promote relations between the two friendly parties, the state organs and social institutions.

The interlocutors appreciated the results of the work of the "GDR-Iraq Permanent Committee for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation" and expressed their conviction that the committee's forthcoming third session would further contribute to expansion of long-term economic cooperation to the benefit of both peoples and states.

II. In assessing the international situation, both sides noted progress in the field of detente, including the safeguarding of security in Europe. They expressed concern about the dangerous endeavors of imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces in intensifying anew the arms race, developing new types of mass-destruction weapons, and in creating new hotbeds of tension in the world to undo the results achieved so far in the field of detente, and to force upon the peoples a policy of nuclear war brinkmanship.

The GDR and the Republic of Iraq are convinced of the need to intensify the efforts to save mankind from the danger of a nuclear war and to supplement political detente by military detente. They consider disarmament one of the key questions in international relations and call for immediate and effective measures to end the arms race as well as for the early convening of a world disarmament conference.

Both sides have concurrently declared that the safeguarding of peace and the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and aggression, against racism and neo-colonialism, and for peace and social progress requires an even closer collaboration of the nonaligned states with the states of the socialist community. Both sides stressed the importance of implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence and the generally valid norms of international law in relations between the GDR and the FRG, for peace and for the continuation of the process of detente.

The GDR and the Republic of Iraq expressed their deep concern over the dangerous situation in the Middle East. They are convinced that a just and lasting peace can be achieved only through the withdrawal of the Israeli forces of aggression from all occupied Arab territories and the full implementation of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and the right to returning [to its homeland] in compliance with the UN General Assembly resolutions.

They resolutely denounce the continued Israeli-Zionist aggression, the constant violation of human rights by Israel and the expulsion of the Arab population and establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab areas. They reaffirm their full support for the PLO and the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine, which they regard as an inseparable component part of the worldwide national liberation struggle.

In the view of the most recent development in the Middle East, both sides agree on resolutely opposing the attempts to broaden the imperialist influence in the area as well as the imperialist and reactionary machinations aimed against the inalienable rights of the Palestinians and the unity of the Arab states. They emphasize that the alliance between the Arab states and their faithful friends--the socialist states and particularly the USSR--as well as with all progressive forces constitutes the most important guarantee for the successful struggle against imperialism, aggression and reaction.

The GDR and the Republic of Iraq gave assurance that also in the future they will support the just struggle of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples for national liberation and social progress.

They denounce the criminal policy of the racist regime in the south of Africa and resolutely advocate its isolation and the overcoming of apartheid. They resolutely oppose the collusion between the racist regimes in Israel and in Africa's south as well as those imperialist quarters which, while systematically violating the UN resolutions, are carrying on their political, diplomatic, economic and military support for the Republic of South Africa and the white minority regime in south Rhodesia. They reaffirm their firm solidarity with the national liberation movements of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa.

The two sides appreciate the nonalignment movement as a significant factor in the struggle against all forms of colonialism, and for peace and security. They support the peoples' right to dispose in a sovereign manner of their natural wealth and share in the efforts to set up an international economic system on an equal and just basis. The GDR welcomes the responsible and positive role of the Republic of Iraq in the movement of the nonaligned states.

Horst Sindermann and Taha Muhyi Ad-din Ma'ruf also discussed the situation in the Indian Ocean and the adjoining areas and stressed the need for setting up a zone of peace and security in that region.

Both sides affirm their loyalty to the principles and aims of the UN Charter and are united in the efforts to participate in the further strengthening of the UN organization and of its role in preserving peace and security in the world.

III. Taha Muhyi Ad-din Ma'aruf expressed gratitude for the cordial reception and the hospitality accorded him and his suite.

He conveyed to Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, an invitation from Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, general secretary of the regional leadership of the ASBP and president of the Republic of Iraq, for a visit to Iraq. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

CSO: 2300

WEST GERMAN ANALYSIS OF SED'S PROBLEMS WITH YOUTH

Cologne RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German No 47, 25 Nov 77 p 10

[Article by Karl Wilhelm Fricke: "Honecker's Troubles With the Masters of Tomorrow--Frustrated Youth Between Conformity and Recalcitrance"]

[Text] A fatherland of youth--this and nothing less, among other things, is what the GDR wants to be according to the prescribed self-image of the party. How deeply, then, the authorities must have been affected when the East Berlin Alexanderplatz became a scene of tumult and uproar. And to make matters worse, it happened on this year's celebration of 7 October, the "national holiday." There were clashes between angry youths and the police who reacted with extreme harshness!

To be sure, such excesses are not so unusual anymore in East Berlin and in the GDR--"obviously the acts of some rowdies," according to NEUES DEUTSCHLAND--even if they are not always as spectacular as the ones on 7 October. An appeals verdict by the GDR's highest court, for example, recently made known uproars that no newspaper had previously reported: On 7 May of this year there were conflicts between the police and some 60 to 80 teenagers at the S-bahn [intra-urban electric railroad] station in Karlshorst. Key words from the decision such as "disorderly conduct," "acts of force," "public degradation," (in chorus!) and "resistance to state authority," give an approximate idea of the event, which would not have become the object of a basic decision involving stricter punishment if the situation had simply been an exception to the rule.

Rowdies and Alcohol

Disorderliness is spreading in the nation of the SED--after soccer games, parties and disco-evenings. Usually alcohol plays a role. There is no reason to gloat about this. Nevertheless, it is a fact of politics that such abuses are not just an expression of "Western decadence," but that they also appear in a country whose youth has, for a long time now, been born into the "genuine, existing socialism." To be sure, the rate of juvenile delinquency is much lower in the GDR than in the FRG, but it has

still been rising for years and is causing the SED increasing worry. For unfavorable demographic and socio-economic reasons, this trend will continue in the years to come. Besides "rowdiness," other characteristics of GDR juvenile delinquency are vulgarity and drunkenness, robbery and larceny as well as traffic offenses.

In searching for the causes, the GDR likes to point to negative influences from the West, but this is deception or self-deception. Gradually they should begin to suspect, even in the "Central Institute for Youth Research" in Leipzig, how little the "system-related" difference, matter between "capitalist" and "socialist" society, especially as regards juvenile delinquency.

The causes are manifold. Often lack of discipline and recalcitrance in the GDR youth comes from a revolt against middle class materialism, the fact of being treated like children, the pressure to accomplish and too high expectations--particularly in the case of determined secondary school pupils and students. And the fact that occasional outbreaks in the form of rowdiness, rioting and excesses are as senseless as the vandalism of Western youth gangs in no way eliminates as a motive their protest against monotony and decay in the "most boring state in the world."

At the same time, this state is as concerned about youth as hardly any other state in the world. The SED's idea of helping youth has been raised to the level of a rule of law by constitution and laws. Here the legal age for voting and for holding office has been set at 18. The result is that young deputies under 25 have been sent to the "people's assemblies" on all levels: 40 to the People's Chamber, 441 to the bezirk parliaments, 4,502 to the kreis parliaments, and 24,558 to city-delegate and city-district assemblies as well as to community councils.

#### Great Distrust

The effort to give young people early responsibility can also be seen in the "youth projects" in construction, industry, agriculture, research and technology, of which there are about 73,000. These are genuine projects which the youth of the GDR carry out on their own responsibility. And are not tremendous sums expended yearly by the state for schools, sport, youth travel and so forth?

And still there is frustration, recalcitrance, protest and opposition? Here is a quote from the basic program decided upon last year at the Ninth SED Party Congress: "The Socialist Unity Party of Germany extends to youth its complete trust and places great responsibility upon it in the formation of the developed socialist society." How great actually can this trust be, when it does not even extend as far as granting young people freedom to travel outside of the "socialist camp"? Actually, the SED shows no section of the GDR population more distrust than it does to youth. The results are distance from the regime and occasional protest.

The political-ideological educational goal of the SED is defined by the program as follows: "The party is passing on to the younger generation the revolutionary working and fighting experiences of the working class and defends the proposition that all young people should acquire basic knowledge of Marx and Lenin, extensive technical and occupational skills as well as the political and moral qualities of fighters for communism." How should young people react to this stilted pathos other than to be taken aback or to find it extremely funny? But it is supposed to convince them.

Measured by idealistic and material effort, the successes of the youth policy cannot be considered satisfactory by the SED. On the contrary, the state party of the GDR must recognize that under its aegis so far no generation of communists has appeared. Whoever now and then has the opportunity to speak with young people "over there" finds this to be completely confirmed. Most of them adjust without becoming politically engaged. They want to get on professionally. Perhaps they are more disciplined than their FRG contemporaries. Their leisure activities and consumer behavior are not so different as one would think. Naturally they like mopeds and music, pop and rock; they wear jeans and T-shirts; they smoke a lot and drink more than a little; and they do their duty in everyday life--even rather as a matter of course.

#### No Communists

But they just are not communists. "I don't think I would ever become a communist. When one is in a brigade in which everyone just tries to cover himself, then one does the same thing automatically." This statement of a GDR apprentice deserves to be quoted because it comes from a youth journal of the GDR.

The "Free German Youth" (FDJ) which claims to be the "socialist youth organization," the "active helper and fighting reserve of the party," cannot change anything in this. The GDR national youth organization for 14 to 25-year-olds has reached (in the middle of the year) its greatest numerical strength thus far with exactly 2,193,488 members, but still, a third of those growing up can avoid membership. It is also a fact that opposition has repeatedly come from the GDR youth, and the number of political prisoners among them is considerably higher than would correspond to the number in their age group.

The influence of the FDJ on the young generation is less than the SED might wish, but this does not mean that it is small. After all, it must be remembered that the FDJ, as a monopolistic youth organization, controls all the means and possibilities for political-ideological influence on GDR youth. Its political journalism alone gives an idea of this. The FDJ newspaper, JUNGE WELT, with its daily circulation of 900,000, is still the second largest paper in the GDR. And then there are youth magazines and journals, among which is the student newspaper FORUM, the publication of which is completely guided and controlled by the FDJ.



This makes its difficulties all the more amazing. It is significant that the FDJ has its strongest influence in places where it creates dependence: with high school and university students. They can scarcely reject the national youth league without taking chances with their future. "The directors of the Free German Youth have the power of decision over admission to the university," says the present GDR youth law. Many young Christians or children of Christian parents have come to realize in past years what this means. With these constraints, however, at best the FDJ produces people who go along rather than lead, as the SED dreams of.

Compared with this view, the "socialist youth league" sees itself exposed to considerable skepticism and rejection on the part of apprentices and young workers "in production." They do not feel themselves to be dependent upon the FDJ in their progress--and therefore the FDJ is for them rather inconsequential.

Direction of career education is in general a state matter, not that of the FDJ. According to Article 25 of the GDR Constitution, all young people have the "right and the duty to acquire the knowledge for a career."

Up until now the GDR has been spared unemployment among young people. But this does not mean that its career education is without problems, for the duty of acquiring knowledge for a career means that many young people cannot pursue the career of their choice but must retreat to those that are economically "correct." Thus at the beginning of the GDR's 1977-78 academic year on 1 September, about 225,000 school graduates were put into apprenticeships, but a third of them cannot realize their original career goals. This makes about 75,000 young people who are pursuing their apprenticeship in a dissatisfied and uninterested manner, and not a few of these waste their time or even break off their apprenticeships.

In the academic area as well, only four of five candidates can follow the course of study they had chosen--and to this it must be added that the East Berlin government has systematically reduced the number of university vacancies since 1972. Because of the fear of educating too many academicians and too few skilled workers, the number of university students has since been reduced by 20 percent--namely in mathematics and natural science areas, technical sciences, economics and pedagogy. It is unavoidable that planning with such results should create dissatisfaction in the younger generation.

#### A Basic Contradiction

In the opposite way, the SED continually has difficulties of a special kind in another area: in the recruitment of long-enlistment and career soldiers for the National People's Army. Particularly in the recruitment of replacement officers, it quickly reaches the limits of a pliable "cadre reservoir." This, too, belongs to the picture of young people who are trying to make the best of their situation somewhere between adjustment and recalcitrance.

Finally, all of the conflicts of the SED with the younger generation have their roots in the contradictory youth policy of the party itself. Its basic contradiction lies in the continually unsuccessful attempt to educate GDR youth by means of revolutionary doctrines to be loyal and true to the regime. In the process, it is just this ideologizing in education which sharpens the political awareness of many young people, because experience makes them aware of the contrast between theory and practice, of the gulf between the ideal and the real in the "genuinely existing socialism." And this conflict is renewed with every graduating class that leaves the schools and universities of the GDR. It is "life itself," as Erich Honecker used to say, that teaches the young people in the GDR critical thinking. His troubles with the "masters of tomorrow" will continue.

9124

CSO: 2300

WEST GERMAN CRITIQUE OF GDR CULTURAL POLICY

Bonn DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German No 53, 23 Dec 77 p 10

[Article by Karl Corino: "Contributions to the Ideological Offensive -- The New Guidelines for Art Criticism and Cultural Policy in the GDR"]

[Text] Once again two authors have left the GDR, either temporarily or for good: Hans Joachim Schaedlich, author of the prose collection entitled "Versuchte Naehc" [Attempts at Intimacy] moved from Koepenick to Hamburg following reprisals against himself and his wife; Jurek Becker, author of the novels "Jakob der Luegner" [Jacob the Liar] and "Irrefuehrung der Behoerden" [Delusion of the Authorities], received from the authorities a 2-year visa after his most recent book had been rejected. He intends to use the visa to spend time in West Berlin and the United States. These cases are reason enough to examine the GDR's new guidelines on art criticism and cultural policy -- a year after Biermann's expatriation.

"Final group match successfully concluded," said the issue of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND dated 17 November 1977. "The GDR national soccer team won its final game in the qualifying round for the 1978 world championships by a score of 2 to 1 over Turkey. With this victory it took second place, undefeated in European Group 3, behind Austria; Austria had previously already qualified for the end round in Argentina... Our team can be assured that its finish makes for optimism concerning the tasks ahead -- first of all, the qualifying round for the European championship."

The SED's central organ avoided any mention of the sad fact -- for some of the public -- that the GDR national team did not survive the qualifying round and will therefore not be playing in Argentina in 1978. In just this one example, where it is a matter of covering

up for the loss of prestige in a sport that has a large following, we can see once again the SED's customary methods of dealing with facts it considers unpleasant. Although everyone who is interested knows about the defeat, it is not acknowledged officially but is obscured with the aid of rhetorical tricks.

#### Phraseological Quicksand

Although not always quite so coarsely done, this policy of covering up and window dressing is also found in other areas, including culture. One is actively reminded of this upon reading the new "resolution by the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany," published recently in the East Berlin weekly, SONNTAG, under the title "Responsibilities of Literary and Art Criticism."

It is obvious from this piece that art and art criticism are not so much the medium of truth as a "contribution to socialism's ideological offensive." To quote the opening paragraph, "Literary and art criticism is assuming an important place in the revolutionary process of thoroughgoing change that characterizes the formation of the developed socialist society. Its basic concern is that of using its specific means to influence the expression of the socialist way of life as well as development of the socialist individual. Literary and art criticism has great opportunities for conveying the ideas and ideals of the struggle and effecting continued formation of the developed socialist society."

In this phraseological quicksand one finds very few places where there is firm ground under foot, and it is no matter that this ground is paved (to employ a paradox) with stumbling blocks. They are called partisanship, solidarity with the people, struggle to approximate reality, depiction of the working class, the leading force within the socialist society, portrayal of the worldwide class struggle between socialism and imperialism, description of the daily struggle of labor collectives in the sphere of material production, of active participation in the shaping of social life, socialist national defense and life within the family.

These themes are to be accepted obligingly and reverently by those gentlemen who call themselves artists. Art criticism is supposed to support them in their endeavors and help set them on the right path. As far as art criticism itself is concerned, plans to shake it up and strengthen its articulation include a number of promotional measures: seminars, colloquia, excursions, critics conferences, state awards and publication of model reviews in anthologies and journals put out by academies. The "Johannes R. Becher" Institute for Literature in Leipzig, the "Hans Otto" Theatrical Academy in East Berlin and the Advanced School for Motion Pictures and Television in Babelsberg are being urged to train a new generation

of capable critics. In a related development, changes in the educational program of the University of Leipzig's Department of Journalism were made on a trial basis in 1974. Formerly taboo, specialization in the cultural sciences was made possible in a regular course of study.

To be sure, no matter what the wording of the directives which it is hoped will produce "well-rounded critics," they are dominated by a sense of the "even." The standards being forced upon artists and critics alike read "even stronger," "even finer," "even more richly developed," and whether reality be yards or miles removed from the suggested essence, this distance must be concealed even more cleverly under the veils of fair illusion.

Socialist realism is as far from being realistic as "real socialism" is from being socialism. It suffers from the curse of an aesthetic anticipation which perhaps will never be followed by the actual grasp -- the recipient suffers the torments of Tantalus.

As Klaus Hoepcke, deputy culture minister, said in the BERLINER ZEITUNG, "When we ask ourselves how literature helps reinforce communist ideals and values to an even greater degree, then one thing should be clear to us: It is a process that does not go smoothly and without conflict. For it is not a matter of solely repeating in literary form that which has already been said in other ways. The value of literature is not in embellishing that which has been formulated earlier. Its causes are the open questions, the unexplored, that which has not been fully clarified before -- and even the forbidden."

This sounds encouraging; in a seemingly fully explained world, literature may perhaps be permitted to function as a discoverer, something which the writers scarcely dared believe in anymore. Disillusionment soon follows, however, for the SED cannot approve "if a literary work tends to make of the fortuitous the autonomous; if the particular, the concrete, the real dominates the work -- with no regard for whether objective inevitable social developments are thereby illuminated or obscured.

#### Dogmas Against Progress

There is a hopeless dilemma here. It is in the nature of literature to react to the particular, the concrete, the real. It sees inevitable social developments in each of these, and if "society's laws of motion" that have congealed into state doctrine are not in accord with the experience of the writers, this detracts in no way from the credibility of the latter. All progress in the history of human thought is attributable to the fact that particular observations, facts considered irrelevant, could not be explained using the

traditional theory, thus occasioning a search for a new theory that covered the exception as well as the rule.

Inasmuch as social theories and belletristic intuition lack the precision of natural science, to allow writers the "particular, concrete or real" only if it is in keeping with the dogmas of Marxism-Leninism means to all intents and purposes depriving them of the opportunity for intellectual innovation that was granted initially.

This situation describes more than just the wretched state of conformist literature; it also explains why the overriding scientific revolutions of recent decades -- in genetics and cybernetics -- have been taking place outside the East bloc and are only laboriously making headway there. In that hemisphere they pride themselves on contrasting the bourgeois concept "of the unalterability of the world with a deep conviction of the alterability of the world." This alteration, however, is to be accomplished in accordance with unalterable concepts drawn from the 19th century -- they seek to pronounce anathema even upon different interpretations of the concepts. Even though, like Hoepcke, they may harangue about rejecting mind-sets, in plain words they are demanding "artistic representation which values phenomena grasped through the assimilation of reality, and, what is more, from the standpoint of socialist positions." And are the critics "sensitive and strong on principle"? According to the Central Committee, their personal judgments should "be based to an even greater extent upon the objective processes by which literature and art affect our socialist society." In other words, in case of doubt be strong on principle.

The example of Christa Wolf shows how literary criticism operates in practice. She is the GDR's most important prose writer of the middle generation; she also was among the first to declare solidarity with Biermann. A short time thereafter, a Professor Ziegengeist fulminated behind closed doors in East Berlin to the effect that despite every effort the attempt to get Christa Wolf "to fall into line in terms of realism" had not succeeded and that it had been a mistake in recent years to spotlight the literature of Wolf, Kunert and the like to such a degree. He said that if the West should launch a move to award Christa Wolf the Nobel Prize, they would not stand for it.

The reviews of Christa Wolf's most recent book, "Kindheitsmuster" [Pattern of a Childhood], were predominantly well-disposed insofar as they came from the GDR. But in the case of authors such as Hermann Kant, one noticed above and beyond intellectual accord and respect the tactical effort to keep from estranging Christa Wolf from the GDR any further than had already been done as a consequence of Biermann's expatriation. (She herself, in poor health,

had been severely reprimanded for her activity; her husband was ousted from the party.)

Hoepcke as well is intent (in the aforementioned article) on not letting the rift widen between Christa Wolf and the writers who follow the party line. He mentions her in the same breath with Erwin Strittmatter, Erik Neutsch or Benito Wogatzki -- a compliment to these three. There has been, however, one example that ought not to be imitated (although many may have applauded it) lest it lead directly to a return to out-and-out Stalinist methods. The reference is to an essay entitled "Gegenerinnerung" [Counter-Reminiscence] in SINN UND FORM. The author is Annemarie Auer, a woman who is not without merit as an essayist but who all the same joined the front line of Biermann opponents last November. As a preliminary clarification: Every critic of course has the right to tear a piece apart. It is merely a question of style and arguments. What makes Auer's polemics so annoying is much more than the wretched German of her mode of thought.

Every nuance that Christa Wolf was able to bring out in describing the mechanisms of coming to terms and getting along in the Third Reich is repudiated by Auer. Christa Wolf takes infinite pains to fathom how it was possible for millions to follow Hitler, how much ghastly and misguided idealism, seduction through propaganda, lack of thought and willful ignorance were involved in the wicked charade. Auer reduces the problem to these terms: "In order to be a Nazi, one had to be either stupid or bad." The sociology of fellow-traveling that is found in "Kindheitsmuster" -- which with the necessary changes could be applied to the GDR as well -- seems to many to be a nearly intolerable provocation. They therefore would like to go back, in the manner of Auer, to celebrating antifascist heroes, as was the custom in the early 1950's. They want to see the glorification of the "democrats, antifascists and socialists," who may indeed have been models, but not representative of the behavior of the masses who toed the line.

#### Rewards for the Courage of One's Convictions

The fact that Christa Wolf gives the reactions of the average person and his cares their due brings her reproaches of "plaintiveness," prepossession with self and "equivocal lack of clarity." In Auer's words: "It therefore does not seem to me that the path of tradition runs in this direction, a path that leads on from the solidarity of the struggling proletariat and its resistance accompanied by many sacrifices to the morality which supports the civilized condition of a socialist society. We must look for the elements of our ethical-cultural liberation in memories of the resistance fighters."

A woman who for many embodies an enlightened socialist morality must suffer having this written into her record. For the very reason that she takes to heart the lessons of the past and is no longer willing to give the state that which it assumes in its all-encompassing presumptuousness, she is being pilloried: "bloodlessness of pretensions to individuality"; "feelings of being distinctive"; "tone between sniveling and speculation"; "perversion and subversion of the concept of suffering"; "The political position of her book seems ill-defined."

Should exercises such as these -- which scarcely distinguish between comment and denunciation -- be imitated in the GDR, the intellectual climate would be bound to become even more frigid. The role played by envy on the part of the orthodox cannot be overlooked. "Opportune careers, elegant apartments or houses, in addition a house in the country surrounded by a garden or the countryside -- one has to get a bit of air once in a while. Nor is there a lack of the car required to reach these beautiful gardens. One travels; one is honored" -- thoughts such as these occur to certain people upon reading Christa Wolf and her kind. Part of this, of course, is the reward for the courage of her convictions -- the fact that the public in the GDR as well as in the West pays more attention to her than it does to strict conformity. In a way this is true even of party and government in the other German state, in line with the maxim that unconditional subservience elicits only contempt within the power structure.

#### Leave of Absence in the West

It speaks well for crisis management within Hager's office that despite the exodus -- Thomas Brasch, Reiner Kunze, Bernd Jentzsch, Sarah Kirsch and, most recently, Hans Joachim Schaedlich -- a total confrontation with the critical intelligentsia has been avoided; the latter enjoy only a measure of publicity. In the matter of repression of prominent Biermann-protesters -- in contrast to the anonymous unruly, who simply continue to be arrested -- for the time being it is being directed toward the work rather than the person. Volker Braun's "Unvollendete (Stasi-)Geschichte" [Unfinished (State Security) Story], printed in SINN UND FORM in 1965, was able to appear in book form only with Suhrkamp [FRG publishing house]. His play on Che Guevara, brought to the point of readiness for opening night at the Deutsches Theater in East Berlin, had to move to Mannheim for the world premiere. Ulrich Plenzdorf's short story entitled "Kein runter und kein fern" [No Descent and No Escape] -- particularly explosive right now in light of the trouble at Alexanderplatz -- must remain under wraps. Hinstorff dropped an already announced novel by Martin Stade. Similarly, Jurek Becker's new book, "Schlaflose Tage" [Sleepless Days], did not find favor with the cultural bureaucracy. (All the same, this author has just been



granted permission for a 2-year leave of absence in the West.)  
Cultural policy at present reminds one of the reactions of a driver  
on an icy street: he doesn't slam on the brakes; he just brakes  
gradually and steers in the direction of the skid.

7458  
CSO: 2300

CULTURE MINISTER DISCUSSES RESPONSIBILITIES OF YOUNG ARTISTS

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 32 No 1, 1 Jan 78 p 3

Interview with Minister of Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, date and place not given, by Hans Jacobus, SONNTAG staff

Text Question Comrade Minister, the year is young yet. In this SONNTAG discussion -- by now a tradition -- we should like with your approval to talk about youth -- or, more precisely, about young artists. It is well known that the responsibility of the young artist increases along with his ability, but is the reverse not true as well?

Answer In an epoch such as ours, the responsibility and the obligation of the artist are greater and more demanding than ever before. Consequently, clarity about the relationship between politics and art, between politics and culture, is particularly important for the young artists who work and live in our country, a country in which art is for all to enjoy. Maintaining the constantly evolving process of acquiring and maintaining this clarity is among the most urgent tasks involved in mastering the laws of building the developed socialist society, developing the world socialist system and keeping pace with epochal development.

Question Do you attribute the growing interest in young artists and their works to special circumstances?

Answer Absolutely! Here in our country a young artist has great opportunity to work, learn and compare. He experiences an abundance of stimuli through society; society appreciates his art and associates and allies itself with it. He has grown up within our society; real socialism, its origins and its growth, is a part of his basic experience. He is one of a generation which is growing up under socialism/communism. Young artists, creating out of this range of experience, are making an original contribution to the totality of socialist art by articulating their emotions and their thoughts in a way that is quite natural for a generation such as this. They have many things to say, and we must face these things

attentively and resolutely, for with their temperament, their passion, their demands and their involvement in society, they are bringing something new to socialist art. That is to say, they are comrades-in-arms, partners, representing something specific and indispensable. It is not simply the fact that they are young that distinguishes them; it is rather their earnest striving for high artistic achievement for socialism.

Question Since you mention abundance and difficulties in the same breath, the question arises of whether the dynamics involving these two are always grasped fully, whether one person or another does not on occasion tend to persist in positions once taken and to undervalue or overlook the advancement of socialist concerns.

Answer To be sure, that well may happen, but a young person does well to study this dynamic relationship early on, this unity of continuity and change, so that he himself may become a progressive force. In this regard we take into consideration that in the area of artistic creation and artistic ideas, artistic conceptions and ways of producing, the human being develops under the pressure of specific difficulties and internal struggles. A great capacity for persistence and also great sensitivity can be observed at times.

Question The relationship between the emotional and the rational is often discussed at art academies and also among graduates. The participants often shy away from emotions -- even if they are aware of the equivalence of both dimensions. What ideas would you pass on in this regard?

Answer Johannes R. Becher once said that the "ability to be passionately moved" by something must be added to talent if a good poem is to be written. "This passionate emotion must assume its proper form if it is to move others," he wrote in his "Poet's Creed." Perhaps this is the key to a solution of many problems involved in creating. It is not at all a sensation for the vast majority of young people: Real socialism has contradictions that are peculiar to itself; they arise out of the internal and external conditions of its existence. On their voyage of artistic discovery they hope to track down the contradictions and conflicts of our time, the multifarious new human problems that arise in and out of the constant changes within our lives.

Question The party of the working class -- the essence of our democracy -- is always posing new kinds of questions that are also ideological problems at the same time, thus requiring aesthetic and artistic responses. Young artists in particular are being called upon to get involved, to be creative. Do you not find that this is often not at all an easy thing for young people with such limited experience with life?

Answer This ought to be discussed quite openly. Naturally, this active participation in implementing the new, the progressive, the socialist is not always smooth sailing that goes along without difficulties, without debate and without the collision of opinions. Yes, indeed, taking a position on the side of right can also mean having to quarrel with friends, putting up with aggravation, perhaps also being misunderstood on occasion. But life reveals that no tragic conflict will develop whenever the argument over opinions is conducted with the aim of advancing socialism, strengthening our GDR. Resulting from this is benefit for the whole, for progress.

Question You are, then, addressing the connection between social experience and artistic achievements?

Answer Yes, indeed. For to the young generation of artists perception is a fundamental condition of the act of creating: Without political allegiance, without active espousal of socialism, without character, knowledge and the mental attitude of the artist as a citizen, it is impossible to "explore the truth of life," to construct a reality that is faithful, honest and true to the party. As a comrade-in-arms, the artist is being called upon to assume in his artistic statement a militant stance favoring victory for the new, the progressive, for socialism. With his art the young artist should have a part in exploring the grand opportunities for human development and success under socialism, in formulating and disseminating socialist values and the socialist outlook on life.

Question It is basically a matter of confidence in young artists but also of great demands on their intellectual curiosity, their urge for action. This cannot, after all, be learned like schoolwork!

Answer Let me say this first of all: Every artist is urged to be curious about people, about their success in life, their thoughts, feelings and actions, about their habits and attitudes. Today it is more topical than ever to say to them: Look at the workers, at how they are learning to manage the economy and govern the state -- as a class, as the ruling and liberated class -- how they work and live, what they love and what they hate. This "being curious" must be understood as a basic prerequisite for creating art -- a deep appreciation of life as a creative principle. And as far as the "schoolwork" that you mentioned is concerned, it is not enough for a graduate to know only his specialty; we expect that as a matter of course at the conclusion of his studies. He must have something creative of his own to offer. There is a maxim that we should follow: The objective demands that are made upon the art of our epoch are at the same time demands upon the artists who create it. If one is to persuade and educate people, one must oneself be persuaded and educated, and work at this unceasingly. To create the image of

socialism in art and to realize one's potential as a total person are for every individual a constant process of self-realization.

Question You are familiar with the contradiction that persists with regard to expectations: "That is what we have learned; this is what we find." Let us turn the question around: Is it not possible that we expect too much of graduates when they are just beginning their artistic lives, just beginning to work?

Answer Not everyone makes his debut with the "Aufstand der Fischer von St Barbara" Revolt of the Fishermen of St Barbara. We should all resolve to give more intensive and extensive support for the work of young artists and for conditions conducive to their creativity -- for the graduates of advanced and technical art schools, but also for the beginners and all who have demonstrated talent and the desire to achieve. I should therefore like to direct attention once again to our generous system of promoting the arts. Our goal in relation to young artists is that of encouraging them in their artistry and of helping them find themselves. They are themselves part of the community of all working people. In work with young artists, it seems to me especially important for one to know them and extend to them confidence, patience and help. Building relationships of trust in cooperation between social partners and young artists is very important. Failure to do this, to say nothing of superficial efforts and ignorance, greatly damages the development of art in our country.

Question Is that not also true of contracts between enterprises and young artists?

Answer Without question. Nowhere should we allow the thoughtless or careless development, promotion or automatic conclusion of contracts. The Concert Performance and Guest Artists Directorate has acquired good experience in this area of late.

Question We spoke at the beginning, Comrade Minister, of the turbulent times in which we live, of the dynamics of our development. What possibilities do you see of coping with them by means of experiences that are passed on to young artists?

Answer Today this means primarily experiencing and expressing the unity of socialist patriotism and internationalism. Socialist integration in action, our socialist states living together in a community of free men -- this is indeed an historical occurrence which is at once a fundamental experience and an artistic charge, one of great consequence. This applies equally to experiencing the idea of solidarity.

Question We have been speaking of young artists; budding art critics are naturally included as well. But mention should be made here of criticism of young artists. In line with the Politburo resolution, how would you view the task of the critic in relation to budding artists?

Answer We expect from literary and art criticism friendly advice, well-founded evaluation and serious assistance for young writers and artists. It should openly and companionably formulate the expectations of society and of art in terms of a piece of work, even a beginner's work. In principle, there cannot be different standards for young or older artists. What is necessary, however, is that the greatest possible care be taken when dealing with talent, the "most sensitive of materials"(Mayakovsky), especially if it is not quite sure of its cause and its potential. If, however, the cautiousness turns to forbearance, to failure to make critical suggestions, this is no more helpful than a great "ripping apart" or expectations that are too high. Above all -- we still find this occasionally -- the criticism should never assume a superior air, as of a teacher or lecturer assigning grades. "One forgets," says Anna Seghers, "that what matters is not a personal judgment but genuine assistance, a determination of the literary problem and its exposition in a specific instance." This is true of all the creative-productive arts.

In conclusion, let me wish the budding young artists in our country a particular measure of success in their noble and difficult endeavor for this year that has just begun. Our society, which holds art in high regard, will be by their side at all times, offering affection and assistance -- and this assistance also includes critical comment.

7458  
CSO: 2300

MINISTER OF CULTURE IN VIENNA DEFENDS POLICY

Vienna Domestic Service in German 1132 GMT 16 Jan 78 AU

[Interview with GDR Minister of Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffman by Konrad Zobel--recorded. Time and place not given, presumable 16 January in Vienna]

[Summary][Question] Mr Minister, next Wednesday you will attend the opening of the exhibition "The Dresden Copper Print Gallery and the Albertina" and you will have talks with Austrian political figures of cultural life. What are your intentions in this connection?

[Answer] We attach great importance to this exhibition because it is the first joint undertaking and virtually marks the opening of a new phase in our cultural relations, and because we will shortly conclude a cultural agreement with the Austrian republic. I am greatly interested in the opinions of my Austrian colleagues. I have been engaged in an exchange of opinions with Austrian Minister of Culture [as head] Dr Sinowatz for several weeks--it began in Berlin--and there are numerous projects in our cultural relations for 1978 that have to be discussed. Thus, I am looking forward very much to my working talks here.

[Question] "In what respects, in your opinion, do the principles of cultural policy in the GDR differ from those of the nonsocialist European countries, especially the German-speaking ones?"

[Answer] "There are a great many common views, although of course there is not always complete agreement regarding the interpretation of every detail." But we take great interest in the Austrian ministry's approach to the various aspects of topical cultural problems and its experiences.

[Question] Among the Austrian people there is the impression that there is a certain fluctuation in the GDR's cultural policy, between a more liberal and a dogmatic line, and that at present the dogmatic line seems to prevail--an opinion that is partly caused by the fact that a large number of writers and intellectuals had to leave your country.

[Answer] "You see, we have not expelled anyone."

[Reporter interrupts] "Except Wolf Biermann!!!"

[Answer, resumed] "Wolf Biermann--after he had intensively attacked us, as the government, for years--applied for permission to give guest performances in the FRG, and after he continued his abuse there, we saw no point in readmitting him to the GDR. All others--you speak of many, I say not so many, in comparison with the number of artists and those who actively work in cultural life--have requested permission to leave the GDR temporarily, and some for good. Well, you know, we did not make this easy for ourselves. We have had long discussions, we have talked with one another. With some we parted in peace, with others not so peacefully, but I must tell you that I also conceive this as part of a clarification process, and I see absolutely nothing sensational in this: There are fluctuations in every profession. I have not bothered to find out how many Austrian writers and artists have gone to the FRG, or to the United States, or how many have gone from the United States to the FRG--I do not know this, and to me this is utterly insignificant."

[Question] "But it is certainly significant that many of these writers who have left the GDR regard themselves as socialists."

[Answer] "You say 'many writers.' There are two names that could be regarded as writers in this connection: Kunze and Sauerkirsch. All other names that are now depicted as those of GDR writers are fabrications, the most secret wishes of the secret services. They were only afterwards declared to be writers. But let us leave this for the moment. Kunze, for example--and I quite respect this--was at one time a member of our party, a very consistent member of the party, and he then developed into a Christian Democrat. This is not a typical development, but it does happen in human life, and he has acquired a strongly religious view of society. And he has no concept of socialist at all. He has not even a precise concept of humanism. Well, if this is the way it is, one has to accept it. As for Sauerkirsch, I do not want to say anything"--for, here the GDR Government has made a concession to urgent personal requests; and it is simply indecent to turn this into a primary political factor."

[Question] If you consider the analogous cases of Austrian writers who adopted a very critical attitude toward their country--and Austrian cultural policy--such as Peter Handke with his "Abuse of Austria"--but who are nevertheless not subjected to any reprisals and are frequently even awarded cultural prizes--don't you think that in this context there is still much that remains to be done to obtain a mutual understanding of policies?

[Answer] "Well, that was actually a poor choice of examples. In our country, there are many critical opinions in literature about problems of our social development, at the theater--you should come to our country and have a look yourself, you should read our literature, read Anna Seghers, (?Strittmatter), Hermann Kapt, and hundreds of others who very critically and problematically discuss the GDR and life. In our country are forbidden: racism, glorification of fascism, neonazism, hatred among peoples; and let me tell you quite



frankly that we do not like it either if someone comments without sufficient expert knowledge about another country's policies, nor about Austria, either. Also, in our statements about the FRG, we endeavor to attain a maximum of objectiveness. And we would like this style--which after Helsinki is necessary, after all, I think--to be fostered, to be cultivated.

CSO: 2300

DEFENSE MINISTER REVIEWS TIES WITH, INDEBTEDNESS TO SOVIET ARMY

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jan 78 p 3 LD

[Article by Army General H. Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of defense: "In Close Unity With the Army of October"]

[Text] Only a short space of time separates the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy from the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The need for the creation of a worker and peasant Red Army--the defenders of revolutionary gains--was evoked by the fact that immediately after Great October the forces of external reaction and internal counter-revolution took the path of an armed struggle against the victorious workers, peasants and soldiers in Russia. Thus, the existence of the first socialist state in the world was inseparably linked from the very beginning with the creation and development of its armed forces.

Any revolution, V. I. Lenin said, is only worth something if it is able to defend itself. This Leninist behest has been implemented for 60 years now. It was fulfilled by the fighters of the Red Guards at the time of the October Revolution, by the Red Army fighters in the Civil War years and by the troops of the Soviet Army during World War II. With no regard for their own lives, they protected and defended the world's first fatherland of the working people and helped other peoples to free themselves from the fascist yoke and to escape imperialist aggression and oppression. In this way millions of Soviet soldiers and sailors, sergeants and petty officers, ensigns, warrant officers, officers, talented generals, admirals and marshals of the Soviet Armed Forces made their great contribution to the victorious advance of socialism, which left a particularly indelible mark on the whole of the 20th century.

Throughout their 60-year history the armed forces of the Soviet Union have always played a truly world-historic role. Nowadays they resolve the most important tasks of our contemporary struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace. The experiences and impressions of one person cannot, of course, reflect the importance of the Soviet Armed Forces for

the reliable military defense of socialist gains and the guarantee of peace throughout the world. Nevertheless, pondering the glorious path trodden by the Soviet Army, I wish to relate two episodes which became imprinted on my memory. They reflect the impressions of this army which many of this country's citizens have and which have become typical for the GDR working people and the servicemen of our republic--impressions which generate high respect for the USSR Armed Forces.

The first episode goes back to November 1918. I was 8 years old then. With my mother I watched the columns of German troops cross one of the Rhine bridges, returning from the battlefields of World War I. Officers on horseback rode at the head of each column. They sat haughtily on their horses and threw hateful glances at the people hurrying along either side of the road, mainly revolutionary workers and soldiers who had by that time already begun to disarm the kaiser's officers. My mother noticed that the officers in particular had attracted my attention and said: "Just look at them! If only we could manage to throw them out of their saddles, we could begin to live better!"

Subsequently, when I had occasion to see how these reactionaries gave orders to shoot at demonstrations by workers of my own city, my instinctive antipathy to the former kaiser's officers grew into a real hate for them. And a few years later, already a young communist, and then a member of the Communist Party participating in the antifascist struggle and familiar with the works of V. I. Lenin, I understood that it was not enough to crush the military machine of the exploiting classes. During the revolutionary struggle it was essential to create such military forces as would direct their weapons only in the interests of the working people and not against the working class.

The second episode goes back to 1935. At that time I was living in the USSR and studying in Moscow. Here I succeeded for the first time in my life in getting to know people who belonged to the new revolutionary army--the worker-peasant army born in the fire of the October Revolution through the will and in the interests of its class, the army which embraced the military cause for the sake of peace.

We were then preparing to mark the 18th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Honored guests were invited to come. And chance again brought me together with the cavalry officers: together with Comrades Dimitrov, Manuilskiy and Yaroslavskiy, our guests were Comrades Voroshilov and Budenny, who had shortly beforehand been awarded the title of marshal. They conversed with us as workers speak with workers.

For me there was no other experience equal to hearing, directly from Budenny, the tale of how his chestnut mounts defeated the enemy. Pride in his victories ran clearly through his words, but at the same time there was simplicity and modesty. In particular my heart was struck by Budenny's respect and love for his fighters and people. His behavior was as different as chalk and cheese from the behavior of those haughty German officers of the kaiser I came across--and learned to hate--when I was still young.

This first impression of the essence of the Soviet Armed Forces has always remained with me. Since then it has grown many times stronger and deeper. Thus it was a year later when, after Franco's revolt against the Spanish Republic, we prepared, under the leadership of experienced Soviet commanders, to enter the ranks of those fighting in the International Brigade, and during the Great Patriotic War; and at the time when, with the decisive help of Soviet advisers and military specialists, we began to build a worker and peasant army in the GDR and to organize the country's socialist system of defense. And today hundreds of facts prove over and over again: the Soviet Army is the army of the people, the army whose soldiers, officers and generals are loved and respected by the people, the army under the farsighted leadership of the Communist Party and fostered by it, the army which is so strong and enjoys such great respect by all who hold dear peace and socialism, democracy and social progress.

Socialist revolution needs revolutionary armed forces, and the place of each people traveling the path of socialism can only be in the same rank as the Soviet Union and its armed forces--these are two immutable truths. I am not the only one to arrive at them. Thousands of German communists have adopted them. They have become primary historical conclusions for the peoples of many countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. In our country, the GDR, where leadership belongs to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], these conclusions have been unconditionally implemented. The first socialist state in German history and its socialist army, forming an inseparable part of the alliance of fraternal socialist countries and their armies, stand firmly and steadfastly on the side of the Soviet Union and its armed forces, now and always.

We took this path--the path of friendship and alliance with the USSR and its armed forces--in the face of bitter opposition from our class enemies in the camp of imperialism. Here we had to overcome the antiquated opinions of some of the working people, who could not immediately realize that the successful building of socialism is possible only if they are ready at any time to defend it reliably with weapons in their hands. If we finally achieved this turnabout in awareness all the same, it was thanks not least to the friendly assistance of our Soviet comrades, who, with their rich experience, were on our side from the start and gave us all-round support. Thanks to this we were able to resolve military problems in the interests of the working class and all the working people in a very short historical time.

The principles of the building and leadership of socialist armed forces, elaborated by Lenin's party and repeatedly tested in combat, became an immovable foundation for us and gave us invaluable assistance. This assistance concerns not only the eradication of German militarism, which represented the strongest, most reactionary and aggressive instrument of international imperialism and was the main culprit in two devastating world wars. Another fact is of exceptional importance. After 1945 many progressively inclined and peace-loving people of our country began to think

that arms must not be taken up again in any circumstances. However, this was a false historical conclusion. The task was to create armed formations as the core of the country's system of socialist defense, and subsequently socialist armed forces, which could defend peace and democracy and would serve right from the start as the revolutionary instrument of power of the working class and its class allies. This demanded a fundamentally new, revolutionary approach to all tasks and problems without exception, including the organization of armed defense against internal and external danger.

The SED was able to successfully resolve these tasks because it relied on the experience and lessons of the CPSU. The CPSU accumulated, successfully developed and scientifically crystallized this experience in the course of the building and leadership of the Soviet Armed Forces in both peacetime and wartime.

The leadership of the armed forces by the Marxist-Leninist party, the class approach to all problems of military building, insuring the unity of the people and the army, the armed forces' unswerving loyalty to the ideas of proletarian internationalism, the consistent implementation of one-man command embodying the unity of political and military leadership, and the steady maintenance of high, conscious military discipline--all these are immutable principles of socialist military building. They were and remain fundamental for the party and state leadership of the GDR and represent the theoretical basis of our military policy. Their creative application under the leadership of the party of the working class has been crowned with complete success in our country, too.

The decisions of the Ninth SED Congress now serve as a guide for the servicemen of the National People's Army of the GDR. During combat training and in carrying out combat duty they act as the SED program directs them. This document says: "The insuring of peace and security also demands from the GDR a further strengthening of its defense capability. The SED will continue to proceed from the premise that it will make its contribution to resolving this task in close alliance with the USSR and other socialist states, on the basis of unswerving fraternity in arms with the Soviet Army and the armies of other fraternal countries."

That is why the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Army is also a noteworthy jubilee for the servicemen of the National People's Army of the SED. The whole development of the National People's Army and its transformation into a modern socialist allied army from many points of view is inextricably linked with the Soviet Army, its glorious history and its valuable combat experience. There is hardly a single sphere of our country's defense whose development did not make use, to great effect, of the rich achievements of Soviet military science, the many years of combat experience of Soviet commanding officers and political workers, the wisdom and extensive knowledge of Soviet party and state leaders.

In the two decades and more of the National People's Army's development, lasting friendly ties, including personal ties, have been established among its servicemen with servicemen in the Soviet Army. That is why for many men serving in the National People's Army the exchange of firm handshakes with Soviet brothers in arms on the day of the Soviet Armed Forces' jubilee will be an expression of cordial wishes. The servicemen of the National People's Army will express to Soviet servicemen their gratitude, will rejoice together with them in the successes jointly achieved, and will demonstrate their readiness to fulfill in still closer unity with them crucial combat tasks in the defense of socialism and peace.

CSO: 1800

RELIGIOUS WORLD CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS HANDED TO GDR OFFICIAL

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7-8 Jan 78 p 2 AU

[ADN dispatch from Berlin: "Churches for the Policy of Peace and Security: Documents of the World Conference of Religious Peace Forces Presented"]

[Text] Bishop D. Dr Albrecht Schoenherr, chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR (BEK), has transmitted to Hans Seigewasser, state secretary for church problems with the GDR Government, the final documents of the Moscow World Conference of Religious Peace Forces, which took place 6-10 June 1977. In the accompanying letter, Bishop D. Dr Schoenherr stressed the importance of the documents for work in the parishes, and for BEK participation in the ecumenical talks on the topics of peace, disarmament, and justice. This also applied, he said, to problems which "particularlry agitate the churches with respect to a continuation of the detente process in Europe after the adopting of the Helsinki final act."

On the same occasion, the state secretary for church problems received on Thursday participants in the world conference. During the friendly conversation, Helmut Aris, president of the Federation of Jewish Communities in the GDR, pointed out the mission of religious representatives to come out in favor of peace and understanding among peoples. Parson Dietrich Gutsch, chairman of the Ecumenical Youth Council in Europe (EYCE), reported on the deliberation of the EYCE General Assembly, whose representatives have evaluated the results of the world conference in Eisenach in the fall of 1977, and have made them serve their peace work. Prof Dr Gerhard Bassarak, member of the international work committee of the Christian Peace Conference, suggested publicizing the documents even more extensively among the GDR Christians.

After expressing gratitude for the transmission of the documents to the GDR Government, State Secretary Hans Seigewasser pointed out the great significance of the call on all people of good will to unite even more closely in the common struggle for peace, security, and detente. The constructive GDR policy for the promotion of the detente policy fully agrees with the expression of the will of the world congress.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

DIVERGENT CRIMINALITY STATISTICS NOTED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 25, Dec 77 pp 12-13

[Report by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Criminality in the GDR"]

[Text] Criminality "in the socialist society is still a social mass phenomenon" and it will remain so for some time. Therefore, the opinion should not be accepted that "socialism will cause an automatic decline in criminality" and that its disappearance will only be a matter of time. This view was recently expressed on Radio DDR by a representative of the GDR chief public prosecutor's office. A certain decrease in criminality in the GDR is noted in the periodical NEUE JUSTIZ [East Berlin Vol 31, No 15, 1977 pp 478-480] and to support this view figures are given in the October issue, which, however, do not correspond to statistics which were released earlier. In the Statistical Yearbook of the GDR 1977, published recently, there are no figures at all about criminality in the GDR—as is the case with all yearbooks since 1973.

NEUE JUSTIZ writes that in contrast to the steadily increasing criminality in "capitalist countries" the number of crimes in the territory of the GDR has steadily decreased since 1946. For this purpose the following average annual figures are compared with one another:

Period of time	Number of crimes (annual average)	Average 1946-1948 = 100	Crimes per 100,000 population (annual average)
1946-1948	472,295	100	2,536
1950-1959	157,466	33.4	878
1960-1969	132,741	28.1	776
1970-1976	125,161	26.5	738



However, they do not agree with official GDR statistics published earlier.

The Statistical Yearbook of the GDR contains the following figures:

Year	Verified crimes	1946 = 100	Crimes per 100,000 population (criminality figures)
1946	500,446	100	2,771
1950	230,263	46.0	1,252
1957	169,557	33.9	968
1958	186,970	37.2	1,073
1959	156,970	31.4	907
1960	138,021	27.8	806
1961	148,502	29.7	867
1962	162,270	32.4	949
1963	163,999	32.8	956
1964	138,350	27.6	814
1965	128,661	25.7	756
1966	124,524	24.9	730
1967	116,080	23.2	680
1968	100,126	20.1	586
1969	105,869	21.2	620
1970	109,101	21.8	640

A comparison of the two statistics shows that the annual average of 125,161 crimes for the period between 1970 and 1976, as cited in NEUE JUSTIZ, supercedes, for example, the stated number of crimes in the criminality statistics for 1968--100,126 crimes--by approximately 25 percent. A similar result is also demonstrated by comparing the number of crimes for 1968 (Statistical Yearbook) = 586 with the computed annual average for the period between 1970 and 1976 (NEUE JUSTIZ) = 738--stated each time per 100,000 inhabitants.

The computed annual average figure of 132,741 crimes for the period between 1960 and 1969 does not show that beginning with 1960, when the number of crimes was 139,021, the number of crimes increased until it reached 163,999 in 1963; subsequently the trend was reversed until 1968. There is something else that is not mentioned in these examples of figures: On 1 July 1968 the new criminal justice code of the GDR went into effect, and a number of petty offenses were no longer considered felonies but only misdemeanors. Consequently, the number of crimes in these statistics was reduced; it is not known whether the combined figure of crimes and misdemeanors has been decreased.

With regard to the annual average figure of 157,466 crimes for the period between 1950 and 1959, it must be noted that--as has become apparent from the criminality statistics reproduced above--for the entire period only crime figures for 1950 and the period between 1957 and 1959 have been published. Crime figures for the years from 1951 through 1956 are missing. Also in earlier statistics, not the number of crimes is given but only the number of convictions. Figures which have become known from criminality statistics for 1950 and the period between 1957 and 1959 indicate an average of 185,700, which is considerably higher than the annual average given for the entire period between 1950 and 1959, as stated in the article in NEUE JUSTIZ.

As proven by criminality statistics taken from statistical yearbooks, the number of crimes decreased most between 1946 and 1950, from 500,446 down to 230,263. This means that over these 4 years a decrease of approximately 54 percent occurred. These figures show that criminality increased substantially right after the war and later--as was also the case in other countries--it declined again.

8991

CSO: 2300

HUNGARY

STUDENTS LOSE PIONEER TIES FOR MAKING SIGN OF THE CROSS

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 14 Jan 78 p 2

[Letter to the editor and editor's reply]

[Text] At the close of a school celebration of 7 November "some of the fifth formers...first a few, then the entire class...dropped to its knees and made the sign of the cross." Because of this their pioneer ties were taken from them. These have still not been returned although the punishment was to have lasted for only 6 weeks. "A serious wrong has been done to these children and through them to our teachers," writes our reader. Finally she asks: 1. Is it possible that in taking the pioneer pledge the children also pledge themselves to atheism? 2. Is the red necktie identical with the party membership book? Well, the pioneer pledge does not obligate one to atheism, nor is the red necktie identical with the party membership book [writes the editor]. However, a national holiday is not the same as a church holiday, either. And if a few mischievous persons began singing a lively, noisy folk song during Mass, even believers who would be glad to sing the song on some suitable occasion would feel that it was bad manners. Our letter writer is correct in this: the event should not be looked upon as a world view provocation; 11-year-olds are hardly able to differentiate between a student prank and profanation of a holiday. And while it is wrong that the neckties have not been returned to the students once the period for the punishment has expired, nevertheless, there is no doubt that no wrong has been done them, the teachers nor the freedom of religion. Because the children must learn the above-mentioned norms, the rules of behavior. And this is not only in the interest of the state. If our letter writer doubts this, he should remember how the rowdy, noisy drunks disturb the peace of mind of the believers at Christmas, during midnight Mass. And this is hardly something that is taught at patrol meetings--after all, as our reader agreed also, the rules of the pioneers are not diametrically opposed to the Ten Commandments. Certainly not from the ethical point of view.

CSO: 2500

## NON-VISIBILITY OF HUNGARIAN SCIENTIFIC MINORITIES NOTED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 11 Sep 77 p 9

[Article by Peter Ruffy: "Nationality and Science; the Culture of Small Communities"]

[Text] 1. After publication of the anthology titled "Fekete szel" [Black Wind] the silence of Hungarian literature in Czechoslovakia, which followed World War II, the disarray and first self-collection of a nationality are beginning to be resolved. This was long delayed, as Lajos Turczel has pointed out in the columns of the Bratislava IRODALMI SZEMLE, by the fact that those young philologists, estheticians and publicists who appeared between the two world wars--Edgar Balogh, Laszlo Dobossy, Lajos Jocsik, Endre Kovacs, Laszlo Sandor, Rezso Szalatnai--all left Slovakia. Gyula Duba, editor-in-chief of IRODALMI SZEMLE, recently said to the Transylvanian Gyorgy Beke (the interview appeared in the Bucharest weekly A HET) that the Hungarian writers in Slovakia were without exception of populist motivation and had started their literary work instinctively, at a low level and as an act of self-avowal. Since this hard beginning the Hungarian literature of our northern neighbor has matured and risen to the level of universal Hungarian literature. This eminence has been reached by Gyula Duba's "A Parturient Peasant World" and Laszlo Dobos' "In Nothing But a Shirt."

The shocks did not break in two the arc of Hungarian literature in Romania although we had to wait a long time for the attaining of such heights, such avowals of faith and such profound approaches to the questions of national existence as were found in Andras Suto's "My Mother Promises Easy Dreams" and Istvan Szilagyi's "A Stone Falls Into a Sinking Well."

During the quickly passing years and decades we observed only the Hungarian literature of the neighboring countries and the development of the fateful questions of the nationality with watchful eyes from the vaulted chamber of the mother country; the regard fixed on the horizon did not extend to nor comprehend the scientific work of the outstanding personalities of the Hungarian nationalities. The Hungarian writers write and create in their Hungarian mother tongue but do the scientists of the nearly 3 million

Hungarians there, the scientific workers in the state institutions, the historians, physicists, mathematicians, university professors, chemists, medical teachers, music historians and researchers on the international labor movement publish in Hungarian? In Hungarian, partly in Hungarian, or always in the state language? They did not write and we did not write about this question; this question has not yet come up; public opinion at home hardly knows with whom they have enriched the scientific world of the neighboring countries and what questions, what vital questions, concern the Yugoslav, Romanian and Slovak scientists having Hungarian as their mother tongue.

And can a nationality group have scientists? Does not their necessary bilingualism become a tragic mono-lingualism? For whom and when? Is there Hungarian language science in the neighboring countries? Because these are not questions which can be passed over or ignored. Erno Gall, the Cluj social scientist and editor-in-chief of KORUNK, has stated in one of his articles that "only that community has a capacity for life and for a future in the culture of which science has won for itself a rank suitable for the spirit of the age and in the intelligentsia of which the group of technical experts and researchers is represented in suitable proportion and at a suitable level."

2. Do we know, talk and write about the Hungarian university professors in Prague, about the outstanding Hungarian agricultural engineers in Romania or about the Hungarian scientists in Yugoslavia? Do we know enough about the names, careers and work of the Slovak historian Peter Puspoki-Nagy, the Yugoslav linguist Janos Kossa, the Timisoara physicist Tibor Toro, the historian and Cluj university professor Zsigmond Jako, the Targu Mures physical and medical historian Jozsef Spielmann, the Romanian Hungarian music historian Istvan Lakatos and the Transylvanian doctor of chemical sciences and Cluj university professor Janos Zsako? The mathematician and Cluj Hungarian university professor Ferenc Rado is so famous that he was invited to be a visiting professor in Canada. More than a few Hungarian scientists work in research institutes in Prague and Bratislava. On the appearance of their famous book on Bolyai Maria Neumann, Ervin Sallo and Tibor Toro were called the "mathematical physics three of Timisoara."

Who are they? Are they people who, on the basis of the reality of life and in the service of the Danube valley socialist community of nations, have enriched the science of other, friendly peoples or is their scientific work accessible in and can it be studied in the language of that nationality from which they came?

Thus far no one has examined this question, a question posed also by the problem of bilingualism. The 1973 year-book of the Cluj KORUNK opened the gates of 24 Romanian research laboratories and published an article about a Hungarian philosopher, chemist, mathematician, literary historian, linguist, biologist and one representative each of other sciences in Romania but it did not analyze the question, the problem of a Hungarian language scientist in another linguistic environment.

The first real attempt to address the labyrinth of questions was made by the third issue in 1977 of the Bratislava IRODALMI UJSAG which had held a conference titled "Nationality and Science" and which published contributions "concerning the concept of Hungarian science in Slovakia, its present significance and status and future tasks."

3. This is the truth of truths, even more exciting to read about than the broadly developing and in some cases outstanding Hungarian literature and avowals of faith in Slovakia.

The best Hungarian scientists of the neighboring countries are not being won over by the Hungarian schools, rather they are being won away by the state scientific workshops. It frequently--but not always--follows from this that the scientific work of the Hungarian scientists is not accessible in the Hungarian language, is accessible only with difficulty to the members of the Hungarian nationality. IRODALMI SZEMLE put two questions to each of ten Hungarian scientific workers in Slovakia. Laszlo Vegh, of the Cultural Research Institute in Bratislava, has been dealing for 5 years with sociological research into the cultural life of the Hungarian nationality in Slovakia. He expressed one of his problems with these words: "My participation in laying the foundations for or in the further development of creative Hungarian scientific work in Slovakia takes place indirectly, 'at one remove,' because in addition to the fact that social practice becomes acquainted in advance with the results of our investigations--which, of course, is no problem because our goal is to collect information which can be used for guidance--the situation of Hungarian nationality researchers working under similar circumstances is complicated by the fact that final research reports and their studies appearing as internal documents are naturally written in the Slovak language. In such a situation it takes a certain amount of extra work to see that the results of our work are accessible to Hungarian intellectual life in Slovakia as a whole."

Peter Puspoki-Nagy is 33 years old; he got his doctorate in historical sciences and philosophy in a Slovak university; despite his youth his work on historical science and especially on heraldry has such an international reputation that 3 years ago he was elected a corresponding member of the International Academy with headquarters in Geneva and Paris. In Slovakia five towns now use coats of arms created by him. Peter Puspoki-Nagy made a justified complaint. He said that the nationality press is characterized by literature-centrism and does not devote enough attention to the sciences, for example to historical science. He mentioned IRODALMI SZEMLE as the single exception.

4. Nationality teacher Ferenc Mozsi approached this labyrinth of questions from the side of bilingualism. He is working as an experiment, together with colleagues from the Slovak Textbook Publishers and the Pedagogical Research Institute in Bratislava, on a type of school where information must be mastered in the mother tongue but one must be able to convey it in the

language of the majority. Thus the Hungarian students study in Hungarian but they also speak the state language at the level of the mother tongue. In a very logical but difficultly phrased statement he notes that the bilingual nationality lives in a medium of two national cultures. This has an advantage (because it has a "transfer" effect) but the effect is confusing emotionally (interferential). "My goal," he says, "is to emphasize the transfer and decrease the interference."

The statement with the most nuances, the one which most affected and concerned me, a statement which was in no small way upsetting, was made by Laszlo Meszaros, a technical-scientific worker at the Computer Research Institute in Bratislava. His voice is a good example of the fact that there are no delicate questions in the national community of socialism and that anything can be said if our goal is a solution and resolution of painful questions in a socialist spirit. According to the statement by Meszaros there is no Hungarian science in Slovakia. "Our Hungarian speaking (nationality) scientific workers work within the structure (institutions) of Slovak science. A few do so with great success--for example, the engineer and doctor of sciences Tolgyessy--others, due to the language barrier, are at some disadvantage compared to their Slovak colleagues in the area of publishing results, a disadvantage which cannot be offset in some cases."

He is concerned about existence and the future of this existence. "I consider futurological research and ideas extraordinarily important in the interest of a development of our nationality culture and in the interest of solving the problems of our popular community. Projecting present trends (prognosis) often runs into limitations and presents depressing pictures. Going beyond the statistically demonstrable quantitative progress (standard of living, book and periodical publishing, school affairs, etc.) it appears that our culture and our literature are incapable of a qualitative breakthrough and simply reproduce the structures of earlier decades. A definite picture of the future is lacking and is needed for more concentrated efforts. Where will we be in the year 2000 or 100 years from now?"

This is not only a Hungarian problem but also a problem for international socialism. What will happen in the year 2000 or 100 years from now?

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HUNGARY

BRIEFS

MSZMP DELEGATION TO STOCKHOLM--An MSZMP delegation led by Istvan Katona, member and head of a department of the Central Committee, went to Stockholm on Tuesday to attend the 25th Congress of the Swedish Leftist Party opening today. Gyula Horn, deputy head of the Central Committee's foreign Affairs Department, saw the delegation off at Ferihegy Airport. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Jan 78 p 8 AU]

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OPPOSING VIEWS PRESENTED ABOUT ECONOMIC MANEUVER

Emphasis on Planning

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 53, 31 Dec 77 p 4

[Letter by Cezary Jozefiak, University of Lodz, Institute of Political Economics: "The Essence"]

[Text] In his article "The Essence" (POLITYKA, No 48), Jacek Maziarski wrote which he considers to be the essential feature of the present economic maneuver. I am convinced that this is a sincere statement. I feel somewhat different from the way the author of "The Essence" does, and therefore I am replying to sincerity with sincerity.

J. Maziarski began his pursuit with removing the upper layers deprived of essence. First this was the "highest level of strategic goals," which after all the author did not describe in too great detail ("people should live adequately.") Then he took away the layer of "decisions of the central plan, which is ruled by the laws of social rationality," because the essence was not here either. It did not show up until we reached the local bodies and enterprises.

I must admit sadly that according to the criteria adopted by J. Maziarski, I have a "technocratic mentality." Despite this I agree with the author in some respects. Like him I feel that we need to raise the rank of economic theory and accounting and to eliminate defects in the system of planning and management and that we do not need trash, improper reserves, or falsified reports. I have after all agreed with these demands for many years.

My technocratism forces me to consider the most important thing in the maneuver to be the Fifth Party Plenum's decision setting economic proportions for the years 1977-1980. Compared to the proportions achieved in 1971-1975, I see that the changes are considerable. For example:

Created national income is to grow somewhat more slowly than before,

This increase is nonetheless to be more rapid than the increase in national income for distribution, although the reverse was true,

Investments are to grow at a clearly slower rate than national income is, while before they grew at a clearly more rapid rate,

The growth rate of exports is to be decidedly more rapid than that of imports, while previously its was decidedly slower.

According to J. Maziarski the essence of the matter boils down to the idea of having the local bodies and enterprises operate more effectively and in keeping with centrally established goals. Does this mean that in past years the basic economic units did not operate in keeping with the central plan? I only ask this question, because we have always depended on the improvement of effectiveness in every strategy and economic tactic. For a long time the inadequacies of effectiveness have been the same or very similar, and after all we have not always been conducting a maneuver.

If we answer this question in the affirmative, then we must explain how concretely the new elements of the system of administration have been introduced by the maneuver. It is not sufficient here to repeat the desires which have been known for years. We must use facts, because if the system of administration permitted the disruption of the central plan's good proportions, then we should already have a new system of administration which will insure that the ratios established for the years 1977-1980 are achieved.

If, on the other hand, we answer the question presented above in the negative, that is, if we feel that during the first half of the 1970's the enterprises, generally speaking, operated in keeping with the central decisions, then we will also have to include these decisions in the "source." We are thereby recognizing that although the central ratios produced strong dynamics for the economy and consumption, they also caused us a number of basic problems. Then, however, we are introducing the essence of the maneuver into the new ratios of the central plan.

In my opinion the latter answer more closely coincides with the truth, but this does not mean the same thing as a negative assessment of the central plan for 1971-1975. In this connection it is worthwhile to make a distinction between the central plan for this period as approved in 1971 and the decisions made in these years. These decisions differed significantly from the planned tasks initially adopted and, something which is very important, they differed in various areas to an unequal extent. This statement is easy enough to verify.

Maziarski is not correct when he ignores in his search for the source the game on the same floor and the game from the floor below, because everywhere there can be a straightforward or careless attitude toward the plan and toward economic theory and accounting.

## Stress on Reform of Mechanism

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 53, 31 Dec 77 p 4

[Reply by Jacek Maziarski]

[Text] In the article "The Source" I posed the question of whether the maneuver was to be an expression of deeper reforms or merely an immediate corrective measure, the "clamping down" on certain investments and the shifting of a certain number of billions from one part of the budget to another. I spoke out in reply in favor of the need for reforms in the mechanisms of management and administration, but C. Jozefiak places the accent rather on changes in the ratios of the central plan. I do not think that he is correct.

I have not the slightest intention of treating the central plan as a tabu to be excluded from the discussion. After all, we got rid of the tabu-plan idea some time ago. There must always be some room for changes resulting from the objective conditions and necessities. There must also always be room for omissions, unforeseen processes, and sporadic changes. But do our current problems consist only of this? Is it enough to "redecorate" the plan in order to get rid of the problems?

C. Jozefiak poses the question of whether in previous years the basic economic units operated in keeping with the central plan. In his opinion the enterprises acted in keeping with the will of the central planner, and hence the problem is not here. I do not agree. I think that it is just here that we find the source of the matter. Now I say that there are sometimes great disparities between the decisions of the plan and the functioning of the enterprises. After all, it is no secret that investment outlays, the payroll fund, the consumption of materials and energy, the costs of manufacturing, and so on are running above the planned targets, but export production and market production, labor productivity, the quality of goods, and so on are often falling below those laid down in the plan. And it is just this which is behind the ineffectiveness of our running things.

In my opinion the mere shifting of resources is not enough. The problem lies not in the fact that the central planner made a mistake but above all in the fact that in the enterprises the incentive mechanisms do not work well. And this too is part of the source of the problem: how to keep the enterprises from producing "for the storehouse," to keep them from turning out less needed things at the cost of those sought after, and to get them to put deeply hidden reserves to use without external force and urging. At present the situation in more than one enterprise is such that the reported effects only appear to meet the targets of the plan, on paper. Sometimes it is easier to carry out the plan by item assortment-value manipulations, by lowering the quality of goods or by irrational management (increased employment, additional investments, and so on) than by meeting the real needs of the society.

C. Jozefiak must have made a mistake in reading my article, if he found in it a one-sided condemnation of the heads of enterprises. I am not a

moralist. I am trying to get at the rational incentives which push factory directors to bad operating decisions contrary to the plan's intent. If they do this, then this is obviously profitable for the enterprise and rational on the microscale of the plant and its workers. Hence, we must change the rules of the game to make it pay them to do what is in the interest of the society.

The Ninth Central Committee Plenum took up the subject of the mechanisms of effectiveness. I feel that this problem is more important than the ongoing immediate changes in the ratios of the central plan.

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NEED SEEN FOR LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IMPROVEMENTS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 47, 19 Nov 77 p 2

[Article by Stanislaw Podemski]

[Text] The preparations for changing the procedures in dealing with administrative authorities cause community interest to turn toward the government. At the same time, they arouse hope for strengthening the clients' position.

Discussions on amendments include such problems as introducing judiciary control, reducing the time for settling cases, the right to compensation for losses caused by the civil servant's negligence, genuine guarantee of rights previously disregarded (for example, petitioner's right to see an official document), standardization of numerous official procedures of which one can lose track and consequently lose his rights. All these planned solutions concern millions of citizens since statistically at least one official decision falls on each of us annually.

However, satisfaction with these changes should not keep one from seeing phenomena which threaten even an administration with the best procedures and a system of guaranteeing rights to citizens. For administration means not only making decisions concerning the affairs and interests of individual people, but also managing broad socioeconomic activities dictated by state policy. Two years ago, administrative authorities were given powers which introduced structures to create the best conditions for the functioning of the gmina and voivodship bureaus. However, the most modern organizational and judicial solution may encounter a dangerous opponent, that is, a bad tradition that can also build a strong nest in the new structure.

The administrative reform of June 1975 leveled out the structure of administration in order to improve it; it limited the number of managers; it increased the powers and responsibilities of the average civil servant employee, giving him more independence. It was determined that the voivodship bureaus should only be divided into departments; their further organizational division into subgroups would only be allowed under exceptional circumstances when "the character of business and intensification in executing related activities justify the creation of subgroups" (paragraph 8 of

the Council of Ministers' Decree on organizational principles for regional bureaus of state administrative organs - . JOURNAL OF STATUTES No 17,1975). However, what was to be an exception became a rule in many bureaus. The biweekly "Peoples' Council, Economy, Administration" complains: "Some directors of departments employed division of departments into teams headed by managers; thus in reality the name has been only changed. The number of teams or job positions as well as different ways of naming them is like a mosaic which sometimes makes it difficult to classify and assign tasks to a given team (No 19, this year)."

The new organization of the administrative apparatus decisively renounced the surplus of managerial positions. ("Appointing deputy directors for departments will only take place in the case of a real need to insure proper management in executing tasks of the department" - paragraph 11 of the Council of Ministers' Decree). However, two years have passed and a ministerial inspection disclosed unjustified phenomena of proliferation in managerial positions. The voivodship school superintendent supervising not too large a school network has four deputy superintendents; the director of an agricultural department in a non-agricultural voivodship has five deputies; the department of regional economy and environmental protection in a small voivodship has several more directors than a much larger voivodship with more transportation problems.

In one of the parishes in the Rzeszow voivodship, the manager issued, during one year, 12,605 written decisions for a population of 10,589. Overwhelmed by the daily pile of paperwork (thousands of decisions per month, 40 per working day), he decided to take advantage of the right to independence and relieve himself, the parish office and the post office of the burden. Instead of writing to each farmer individually about the amount of fertilizer to be used and changes to be instituted in cultivation of wheat and potatoes, he ordered the village administrators to notify each farmer about his obligations at the village meeting. The voivodship authorities quickly brought the chief manager - the reformer into line. He continues to write piles of letters to farmers (there are 2292 farmers in this parish), although it became apparent that the village administrator's appeals and the village meetings' resolutions devoted to sowing and fertilizing have brought much better results than all this writing.

Broad powers acquired by People's Councils were interpreted in some places as the right to disregard the established legal order for the entire country. Some councils decided to charge fees to people who submitted their disagreements to the community conciliatory commissions, to pass retroactive tax resolutions and not to inform people about their decisions. The voivodship councils repealed those resolutions only after the prosecutor stepped in. Amendment of the administrative procedure code will certainly be a turning point in administration. In order to counteract the wrong activities, daily and careful observation of processes taking place in offices is equally as important as setting in order the administrative law.

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