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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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YUGOSLAV PREMIER ARRIVES IN PRAGUE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Oct 77 p 1 AU

[CTK Prague dispatch: "Yugoslav Premier V. Djuranovic Welcomed in Prague"]

[Text] Veselin Djuranovic, chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, arrived Wednesday evening for an official friendly visit to the CSSR. The visit which is taking place at the invitation of Lubomir Strougal, chairman of the CSSR Government, will help to further intensify Czechoslovak-Yugoslav relations and cooperation in the political and economic fields. During the visit also new tasks involved in developing these relations will be stipulated.

Comrade Djuranovic is accompanied by Ljubomir Markovic, member of the SFRY Federal Executive Council; Milan Veres, deputy federal secretary MF Foreign Affairs; Alija Basic, deputy federal secretary of Foreign Trade and other official personages.

At the Prague main railway station which was decorated with Czechoslovak and Yugoslav flags and the slogan "We greet Veselin Djuranovic, chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council" the guests were met by Lubomir Strougal, Chairman of the CSSR Government; Deputy Chairman of the CSSR Government Josef Korcak, Karol Laco, Matej Lucan, Rudolf Rohlicek, Josef Simon and Jindrich Zahradnikv CSSR Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek; CSSR Foreign Trade Minister Andrj Barcak; CSSR Minister of National Defense Army Gen Martin Dzur; CSSR Interior Minister Jaromir Obzina; CSSR Transportation Minister Vladimir Blazek and generals of the Czechoslovak People's Army, staff of the SFRY embassy in Czechoslovakia and other personages. The event was also attended by the doyen of the Prague Diplomatic Corps Teodor Has, ambassador of the Romanian Socialist Republic to the CSSR.

After Chairman of the CSSR Government Lubomir Strougal cordially welcomed Veselin Djuranovic, chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Committee, Prague pioneers presented the guest with a bouquet of red flowers, then Veselin Djuranovic reviewed an honor detachment of the Czechoslovak People's Army with CSSR Chairman of the Government Lubomir Strougal accompanying him.

The Yugoslav guest then greeted the other Czechoslovak officials who were introduced to him by Comrade Strougal and the staff of the Yugoslav Embassy. After the conclusion of the ceremony at the main station Comrade Djuranovic went to his Prague residence.

CSO: 2400

THREE WORLDS THEORY CONDEMNED IN PARTY JOURNAL

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian No 8, Aug 77 pp 51-64 AU

[Article by Nexhat Myftiu: "A Powerful Ideological Weapon in the Hands of Communists and Masses"--on the 24th Volume of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha]

[Text] When one reads the materials of the 24th volume of the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the resolute Marxist-Leninist attitude which the AWP and Comrade Enver Hoxha have always maintained toward the many and complicated problems of building socialism, the revolution and world development in general immediately attracts the eye and fills one with fresh strength. In these materials one once again sees the profound and characteristic principled mindedness of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and the great and unequaled contribution which they have made to the defense of Marxism-Leninism against the attacks by the bourgeoisie and the distortions of the modern revisionists.

As in the many previous and later writings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, those included in the 24th volume of his works constitute a powerful ideological weapon in the hands of our communists and working masses, educating them with the party's ideology and line. The writings inspire them, increase their belief and mobilization and multiply their efforts in the unprecedented struggle to build socialism and defend the fatherland, thus resisting and defeating the comprehensive pressure exerted by the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, fulfilling and overfulfilling the economic tasks and plans and further strengthening the country's defense.

I. Firm Positions of AWP in Struggle Against Imperialism, Modern Revisionism

In the early sixties, in those difficult times when the great polemics with the modern revisionists, led by the Khruschevites, began, our party's activity was very intensive. Along with the effort to mobilize and lead the working masses in the daily struggle to fulfilling the economic plans--an effort which was considered, and justly so, an important factor in safeguarding the country's freedom and independence--the party and Comrade Enver

Hoxha were informing the communists and the masses about the international situations, the Marxist-Leninist truth on most major problems of the revolution and world development about which the revisionists were spreading their opportunistic and capitulating views with the aim of creating confusion in the ranks of the communist movement. In these conditions, the AWP considered it its duty to explain clearly what Soviet revisionism, the Yugoslav and other brands of revisionism, and the American-led imperialism represented. Additionally, our party was waging an active and resolute struggle against imperialism and revisionism, regarding each of them as sworn enemies of the people's and world revolution. This struggle is reflected also in the speeches and articles written by Comrade Enver Hoxha during the November 1962 to May 1963 period, increasingly exposing the treason of N. Khrushchev's group and the other revisionists of the Togliatti and Tito brand and clearly showing the attitude of our party: struggle without any concession against imperialism, as well as against modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, analyzing in a profoundly Marxist-Leninist way the international situation of that time, clearly defined that any brand of imperialism, especially American imperialism, is the most savage enemy of the peoples of the whole world. He stressed that the AWP, faithfully adhering to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism, has always pursued a correct line and has remained with the positions of irreconciliable struggle against imperialism. As Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, this correct line has been clearly expressed in all the materials and documents of the party, as well as in all the activity practiced by our party and government.

Since then, constantly following step by step the tide of the change in the balance of forces in the world--despite the fact that this change has been in the favor of socialism, peace and the national liberation movement--our party has shown maturity and prudence and has never overrated or underrated the forces of imperialism and reaction. On the contrary, it has kept in mind and pointed out, at every moment, the immutable aggressive nature of imperialism, whether old or new, and, harboring no illusion about imperialism, has made no mistake, whether adventurous or capitulating, but has resolutely exposed the aggressive and warmongering policy of world imperialism, particularly that of American imperialism, and also that of Soviet social imperialism. It has regarded and regards them as centers of the world reaction, and as international gendarmes, as the most outrageous enemies of the peoples of all the countries.

Our party has always been clearly aware that the danger of war stems from world imperialism, because imperialism is the enemy of peace. Therefore, the AWP has regarded and regards the struggle for peace as a struggle against imperialism. "The party", Comrade Enver Hoxha says, "believed and believes that one cannot beg for peace and peaceful coexistence from the imperialists; they cannot be secured by compliments and concessions to the imperialists, but only by imposing them on the imperialists through a resolute struggle by all the peace-loving forces of the world." (page 349--all the references can be found in the 24th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works.)

Comrade Enver Hoxha, speaking at the Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum on 26 January 1963 on efforts to fulfill the economic plans, pointed out that the world situation was difficult, and that the many difficulties facing mankind were created by the imperialists, led by American imperialists, who threaten peace and are preparing for war with the aim of digging the grave for communism, establishing their hegemony in the world, and turning back the wheel of history.

So imperialism has been and still remains to this day. It never changes either its core or its aims. This is shown by the development of world events themselves. The dark clouds of war are spread in the world by American imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and their puppets of all hues; and also the plots which they hatch against the peoples' freedom reveal quite clearly the savageness of imperialism and social imperialism, as well as the danger of their bargaining at the peoples' expense. Even in the fact of its inescapable death, imperialism neither disarms nor does it give up its aim to dominate the world and to destroy socialism, using all possible means and ways, pressure, blackmail and the fear instilled in various capitulating revisionists and opportunists of all brands, (but the true Marxist-Leninists and the peoples are not afraid.) [as published] For this purpose, imperialism continues to arm itself, concoct intrigues and plots, and commit aggression against the peoples, the workers movement and its vanguard and against the communist and workers parties.

Our party and the people, who have also constantly been subjected to the imperialist threat, have always been and are determined to march firmly on the road of the struggle against imperialism without any compromise. This road, Comrade Enver Hoxha says, is correct and, therefore, we will continue to march on it also in the future, as until now, and we will win. Our people, accustomed to the conditions of the encirclement and the difficult situation resulting from it, have always worked and struggled, aware that they are building socialism before the wolf's jaws. This has become second nature for them. Therefore, they are always vigilant and fearless toward the diabolical aims and activities of imperialism and its lackeys, and they are waging a courageous and active struggle against it.

The question regarding the stand toward imperialism, whether to fight against it or reconcile and cooperate with it, is a matter about which the true Marxist-Leninists are diametrically separated from the modern revisionists. This is very clear once again in many of the materials contained in the 24th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, in which it is proved by facts and argumentation that the AWP is determined to defend to the end the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism against the diabolical attempts of imperialism. The AWP has had and has its own clear and correct Marxist-Leninist views on this matter. Therefore, it has maintained and always maintains a clear-cut stand in the struggle against imperialism, exposing any effort by the modern revisionists--who initiated and completed the road of conciliation and cooperation with imperialism--to beautify imperialism. Our party, loyal to the Marxist-Leninist teachings on

imperialism, has from the beginning analyzed the revisionist views on this issue, wisely uncovered their aims, the designs and all the other obscure things concealed behind these views, and, disregarding everything else, the party gave the right and timely answer to the revisionist renegades who violated Lenin's teachings, making clear before the Albanian communists and the people and to their conscience, as well as before all the communists and peoples of the world, what imperialism truly represents and what danger it involves, by unmasking all the efforts of its ideologists and propagandists, as well as those of the modern revisionists, to beautify the image and the nature of world imperialism.

In many speeches and articles contained in this volume [of his works] Comrade Enver Hoxha clarifies this issue and strongly notes it with a profound principled mindedness and great farsightedness to Marxist-Leninist truth. With indisputable argumentation, the iron logic of a true Marxist-Leninist and a language understandable to all, Comrade Enver Hoxha explains how the modern revisionists, by their treasonous course of reconciliation, rapprochement and joint action with imperialism, thrust the knife in the back of socialism; and how they intended to lull the people, minimize the danger of imperialism and war and divert the peoples from the road of the revolution by their unrestricted demagogy and the totally wrong misconceptions they spread about imperialism. This was one of the most effective services rendered to imperialism by the revisionist who," ...Making dangerous anti-Leninist concessions in the most sensitive matters," (page 27) Comrade Enver Hoxha says, only protect imperialism and support it in its actions against the peoples and further whet its appetite and facilitate its efforts for aggression, seriously endangering peace and the peoples' freedom.

Comrade Enver Hoxha draws attention to the fact that the Khrushchevite revisionists tried to impose this attitude toward imperialism and their entire opportunistic and fundamentally anti-Marxist line on the international communist and workers movement, presenting and conveniently acclaiming it as a "creative Marxist-Leninist line." Comrade Enver Hoxha has completely torn away their mask and showed the trash of the revisionist propaganda waged by the N. Khrushchev group, which, by continuing to spread the anti-Marxist theses, was trying to prove with a play on words that his [Khrushchev's] views and activities allegedly responded to the Leninist teachings and to the interests of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement. However, N. Khrushchev's group, while saying that it was guided by the "Leninist spirit of the irreconciliable struggle against imperialism," Comrade Enver Hoxha says, in fact"...has for many years tried to nurture misconceptions about the alleged change in the nature of imperialism and its leaders and, on that basis, to build all of its positions and activity." (page 352)

Failing to take into consideration "the predatory essence of imperialism," N. Khrushchev was declaring as early as 1960 that it was possible to create and donate to mankind "a world without weapons, armies and wars"; that "a real possibility to dismiss war from the life of society conclusively and forever" was being created even then; that the imperialists had supposedly

taken earnestly the call (of the revisionists) for competition in the field of economic development, and that the capitalist countries were continually moving toward the path of "peaceful" competition between the two systems and other such nonsense. He also accompanied such unprincipled statements with repeated praise for imperialist leaders of the Eisenhower, Kennedy, Macmillan and de Gaulle type, and so forth, saying that "they all understand the need to promote a further reduction of international tension and to solve international problems by way of discussions and not by war (p 353), indicating by this that supposedly "war is not an offspring of imperialism and its aggressive policy, but that its threat arises only from some 'madmen' and 'enraged people,' who 'prefer to die under capitalism rather than live under communism....'" (p 354) He would go even further by accusing all those who dared to unmask the imperialists and who called on the peoples to rise against imperialism, in defense of peace and for their national and social liberation of being warmongers.

It is extremely clear that such statements--which N. Khrushchev used to make like soap bubbles--had not even a breath of the "Leninist spirit of irreconcilable struggle against imperialism," with which he tried to deceive people; on the contrary, they embellished imperialism and its leaders. In this way the Khrushchevite revisionists, these renegades and traitors of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, strove to deceive the peoples and international opinion, to combat their internal and external opponents and, at a time when they themselves had embarked totally on the path of the struggle to extinguish and drown the revolution, to show to the capitalist world that "Stalin's era had come to an end." This was being done with the intention of winning the confidence of the international bourgeoisie and, particularly, that of the U.S. imperialists. As Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the Seventh AWP Congress, "This was the great pledge and the security that the Khrushchevites offered to international capital; that the era of revolution had come 'to an end,' that 'detente' had begun, that the theory of the class struggle had been abandoned both in the Soviet Union and abroad, and that coexistence and 'peaceful' competition had begun in all fields." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh AWP Congress, p 253)

And when one hears and sees today that views and attitudes similar to those of the Khrushchevite revisionists--which have been unmasked and rejected by the AWP, by the genuine Marxist-Leninist movement and by life itself--are being repeated by the new opportunists, it is impossible for one's attention not to be drawn by the Marxist-Leninist conclusion, based on practice and historically proven, that the views and attitudes of the revisionists and of the opportunists of all hues, old or new, are essentially similar, that is, anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary. Thus, for example, also the new opportunists, with the intention of distorting the truth and deceiving the proletariat and the peoples, in the same way as Khrushchev in his day, are preaching and are trying to create the impression that U.S. imperialism has supposedly changed and is not what it was, that it has been supposedly weakened and is in decline, that it is no longer, as before, warmongering, aggressive and a danger to the peoples and the revolution, and so forth.

This induces them also to justify the U.S. military presence in various parts of the world, and to define it as a defense factor, thus nurturing and disseminating views and illusions which are extremely dangerous to the freedom of the peoples and the fate of the revolution. Moreover, trying to show their "originality" in their efforts to clothe their views and attitudes with new and so-called "theoretical" guises, they go even further, spreading slogans that supposedly the imperialist world, as a social system, has disintegrated and has ceased to exist, that it has been split into several worlds, that the socioeconomic nature of the imperialisms has supposedly changed, and so forth.

Our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have long since forecast and warned about the great dangers borne by and the very negative consequences which the subjective ideas and misconceptions had and would have. They arose from anti-Marxist concepts on the nature and intentions of imperialism and on all the cardinal issues of the day which concerned the international communist movement and all mankind, ideas and illusions, misconceptions so zealously disseminated by N. Khrushchev's group and its followers. By drawing attention to the great danger which the views and practices of the Khruschevite revisionists represented for the cause of the peoples, the revolution and socialism, and by unmasking them, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that the victories of the then socialist camp and of all the peoples would be further promoted "if the path were barred to opportunistic ideas and attitudes, and if the common line and decisions were to be consistently implemented" (p 363).

Time has fully vindicated these predictions and warnings. It is a fact that all the demagogy and all the views and practical activities of the modern revisionists and opportunists of all hues have helped and have performed an incalculable service to imperialism, have caused great damage to the entire revolutionary and liberation movement throughout the world and have hindered the achievement of even greater successes in the cause of the peoples, peace and socialism. Practice has fully vindicated Comrade Enver Hoxha's lesson--which we find also in the materials of the 24th volume of his works--that every imperialism, by its own very nature, is always a vicious enemy of the proletarian revolution and of the peoples. Therefore, the calls issued today by the preachers of the theory of the "Three Worlds" in order to encourage and support one imperialism in struggle against the other and to make friends with and join one imperialism in struggle against another [imperialism] constitute a great danger and are fraught with disastrous consequences for the future of the revolution and of the freedom of the peoples if they are not opposed and rejected, because they deceive the proletariat, the working masses and the peoples by calling on them to depart from the revolutionary struggle; because they fail to make a distinction between the friends and the enemies of the proletariat and of the peoples, but, on the contrary, consider the monopoly bourgeoisie and the imperialisms of the so-called "Second World"--which are ardent defenders of neocolonialism and of the old order of inequality in international economic relations, as well as supporters of aggressions--to be the allies of the oppressed peoples and nations of the so-called "Third World"; and because they put proletarians and bourgeois peoples and reactionary cliques into the same sack.

In making a lot of noise about the so-called change in the nature of imperialism, N. Khrushchev was also helped by other revisionists, particularly the Italian revisionists. The latter, with their anti-Marxist theses and claims that they would tame and dissolve imperialism painlessly, with gloves and smiles, were doing nothing else but supporting the Khrushchevite theses that supposedly "imperialism has lost its teeth, that it has been tamed, that it is not preparing for war, that the danger of imperialism is nonexistent and that the capitalist encirclement is nonexistent," and so forth. (p 42)

It is obvious that such views and actions were pleasing to U.S. imperialism and international reaction, which increasingly considered N. Khrushchev and other revisionists as people who were doing a considerable service for them and who were causing so much damage to the socialist camp, the international communist movement and the peoples. This is why it was also a very common thing in the West to receive the words and deeds of N. Khrushchev's group and of the other revisionists warmly, with smiles, applause, congratulations and praise.

Attentively following and analyzing the activity of the modern revisionists, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in addition to openly unmasking and to resolutely struggling against the Tito-Khrushchev revisionist line, informs the Albanian communists and the entire international communist movement that the other revisionists, such as the Italians, French and others, with their views and "theories" had placed themselves entirely in the service of the national bourgeoisie and international imperialism and had become splitters and saboteurs of the international communist movement. Comrade Enver Hoxha's profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the views and concepts of the Italian revisionists in the article, "Observations on the Theses of the 10th PCI Congress" reaches the clear and logical conclusion that the revisionist leaders of the PCI, in following a profoundly revisionist line, had departed from the positions of Marxism-Leninism and had emerged openly in the service of imperialism and of the "peaceful" political, economic and social integration" of socialism in capitalism. Togliatti's revisionist path of reconciliation with imperialism and the national bourgeoisie could not have been expressed more clearly than in these theses, in which the revisionist leaders of the PCI, as Comrade Enver Hoxha says, "...uncover their real pacifist fact, saying that they are prepared to make every ideological, political and organizational concession." (p 31)

This is a characteristic of all revisionists and opportunists of all hues, both old and new, who proceed from the mistaken concept that the national and international bourgeoisie turns, in time, supposedly into a force on which the proletariat can rely and with which it can and must cooperate. As our party has stressed, these "theories," which we hear even today, are profoundly counterrevolutionary, because, according to them, instead of calling on the proletariat of various capitalist countries to launch itself in resolute struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie and the exploiting system in power, it is being urged to accept social peace and cooperation with the class that is exploiting it and sucks its blood, and to relinquish the proletarian revolution.

Basing his views on concrete facts, Comrade Enver Hoxha makes it clear in his article that the PCI leaders, who had joined up with the Italian bourgeoisie, would fit in with the latter even more as regards fundamental issues and that "....They would sink to the level of servants of U.S. imperialism, in the same way as the leaders of the Italian big bourgeoisie." (p 32) In fact, by openly reassuring imperialism about the integration of socialism with capitalism, the Togliatti revisionists, like the Khrushchevites, have set themselves the task, with their views and activities, of trampling on socialism in those countries where it is being built, and of extinguishing and drowning the revolution in those countries where the prerequisites for it have been created and where it can erupt.

Time has fully vindicated the conclusions arrived at by Comrade Enver Hoxha in the article, "Observations on the 10th PCI Congress," that the Togliatti revisionists would go even further in their treachery. At the Seventh AWP Congress, relying on concrete facts, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that, indeed, the Togliatti revisionists have turned themselves into social democrats, that they have become the most zealous defenders of the bourgeois order and armed troops of capitalism. By further developing their "theories," they have emerged today with the thesis that, supposedly, in order to advance toward socialism "under the new conditions," it is no longer necessary for the communists to capture a majority in parliament, but that they should conclude prior to that, a comprehensive alliance also with the major bourgeois parties. Thus, says Comrade Enver Hoxha, was born the "historic compromise," and the revisionists, wriggling convulsively in reformist theories, are demanding a share of the profit being made by speculative capital, are asking to become the managers of the affairs of the bourgeoisie, and still continue to deceive the proletariat.

Also topical is the other conclusion arrived at by Comrade Enver Hoxha, when he stressed that the Italian revisionist leaders, through their proclaimed theses, "preach and fight" for a peaceful world in which all should become brothers "under the sign of the Cross." By this, Comrade Enver Hoxha points out, they mean that the communists and the working class should remain calm, be tolerant, not raise their voice too much, and that they should by no means take up arms and act against those who are holding power, because the latter themselves would make concessions (and they must make some concessions, give a few alms), supposedly for the sake of peace and "progress," but, in reality, in favor of the rich and so forth. About such alms which the big powers must give to help the economy of "developing countries," a lot is also being said currently by the authors of theories concerning the so-called "non-alined countries," "the Third World," the "developing countries" and so forth who, exactly like the other revisionists, trumpet that all will progress toward socialism together, bourgeois and proletarians alike, preaching that a middle way will thus be found, that a "new international order" will be established, in which all, rich and poor alike, the exploiters and the exploited, would live "without wars," "without arms," "in unity" and in "class peace," that is, in Khrushchevite-type coexistence.

Even at the time Comrade Enver Hoxha was stressing that for demagogic purposes, and to disguise themselves, the revisionists try to preserve a "Marxist-Leninist" facade, even citing Marx and Lenin, obviously in a distorted way, in order to support and justify their deviations from Marxism-Leninism, their struggle against it and their treachery against the proletariat, the revolution, socialism and the peoples. But life has fully proven that the CPSU and the communist parties of East and West Europe, Latin America and Asia which embraced revisionism have no longer any communist element in them. As Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the Seventh AWP Congress: "They are no longer guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, but by the anti-Marxist theory, in a bastardized content and form, although some of them, in order to disguise themselves, preserve a more or less Marxist phraseology. Their entire program, if it can be called a program, has sunk to the level of trying to achieve certain additional reform demands which not only represent no threat to the bourgeois system, but seek to save it from profound convulsions and to render it more pliable to new situations." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the AWP Seventh Congress, p 256)

The AWP has always boldly and consistently denounced the diabolical tactics and base methods used by the Khrushchevites to distort and "to correct" Marxism-Leninism. It has shown that the Soviet revisionists have long ago conclusively burned their bridges with communism and that, together with their followers, they have turned themselves into servants of the bourgeoisie, working to destroy the socialist system, and to weaken and destroy the belief of the international proletariat and progressive people in the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and in the socialist and communist society.

But despite the efforts of the Khrushchevite, Titoite, Togliatti and other revisionists and opportunists of all hues to destroy the socialist system, and despite the ignoring of socialism as a social system by the so-called "theory of three worlds," socialism as a system does exist and marches onward in the true socialist countries which remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism, such as the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Socialism lives and triumphs in the consciousness and actions of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world. Correctly analyzing the international situation and the entire process of international development on the basis of class criteria, our party has stressed and continues to stress that the socialist system exists objectively, that it is opposed to the capitalist system and, regardless of the efforts of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologues to ignore it, that the socialist system is advancing and will always advance, until its final triumph throughout the world.

II Modern Revisionists in Spirit of Reconciliation, Common Front With Yugoslav Revisionists

In many of the materials of the 24th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works, and particularly in his articles in the press at that time, considerable treatment was given to the opportunistic and unprincipled attitude which characterized N. Khrushchev's group and the other modern revisionists in their relations with Yugoslav revisionism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that, under the pretext that supposedly Yugoslavia "is a socialist country" and that the LCY "is a sister party," N. Khrushchev "...has persistently followed as regards Yugoslavia a line of reconciliation, rapprochement and full unity, and comprehensive cooperation, forming a common front with the Tito clique." (p 374) In pursuing this course, which was in flagrant contradiction with the condemnation of the Yugoslav revisionists by the communist and workers parties, N. Khrushchev, on the one hand, savagely attacked all those who opposed the rapprochement with the Yugoslav revisionists, and, on the other, tried to bring Yugoslavia into the family of socialist countries and the LCY into the international communist movement.

Unmasking this course, Comrade Enver Hoxha drew attention to and unmasked also the confusing views and base methods used by N. Khrushchev's group and the other revisionists to mislead public opinion, and to justify the policy of rapprochement and conciliation with the Yugoslav revisionists. Unable to present any concrete facts or arguments to justify their views and actions, they relied merely on general phrases and lies, because neither Khrushchev nor the Togliatti revisionists nor the other revisionists and opportunists--no matter who they are, who have tried, and who will continue to try to bring Yugoslavia into the ranks of the socialist countries--could find such facts and arguments to prove that "changes are taking place" in Yugoslavia, that "the foreign policy of Yugoslavia dovetails with the policy of the socialist countries," that an experience of primary value has supposedly been gathered in Yugoslavia in the "construction of socialism" and so forth.

Yugoslavia is a capitalist country where socialism was undermined even before having been properly established. And Comrade Enver Hoxha argues this reality with solid facts. What kind of socialism can one say there is in Yugoslavia, he pointed out, when in the countryside over 90 percent of the arable land is private property and dominated by the kulak economy, and when the so-called social enterprises in the cities have been turned into capitalist enterprises? What kind of socialism can one say exists in Yugoslavia when the system of exploitation, production anarchy and the typically capitalist competition between enterprises exists there? Can one talk about socialism in Yugoslavia when it grabs with both hands millions and billions of U.S. dollars and receives economic and military aid from the United States and other Western powers? Can one pretend that socialism is being built with this "aid" given by U.S. imperialism, whose dollars, as Lenin used to say, were dripping with the blood of the workers? "Since when have U.S. dollars become an essential factor in building socialism?" (p 411) Comrade Enver Hoxha asked these questions correctly, explaining that, in fact, the generous investment of U.S. dollars for "the Trojan horse" is not at all intended for the construction of socialism in Yugoslavia, "but in the political, ideological and economic interests of the leaders of U.S. imperialism and of reaction in their struggle against socialism and communism, against the freedom and independence of the peoples and against peace." (p 411)

Comrade Enver Hoxha explains this treacherous course and hostile activity with concrete facts, pointing out that the Tito-Kennedy message and the

Tito-Rusk talks were characterized by the intention to intensify the diversionary, sabotaging and splitting activity of the Yugoslav revisionists against the forces of socialism, the national liberation movements and the struggle of the peoples of the world in defense of their freedom and independence; and that through the visits that Tito was making in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and in various other ways, by implementing the plans and orders of his U.S. master, Tito was working to extinguish the revolutionary spirit in those countries, to sow division in the working class and the working masses in order to divert them from their just anti-imperialist and anticolonial struggle. There were then and there are now numerous facts to show that the Yugoslav revisionists, while they were trumpeting then, and are trumpeting now, loudly that Yugoslavia is supposedly a nonalined country, they were in fact trying then and are trying now to draw within the orbit of imperialism, and in the service of its policy, countries which have won their freedom or which have risen in struggle against the old and new colonialists. There are numerous facts showing how the Yugoslav revisionists engaged in intensive intelligence operations in the countries of the former socialist camp, sticking their nose even in the party apparatuses, in the economic apparatuses, among intellectuals, in the diplomatic organs of some of these countries, going so far as to put their hands on the secret documents of certain central committees, as happened in Bulgaria, where Yugoslav agents managed to steal all the documents of the 1960 Moscow meeting in the apparatus of the BCP Central Committee.

It is clear that in these conditions, when the Yugoslav revisionists had placed themselves in the service of the fundamental strategy of U.S. imperialism, neither N. Khrushchev and his group nor the Italian and other revisionists could prove [the truth of] their sermons, according to which the Yugoslav revisionists were supposedly making a great contribution to the consolidation of the socialist camp, to the international communist peace movement, for the triumph of the cause of the international working class, for the national and social liberation of the oppressed peoples, and so forth and so on. "The friends, supporters and adorers of Tito," Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, "cannot answer to the international communist public opinion for all this, because they would burn themselves, because the sun cannot be concealed with sieves." (p 413)

This is why the lies of N. Khrushchev and of the other revisionists of all hues did not and could not deceive the genuine Marxist-Leninists and realistic people, because, as life has proven, no "change" has been or is being made in Yugoslavia by the Yugoslav revisionists to indicate that supposedly "mistakes are being corrected" there, as N. Khrushchev pretended in his days and as his followers, no matter where they may be, are pretending today. Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that the Yugoslav revisionists themselves have never concealed their close cooperation with U.S. imperialism. Thus, for example, in a speech delivered at the time following his return from a visit to the Soviet Union, Tito declared that "Yugoslavia cannot change its foreign policy.... the suppositions of some people in the West that, because of its improvement in the relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, Yugoslavia will now relinquish its policy of good relations with the United States and other Western countries is absurd." (p 407)

Despite this, the modern revisionists, particularly the Soviet revisionists, who had given up the struggle to unmask Yugoslav revisionism and had been following for years the path of reconciliation and complete unity with it, viewed their reconciliation and rapprochement with the Yugoslav revisionists as one of the major preoccupations of their policy. Completely departing from Marxism-Leninism, they acted step by step and, finally, joined with Yugoslav revisionism and started to hatch joint plans against socialism and peace and new projects for capitulation before imperialism.

This course of rapprochement and complete unity with the Yugoslav revisionists was resolutely opposed by the AWP and other Marxist-Leninist parties, in which N. Khrushchev saw a serious obstacle to the achievement of his aims. This was the reason why, while closely embracing Tito and kneeling down before him, N. Khrushchev arrogantly attacked those communist parties which were unmasking the views and actions of the Yugoslav renegades, and particularly our party. But the AWP did not flinch before the blackmail and slanders of the Khrushchevite revisionists. The AWP and the Albanian people, who see very clearly and from very close what Yugoslav revisionism represents, have maintained and continue to maintain a resolute Marxist-Leninist stand, and have waged and continue to wage an irreconcilable and principled ideological struggle against it, as well as against all renegades of the Khrushchev-type or the opportunists of some other hue who follow a course of rapprochement and cooperation with it.

In its assessment and unmasking of Khrushchevite, Yugoslav and Western revisionism as opportunistic ideological trends and as a political practice intended to undermine the socialist society and the genuine communist parties from within, and as a favorite weapon of the imperialist bourgeoisie in its struggle against socialism and the liberation movement of the peoples fighting to erase colonial vestiges and to create free, democratic and independent states, the AWP has consistently fought and will continue to fight also in the future to further unmask what is false and to make clear the danger represented by all variants of revisionism and opportunism. The AWP is aware that the struggle against rightist opportunism and revisionism, which constitutes the primary danger for our party and the entire international revolutionary and communist movement, will be a prolonged one, that it will require great efforts on our part. However, armed with the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, it is determined to wage this struggle tooth for tooth, because when it comes to principles, the AWP makes concessions to no one, no matter who it may be.

This is why the treacherous revisionist path found no place in our country, and never will. The party and the people, loyal to Marxism-Leninism to the end, are in steel-like unity and are fighting to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to strengthen the party and its leading role, to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, smashing and rejecting the capitulating "theories" of the revisionists and opportunists who seek to create ideological confusion among the Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces in the world.

Owing to the great effort made by the party, in the past and at present, for the education of the communists and of the working masses with the Marxist-Leninist theory, its materials and documents and Comrade Enver Hoxha's serialized works, the communists and the working masses of our country are well armed ideologically, have mastered the revolutionary theory of the proletariat; and, knowing and analyzing well the international situation on the basis of class criteria, they are deceived neither by the old nor the new anti-Leninist theories intended to undermine the revolution, to extinguish the struggle against imperialism and to divide the Marxist-Leninist movement, the unity of the international proletariat and so forth.

Our communists and working people have now found a powerful ideological weapon for the struggle against imperialism and revisionism in the 24th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works. The attentive study of the materials of this volume in which many other important problems are dealt with--like the problems concerning the fulfillment of economic plans, the problems concerning the training and qualification of cadres, the intensification of agriculture, the consolidation of the leadership role of the party organizations, the activation of the mass organizations, problems concerning the consolidation of the people's unity and of the country's defense--will further raise their theoretical level and inspire them even more in their work to fulfill tasks in all fields, in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and revisionism, for the triumph of the revolution and socialism.

CSO: 2100

LAVISH RECEPTIONS GIVEN TITO IN PYONGYANG, PEKING

Honors for Tito in Pyongyang

Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 31 Aug 77 p 4

[Text] The news agencies report that after a week's visit, the head of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the president of Yugoslavia, J. B. Tito left Korea.

During his stay in the DPRK, he was received with very great pompous honors by Kim Il-song, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party and DPRK president.

In his honor, banquets were given, performances were presented, and meetings and demonstrations were organized. In Pyongyang stadium, there was a big demonstration lasting 3 hours, with 100,000 persons participating. Tito was honored with the order of Hero of the DPRK, the first foreign citizen to receive this order, with the jubilee sculpture "Fighter against Imperialism," with the title of honorary citizen of Pyongyang and with a silver knife, which, according to the custom of the country, symbolizes the "protector of happiness and security."

Tito's Arrival in Peking

Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 31 Aug 77 p 4

[Text The head of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the president of Yugoslavia, J. B. Tito, arrived in Peking on 30 August.

At the Peking airport, he was received with great pompous honors by Hua Kuo-feng, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Li Hsien-nien, etc. According to the New China News Agency, the streets of Peking were decorated as for a holiday. In Tienamin Square alone, more than 100,000 people came to cheer Tito, in addition to thousands of others standing in lines which extended 5 miles along the main streets of Peking.

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE called this pompous reception "a triumphal reception, one of the greatest which has been given to any leader of any state."

CSO: 2100

SUCCESS OF EXHIBIT AT ALGIERS INTERNATIONAL FAIR STRESSED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 2 Oct 77 p 4

[Article: "Every Day Thousands of People Visit Our Pavilion at the International Fair in Algiers"]

[Text] The Albanian pavilion at the International Fair in Algiers, organized by the Chamber of Commerce of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, continues to be visited by thousands of citizens of Algiers, representatives of foreign trade firms in Algeria and foreign firms. The line of visitors is endless during the hours that the fair is open. The visitors show special attention to the stand where the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha are displayed, such as his report to the 7th Party Congress, etc.

The visitors are interested in textiles, clothing, knitted goods, porcelain articles, handicraft articles, etc. One often hears visitors say "how beautiful" when they see the carpets and other articles on exhibit. Many visitors highly praise the successes achieved by the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in all fields and say good things about our pavilion such as: "This shows the work and great skill of the Albanian workers," "a pavilion which satisfies you when you visit it," etc.

The displays which show the victories achieved by our people during the past five-year plan and prospects lying ahead for the People's Socialist Republic of Albania during the sixth five-year plan also have had many visitors. Also, photographs showing scenes from work and life in Albania, pictures of the great projects of the five-year plan, photos of the metallurgical combine, the petroleum processing plant in Ballsh, Albanian hydroelectric power plants and factories, photos showing achievements in agriculture and in our socialist art and culture are viewed with interest. Many visitors express approval of the consistent road taken by our people, under the leadership of the party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, in building socialism and express wishes for new, even greater victories in the future.

Our pavilion at this fair continues to draw more and more visitors day after day.

CSO: 2100

SPECULATORS, 'PRIVATE' OPERATORS CONDEMNED

Tirana PUNA in Albanian 16 Aug 77 p 3

[Article by Skender Barhani and Xhelal Turku: "Private Work Is Foreign and Irreconcilable with Our Morality and Our Socialist Laws"]

[Text] In all the process of the development of our socialist society the party in its educational work has aimed and is still aiming that every member of our society should have, at work and socially, just Marxist-Leninist revolutionary concepts, to submit all its actions to the general interest, to the ideals of socialism as the only source of economic stimulation, of progress and of the uninterrupted growth of the well-being of all society and every individual in particular.

The history of the rapid socialist transformation that has taken place since the liberation and up to the present, is living proof of the formation of our new person with socialist characteristics which is one of the greatest victories achieved under the leadership of our glorious party.

The achievements in this direction are the results of the struggle that has taken place to uproot from the conscience of the people the remains of the past and any bourgeois-revisionist manifestations, influences such as putting personal interest above the general interest, to do away with attitudes of indifference towards socialist work and wealth and to fight the petit-bourgeois tendency to realize profit by unjust means, etc.

By carrying on a relentless fight against these negative phenomena, besides other things, in every worker, the correct understanding towards work and participation in the social process of production not just as a guaranteed right, but as a duty and a conscientious process of every member of society, is taking root more and more every day. As a result, any other road would lead to the resurgence of elements with foreign thoughts and concepts which would give birth to that dangerous notion of returning to capitalism and revisionism.

It is precisely because of these reasons that our party and our socialist state have continuously given instructions that a tough fight be carried

on against peddlers and speculators who, here and there, practice their trade privately and in secret for the purpose of realizing profit by dishonest means. These acts should be considered repulsive, as foreign flesh in the healthy body of our new society. Therefore, they are an aspect of the development of class struggle.

On the other hand, by broadening the scope of the maintenance services, it has become possible for citizens and members of cooperatives to have all their needs and service requirements completed. Every year the at-home repair service has grown, in fact, for jobs of an urgent nature, speedy means of communication have been established.

The correct party policy for the creation and gradual expansion of these sectors has led to the complete elimination of private activities and in 1969, a ban on these practices was sanctioned by law.

At the same time, in order to discourage activities of this nature in the future, the Council of Ministers first approved resolution No 180 dated 15 December 1969. Amongst other things in this resolution, there was talk of measures to be taken to stop the practice of private trade and craft by considering them as administrative violations and by making sure that anyone caught in this kind of activity be punished with a fine. With the changes which later were made to this resolution, concretely with resolution No 195 dated 5 November 1973, besides the state organs, the social organizations and the working masses are charged with helping to uncover any trading and professional buying and selling activities of a private nature. As a result of these measures the practice of these activities has diminished. Nevertheless, there are still examples of this kind of activity being exercised by people who don't have the proper ideology. These elements with distorted viewpoints, who carry on forbidden activities, do not understand the damage they cause to society, they do not understand that to get profit by illegal means is foreign to our society, they do not understand and they do not ideologically evaluate these phenomena which offend our socialist economy and make way for the rebirth of capitalist elements. The question arises, where do these people find equipment and raw materials? It is evident that part of the materials are assured from pooling resources. The damage that these attitudes bring to society is perfectly clear. Therefore, the trade union organizations, other social organizations and the workers collectives, by continuously keeping in sight the lessons of the party, must do a better ideological and political job of spreading information about the law and to create an atmosphere of destruction for those elements with distorted points of view contaminated by foreign ideology. Special duties regarding this problem fall on the trade union organizations and the workers collective of the maintenance services. It is necessary for them to make greater efforts to raise the conscience of the workers, to improve the quality of the services and the greeting and escorting of the citizens. They must work harder against foreign manifestations of favoritism and special privileges for friends at work. They must try to complete work close by and even in the houses of the citizens. The fight against incompetence makes for

better finished, better qualified work and faster service in supplying the needs of the populace in such services as construction work, sewing, furniture repair, radio and television repair, refrigerator and washing machine repairs, hydraulic services and repairs on some fine metallic products, etc. Failure to complete these services well, and on time, is one of the reasons which favors the practice of illegal activities, and opens the way for speculative elements to destroy the conscience of the citizens by forcing them, because of their various urgent needs, to seek this wrong path without proper knowledge of the consequences.

6160
CSO: 2100

YUGOSLAVIA'S 'NOVA MAKEDONIJA' REPORTS ON 'PRIVATE PLOTS' IN BULGARIA

Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 16 Oct 77 p 4 AU

[Report by Filip Simonovski]

[Summary] Sofia, in October--It is only now that the Bulgarian public has become acquainted with some of the provisions of the decree of the Council of Ministers and the Fatherland Front on "full utilization of private plots" which was adopted on 12 August. Some of the details incorporated in this decree "could not even be imagined a few years ago and it is possible to hear now that they are 'sensational.'" What is involved here are certain "corrections to the party and government policy in relation to agriculture." Two years ago the party-state leadership granted permission to all those employed in agriculture to have and cultivate their own private plots, ranging in sizes from one to five ares. Now this latest decree extends this permission also to non-agricultural workers and this means that even those Bulgarians who live in the city center of Sovia will be able to cultivate their private plots should they want to do so.

It is noted here in this connection that the private plots granted to agricultural workers a few years ago have fulfilled their expectations, that is, have increased the supply of vegetables, fruit, milk and meat both for those who cultivate these plots and for the free market. Now, under the provisions of this latest decree, all workers and employees--no matter where they work--will be able to have their private plots ranging in sizes from two to three ares. "As early as during this year the state organs will assign and distribute some 120,000 hectares of land for this purpose." Of course, only that land will be considered for this purpose which for one or another reason cannot be cultivated by large agricultural enterprises. The only condition for a worker or an employee to obtain such a private plot is that he must be employed and that he has no other income except the income from his employment. Only he and members of his family will be allowed to cultivate the plot concerned, and will be free to decide what will be produced on the plot.

CSO: 2800

'TRIBUNA' ATTACKS PRESIDENT CARTER, AMERICAN MILITARISM

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 33, 17 Aug 77 pp 14-15

[Article by Roman Drobny: "Dangerous Plans of the United States"]

[Text] There are two possibilities in the military area today: either to limit, on the basis of agreements between the East and the West, the feverish arms race and to gradually proceed toward disarmament or to accumulate new and even more destructive weapons. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have already stated their categorical position on many occasions and demand that an end be put to the feverish armament. A large number of submitted proposals is evidence of this. Imperialism, however, has lent a deaf ear to them so far. Bad habits from the times of the cold war still persist in the Atlantic circles: the tendency to act from a position of strength and to exert pressure on the other side by means which have no place in a diplomatic dialog.

Atlantic Dictionary

The abbreviations in the dictionary used by the NATO generals are getting increasingly more numerous all the time and none of them forecasts anything good. Let us mention some of them for information:

ICBM (Intercontinental Ballistic Missile): an intercontinental ballistic rocket which carries a nuclear warhead.

SLBM (Sea Launched Ballistic Missile): a rocket with a composite warhead and a considerable range which is stored in nuclear submarines.

Strategic Bombers: the United States already possesses B-52 and FB-111 while B-1 is in the stage of development.

Cruise Missile (a winged rocket): the fascist V-1 which bombarded Great Britain during World War II is the grandfather of this weapon. It can carry both conventional and nuclear warheads, flies at low altitudes and is a strategic weapon.

MIRV (Multiple Independently Targetable Re-Entry Vehicle): rockets of wide range with composite nuclear warheads. Individual blasting charges can hit targets which are a considerable distance from one another.

MARV (Maneuverable Re-Entry Vehicle): a composite warhead represents further development of the MIRV system. Individual nuclear blasting charges can perform a maneuver above the target because of the built-in guidance system in order to make the hit as accurate as possible.

We could mention other entries in the Atlantic military dictionary. We do not want to list, however, various weapon systems, but want to stress the fact that NATO, despite the disarmament proposals submitted by the Soviet Union, has no intention of giving them up and, on the contrary, is developing new even more destructive ones. The latest proof is the Pentagon's effort to provide Minuteman III intercontinental ballistic missile with the new composite warheads of the MK 12-A type by 1979. These warheads are twice as destructive as the present ones and possess greater accuracy in hitting the target. As of now, the United States has 550 Minuteman III missiles, 450 Minuteman II missiles and 54 Titan missiles. The United States began to develop the MK 12-A system in 1974. This was another concession to the most aggressive NATO circles and is in conflict with the requirement that a new agreement be signed between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of strategic aggressive weapons prior to October this year.

90 Billion Dollar Project

Imperialism can be blamed for the fact that strategic armament has concentrated on the three fundamental groups of weapons: intercontinental ballistic missiles, ballistic missiles launched from submarines and heavy bombers. At the present time, the Atlantic militarists intend to open a new channel of the feverish strategic rams race in the area of winged (cruise) missiles. The Pentagon has declared that in the negotiations on the limitation of strategic weapons it will not tolerate "being deprived of their Cruise missiles." This attitude is very short-sighted. The United States does not possess a monopoly in regard to these missiles. The Soviet Union has all conditions for their manufacture, but fundamentally opposes the opening of new room for the feverish manufacture of strategic weapons connected with immense expenditures. For this reason it advocates a strict limitation of cruise missiles with a wide range. The White House and American generals continue to reject the Soviet proposals which are in harmony with the interests of mankind. The United States thus assumes a tremendous responsibility.

President Carter has decided to continue in the development of the B-1 bomber--an additional five prototypes are to be manufactured--but has postponed its series production for the time being. This step of his met with displeasure on the part of the monopolies involved, specifically, Rockwell International, General Electric, Bendix, Goodrich, Sperry Rand,

United Technologies and others. The voices in support of the armament kings' demands were heard in the American Congress. Senator Barry Goldwater declared: "The President of the United States will ultimately reach the conclusion that we cannot live without the B-1." Former Pentagon chief Donald Rumsfeld spoke in the same vein: "There are no doubts that our country needs airplanes of another generation after the B-52 and that eventually it will decide in their favor."

These voices demonstrate the monstrosity of imperialism which "cannot live" without a bomber each of which costs 101.7 million dollars at the present time. Since 224 of these bombers are to be manufactured, their total price will amount to 24,825,700,000 dollars. This is the present figure and there is no doubt that the inflation and profits policy of monopolies will further and considerably increase it. American experts estimate that the total costs of B-1 bombers, aggressive weapons, carriers of nuclear bombs and missiles will eventually amount to $90 billion. The expenditures, including the spare parts and training of pilots, should reach this amount by the time the last B-1 bomber leaves the factory of the Rockwell International concern. The proposal of the Soviet Union that this project should be definitely scrapped together with a similar project in the USSR has still not been accepted by the United States.

Neutron Bomb

If U.S. President Carter has delayed series production of the B-1 bomber, he has not done so of his own good will. The disapproval of the American public grew louder and the costs were too high. The development of this weapon, however, continues. Moreover, Carter decided in favor of the weapons system which can be put into operation more rapidly and at lower costs. He gave preference to cruise missiles, of which 5,250 are to be manufactured for the strategic air force alone. In comparison to the B-1 project, the costs are lower, but the intentions of the White House are all the more dangerous. For the time being, eight-engine B-52 bombers, well-known from the American aggression in Vietnam, should carry these cruise missiles. They will be modernized. A total of 250 airplanes will be involved, whose adaptation will require hundreds of millions of dollars.

The Pentagon anticipates that, in view of their range of approximately 2,500 km, B-52 bombers can launch these cruise missiles far away from the target and thus avoid antiaircraft defense. For these reasons, the series production of B-1 bombers has been put off. As pointed out by U.S. Secretary of Defense Brown, the U.S. President has nothing against B-1 bomber except the costs, which seem too high to him. If the costs were cut down by one-third, his attitude would probably be different.

Under the pretext of strengthening the so-called "strategy of terror" which in fact amounts to the preparation of an aggressive war, the Atlantic militarists come up with the new types of weapons all the time. However, they do not own an exclusive patent on any of them, and their behavior only

complicates the international situation. The American ruling circles intend to include the so-called neutron bomb in the arsenal of the U.S. armed forces. The development of this weapon started several years ago. Essentially, the development followed two directions. The first one of them involved research on the nuclear charge which would have almost exclusively an explosive and heat effect with the smallest possible amount of radiation. The second direction was working on the development of a bomb which would kill everything alive, but would not damage buildings, military equipment and so on.

The neutron bomb is abhorrent and barbarous because it affects people's nervous system and impairs the intellectual and movement coordination. Persons stricken by the neutron radiation within an 800-meter radius from the center of the explosion are after 5 minutes incapable of performing physically demanding acts and die within 1-2 days. People who are stricken by the 12 times smaller radiation than that occurring within the 1,600-meter radius will meet a similar terrible fate, characterized, in addition, by a slow death.

Monstrous Morality

The victims are not able to think or act correctly and turn into living wrecks with a few weeks of life left, if such an existence can be called life at all. Then the majority of victims die. People cannot protect themselves against nor escape the neutron radiation. They die not among the ruins but amidst their undamaged property. What should we call this "humanity" of American "defenders of human rights"?

The bourgeois press has got used to this monstrous morality already to such an extent that the neutron bomb program has encountered virtually no opposition in many periodicals. The West German DIE WELT regards this barbarous weapon as only one of the means of the so-called strategy of "flexible response." This periodical is of the opinion that more than 7,000 tactical atomic weapons stored by the United States in Western Europe are obsolete. The neutron bomb is said to have arrived on time and "will conveniently fit into the NATO arsenal." This is how the West German capitalists judge the weapon which in fact is terrible and criminal.

In an interview with the French daily LE MONDE, Leonid Brezhnev stated in June this year: "The latest NATO recommendation for increasing military expenditures in its member countries, the constantly increasing U.S. military budget and the continuous effort of that country to develop new types of weapons--all this indicates that ground is being prepared for a new round of the feverish arms race. We are positively convinced that the most important task for preserving peace and further progress in the relaxation of tension is the limitation of armaments. If this wicked race is not brought to a halt, all of us will find ourselves again on the brink of something that cannot be foreseen, as in the years of the cold war."

J. Carter's 688 Promises

And the reply of the militaristic circles of the United States? The intention to produce 5,250 cruise missiles for the strategic bombers, each of which would be more than 12 times as powerful as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Furthermore, to construct launching pads for cruise missiles on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and outfit them with U.S. navy vessels including conventional type submarines and surface ships. And finally, the inhuman intention to include the neutron bomb--even if it is unnecessary--in the arsenal of the NATO armies. These and other actions of the Atlantic militarists and their followers pour oil into the fire, increase the risk of a nuclear war and undermine the effort aimed at the relaxation of tension.

American President J. Carter made 688 promises in the course of the election campaign many of which referred to the urgent international questions and to the willingness to limit armaments in the first place. The White House regards the Atlantic militarists as its best friends today.

The Soviet Union relentlessly and persistently continues to strive for the realistic measures designed to bring the feverish arms race to a halt and ultimately to achieve disarmament. Reasonable agreements are possible, but the United States must not count on unilateral advantages. The principle on whose basis it is possible to negotiate remains the same and is the only acceptable: full equality and equal security. The Soviet Union does not reject compromises and tries to find mutually acceptable solutions. It is up to the other party to demonstrate equal willingness.

10501
CSO: 2400

CSSR DELEGATE ADDRESSES UN POLITICAL-SECURITY COMMITTEE

Prague CTK in English 2107 GMT 27 Oct 77 LD

[Text] New York, 27 Oct, CETEKA--Only a world conference can provide opportunity for a really businesslike debate of (?disarmament issues and for) elaboration of realistic strategy for general and complete disarmament, Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Milos Vejvoda said (?here) today.

Addressing the political and security committee of the UN General Assembly, he said that Czechoslovakia welcomed the proposal to hold a special UN General Assembly on disarmament, as this could be a certain step ahead. He reiterated Czechoslovakia's request to share in preparations for the special session as a full member of the relevant committee.

The Government of Czechoslovakia is willing to participate in all international measures to prevent (?nuclear arms proliferation) with the exception of such as would be discriminatory, or hinder (?peaceful) development of nuclear power engineering.

Speaking about another important issue, complete and general ban of nuclear weapons tests, Milos Vejvoda recalled that the Soviet Union has supplemented its [word indistinct] draft treaty with provision concerning (?inspection) on the (?site) and said (?that) if the treaty is signed, the Czechoslovak Government, whose expert (?works) on the Geneva Armament Committee, is ready to incorporate its seismic facilities into the system of control. Czechoslovakia (?is) also ready to participate in negotiations of a treaty in the group of non-nuclear countries.

Ban and liquidation of all chemical (?weapons) should not be an insoluble problem as [word indistinct] by the deliberations of the disarmament committee in recent years. To begin with, at least the most dangerous means of chemical warfare could be banned.

Milos Vejvoda went on to emphasize the importance of Soviet proposals, submitted to the current UN General Assembly, concerning detente and the averting of nuclear war.

Equally important is the porposal [word indistinct] world treaty of renunciation of the use of force in international relations, and the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty states that the Helsinki Final Act signatories should pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Czechoslovak Government attaches great significance to the success of the talks on the reduction of armed forces and armament in Central Europe, and above all to the Soviet-U.S. Strategic Arms Limitation talks.

An alarming situation is arising in the question of nuclear arms nonproliferation. It is gratifying that the nuclear arms nonproliferation treaty has been ratified by more than 100 states. But until the treaty becomes universal, the danger of proliferation remains an acute problem.

Milos Vejvoda stressed the need to ban the development and production of new kinds and systems of weapons of mass destruction. As a dangerous example in this respect he mentioned the neutron bomb. He appreciated the fact that the Soviet Union and the U.S. are conducting successful talks aimed at banning radiological weapons.

CSO: 2020

PAPER PRAISES AUSTRIAN VISA REFUSAL TO EXPILOT

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Oct 77 p 7 AU

[HF commentary: "An Undesirable Guest"]

[Text] U.S. Pilot Barry Meeker is not unknown to our public. Two years ago he violated our airspace and landed a helicopter near Lipno Lake where at that time a great number of people were vacationing and exposed them to danger with his gangster acts. He overflew Austrian territory. According to his defense lawyer's statement he now has a permanent residence in Munich and frequently travels to various West European countries, including Austria among other things.

According to an AP report based on a statement by lawyer Klaus Goebel, Meeker has now been prohibited from staying in Austria. Allegedly the Austrian authorities did so under pressure from the Czech authorities." Well, Klaus Goebel possibly knows more about "pressure" than the CSSR and Austria on whose behalf he strives to speak. It is natural in our opinion, however, that people who are committing criminal acts against one or another country such as Meeker committed against Austria will indeed not be welcome in such a country. And it is praiseworthy that this is so precisely in this case, in the case of Austria.

CSO: 2400

CPCZ'S INDRA HAILS NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Oct 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Speech by Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR Federal Assembly chairman, at the 25 October session of the CSSR Federal Assembly]

[Excerpt] The Soviet people have greeted the 60th anniversary of the establishment of their power by adopting a new constitution. This act again is pioneering in nature, and will enter history as a living proof of the successes of the CPSU's policy, as the result of the Soviet peoples' admirable efforts. The new Soviet constitution is an inspiration for the socialist states and for all progressive mankind; it is an example of what can be achieved by people who are masters of their country and rulers of their destiny. It testifies that socialism and democracy are inseparable and interdependent. The citizen's place in society, his possibilities, his relationship with the state is expressed by a scope of human rights which cannot find its like in the world.

The uniqueness of socialist democracy, its undisputable merits nevertheless lie in the fact that it does not merely declare the rights, but also creates realistic conditions for implementing them.

Permit me, men and women comrades, to congratulate also in your name the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet on an epochal decision--the adoption of the new constitution. We wish the Soviet people many successes in implementing it in life.

Glory to the 60th anniversary of the Great October! Long live our most loyal ally--the USSR--and its Leninist Communist Party.

CSO: 2400

VATICAN-CSSR DISCUSSIONS HELD IN ROME

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Sep 77 p 2

[Article by Vo: "Negotiations Between Prague and the Vatican"]

[Text] Rome, 20 Sept. A Czechoslovak Government negotiating mission led by Karel Hruza, head of the Government Secretariat for Religious Affairs has arrived in Rome. A mission led by Vatican's "Minister for Foreign Affairs" Casaroli represents the Holy See at the negotiations. The discussions concern relations between state and church in Czechoslovakia and primarily the nomination of bishops to fill the numerous vacancies still existing in Czechoslovak dioceses.

At present there are no bishops in any of the six Bohemian and Moravian bishoprics. Only two of them, Prague and Olomouc, have an apostolic administrator. Of the bishoprics in Slovakia, two have a diocesan bishop and two an apostolic administrator. In Prague 304 out of 580 congregations are without a priest, in Litomerice 287 out of 433, in Hradec Kralove 23 out of 477, in Budejovice 196 out of 430, in Olomouc 191 out of 650, in Brno 124 out of 451. All monasteries and convents were closed.

In June one of Archbishop Casaroli's aids spent almost two weeks in Bohemia with the consent of the government which enabled him to talk to a great number of priests in the various dioceses. Not only the Apostolic Administrator of Prague Frantisek Tomasek, elevated to the rank of cardinal at the last consistory, but also Capitular Vicar Kavale of Budejovice, as well as a group of Czechoslovak priests, came to Rome with the permission of state authorities to participate in the sanctification of Johannes Nepomuk Newman, originally from the Budejovice diocese. But the Czechoslovak Embassy conspicuously refused them permission to participate in the general audience on 22 June. General Vicar Vanek of Prague, thought to be the government's candidate for a bishopric, was also present at the sanctification. The pleasantries exchanged between State President Husak and Frantisek Tomasek at the occasion of the latter's elevation to the rank of cardinal intimated for the first time a lessening of pressure on the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia by the government and the possibility of new negotiations between Prague and Rome.

The Vatican is concerned that as few of the bishops nominated in Czechoslovakia as possible are "regime priests" -- who albeit predominated among those nominated in the past -- but priests, who, as the Pope said in his address of 18 March, are "sincerely dedicated to the Church."

8664
CSO: 3103

CSR DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION: ADOPTION OF NEW CONCEPTS

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 35, 31 Aug 77 pp 3, 4

[Article by Karel Cepicka, CSR deputy minister of education: "Changes at School"]

[Text] The realization of the principles of the school of the present, of the truly socialist school, signifies the preparation of a generation of people thinking creatively on the basis of a solidly absorbed Marxist-Leninist world view. This is a generation of personalities capable of educating themselves further and actively partaking in the program of the construction of a developed socialist society in conditions of dynamic scientific and technical development. It is a generation that will live and work in the third millenium.

New Concepts at the Basic School

The first step on the path of change, in the sense of a long-term program of the further development of the Czechoslovak educational upbringing system, was already made during the past school year. In all first classes of basic school and in some schools for youth requiring special care, teaching was begun according to a new concept of educational function.

We are refraining, for example, from an over-valuation of mere memorization by pupils, from the requirements of obtaining a quantity of static knowledge. We do not consider sets of data as a goal, but only as a means of development of the personality of the pupil. He gains new knowledge and skills especially in active exertion. He makes use of his experience, earlier absorbed knowledge, and further information. In all stages of the instructional process, we therefore place stress on the independent work of the pupils. The task of the teacher, who formerly generally doled out ready-made knowledge, is changing. The teacher, above all, has to stimulate the interest of the pupils in new information, link together and direct the active participation of the pupils in their deductions, care for the development of their thinking, working skills, and habits.

In contrast to the former traditional education, aiming above all at verbal absorption and note recitation of subject matter, the center of gravity of the educational process of the basic school consists in the systematic development of activity and creative endeavor of the pupils. The newly conceptualized educational development process more markedly develops logical thinking, the rational capabilities, and the practical habits of students. The content of the instructional subjects is a basis for the creation of an open system of knowledge, skills, and habits that will be further intensified and developed in the individual kinds of secondary schools.

Balance and Perspectives

We have the first year of new work behind us. The ongoing review of work during the school year and also the concluding evaluation were unambiguously positive. The new conception of the educational purpose in the primary grades brought positive results in development and also in learning processes.

We are convinced that we shall also attain identical results in the following years. This year the new conception of the instructional process will advance to the second year of basic school. It will be further verified in the second grade of basic school, in the newly conceived preparation of youth for vocational careers, in secondary schools and secondary trade schools.

Both ministries of education are cooperating closely with the central organs in carrying out the Project of the Further Development of the Czechoslovak Educational System. Mutual consultations have helped to implement, for example, the modernization of the conception of theoretical and practical components of instruction in secondary trade schools, including the introduction of subject materials of specialized preparation, and also practical experience in plans and institutes in secondary schools. The workers of the central organs, of economic production units, of plans, of enterprises, and of other institutions are members of sectoral commissions that work on the content reorganization of the tertiary curriculum. In the field of the preparation of young people for vocational careers, the central organs, under the leadership of the ministries of education, directly partake of the content reform of the specialized component of preparation of young people and ensure the realization of the tasks connected with practical training.

Thus we are entering upon the new school year 1977-1978 with zest and élan for continuing on a correctly begun path and carrying out the demanding tasks of the Project of the Further Development of the Czechoslovak Educational System. What tasks shall we thus deal with in this school year?

According to the new conception, the complex preparation of teachers is the decisive factor in successful educational development. This school year we shall devote attention to the preparation of the teachers of nursery schools so that they absorb and master the Program of Educational

Work in crēches, nursery schools, and preparatory sections, the guidelines for all pre-school institutions from 1 September 1978. Then, attention will be given to the preparation of teachers for work in the third grade of basic school; the new conception of educational development activity will advance similarly there in the following school year.

The substantial population increase in past years requires an extension of the capacity of crēches and nursery schools. The network of preschool institutions has spread itself in recent times as never before. Nonetheless, without a marked further enlarging of the share of economic and cooperative organizations in the establishing, construction, and operation of crēches and nursery schools, it is not possible to ensure the placement of the needed number of children. In cooperation with departments, people's committees, plants, cooperatives, and other institutions, it is unavoidably necessary to expand the capacities of these establishments.

In the basic schools, and in some schools for young people requiring special care, the new conception is advancing this school year into second grade. All necessary textbooks and also teaching aids were delivered to the schools on time despite the most varied difficulties.

The ministries of education devote extraordinary attention to the creation of textbooks and of teaching aids, and they expend on them significant financial means. For example, this year's delivery alone of teaching aids for the first and second years of basic school in the CSR will reach the amount of Kcs 70 million. The high level of our textbooks is shown, among other things, by the evaluation that the primer by Ota Janecek received at the International Book Festival in France; there it received the highest award of the Silver Hawk. At the great fair of the book trade in Leipzig, the primer author was granted an honorary award. In the 1977-1978 school year preparation for the new conception of upbringing and education will continue also in the second level of basic school. Testing of the new conception will advance in the "okres sample" to the sixth grade, and in the "kraj sample" to the seventh grade of experimental schools.

The program of the realization of the principles of our educational upbringing system has assigned the most demanding tasks in the sector of the preparation of youth for laboring professions--thus that area is recording a truly revolutionary change. In the resolution of long-standing problems, we are primarily concerned with the most rapid liquidation of individual forms of training, with the progressive introduction of newly conceived subjects in harmony with the new network of secondary trade training institutions, and with raising the proportion of laboring youth to whom we offer secondary education.

The challenging nature of the realization of reform in content of the preparation of youth for laboring professions is possible to document with the following fact: for fields that will be introduced in the years 1978-1981, already 102 teaching plans and more than 300 drafts of

teaching syllabi of specialized subjects have been worked out. The norms and also the plan of production are worked out for more than 900 textbooks that we must publish for the pupils of secondary trade training institutions by 1984.

In making use of the new conception of the function of the secondary school, we are concentrating attention on the intensification of polytechnicalization in all subjects, and on the broadening of the instruction of the fundamentals of production and also of specialized preparation. Put into widespread school practice, it will be a question of our creating--with planned, systematic cooperation with productive plants and institutions in the neighborhood of the schools, with social organizations, and also with the wide public--the optimal conditions for the successful introduction of a new model of secondary school in terms of content. Even when we count on the complete introduction of the new instructional plan for secondary school beginning 1 September 1984, there is not too much time for the mastering of this almost revolutionary change in the history of the general school. In the course of seven years, we must create the necessary material and staffing conditions, and politically prepare teachers, parents, and the wide public so that they may understand this change of content in secondary schools and accept it as a necessity justified by the laws of history.

The content of the preparation of young people in the individual subjects of study of the secondary trade schools is influenced by scientific and technical development. We are modernizing the component of specialized education; we are intensifying the practical preparation in school installations, directly in the installations and workrooms of plants, enterprises, and organizations.

In all secondary schools, then, we are devoting further still heightened care and attention to pupils accepted from the eighth grade of the basic nine-year school. With the intensifying of individual progress, and with the improvement of the methodical advance of teachers in work with these pupils, we are assuring their smooth transfer from basic school to secondary school.

Stimuli of Pedagogical Work

As extraordinary strong motives of general pedagogical work in the incipient school year, historically important jubilees will be directly linked with the birth, development, and future of our peaceful existence. These are jubilees embodying tradition, meaning, and goal of our work--the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 30th anniversary of the Victorious February. They offer us a splendid opportunity to demonstrate convincingly to young people the greatness, the life-giving quality, and the invincibility of socialist ideas and also all that which the Soviet Union has accomplished for mankind in the course of their realization, and through which the Czech and Slovak

people, together with the peoples of the other fraternal socialist countries, have also contributed to contemporary life.

Besides the two anniversaries mentioned, we shall recall in the course of this school year also the 30th anniversary of the unified school and the 100th anniversary of its creator, the eminent scientist, politician, pedagogue, internationalist, pioneer, and propagator of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, Prof. Zdenek Nejedly. From his legacy we will draw creative impulses for the present pedagogical work, for the strengthening of education in the spirit of the ideas of socialist patriotism and of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

In our educational work we are using also the most significant and most progressive document in the history of the state and of law--a document of extraordinary political importance, the Constitution of the USSR. The draft of the new Soviet Constitution is the best example of the victorious road of socialism, and it is giving a series of impulses also to the further improvement of the educational development process. Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, secretary general of the Central Committee of the CPSU and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, typically characterized this fact: "Upon reading our new constitution, people are still more aware of how extensive and manysided are the freedoms and rights of the citizens of a socialist society. The new Constitution of the Soviet Union undoubtedly will enrich the common treasury of experience of world socialism. The successes of triumphant socialism, of which it is a concentrated expression, will be an inspiring example for the peoples of those countries that recently have chosen the path of socialist development. It will become a further historical contribution of our Leninist party and of the entire Soviet people to the great task of the construction of communism and equally also to the international struggle of the workers of the whole world for freedom, for the progress of humanity, for lasting peace in the world."

We are not mere witnesses; we are indeed direct participants in the great ongoing peaceful battle between the socialist and capitalist parts of the world, a struggle over man, over his mind and education, over his ability, to work and live for another, to create values and to develop them to the advantage of all humanity. Therefore all changes in content and structure that we shall progressively carry out in schooling aim at the intensification of the class and international character of education, at the realization of the modern conception of upbringing and education, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. They aim at making the all-round preparation of workers, especially of the younger generation, completely in harmony with the requirements of the life of our socialist society and its further development.

9105
CSO: 2400

SLOVAK PAPER REPORTS ON ATHEISM SEMINAR

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 26 Oct 77 pp 1, 5 AU

[MK report: "A Seminar on the Crisis and Modernization of Present-Day Christianity: Undermined Roots"--from Tatranska Lomnica]

[Text] A 2-day seminar organized by the Slovak Socialist Academy for its lecturers in Tatranska Lomnica deals with the crisis and modernization of present-day Christianity, its anticommunist activity or other manifestations as well as with education in scientific atheism. Whereas at the beginning of this century there were some 3 million atheists, according to incomplete data, there now exist more than 500 million according to UNESCO statistics and their number is constantly growing. Religion has lost its social and economic roots particularly in the socialist countries, but even in the capitalist countries the number of people who do not associate their views and lives with religion is increasing more and more, particularly among young people. Therefore the churches are striving to reach the people with initiatives, exert influence on them at home, in clubs and at work places. They are modernizing their organizatonal systems, and are adjusting their philosophical base to their ends as well as adjusting the church ceremonies. But despite this, religion in its essence remains a defender of private property and therefore also of capitalism and exploitation, of a policy of oppression, racialism and so forth even though in the past few years it also has tried to exploit ideas of peaceful coexistence to its advantage.

In connection with the current modernization efforts of the churches the need was stressed at the seminar to unmask the essence of religion as well as the need for scientific atheistic education and propaganda as an active process of man more consistently perceiving the world and himself.

CSO: 2400

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO ALGERIA--Vladimir Berger, the new CSSR ambassador to Algeria, presented his credentials to President Houari Boumedienne in Algiers on 19 October. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 77 p 7 AU]

NEW IRAQI AMBASSADOR--New Iraqi ambassador to the CSSR (Anwar Abdul Quadria) arrived in Prague on 18 October. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Oct 77 p 2 AU]

DANISH MINISTER'S DEPARTURE--Danish Finance Minister Knud Heinesen ended his visit to the CSSR and left on 20 October. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Oct 77 p 2 AU]

VIETNAMESE DELEGATION ENDS VISIT--A study delegation of the Vietnamese communist party's Central Committee led by chairman of the party's Industrial Commission, Tran Diep, was received at the end of its visit in the CSSR by Josef Kempny, federal deputy premier and CPCZ Central Committee secretary, in Prague on 20 October. While in Czechoslovakia, the Vietnamese communists were acquainted with the CPCZ's experience acquired in the implementation of economic policies in industry and agriculture. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Oct 77 p 1 AU]

PORTUGUESE PEACE DELEGATION DEPARTS--A delegation of the Portuguese Council for Peace and International Cooperation, which paid a 1-week visit to the CSSR at the invitation of the CSSR Peace Committee and the CSSR Committee for European Security, has left Czechoslovakia for home. [Prague PRACE in Czech 21 Oct 77 p 3 AU]

ILLEGAL WEAPONS, AMMUNITION COLLECTION--The Teplice Public Security Corps has opened criminal proceedings against 48-year old Vlastimil K. for illegal possession of arms. The police found in K.'s apartment 35 firearms of various types and 65,000 rounds of ammunition. [Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 21 Oct 77 p 4 AU]

FILM DIRECTOR'S STATE FUNERAL--The state funeral of Vladimir Bahna, national artist, state prize laureate, twice holder of distinctions for merit in construction and of further honors and prizes, took place in Bratislava today.

Those who came to bid their last farewell to our foremost film director included Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak premier, Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and further representatives of political and public life. [Excerpts] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 26 Oct 77 LD]

MEDICAL SOCIETY CONGRESS--The Slovak Medical Society's Third Congress met in Bratislava today. A delegation of the CPSL Central Committee and the Slovak Government, led by Miloslav Hruskovic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended the deliberations. The decision of the Slovak Medical Society's Third Congress emphasizes that the society's mission in the ideological-political guidance and professional-scientific training of its members is to insure an even greater contribution to the further improvement of medical and preventive care. [Text] [Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 24 Oct 77 LD]

CSO: 2400

DEPARTURE FROM ILO WOULD LEAD TO ISOLATION FOR U.S.

East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 23 Oct 77 LD

[Commentary by Rudolf Lahode]

[Text] When the United States under President Ford 2 years ago threatened to leave the International Labor Organization in protest against what it called the exaggerated politicization of the ILO, it was to be expected that American pressure on this UN body would be stepped up. The Carter administration is now continuing this policy by also talking about leaving the ILO if American views are not acceded to in this organization. During a meeting with Leo Tindemans, the Belgian prime minister and the current EC president, U.S. Secretary of State Vance stated that within the next 2 weeks President Carter will be making a decision on whether the United States is to remain a member of the ILO or not. This announcement has meant that the International Labor Organization, situated in Geneva, has become caught up even more strongly in controversy, the outcome of which will no doubt be of paramount importance for the ILO's future work and its budget.

It must be said with regard to the ILO's history--it was set up at the end of World War I--that its activity hitherto reflects exactly those developments which have led to the present changes in the international balance of power. Created in the beginning by imperialist powers and rightwing trade union leaders to restrain the workers in capitalist states from fighting for their political and social rights following the triumphant October Revolution, this organ of the League of Nations later became a UN special agency, which 132 states have joined in the meantime. With the growing influence of the socialist states, with the aggravation of the class struggle in the capitalist world, the decline of the colonial system and the setting-up of numerous young nation-states, the activity of the ILO also underwent a fundamental change. In the past few years, in particular, questions such as the eradication of unemployment in capitalist and developing countries, the activities of multinational concerns, problems of scientific and technological progress and aspects of improved international cooperation have taken up much time at ILO meetings. Due to the majority setup in favor of the progressive forces, the ILO took up more and more positions which evidently did not fit in with

the plans of some capitalist states. The best example is provided by the United States, which has only ratified seven out of a total of 147 ILO conventions. Whenever elementary human and trade union rights have been involved, the U.S. delegates have almost always held back their approval. Despite this they have not succeeded in curtailing the activities of this UN body, which serves progress and detente.

And truly, it is no sign of strength when Washington now threatens to leave the ILO. Such a step would only isolate the United States internationally in an important field of interstate relations.

CSO: 2300

GDR PREMIER AND OTHERS COMMEND WORKERS

Stoph to Agricultural Workers

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1835 GMT 24 Oct 77 DW

[GDR Premier Willi Stoph addresses workers of Leipzig agricultural machinery plant--recorded]

[Text] With your plan to curtail production times in 1978 by 13.8 percent, you have set yourself a pretentious target. Implementing the tasks facing us demands to exploit even more the qualitative factors for growth of the national economy. Economic reserves must be exploited in a far-reaching way for an all-round fulfillment of plans, and foreign trade burdens must be offset by a high increase of efficiency. All initiatives must be promoted in order to step up work productivity beyond the limits of the plan and to achieve growing production efficiency and quality in the interests of further implementing the main task in its unity as an economic and social policy. [applause]

Tisch to Building Workers

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1839 GMT 24 Oct 77 DW

[SED Politburo member Harry Tisch addresses Neubrandenburg building combine workers--recorded]

[Text] The achievements of your combine are the sum of what every one of you has achieved daily with his heart and brains for implementation of the decisions of the 9th SED Congress. You were given the high decoration for your insistent and persistent work, for your exemplary achievements in implementing our great apartment building program. Who would doubt it in view of the great achievements of our building workers, not just here in Neubrandenburg but in the entire republic, that we will achieve our goal of building 850,000 apartments by 1980. With your deeds all who are partaking in our apartment building program, be it in the supply industry or at the building sites, will contribute to implementation of the core of our social political program. [applause]

Grueneberg to LPG Workers

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1842 GMT 24 Oct 77 DW

[SED Politburo member Gerhard Grueneberg addresses Grabzow LPG Workers--recorded]

[Text] [Grueneberg] You have done a good job in the entire republic. I think you have done it correctly with your complex intensification of agriculture. I heard that your interim results were grade 1. You can achieve good results through intensification in regard to potatoes, sugar beets, fruits and vegetables, and of course grain. I think that is a significant experience we have made.

[LPG worker] We have paid greatest attention to fertile soil this year as well as in past years. Our stable fertilization was in order, so that we could do a good job.

[Grueneberg] I heard that you have set new and greater targets for yourself?

[LPG worker] Yes, we have set higher goals for ourselves to achieve even higher results. We want to stabilize that achieved and create a guarantee for the future that we will be reliable partners of the economy. We are cooperating with other LPGs, working in shifts, and all that.

[Grueneberg] Well, that is the right method. You will achieve good results that way. It was worth doing it.

Ebert to Hospital Personnel

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1844 GMT 24 Oct 77 DW

[Politburo member Friederich Ebert addresses Koepenick hospital personnel--recorded]

[Text] The hospital collective worked as a pace-maker in many fields of medical work and medical care. The General Medical Polyclinic Department, for instance, was the first to establish a dispensary for the children of mothers with many children and no profession. The Berlin-Koepenick Hospital was the first city hospital of Berlin which in 1974 operated on people and installed artificial cardial regulators and which was taking care of these people as out-patients. I have in mind also certain pioneer deeds in the fields of rationalization and scientific organization of work. It is obvious that this good experience must be seen in direct connection with the fact that there exist 35 collectives here which earned the honorable title: Collective of Socialist Work.

Mittag to Karl-Marx-Stadt Workers

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1848 GMT 24 Oct 77 DW

[Politburo member Guenter Mittag addresses Fritz Heckert Combine workers in Karl-Marx-Stadt--recorded]

[Text] The SED decided at the 9th Party Congress to persistently implement its tested policy aimed at the main task and the benefit of the people. No day has passed since without great work being done with great energy everywhere in our country to implement these noble goals, be it in plants, enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, scientific institutes, all branches of educational and cultural work, or in the field of public health. This is the atmosphere of responsible and creative action for strengthening our republic, an atmosphere that also was created by the collective of your plant. Your work, too, helps to further maintain the tested unity of economic and social policies and to purposefully implement our program of growth, welfare, and stability. [applause]

Sindermann to Nuclear Workers

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1830 GMT 25 Oct 77 DW

[Excerpt from speech by Volkskammer president Horst Sindermann at the Nord Nuclear Power Plant, Lubmin near Greifswald, upon decorating the labor force with the Karl Marx Order--recorded]

[Text] The findings of the human mind are unlimited. Time and again man comes up with something new, and if the findings of the human mind benefit man himself, if he gains the experience that this serves his life, his better life, then he will rack his brains everywhere to work more effectively and to score greater feats.

As you know we have decided not to let the competition in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution simply peter out but to utilize the good zeal to continue the competition with a view to the 30th anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic. After all, we want to fulfill the program of growth, prosperity, and stability adopted by the 9th SED Congress, and therefore we will not be sidetracked from our course.

I hereby hand to you the Karl Marx Order. [applause]

Axen to Gasworks Labor Force

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1833 GMT 25 Oct 77 DW

[Excerpt from speech by SED Politburo member Hermann Axen to the labor force of the original plant of the present Schwarze Pumpe Combine, on the occasion of the award of the Karl Marx Order to this plant--recorded]

[Text] By 30 September this year your combine has exceeded the plan for industrial goods production by 1.2 percent and thus achieved a growth of 5.3 percent over last year. Especially the planned increase in labor productivity has been overfulfilled. All of us as citizens of the German Democratic Republic are gratified at seeing that the coking plant in this greatest brown-coal processing combine of our republic has continually fulfilled the monthly plan for 45 months now, and the gasworks for 24 months.

As early as 17 October this year the working people of the coking plant had reached the plan targets for the first 2 years of the current five-year plan from 1976 to 1980. You, dear colleagues, you, comrades and friends, have kept your promise and fulfilled and exceeded by mid-October the competition commitment which you had undertaken in January this year. This is why we may justly say that the Schwarze Pumpe gas combine thus underscores its reputation of being a reliable partner of our national economy. [applause]

Hager to Academy Personnel

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1836 GMT 25 Oct 77 DW

[Excerpt from speech by SED Politburo member Kurt Hager to personnel of the Freiberg Institute for Material Dressing of the GDR Academy of Sciences, on the occasion of the award of the Karl Marx Order to the institute--recorded]

[Text] Dear colleagues, dear comrades, the Research Institute for Dressing of the Academy of Sciences has scored outstanding results in the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan for science and technology. Through a constant enhancement of socialist teamwork with other research institutes, especially with the industry, it was possible to achieve significant results and to introduce these results into social utilization, while simultaneously and systematically intensifying the institute's own research work. The Institute for Dressing especially excels by the fact that it does large-scale practice-adapted research within the framework of a high-level, purposive basic research, and that it transfers its results to production in a relatively short time. [applause]

Norden to Eye-clinic Personnel

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1840 GMT 25 Oct 77 DW

[Excerpt from speech by SED Politburo member Labert Norden at the Greifswald University Ophthalmic Clinic on the occasion of the award of the Karl Marx Order to the personnel of this hospital--recorded]

[Text] Each medical profession has its unmistakable task in the health care for the people. It is particularly to those suffering from eye complaints that the finding of Karl Marx applies that diseases mean curtailed human freedom. The full development of the rich human faculties and talents pursued by the socialist society, therefore, requires a high level and the flawless functional efficiency of all specialized medical fields.

Our attention is focused on the solution of the present tasks as well as of the future requirements, with man always having commanded the center. It is for this reason, last but not least, that a high level of teaching and research at the medical institutions of universities is of great significance. This is equally true for the daily tasks in medical care. [applause]

Verner to Dresden Workers

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1842 GMT 25 Oct 77 DW

[Excerpt from remarks by SED Politburo member Paul Verner to a plant in Dresden during a visit with outstanding collectives of the plant--recorded]

[Text] I think that your initiative, entitled October Course 60--with high quality and effectiveness, has hit the bull's eye. And in this spirit your initiative, your brigade, has contributed toward further strengthening the German Democratic Republic, deepening the friendship with the Soviet Union. And I might add another thought here: the road of scientific-technical progress on which you have embarked is, in our opinion, the correct, the wise course; it is, under our conditions, the only course to make our life richer, more beautiful, more diversified. I ask you to convey to all members of the brigade, also to those who are not present, to the brigade members and their families, our best wishes for new successes in work, for health, and wellbeing.

CSO: 2300

POLITBURO MEMBERS CONTINUE AWARDING DECORATIONS TO PLANTS

Leuna Works Receive 'Karl Marx Order'

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1834 GMT 26 Oct 77 DW

[Text] If there is talk in our country nowadays about quality guarantee, research guarantee, and process analyses then it is always the name of your combine which stands for that--the creative feats and intellectual potential of the working class and the intelligentsia of the Leuna Works. Expressive of this grandiose, creative atmosphere is the fact that far more than 11,000 working people of your combine are putting down notes on the plan, that in more than 1,000 collectives the work is performed according to personal collectives-creative plans, and that more than 600 collectives successfully apply the shift guarantee.

What reflects the zealous search for new scientific-technical feats is the performance of large-scale experiments with production continuing in full, the construction of pilot and small-scale technical experimental installations, as well as the complex rationalization of whole production installations. In your combine you have created some outstanding examples for the effective combination of the advantages of socialism with the accomplishments of science and technology. [applause]

Krolikowski Congratulates Erfurt

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1837 GMT 26 Oct 77 DW

[Excerpt from speech by SED Politburo member Werner Krolikowski to the labor force of the Erfurt Construction and Assembly Combine on the occasion of the award of the Karl Marx Order to this combine--recorded]

[Text] You are standing at an especially important section of the frontline in the struggle for the implementation of our policy, which is aimed at the weal of the working class and the whole people, since you are bearing a great responsibility for strengthening the material-technical basis of our national economy, the creation of the constructional preconditions for guaranteeing a

reliable home defense, the strengthening of the socialist economic integration, and for the further shaping of our capital, Berlin.

The party and the government value highly the fact that the battle-tested collective of the Erfurt Construction and Assembly Combine is handing over to the ordering agency all investment objects in good quality and on schedule. By way of an example of the many outstanding work feats under the socialist competition I would like to emphasize the schedule on completion of the new bromine factory and the current realization of the important project K 60 in the Merkers Potash Plant where the Ackermann, Helbund, and (?Scheffgen) have performed outstanding feats.

Lamberz Talks With Workers

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1840 GMT 26 Oct 77 DW

[Excerpt from remarks by SED Politburo member Werner Lamberz to workers of the Elmo Electric Motor Works, Wernigerode, during a visit on the occasion of the award of the Karl Marx Order to the enterprise--recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified Worker] The reduction in the engine size not only affects the input of sheet metal but also that of cast iron and of copper. The length (?of electric lines) is also reduced so that we will save an average of 15 percent of the material input.

[Lamberz] Quite an excellent result which, I am sure, did not come of nothing.

[Another Worker] We are aware that we, being a big exporting enterprise, must constantly increase the level of quality and that we must be competitive on the world market against such FRG firms as Siemens and AEG. Our colleagues know that, and they have contributed considerably to our enterprise's winning the title of enterprise of excellent quality work.

[Lamberz] I heard that the [Western] combines like to buy our products very much.

[Worker] We are happy about that, but on the other hand we must do something always to insure or even further enhance the quality of our products. This is a decisive question, but I think that our colleagues and our collective of the enterprise know it and they have adapted to the struggle on the world market.

[Lamberz] I heard that the enterprise has [voice of Lamberz drowned by coughing in background] for 72 months. I believe that the secret of this excellent work is that this enterprise is fully implementing the course staked out by the 8th and 9th Party Congresses. This plant reflects the correctness of this course; it shows that this course has entailed top performance in the Elmo Plant as well as maximum performance growth and

development in the German Democratic Republic at large. With your quality targets, your percentage figures, and your sum totals you are making world politics, for the changes in the world to the advantage of the forces of peace and socialism are also affected by the economic strength of really existing socialism. In this enterprise here one can see how this economic strength is growing, how this economic strength springs from the creativeness of the working class and from the creativeness of this collective here.

Naumann Address Workers

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1843 GMT 26 Oct 77 DW

[Excerpt from speech by SED Politburo member Konrad Naumann on the occasion of the award of the Karl Marx Order to the mother plant of the Berlin Electrical Engineering Project Planning and Installations Construction Combine--recorded]

[Text] It is highly important for the strengthening of the material-technical basis of our national economy that you score the best performance and greatest headway in such fields which exert a particularly lasting influence on the deepening of intensification, and which will significantly push rationalization ahead in the national economy. It is under these aspects that we appreciate the performance of the combine which exerts an economically determining influence on the effectiveness and quality of the investment projects in power plant construction, metallurgy and building materials industry for the further development of the capital-Berlin, as well as in the supplier deliveries in the export of cement and power-plant installations, rolling mills, and crane installations. This good influence has been insured by a great contribution toward the acceleration of scientific-technical progress made by the combine on its own.

Neumann Addresses Miners

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1846 GMT 26 Oct 77 DW

[Excerpt from speech by SED Politburo member Alfred Neumann to Wismut miners at the Schlema Miner's Clubhouse on the occasion of the award of the Karl Marx Order to the Wismut German-Soviet Corporation--recorded]

[Text] Your efforts in prospecting for and utilizing the raw-material resources have insured a stable reserve basis and put the managements in a position to familiarize the working people in good time, and with foresight, with the new requirements. The Wismut Soviet-German Corporation has scored outstanding feats on behalf of the GDR Government in the additional prospecting for raw materials, minerals, and for the better utilization of the natural riches of our republic.

Dear friends and comrades, the fraternal alliance with the USSR, German-Soviet teamwork, has become the political basic attitude, the most important

of life in all work sections and collectives of the Wismut Soviet-German Corporation. The personal example of the Soviet communists working in the Wismut Soviet-German Corporation has a great irradiating force to the whole collective of the working people, and it promises the constantly stronger development of communist deportment in work and life.

Allow me, dear Soviet friends, on the occasion of the award of the Karl Marx Order to the Wismut SDAG, to thank you very cordially for your great personal share in the development of the Wismut Corporation.

CSO: 2300

CDU'S PARTICIPATION IN SOCIALISM STRESSED

Identity Problems of Clergymen

East Berlin STANDPUNKT in German Vol 5 No 7, Jul 77 signed to press 30 Jun 77 pp 179-180

[Article by Wolfgang Quandt, Mittweida clergyman: "A Dynamic Process"]

[Text] "We of the Church are not beside socialism, nor against it, but in it." Since the Eisenach synod of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR in 1971, this has been the rule of thumb for defining the position of the Church in our socialist society, and it was expressly and thoroughly taken up again at the federal synod in Goerlitz in May 1977. A rule of thumb is intended as a practical, everyday guide. One does not reflect on it at length, but acts on the basis of it. If we have such a rule of thumb for defining the position of our churches, it is important finally to fill it with life and reality and not to let it suffocate in the vacuum of an institution. For what is at issue is not an institution in socialism, but people who have found a spiritual home in the Church and at the same time live and work in a socialist society.

With that, our rule of thumb immediately becomes personal and concrete: "The Christian not beside socialism, nor against it, but in it." At any rate, there is no question that the majority of conscious Christians have also found and filled their place in our society, whether as members of a socialist brigade or as parents cooperating with their children's school. Here it can be assumed that in principle the Christian faith is respected.

Finding one's position is not so easy, however, in the life of Church officials and staff workers. Naturally the official and staff worker also lives in our society, but since his working environment is the Church, he is from the beginning more distanced from the spheres of life and work in the society. Nevertheless, he is also a citizen, simply because he is dependent on the interrelations of life in the community. A life left to its own devices, which could maintain in itself fully on its own, is simply impossible today. As self-evident as that may sound, this fact is by no means a common article of knowledge in the consciousness of Church officials. One can still

encounter in all seriousness the opinion that the religious official "is not a citizen but a minister." With that, however, a gulf opens between citizen and society on the one hand, and minister and Church on the other. But the rule of thumb mentioned at the outset is designed to bridge this gap. The issue here is pastoral reality, which is based on more factors than just the spiritual ministry.

The supreme episcopate was not exactly the happiest legacy which the Reformation left us. The state sovereign embodied at the same time the highest Church power in his territory. After 1918 this gave rise to today's Land churches, after the November Revolution deprived Germany's princely houses of their power. Until then, however, the minister's office was an ordering factor of the first rank. It was the most reliable support of state power down to the smallest village. The office and position of the minister were secured by the social structure. The office was in a position to support its incumbent and to lend him his social prestige. This state of affairs was notably eliminated when the separation of Church and state was initiated in 1918 and completed in 1945.

That put the minister's office and position into question. The office as an ordering factor furthering the governing authorities no longer existed. Order was guaranteed by other authorities. But those who had lived with the former notions of a state Church refused to recognize anything but a "Christian governing authority." It was characteristic of the initial years of our republic that the concept of governing authority, in connection with Romans 13, was heatedly discussed. Today Romans 13 is no longer discussed, for in a socialist society, authority no longer suitably describes the relation between citizen and state.

Whereas the typical image of the authoritarian state is the state maintained by officials and soldiers, in the course of the last 30 years, a type of state in keeping with the socialist way of life has developed, to which we relate socialist democracy. Whoever has rightly understood and rightly practiced this socialist democracy will no longer be able to equate it with government authority in the traditional sense.

If we take the well known formula of the Augsburg religious pact, which assured religious freedom for the state sovereign and founded his supreme episcopate: "Cuius regio, eius religio," as an expression of the authoritarian state, then the substance of today's socialist democracy is described by the formula: "Participate in work--participate in planning-participate in government." Between the two slogans lies almost a half a millenium of political development.

As a consequence of the dissolution of the state Church, a situation has developed calling for an understanding of the Lutheran ministry which now more emphatically than before must be mastered personally by each minister. After centuries of routine ministerial tradition, we must learn to live without the supporting and assisting "authorities." That, however, has given rise to a vacuum in pastoral thinking which, at times, is somewhat hastily filled by the substitute authority of the ecclesiastical institution. This is easy,

but it carries the danger that the minister will become isolated from society. Then ministry and person would become purely intra-ecclesiastical quantities, often in an unsatisfactory state of tension with the social environment. The unrelinquishable task of preaching the Word and administering the sacraments certainly remains for the religious ministry, but this task can founder on the isolation and the faulty personal attitudes associated with it. For this reason, an attitude leading out of isolation in every respect is necessary. This could be achieved by relating the society to personal life through new rather than traditional conceptions. We also live in socialism and not beside it. What that means must be tested again and again. Living in socialism--and also being a Church in socialism--is a dynamic process, and for that reason so exciting and interesting and full of surprises! But is is in any case a rewarding "experiment," differing every day, and promising success.

It involves the by no means obvious process of finding one's own identity and of having the courage to develop oneself. In that process it may even be immaterial whether the self-discovery takes place in the social or the churchly sphere. For courage and identity unfold then in complete freedom.

Only in such freedom from whatever sort of authoritarian bonds will we be able to understand the religious ministry in the future. Only now does this freedom allow political engagement, without thereby damaging the pastoral office--on the contrary!--or genuine ecclesiastical engagement, without surrendering the ministry to alien goals.

From both possibilities it follows, however, that we still have to do many things differently and understand them better, if we want to preach the gospel truly. Whether only in the ecclesiastical realm or through social and political engagement as well--the vocation of minister will always be full of sacrifices in the future.

CDU's Role in Socialism

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Sep 77 p 4

[Article by Ws.: "Co-Organizers, Not Hangers-On: The Christians in the GDR/East CDU Criticize Bishop Krusche"]

[Text] Berlin--5 September--The East CDU has attacked the Protestant bishop of Magdeburg, Krusche, because of his pessimistic estimate of the possibilities for Christians to participate in the socialist society of the GDR. At the Church conference in Halle in September of last year, Krusche had said that the participation of Christians in the state and society of the GDR was thoroughly desired, "but not in the sense that we have something substantial of our own to contribute." Deputy CDU chairman Heyl expressed his opinion on this view at a conference of the presidium of the executive committee of his party--though without mentioning Krusche's name. "From decades of our own experience, we fully agree with the observation of the desired participation of Christians. There is, however, no 'but' in our experience.

We are always desired as fellow thinkers and fellow organizers, not as fellow travelers." The collaboration of Christians and Marxists unfolds out of the unmistakable specificity of the partners, maintained Heyl with regard to Bishop Krusche's statement. To a Christian many problems appear differently than to a non-Christian, "even when both represent the goals of our state with their whole person." But whoever draws "substantially his own conclusions from late bourgeois conceptions" instead of from those of the Christian ethos, whoever thereby understands "elements foreign to the nature of our society, destructive of political and moral unity" will "actually miss such ingredients in our social practice--and I add that he will continue to miss them, and that is good." The threatening undertone is clearly noticeable when Heyl further states: "We are confident that reservations about the social consequences of Christian responsibility continuing to exist in the ecclesiastical sphere will be eliminated."

What Heyl understands by "fellow thinking and fellow organizing" of Christians in the GDR was made clear at another point in his talk: "The best service to peace which we can perform here in this country is undoubtedly the strengthening of socialism." What the Protestant churches in the GDR have worked out as suggestions for "education for peace" does not satisfy the East CDU. Beyond that, according to Heyl, the East CDU believes that education for peace must include everything connected with peace--political, economic, social, spiritual, religious--"and naturally also military." Therefore, for the East CDU, education for peace is, at the same time, "education for socialist partisanship, socialist patriotism, and internationalism."

8992
CSO: 2300

OFFICIAL ASSESSES PROBLEMS OF LITERATURE, CULTURE

Cologne Deutschlandfunk Domestic Service in German 0409 GMT 26 Oct 77 DW

[Recorded interview with Hermann Kant, vice president of the GDR Writers Association, by reporter Klaus Sauer; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] A number of voices have quit the GDR ensemble, significant voices, as has been said here as well as in the GDR. I think that this event must be considered as discontinued solidarity. How do you explain that?

[Answer] It is a difficult and grave matter that a number of colleagues do not agree very much with the majority of the Writers Association. Nobody is happy about it, and losses must be considered losses. I will not consider this something I can neglect.

The reasons for it--well, this is a most complicated matter. To make a long story short, I would say that it has to do with certain exaggerated ideas. The last two party congresses brought about many improvements for the literary world and art in general, as well as for the general climate in the GDR. But as regards literature, it was just the desirable normal situation which was achieved; it had been somewhat restricted before.

This was the first overestimation. Some people suddenly considered these events to be miraculous events, which was not the case. It was just normalization. The second overestimation was that some of the colleagues you just mentioned drew conclusions which also were exaggerated, believing that now everything ought to be done and should be permissible. The third exaggerated conclusion was that others, in turn, believed that everything which had been arduously achieved would now go down the drain, so to speak.

So all these exaggerations taken together someday had to seek some outlet. This was simply the motivating reason, and it has since been mentioned very loudly. I think some other event could have had the same effect. I would like to add that it is the task of the Writers Association to see to it that discussions about literature and all that surrounds it will revert to

a normal tone, so that as little hysteria as possible will remain, as little dogmatism, and as little foreign interference as possible. We must handle this among ourselves.

[Question] Your attempt to explain this seems a bit contradictory to me, because it describes a development as if it had come about all by itself. It is no secret, though, that literature, art, and cultural policies are a very significant instrument of political leadership and state administration. You have talked mainly about exaggerations and wrong assessments on the part of the authors, if I understood you correctly. It seems obvious that those in the GDR responsible for the development of literature and art have erroneously assessed or exaggerated what they could expect from their writers.

[Answer] Yes, but since I am sitting here, not these people, I would suggest that you ask me now and the other people on some other occasion. You will get an answer on that question. I would just dare to say this much for them: I think that as a whole the leadership of our state can have a good conscience in regard to literary and general cultural developments. I believe that the reshuffle of education and culture really worked. Something very important has been achieved. I would like to say, without mentioning anyone personally, that some of my colleagues who are now viewing earlier decisions in a different light have this in common with every person. Later on you always are wiser. I know the people you have in mind--who are my comrades--as very self-critical people who are willing to give some thought to all this and to act accordingly.

[Question] What is the source of the strong fear of contacts which is manifested, for instance, in the attempts of the GDR Writers Association to curtail the establishment of contacts planned by the Authors Association of the Federal Republic? Such contacts could help eliminate the preoccupation and misinformation which you think exists here in the Federal Republic.

[Answer] I recently tried to explain that to Bundestag Deputy Lattmann, who in his capacity as chairman of the association sent some of the letters inviting us to talks. I said, and I am willing to repeat it: There exists no fear of contacts. We have no reason for that. What should we be afraid of? No, something else was involved. The invitations we received were outspoken attempts at incorporation. We received letters with the same text as was sent to Bavarian or Schleswig-Holstein colleagues, and we do not consider ourselves as such. We are a writers association of a--pardon me--sovereign state, and we do not like to be annexed. Well, so we said: Thank you very much, but it will not work. Matters have changed a bit in the meantime. I indicated that to others who are responsible. In the meantime, one has become accustomed to realities, so that we can talk to each other now.

[Question] Does this mean there are no more obstacles for establishing contacts?

[Answer] The obstacles do not exist, unless somebody wants to have the contacts to prove that you can do everything in the cultural field without concluding the much-demanded cultural agreement and making it superfluous by establishing a thousand little facts. That would be an obstacle. We certainly would react antipathetically to it. We do not want to do that. It ought to be possible, however, to have talks on divergencies and on things we could do together.

CSO: 2300

TRADE UNIONS HELP PERFECT SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1030 GMT 20 Oct 77 DW

[Unidentified reporter's interview with the president of the GDR Supreme Court, Heinrich Toeplitz, in Berlin--recorded]

[Text] [Question] In our state the administration of justice is not a matter solely concerning a few specialists. It offers our working people manifold opportunities to participate in its implementation. I am thinking in this context of the great number of trade union members, probably 300,000, who are engaged in work with the administration of justice. How do you classify the work of the trade unions in this field?

[Answer] I think we must proceed from the decisions of the 9th FDGB Congress which, as we see it, has opened a new stage in the legal work of the trade unions. Where is this reflected? It is reflected by the discussion and adopted on the draft of a labor code; this had been done at a trade union congress for the first time, pursuant to the right to exercise legislative initiative. It is generally known that the trade unions submitted the draft of the labor code to the Volkskammer for adoption. It is also reflected by the fact that the considerable role of the trade unions in the perfection of socialist democracy and in the implementation of socialist law was reflected by the discussion of the congress.

Consequently, the decisions of the 9th FDGB Congress contain certain tasks in this respect. I count among them the provision that cooperation with the state organs will be intensified and that socialist democracy will be fully developed in material production on the basis of the new labor code. The tasks referred to in the foregoing further include the decisions dealing with the enterprise collective labor contracts, the reminders that the trade union organs have a share in responsibility for guaranteeing the legal security in the enterprises and that they support the struggle of the work collectives for exemplary order, discipline, and safety. And finally, they include the law conferences and the legal advice carried out and granted by the trade unions, as well as the legal representation in proceedings involving the labor law. I may be allowed to expand on the latter point. It is interesting

to note the extent of cooperation which has developed in labor-law proceedings. This cooperation is not limited to the lawsuit representation but also includes explanation of the position of the trade unions in these proceedings. At present both forms of cooperation apply to about 63 percent of all proceedings in labor law. This shows that the trade unions cooperate actively in nearly two thirds of all labor-law proceedings in the courts.

[Question] Right now we are in an active phase of the intensive preparation for the enactment of the new labor code. What support can the courts extend to the trade unions specifically with a view to the enactment of the labor code?

[Answer] The field of cooperation and support between the courts and the trade unions is very broad, of course. At the moment joint training courses are held in the bezirke and kreise for the trade union organs and the judicial organs. It is interesting to note in this context that in some kreise the members of the aktiv of trial representatives of the trade union kreis executive board are included in these courses. Likewise it is important to note that the directors of the kreis and bezirk courts regularly report to the FDGB executive boards, conveying to them concrete data on enforcement of the labor law, and socialist law at large, in their respective territories. And finally, I am thinking of the proceedings before an enlarged public audience which play a role especially with respect to labor law. This is a suitable approach to problems of order, discipline, and safety so as to promote the struggle of the work collectives actively for the goals within the framework of socialist competition.

What matters now, generally speaking, is to convey the essential provisions of the labor code quickly to the managers, the trade union organs, and all working people so that the new code--Erich Honecker called it the Magna Charta of labor--will be swiftly, uniformly, and properly put into practice in the GDR effective 1 January 1978--and this is up to the trade unions just as it is up to the judicial organs and all other state and economic organs.

CSO: 2300

FEWER ACCIDENTS IN GDR PLANTS THAN IN CAPITALISM'S

East Berlin Domestic Service in German 0925 GMT 20 Oct 77 DW

[Manfred Klein commentary]

[Text] The number of accidents happening at the place of employment has decreased in our country by 20 percent since 1970. This development continued in the first half of 1977. There are about half as many workplace accidents in the GDR as in other developed capitalist countries. The permanent reduction of workplace accidents, in other words, security at the place of work and physical care are problems which the state and the trade unions are handling.

The elimination of protective installations at metal presses in order to step up the efficiency of workers, which was found by a Cologne institute that examined a metal plant in the FRG, the scratched slots for security inspectors which were eliminated together with special engineers in the FRG in order to save money, underdeveloped medical care in plants, the fear of many workers to undergo preventive medical examinations because they are afraid to lose their jobs--all these are phenomena characterizing the difference between the social systems and the number of accidents.

Every preventive medical examination in our country is not a hazard that could entail losing your job. It gives the person, much rather, an opportunity to do his job in a better way and be healthy. Profit-thinking cannot entail the elimination of protective installations and a rigorous cut of necessary trained personnel. The increased means we are gaining jointly are being used for permanently improving work conditions.

It is not in line with our principles, however, to be content with the distance we have achieved here in regard to highly developed capitalist states. The question remains how we could even better exploit our possibilities in order to further reduce the number of accidents happening at the place of work. Maintaining the health of man wherever he works, wherever he does the best for himself, his family, and the society, wherever he finds always more satisfaction and respect, wherever he appears as an active member of the

socialist society, is not primarily a matter of economic considerations but a matter of respect for man and his dignity in socialism. Following these values means eliminating insufficiency, order, cleanliness, or discipline at the place of employment, and thus eliminating the reasons for it as much as possible which still are causing accidents at the place of work.

Our new labor code contains clear stipulations. The trade organizations of plants, it says, and its organs implement the constitutional rights of trade unions in the enterprise by bringing influence to bear on the improvement of health and work-protection measures, by controlling adherence to protection regulations at the place of work and socialist work discipline, and by organizing adherence to law and order, discipline, and security. It says in another place that the plant must purposefully curtail work conditions and jobs which are hazardous to health, and cut down jobs demanding hard and monotonous physical work.

These are not just dry texts of bills which have been discussed, accepted, and shelved. They point to the foundation, namely that the working class is the owner of the production means. This includes the ability to handle them in their interest, in the interest of their health, and never be content with the achieved. The labor code must be considered what it is: a reflection of the values and advantages of socialism.

CSO: 2300

BRIEFS

HONECKER GREETINGS TO SOMALIA--To Comrade Maj Gen Mohamed Siad Barre, secretary general of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and president of the Somali Democratic Republic, Mogadishu. On the eighth anniversary of the revolution of 21 October, I convey to you, to the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party Central Committee and the government and the people of the Somali Democratic Republic, best congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee and the State Council and the people of the GDR. The successes scored so far by the people of the Somali Democratic Republic under the leadership of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party and in close cooperation with the states of the socialist community and with all revolutionary forces in the world in building a progressive social system are highly valued in the GDR. Our friendship and solidarity was born in the joint successful anti-imperialist struggle. On this time-tested foundation the traditional friendly relations between the GDR and the Somali Democratic Republic will continue to develop and deepen in the interest of peace and of social progress, to the benefit of our peoples. Permit me to express my deepest respect, along with the best wishes for your personal well-being. [Signed] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Oct 77 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

AUTHOR AWARDED ORDER OF FLAG

Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 29 Oct 77 LD

[Text] On the occasion of his forthcoming 75th birthday, as a recognition of his decades-long outstanding author's activity, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic conferred on writer and poet Gyula Illyes the laurel-wreath-adorned Order of the Flag of the Hungarian People's Republic. The decoration was handed over to the awarded by Pal Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council.

Gyula Illyes, the greatest among living Hungarian authors, was born in Racegres, a village in Transdanubia, to a peasant family on 2 November 1902.

[Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 2100 GMT on 29 October repeats the above and adds: "Present at the presentation of the decoration were Gyoergy Aczel, deputy premier, Miklos Ovari, secretary of the Party Central Committee, and Lajos Oseterki, secretary of the Presidential Council."]

CSO: 2500

JOURNAL ATTACKS POLISH POLITICAL EMIGRES

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 39, 30 Sep 77 pp 16-17

[Article by Zbigniew Kot: "Those at Variance With History; in the Realm of Fiction and Provocation"]

[Text] Stanislaw Brozowski wrote many years ago: "...writings of our emigre poets fell into my hands, and the contact with them disturbed me. Where did they come from? The world of homeless people, of homesick exiles, inspired them as a self-defense against life. They came into being as the ossified will of the heart which does not wish to see. A new world came into being around these people. They did not see the whole world of modern humanity. They did not want to see it. They asked of growing, developing life: 'Will you give Poland back to me?'"

These are words full of sarcastic, wounding emotional charge. I refer to them today, calling them out from the recesses of the past, words extracted from another epoch, as a reflexion on the unchanging nature of the character and fate of every political emigre. Regardless of the historical epoch, as the result of relentless logic of the course of time, the isolation of this sort of emigration and its loss of ties to the realities of life become a decadent stage of it.

For more than 30 years a dramatic settling of accounts has been going on in the world of the Polish emigration. It consists of a discussion concerning the events which are key facts for the past 40 years of Poland's history and concerning the future of Polish emigras and their relationship to Poland. In the circles which are constantly at variance with their epoch is there a greater understanding of the fact that in 1945 a new, irrevocable turning point was written down in our history? Are we getting across a visionary understanding of the tasks which the present Polish generation has to accomplish, in keeping with the Polish national raison d'etre in order, through the development of Poland's might and the nation's tenacity, to leave the strongest possible impression of the identity of our state's millenium on the map of Europe at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st. In observing certain emigre groups one would want to repeat: a new life and a new world are developing around them. They do not see it and they do not want to see it.

Traveling Salesmen on Somebody Else's Business

Emigres, like any other group, differ as individuals, and their political attitudes are subject to change. It would be a truism to prove that the ranks of our emigration are characterized by patriotism and and understanding of the significance of the developmental processes in Poland, but the major concern in this article is the so-called "political emigres," who are actively involved in the game of Poland's affairs, and the face of this current of emigres is not homogeneous. It is a fact that an evolution is taking place in its milieu. Some of its exponents, with different inspirations of political ideology and world outlook but nonetheless a sense of bond with the nation's historical inheritance, our state system, and responsibility for its continuation, structure their relationship to postwar reality in Poland from a position of realism and historical pragmatism. But it would make the picture less clear if we were to fail to note another current: the programmed negation not only of the regime of People's Poland but also of just about the whole gestalt of life in our country. In these circles there is no recognition of the achievements which we have made under difficult conditions as the result of our own work. There is no appreciation of the improvements made in our country, through the will of the governed and those governing, in the institutions of democracy and law and order, in the scope of the civil and religious rights, liberties, and freedoms, that is, of phenomena which even foreigners recognize as a Polish phenomenon and an expression of high political culture and maturity in our nation. This is because only our difficulties count with certain specific groups of emigres, in the assessments they make of those of us who are living in Poland.

The lack of goodwill and the open hostility are directed against our country by people who reside in a constellation of fiction and provocation. This constellation is created by various quasi-circles of emigration thought whose center consists of ANEKS, the Paris publication KULTURA, and "Free Europe." Sometimes imperceptible with the naked eye, deprived of independence and Polish orientation, and financed out of the budgets of foreign countries, they have a light which is not Polish but foreign. Out of these circles the words "Will you give Poland back to me?" have been coming for some time, but they reverberate with a new echo. They are followed with attempts to interfere in the life of the country, to transfer exotic regime proposals developed in isolation from Poland and contrary to its interests, under the influence of foreign inspiration to install in it alliances with groups of alienated people who have no real ties with the Polish nation or its fate. These alliances are indeed strange: traveling salesmen of "the Polish question" operating for years with professional routine on the instructions of foreign powers and, pitifully, the reformers of socialism with the Trotsky-Zionist sign.

What Did They Want to Offer to Their Country?

What did the people with a defined ancestry and antisocialist concepts want to offer Poland in mounting in symbiosis with foreign elements a noisy campaign around themselves, tying themselves in under the sign of the defense

of the interests of the workers or posturing as part of the intellectualists' movement? The compromise of them as people related to extensive provocation whose goal was to upset the peaceful rhythm of the country's development, the upsetting of the unity of Poles, and giving aid and comfort to enemies of Poland showed that they have nothing to propose in the constructive sense.

This truth did not escape the notice of those Poles abroad who are not deprived of realism. Although we cannot agree with many of his concepts, Jedrzej Giertych correctly recognized in the columns of the London OPOKA the foreign inspiration which is the major motivating force behind the actions of people proclaiming themselves to be the so-called "Committee For the Defense of the Workers." In the operations of this committee he discerns the "purposeful fanning of the flames, an action the sources of which lie outside Poland's borders and are inimical to Poland." Giertych writes expressis verbis that a careful monitoring of what this committee is doing leads one to the inescapable conclusion that the actions of this committee are influenced by inspirations which are surprisingly similar to those which appeared in Czechoslovakia in 1968. It was a case of provocation in both instances. "There are circles in the West," Giertych continues, "which state completely openly but discreetly that they inspired this Prague ferment. There is no doubt that the Czechoslovak events of those years had a causal relationship to the '7-day war' in 1967 in the Holy Land."

Self-Styled Mandatary

What Poland needs most of all today is peace and quiet making its further development possible, along with vigilance concerning provocation on the part of those forces which want to push the country into the depths of a bloody brawl. The forces of the foreign principles and allied people who, finding themselves on the fringes of history and outside the main current of the country's transformations, would like to bend it against Polish interests towards their own concepts, and our nation rejects them.

The obviousness of this fact acts as an electric shock on those circles to which any thought about stabilizing or strengthening the power of People's Poland is foreign. An illustration of this is the attack which Maria Winowska made on Poland in the columns of the Paris publication KULTURA (May 1977 issue). The leanings of this periodical are well-known. Who is the author? She is a writer who has been living outside the country for 40 years and, alongside her literary work, has been taking an active part in the political activities of emigre groups inimical to Poland. Her article was de facto a camouflaged incentive to act to people who wish for the country the annihilation of the contribution of its state regime.

Aleksander Swietochowski said: "The honest deed defends itself. The infamous deed resorts to some sort of shrine in the hope that it will be insured sanctuary." Recently the truth of this maxim was confirmed literally: a small group of persons of little faith in Warsaw invaded a Catholic church (although the group included people not of the Catholic faith) and announced

a so-called "hunger strike." This is an act with a clearly politicizing nature and is contrary to the dignity and respect which true believers, Catholics, attach to their church. As everyone knows, it did not bring the instigators of the "hunger strike" anything but infamy. Maria Winowska used a move in a similar style: "I don't speak up very often, for a simple reason: For many years the church in Poland mobilized me to service. It is just this which allows me to take a look at what happens everyday outside of Poland from the perspective of what is happening in Poland, today." Every sentence is clumsy. Since when has the Catholic Church been giving this sort of mandate to a mission? Another curiosity is the statement that she could somehow take a better look at the world from the perspective of what is going on currently in Poland. How, inasmuch as she has not come into contact with the realities of the country for several decades? Something else is important.

Winowska goes so far as unprecedented abuse, putting the church in Poland in the position of one of the motivating forces interested in upsetting the stability of the relations in the country and fostering the deeds of people declared to be inimical to the vital interests of the nation. It takes a great deal of nerve to find it in oneself to make such an insinuation and comparison. I recommend that Winowska become fundamentally aware of the real position of eminent representatives of the church hierarchy. In their public statements, maintaining an attitude toward various problems in keeping with church propriety, they have expressed more than once respect for the energy, stalwartness, and dedication to help in the hard work which changed the face of the country after the destructive war. They have spoken of the indispensability of the creative continuation of the country's record of achievement. They have stated that improvement in the life of the society depends not on fruitless criticism but on utilizing such features of character as conscientiousness and industry. They appealed to improving oneself by setting for oneself increasingly higher goals and requirements and not looking around to see where help would come from for them.

Maria Winowska in mentioning the mandatary of a mission somehow given to her by the church has dared to juxtapose this position with the program of negation of a small group of people suffering from political neurosis, called "megalomania elephantiasis." The program of these people takes into account neither the interest of the nation nor the interest of believers. It has no commitment to the historical tasks which the Polish nation is carrying out. On the other hand, it feeds on anarchic hate for their own country.

History Misled

Winowska and Paris KULTURA are very much irritated by the statements which reveal the influences on Zionist elements in Trotskyite groups and among the so-called dissidents. For those who point this out Winowska has a ready otherwise well-known reply, accusing them of alleged hostility against the Jewish nation: "Mr Giertych does not probably know anything about the gas chambers and crematoria which took in 6 million Jews."

But just what sort of relationship does the author see between the martyrdom of the Jews during World War II, martyrdom which the whole Polish nation shared (giving aid to the Jews unstintingly, after all) and the hypothesis that Zionism or people of Jewish origin dominate the so-called dissident and Trotskyite movements? An answer might help contribute to the ideological and political portrait of Winowska and her writings.

"E fructu arbor cognoscitur" -- you will know the tree by the fruit it bears. It was not without reason that Winowska and Paris KULTURA took this sort of subject as the groundwork for their aritcle. In speaking about history the author manipulates it like the authority of the church and makes unpardonable simplifications with a specific strategic goal. A note here: In Polish historiography since the time when it appeared as a special branch of science there has been an uninterrupted discussion on political conditions in the history of the decline and betrayal of the Polish state system (for example, viz Aleksander Bochenski: "History of Stupidity in Poland," 1947, or Marian Serejski: "Nation and State," 1977.) Kalinka and Bobrzynski, Szujski and Konopczynski, Smolenski and Skalkowski, Sobieski and Morawski, and a whole band of other famous historians have been involved in this discussion. The subject of uprisings and the concealed mechanisms of their creation is a matter which requires a responsible approach. Winowska presents herself as a novice in the study of history when she writes: "Without these 'harmful uprisings'" (she is talking about 1831, 1863, and 1944 -- author's note) "we would not have Brother Albert, Rafal Kalinowski, Bronislaw Markiewicz, Romuald Traugutt, or so many other 'national saints,' on the altars or not. We would not have the Polish bards..." In a special sort of way the author settles up the accounts with our national uprisings, which, being an amalgum of Polish qualities, fused both our most splendid national virtues and heroism and our defects in the purest form. She would like to see in the drama of uprisings and in the sacrifice of the nation only constructive matter on pedestals. Does Maria Winowska not presently sense a sudden need for a new bard, or saint, or hero?

Against the Polish Raison d'Etre

In the author's words we hear not only a certain longing but also concrete political reckoning. Despite certain formal reservations from her, she leaves no doubt in various places in her article that it would be no tragedy for her if she were faced by the prospects of a new tragedy in our country. Is this not really the way we should understand the absolutely apologetic surprise at the program of anarchy which Poland's enemies would like to thrust on it? We note the striking incompatibility with the requirements of the national Polish raison d'etre, with the historical rhythm of our continent, which today the principles of detente are aimed at along with the principles embodied in the final document of the Helsinki conference, principles by which all the countries of Europe together with Canada and the United States are bound to abide.

Waclaw Sobieski, the famous Polish historian, wrote at one time a work which he titled: "Wings and Fetters of the Polish Spirit." Following today the

Polish issues game taken up be certain emigre groups and others, following the false roads of the thoughts of those whose isolated interest and immediate goal, which is deprived of historic vision, darken the picture of the Poland of today and the Poland of tomorrow, we can say that they do not perceive what adds wings and what imposes the fetters of the nation's labor on the construction of Poland's independence, sovereignty, and greatness. To help Poland today is -- I am quoting Andrzej Strug's words, which are always timely -- "to grow up in one's country without disgust or subterfuge, to love Poland the way it really is, to go onto the native soil as a humble ploughman, and to hold on to the land like him with one's whole heart! Not to get lost in fruitless daydreaming in it, not to fly from it to warm foreign countries. To be here and to remain here in good times and in bad."

10790
CSO: 2600

JOURNAL REFLECTS ON GIEREK VISIT TO FRANCE

Warsaw KULTURA in Polish No 39, 25 Sep 77 p 2

[Article by Zygmunt Broniarek: "We Will Not Let Ourselves Be Outdistanced"]

[Text] On rue Saint-Dominique in Paris, in front of the entrance to the Polish Embassy, there is quite an unusual sight, even for the capital of France -- which, after all, has seen many such sights. It is a young couple in Polish national dress. She has a Polish surname -- Nowak, but her given name sounds foreign: Sandrile. Both his given name and surname are French: Michel Galland. They come from Reims, and thus, from the most typically French city, a city connected, moreover, with champagne.

Miss Nowak and Mr Galland, who come from a typically French city, are standing in front of the Polish Embassy on account of Poland. For they are waiting to greet the first citizen of the People's Poland, Edward Gierek, who will be meeting with representatives of France's Polish colony in a few minutes -- Edward Gierek, the Pole about whom the communist daily L'HUMANITE wrote deservedly on the occasion of his visit that "behold, a former miner from the French mines, expelled from France before the war, is being received at present in the Elysee Palace."

And in the embassy courtyard is the Polish colony collective from Dijon, which has won first prize in the festival of these very collectives in Rzeszow. Krystyna and Jan Stawiecki, who lead this collective, tell me -- I admit that it was she who told me while we were dancing together, for there also was dancing -- that they consider it a great distinction to be able to sing, play, and dance Polish compositions on the occasion of Edward Gierek's meeting with France's Polish colony. This collective is already well-known in France -- there was even a film shown about it on Dijon television.

The meeting itself is transpiring in a family atmosphere. It should be designated that way, for both in his speech to the representatives of the Polish colony and in entirely unofficial conversations afterwards, Edward Gierek talks about issues which disturb both our whole country and all Poles abroad: about our successes, our difficulties, our concerns, about

the role of Poles in the world, and about how much has changed in the life of Poland and in their own lives. And he talks about the fact that it is no longer only the old emigration, which had to struggle underground with lumps of coal, but also people who occupy important posts in France who are enriching it with their intellect and who are contributing greatly to the multilateral development of Polish-French relations. These are people like pianist Ewa Osinska-Mitko, from whose eyes -- why conceal it here -- several tears of emotion fell, and her husband Andrzej Mitko, an energetic businessman who can no longer even count the number of visits he has made to Poland. Or they are people like Jan Zarzecki, another businessmen whose efforts went a long way in France and Belgium towards having the walls of the Royal Castle and the Child Health Center quickly raised. And besides them, there are many representatives of this old emigration with medals on their chests -- a visible sign of their work for Poland and for France.

Edward Gierek's meeting with France's Polish colony took place on the third and final day of his visit to Paris. Within a few hours he would sign documents and depart for Poland. "Well, what can be done," he said, "it has been a brief stay: we arrived the day before yesterday, and we are leaving today." But these 3 days -- a short 3 days, moreover -- were packed with rich contents. And they had special significance -- for the development of Polish-French relations and for peace and collaboration in Europe.

I had the opportunity to observe both of Edward Gierek's visits to Paris, the one in October 1972 and the present one. And I can say that never before was there so much and such amicable talk about Poland in France as there has been just now.

Thanks to television, Poland simply entered every French home and did so in a manner that was at once elegant (for the program content was elegant) and concentrated (for there was quite a lot of content). It is well-known what an important role punctuality plays in television, especially when it comes to fixed items such as a daily news program. And behold, on Friday, 9 September, I watch with amazement as the electronic digits 13:02:58, 59... 13:03:58,59... 13:04:33,34... appear on the screen. And thus, more than 4 minutes passed from 1300 hours, the time when the daily news program begins, before the completion of the Warsaw-Paris linkup and the beginning of the direct broadcast from the Sejm building, the content of which, also broadcast directly, and in French, at that, was Edward Gierek's interview with Yves Mourousi fro French television. It was an event without precedence not only in the history of relations between both television systems but also in Polish-French relations in general, and there was not a shade of exaggeration in Mourousi's statement that this interview was "a political event of great importance" ("un evenement politique majeur").

Of course, no one complained about the mentioned delay, and a certain French woman confided to me: "If not for this broadcast, I would not have known at

all that Poland has had such a liberal constitution for such a long time." For as a matter of fact, before the interview began, Mourousi showed the French television viewers Matejka's famous painting dedicated to the May 3rd Constitution and gave a fitting commentary on it.

But the words of that French woman lead us to deeper reflections. If we do not see anything valuable, we do not even know what we are losing. If French television had not presented "The Polish Week," and on such a grand scale, at that, the French people might have lived their whole lives without knowing what Poland really is like and what it has of economic, cultural, scientific, and civilizing value to offer the world, including France. They would not have seen the Old City, nor the Opera, nor Wilanow, nor our modern factories, they would not have heard our age-old music, broadcast from the wonderful castle in Baranow, they would not have alughed with Yves Mourousi at Fukier.

Someone defined it as follows: the French received a powerful injection of Poland "without effort" -- and, to a significant degree, straight from Poland. That 4-minute wait at the beginning of the interview with Edward Gierek had essentially a positive meaning, for it emphasized what -- besides the content, of course -- was the "chief attraction" of the broadcast: its authenticity. The very words "direct from Poland" electrified many people, for let us not forget that there still are Frenchmen who -- I am simplifying the matter somewhat, of course -- think that the iron curtain does not even let radio waves through, not to mention television images. "So this is what Poland is like?" was spoken with surprise and ... admiration.

But that televized "Polish Week" would have been impossible without political will on both sides. For do not think, readers, that "coming to terms" on this issue was easy. Surely, many sleepless nights were spent by the responsible employees in our embassy in Paris and by the people who labored over the organization of "The Week" -- and such a "Week"! -- in Poland. "The Week" became a reflection of the general level of political relations between Poland and France.

That these relations are good, and even model -- taking into consideration the differences in the sociopolitical systems of the two countries -- does not even have to be said; it is one of the obvious facts of modern Europe. But it is worth emphasizing several new elements which appeared during Gierek's visit and which will become a permanent part of Polish-French collaboration.

The first element is the close linkage of this collaboration not only with the general situation in Europe but with the specific phase of the process of strengthening detente on our continent before the meeting in Belgrade. It was not by accident that President Giscard d'Estaing said that "both of our countries wish to remain in the forefront of those which are making

efforts towards detente." More than that! Polish-French relations have tightened in the 2 years since Helsinki in such a way that -- as Giscard d'Estaing put it -- "the balance (of the implementation of the Final Act by France and Poland) can serve as a point of reference in relation to what Belgrade is supposed to establish on a Europe-wide scale." In other words, all of Europe, on the basis of the method of implementing the Final Act used by both countries, can draw broader conclusions for itself -- and facilitate the Belgrade Conference.

This is important also against the background of the campaign waged by some circles in the West for "human rights," a campaign waged also against Poland. The president of France disassociates himself from this campaign and gives a positive appraisal of the fulfillment of the recommendations of the Final Act by Poland and of the personal contribution of Edward Gierek to this work. Verbatim, he says: "We appreciate, Mr First Secretary, the efforts which you have made in order to put Poland in harmony with the principles of Helsinki."

The second important and new element of the visit was the rapprochement of the views of France and Poland on the issue of disarmament. Here, the following tone was especially forceful in the speeches of Edward Gierek and Giscard d'Estaing: we will not permit the spread of nuclear weapons or the development of new, even more lethal kinds of weapons in this -- and in any other -- field. If it is taken into consideration that France did not sign the agreement on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and that it is not participating in the disarmament conference in Geneva, the formulations of its president on this issue are worth noting. They are particularly significant on account of the fact that the concentration of nuclear weapons in Europe is very high, and thus, all attempts at swaying the balance here (the neutron bomb!) are extremely dangerous. Since Poland and France belong to two opposed groups not only politically but also militarily, their consultations and the rapprochement of their views on this important issue can contribute significantly to the prevention of this danger.

In connection with this fact, the acknowledgment by France that both countries belong to the same Europe despite differences in their political structures merits attention. "When you received me in Warsaw, in Katowice, in Auschwitz, in Krakow," says Giscard d'Estaing, "your monuments, faces, ashes, and reminiscences were the monuments, faces, ashes, and reminiscences of our continent."

And, thus, Giscard d'Estaing acknowledges both the unity and the variety of Europe. Would that be possible without detente? A detente to which Poland and France contributed so fundamentally?

The third important element of the Edward Gierek-Giscard d'Estaing talks was the issue of rebuilding international economic relations. It is well-known that Giscard d'Estaing has this matter very much at heart on account

of his role in the North-South dialogue as well as of France's privileged relations with many of her former colonies (Senegal, the Ivory Coast). But the issue is important in general. In their relations with the Third World, the socialist countries have always based their actions on the principles to apply to the totality of the relations between the industrialized countries and the producers of raw materials can contribute to the improvement of these relations.

The issue of bilateral economic relations occupied a lot of space in Edward Gierek's talks with President Giscard d'Estaing and with Prime Minister Raymond Barre. And here new elements can be pointed out. We are embarking upon a path of considerable enrichment of economic collaboration. Parallel with the projects commonly called "great" already (for they really are great) -- coal, copper, chemistry -- we are beginning collaboration between our cooperatives, which produce everyday goods, and the PME (this is an abbreviation for "small and medium enterprises") on a large scale. This can be very fruitful collaboration both on account of the fact that our demand for consumer commodities is growing incessantly and on account of the fact that the PME are of great political significance in France. It is a question of their number -- there are a lot of them. The idea is that their owners and workers make up the so-called middle class and are a group to be reckoned with in elections. Hence, the appropriations and government loans for the PME; hence, too, the search for an outlet for their production. Such a combination of economic and political elements provides opportunities for serious development of collaboration between Poland and France precisely in this field. And it is difficult simply to imagine that the French, faced with slowed economic growth, are eager at the present time to keep work establishments going.

I have noted here only a certain element of Edward Gierek's visit, which will require broader coverage on another occasion. Although only indirectly, the visit was treated by various political forces in France as an element of internal politics, and even of the election campaign. This fact also attests to its significance.

Edward Gierek's visit to France has indicated once more the importance of personal contacts between the leaders of both countries. When it comes to Giscard d'Estaing, this issue is especially essential, since he held the first talks with our first secretary back when he was the minister of economy and finance in President Pompidou's government -- and it is well-known what an influence these very economic relations between France and Poland are exerting upon the general state of relations between both countries. And Prime Minister Barre, too referred to the fact that he is occupied especially with economic collaboration between our countries, for he is also the minister of economy and finance at the same time.

And it is not without significance that Edward Gierek knows France and the French language; LE POINT, the French weekly, wrote that this knowledge

facilitates contacts and understanding with French statesmen. It is safe to say that Edward Gierek's visit to Paris strengthened and deepened these personal contacts.

Prime Minister Barre stated in his toast that in Polish-French collaboration "we must not stop, for others will outdistance us." Neither France nor Poland wants to be outdistanced in this field.

8729
CSO: 2600

NORWEGIAN PAPER DISCUSSES CASE OF ROMANIAN UNESCO EMPLOYEE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 7 Oct 77 p 4

[Article by Jon Lie: "Romanian Leader Refused to Misuse His Position"]

[Text] A serious conflict between UNESCO and Romania has arisen in the shadow of the Belgrade conference. Sorin Dumitrescu, a Romanian UNESCO employee and director of the water section, was detained in Romania with his family last June during a business trip there. The authorities confiscated his United Nations passport and forced him to write a letter of resignation to UNESCO. The organization refused to accept Dumitrescu's letter of resignation, which was later withdrawn, and recently extended his contract through 1979. UNESCO stands for the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.

The background for the Romanian violation of the chief principles of international organizations is that Dumitrescu is said to have refused to give Bucharest reports on confidential conversations which he has had with diplomats and UNESCO employees. He is also accused of violating Romanian laws by neglecting to pay part of his salary to the state, a practice to which most East European employees must subscribe.

The matter has been up for confidential discussion in UNESCO's executive council, but it now appears to be at a complete deadlock after the council's chairman Leonard C.J. Martin, chairman of UNESCO's general conference, Kenya's Minister of Education Taaitta Towett and Mexico's former president Alvarez Echeverria visited Bucharest last week and discussed the problems with President Nicolae Ceaucescu in person. The Romanian attitude is reported to have been very unsympathetic; certain UNESCO sources inform AFTENPOSTEN that Romania regards Dumitrescu as resigned from his international position and sees the whole thing as an internal matter.

UNESCO's reaction so far has been to recall to Paris the director of the European regional office, which is based in Bucharest, after he was exposed to harassment in connection with the conflict.

It is rumored in Paris that Dumitrescu is fearing for his life and the safety of his family, but that he has chosen to fight this conflict with the Romanian authorities because of the principles involved in this matter.

Deputy Director Gunnar Garbo of the Foreign Ministry, who is Norway's and the Nordic countries' representative to UNESCO's executive council, tells AFTEN-POSTEN that the Romanian attitude in this matter represents a policy which, if it is accepted, may lead to a total collapse of international organizations. International high officials are appointed on the recommendation of their governments, but are supposed to do their jobs with complete loyalty to their organization.

"It is totally unacceptable for a membership country to in this way interfere with the functions of civilian employees and undermine the organization's working conditions," Garbo says.

It is also rumored by informed sources that the organization is considering closing the regional office for higher education in Bucharest after the Romanians indicated that they can no longer be held responsible for its operation.

Dumitrescu is presently being detained in Bucharest, after having been summoned for 'army reserve duty' for more than a year. His telephone subscription has been discontinued, and UNESCO has been unable to contact him since he was first detained.

Despite the isolation he has succeeded in sending letters to Paris, wherein the letter of resignation which he wrote under duress has been withdrawn.

"They have neither juridical nor moral rights to detain me and my family," says one of the recently arrived letters.

It belongs to the story that the Romanians regard him as a free man; no charges were brought against him after he had been exposed to accusations which had never been formulated for more than a year, and against which he could not defend himself.

Since the situation appears to have reached a complete deadlock, UNESCO has as a last resort chosen to publicize the matter in order to create an international opinion.

The UNESCO leaders recently met to discuss the matter. A violent discussion erupted between the chairman, Leonard C.J. Martin who is British, and the Romanian delegate, Marcel Ghibernea.

Martin accused Romania of having violated several of those principles which form the basis for international cooperation. Romania returned the accusation by claiming that UNESCO is interfering in the country's internal affairs.

The end to this was that UNESCO expressed deep concern as to "what appears to be a membership country's violation of the international obligations which it has willingly accepted."

The Romanians are said to have adopted an attitude of isolation in the council; they have supposedly received a certain verbal support from other East European countries, but the Romanians have had to face the fact that they are standing alone in matters which are put to the vote.

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END