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# TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1397

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ OFFICIAL DISCUSSES SOFIA CONFERENCE

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 7, 28 Mar 77 pp 17-19

[Article by Michal Stefanak, deputy chief of department of the CPCZ Central Committee: "With Principles and on the Offensive in Ideological Work"]

[Text] Recent congresses of communist and workers parties in the socialist countries have stressed the need of further consolidation and deeper cooperation of socialist countries in every area of social activity. Thanks to the consistent policy of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties the cooperation in the areas of ideology and culture also has been substantially advanced.

The Fourth Conference on International and Ideological Problems for Secretaries of Central Committees of Communist and Workers Parties in Socialist Countries took place in Sofia 2-3 March. As the representatives of individual delegations stressed in their speeches, the cooperation between our parties and countries has been also further expanded in the area of ideology, exchange of experience and coordination of ideological and cultural work by means of the developed bilateral and multilateral contacts of workers of party and state organs, workers of mass communications media, publishing houses and cultural institutions. Useful forms of collective cooperation of workers in social sciences in socialist countries and functionaries of culture and arts have been established.

At their conference, the secretaries of central committees of fraternal parties in socialist countries evaluated the experience achieved to date in the fulfillment of tasks in the area of ideological work which had been adopted at preceding conferences in Moscow, Prague and Warsaw. At the same time current conditions of world developments demanded that the conference further elaborate, and deal with specific details of, the objectives in the propaganda of realistic socialism, in consolidation of the process of detente and in activation of our common struggle against the imperialist propaganda, anticomunism and opportunism. In that direction, as the conference emphasized, recent congresses of fraternal parties were especially meaningful for the development of the propaganda activity. The materials of the
congresses dealt in detail with fundamental political-theoretical problems of building a developed socialist society and with consolidation and expansion of the socialist society and its effect on the application of principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. The socialist community represents a decisive material and political-ethical force in the development of the revolutionary process all over the world. It represents, primarily, a successful fulfillment of economic tasks which have produced a considerable growth of the material and spiritual standards of the people in our countries, provided a more thorough ideopolitical education of the working people and propaganda of realistic socialism, and thus, they have affected also the life of the working people in other parts of the world.

By their political, economic and ideological, as well as military, forces the socialist countries have actively influenced world events. Detente has become the main trend in the current world developments, in which the socialist countries are playing a decisive role. Their initiative is gradually finding a greater support of all progressive people all over the world. Once again, the conclusions adopted at the meeting of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states in November 1976 has been confirmed. The new initiative is taking steps toward the consolidation of detente, ending of the hectic arms race and conclusion of agreements by which the nations which participated in the Helsinki Conference would pledge that they would not be the first to use weapons of massive destruction against each other; this initiative has become a far-reaching mobilizing force of the contemporary peace and democratic world movement.

The socialist countries are successfully fulfilling the complex program of socialist economic integration which is advancing the development of each socialist country, in the process of its economic balance, and of consolidation of the entire community. A comprehensive, harmonious improvement of all aspects in the social life—economy, social and political relations, ideology, culture and formation of a socialist personality—has come to the fore in the life of our countries.

The Sofia Conference of the central committee secretaries met at a time which was very meaningful for the socialist countries as well as for all of the progressive mankind, in the year when we shall celebrate together the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution—the 60th anniversary of the victorious advance of socialism in the world. This glorious jubilee is offering advantageous conditions also for the development of our entire ideological and propaganda work. We shall present to the whole world the full scope of communist ideals and the results of realistic socialism, and, thus, we shall reply to all bourgeois attacks and slanders; we shall reply to anticommunists and those who betrayed the ideals of Marxism-Leninism.

In the 60 years since the Great October, the mighty Soviet Union and the socialist community have been built as the commanding material force in our century, which is transforming the world and serving as a basis for the world
revolutionary movement, without which no complex problem in the world at present could be solved. In the world, new relations between states developed on the basis of principles of equality, mutual assistance and respect for their traditions. Along with the development of the countries of the socialist community those factors have advanced more and more to the forefront which are bringing those countries closer together: namely, first of all, the correlation of the scientific-technical results with the advantages of socialism; the increasing efficiency of the socialist economy, and on that basis, increasing prosperity of the population; and furthermore, common interests of the socialist countries in their struggle against imperialism; activation of the struggle for peace and security of nations; support of all revolutionary and progressive forces in the capitalist countries, as well as in the development of national liberation movements.

The conference emphasized that an atmosphere was created where socialism was actively affecting the progress of world events. It might seem that our struggle for socialism and progress was going on without any great obstacles or difficulties. Yet the reality is far more complicated. We are living in a period of an aggravated ideological struggle between the world of socialism and capitalism, between the forces of peace and war, between the struggle for progress and efforts to revert the positive course of detente back to the cold war era. Imperialism is provoking intense political and ideological confrontations whenever its position is weakened. For that purpose it is using every method and joining with anyone who is able to attack socialism and progress. This has been especially clearly demonstrated in this period when the capitalist world has found itself in a deep political, economic and ideological crisis. The initiative of socialist foreign policy following the benefits of peace and progress cannot but stir up hatred in imperialist circles which, therefore, are trumpeting in the world their old theories of some sort of "Soviet military threat" and of the danger of communism, etc. In order to divert attention from the constantly increasing dissatisfaction of the working people in capitalist countries, caused by a deep crisis, and to weaken in their eyes the appeal of socialism, all anti-communist centers and their supporters came out with a coordinated propaganda about some sort of violation of human rights in the socialist countries. They joined with various antisocialist elements just to divert attention of the people in their own countries from the deficiencies in which the capitalist world is living. Such attacks by the bourgeois propaganda against our countries are coordinated and timed so as to disrupt the positive, peaceful preparations for the Belgrade meeting of the participants in the Helsinki Conference.

The reactionary forces would like to turn the Belgrade meeting into a forum where they would want to "prove the unprovable." They would like to turn the course in the direction from detente; they would like to make believe that it is the Soviet Union and other socialist countries that are instigating the arms race.
Although the aggressive basis of imperialism has not changed, it is now clear that imperialism cannot bring down socialism by military means and cannot destroy or weaken it by economic blockades. For that reason it is setting up in the forefront various demagogic fabrications and lies about the life in socialist countries. Anticommunism and anti-Sovietism have advanced to the fore.

Under such circumstances the participants of the Sofia Conference stressed that the task of ideological work has increased in particular in the development of detente and elucidation of the objectives of socialist countries in strengthening peace, in preventing world war and in ending the hectic arms race.

One of the main tasks of our propaganda work is to spread the complete truth about realistic socialism everywhere in the world and to demonstrate what enormous changes have taken place in every aspect of the life of the society in the USSR and other socialist countries in consequence of the profound political, economic and social transformations during the past 60 years. In that respect the conclusions of the recent congresses of fraternal parties in our countries should be analyzed and studied with particular attention. These congresses have indeed documented the further creative development of Marxism-Leninism, the increased efficiency of the social production and the improved material and cultural standards in the working people's lives, as well as the formation of a new, socialist society. We must point far more to the dynamic development of socialist economy, free of crises, to increased socialist economic integration and to a new way of socialist life based on equality, collectivism, internationalism, total democratism and profound humanism.

At the same time it is necessary to exploit to the fullest extent the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was also emphasized in the declaration of the Sixth General Assembly of our party's central committee. The participants in the conference strongly stressed the agreements concluded on extensive joint international actions in connection with the glorious anniversary of the Great October.

The conference further underlined that at the present period our propaganda means must be focused first of all on the consolidation of detente. It is our task to foil any attempts by reactionary forces which are trying to stop or slow down the progress of detente. The ideological and propaganda work under current circumstances is becoming a very relevant factor in the fulfillment of peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries. Socialism is working for the consolidation of the world peace, and peace is working for the development of socialism. That is the law of the development in the contemporary world. That also reflects its class substance.

The conference also emphasized the necessity for our propaganda to explain thoroughly the initiative with which the socialist countries are striving to end the hectic arms race and to reduce material preconditions for wars.
That strategic line of socialist countries must be introduced in the consciousness of the widest international public.

Our propaganda must unmask with specific examples the political, economic and ideological objectives of the aggressive imperialist circles which are fomenting the hectic arms race and point out their connection with reactionary, neofascist tendencies.

In connection with the preparation for the Belgrade meeting, it is necessary to popularize much more specifically the steps which the socialist countries have taken so as to fulfill to the fullest extent the Final Act of the European [Helsinki] Conference. It is imperative to unmask fearlessly the real face of those who would want to disrupt the progress of detente. We must propagate much more aggressively and thoroughly the rights and freedoms which the working people are enjoying in socialist countries and confront them with what the working people in capitalist countries are fighting for. Thereby we must crush every attempt to falsify the decisions of the Final Act in various ways and the efforts to exploit them for damaging the socialist countries. Our propaganda has a considerable role in spreading the truth about the situation and tasks of women and youth in socialist society. It must clearly demonstrate the enormous difference between the life and task of women and youth in socialist countries and the poverty, oppression and inequality of women and youth in capitalist countries.

In the current era great and responsible tasks are challenging our social sciences. Already in the past very significant results have been achieved in this area by a coordinated analysis of social processes in building of socialism. As the congresses of our parties have shown and as was also stressed at the Sofia Conference of the central committee secretaries, at present it is necessary to focus the general interest on the analysis of the problems of a developed socialist and communist society, on the process of mutual coordination and closer contacts of the socialist countries and, at the same time, also on an improvement of the entire system of information.

Together with those tasks the need of constantly developing cooperation in the area is coming to the fore. Socialist culture has presented a broad view of life in socialist society. It is our duty to be able to show that to the whole world, so as to acquaint as much as possible the working people of our fraternal countries as well as other progressive people all over the world with our accomplishments.

The increasing importance of the ideological and propaganda work demands a more intensive approach to the search for new forms of work in every individual party and, simultaneously, increased coordination of their reciprocal actions. Particularly here the improved system of prompt information and its exploitation in the process of building of socialism as well as in the struggle against imperialism, anticomunism and anti-Sovietism are coming to the fore.
The Sofia Conference of secretaries of the central committees of communist and workers parties in socialist countries provided another proof of the great unity of the countries in our community. It confirmed that socialism offered the brightest possible perspective for the development of the world today and that socialism positively affected the current events in the world. Simultaneously, it provided many new impulses for the development of our ideological activity in the interest of consolidating socialism and spreading the truth about socialism. Such new impulses will serve the entire revolutionary and progressive movement in its struggle for peace and for a just future of mankind in the struggle for the liberation from capitalist exploitation and oppression.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ DAILY EXPLAINS NATURE OF REVISIONISM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 May 77 p 4 AU

[Jaroslav Tuma article: "Only a Marxist-Leninist Solution of Questions Takes the Wind Out of the Sails of Revisionism"]

[Summary] Marx and Engels remorselessly and scathingly criticized revisionists as "creators of the modern mythology of justice, freedom, equality and fraternity" who want the party to get rid of its "uncouth proletarian passions" and acquire good taste and manners, particularly so as to attract the upper strata of society. "All their lives the classics—Marx, Engels and Lenin—fought inexorably against those who had drawn only one conclusion from the knowledge of the difficulties of the class fight, namely, that one should stop fighting and start coming to terms with the enemy, defecting to his side." The revolutionary struggle brings both successes and defeats and it demands an "actual, not merely a simulated, identification with the leading force in this struggle—with the workers' class and its revolutionary party. In this battle, too, we may find timorous, craven, morally unstable people who are secret enemies and are the first to start coming to terms with the class enemy and to defect from the front."

Revisionism always appears when the revolutionary battle is about to enter a new phase with new and theoretically unsolved problems. Its activity intensifies whenever capitalism is facing defeat, in which case the proletariat is immediately urged to compromise on theory. Revisionism, a reactionary, antirevolutionary trend inside the workers movement, was created in the 1870's by the very existence of capitalism, as was the revolutionary workers movement whose "scientific ideology of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism cannot be disproved but merely deformed or falsified." The economic, social and political dependence created by capitalism "may, under certain conditions, adversely influence the thoughts and deeds also of certain members of the revolutionary movement. Absolute freedom as advocated by the revisionists is, therefore, more than just pure illusion.

"It is enough to imagine the fulfillment of absolute freedom, for instance, if all of a sudden those who depend on such an economic basis were to begin
writing against the capitalist order that makes it possible for them to live in abundance."

Under the conditions of building socialism, the sources of revisionism lie among the vestiges of former exploitation classes and petty bourgeois strata, who are not interested in the revolutionary road and attempt to prevent the changes it brings and modify its consequences. Certain phenomena, connected with those elements of the capitalist society that could not be immediately overcome for objective reasons and the existing correlation of class forces in society, also play a definite role. "The negative influences may be, and are, strengthened from outside" by economic and political subversion, ideological penetration and attempts to manipulate the minds of citizens in the socialist state through the capitalist mass communications media.

One of the class roots of revisionism lies in the watering down of the workers' class and its core in industrial plans by impoverished members of the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia under capitalism and by members of the liquidated exploitation classes under socialism. Although these elements gradually merge with the workers' class, participating in its class struggle, they keep their class way of thinking for a long time. "Most of them regard their place among the workers class as temporary," and things like the "revolutionary struggle, proletarian internationalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat are something alien and incomprehensible to them, and even hostile." That is why they want to eliminate the typical features of the workers class, why they call for the fraternization of all peoples and why they attack the very idea of the revolution. The revisionists, who are ignorant of Marxist dialectics or reject it, have enormous difficulty in grasping the complicated social phenomena, and thus they strive to interpret freedom, humanism, the idea of personality and democracy in an abstract, nonclass and extremely simplified way. Each of them advocates opinions best suited to his own and his group's interests. "This seeming variety of opinions is not an expression of democracy; it conceals the class contents that can only be bourgeoisie."

Revisionism ranges from "negligible concessions or the tolerance of insubstantial deviations of opinion from the correct Marxist-Leninist world outlook up to the absolute rejection of this outlook." Often the revisionists are so convinced that only their own views are correct that it is practically impossible to conduct a discussion with their theoreticians. "What seems to be a discussion between revisionism and the scientific Marxist-Leninist doctrine is always aimed at manipulating the people's minds and at exerting ideological and political influence." Revisionism answers the needs of anticommunism, since its endeavor to evade the class struggle sooner or later lands the revisionists among the open enemies of the workers' class. The anticommunists know this. "They know that revisionism is paving the road in theory for what is to become opportunism in political practice. That is why anticommunism not only adopts such asserted revisionists as Sik, Pelikan Petkoff, F. Marek, E. Fischer,
Djilas and Garaudy as its own, but—through the mass communications media—it is planning and preparing publicity for the operations of those it regards as its reserves at a later date."

The roots of the specific Czechoslovak social and class revisionism lie both in the class events in the pre-Munich bourgeois republic and in our country's development to socialism via the people's democracy. The nature of our revisionism was affected by the fact of our two small nations living in the center of Europe, which "establishes extremely favorable conditions for the idea of setting up a bridge between the West and the East, an idea complicated, moreover, by the feeling of national smallness, which, nevertheless, takes on gigantic dimensions in the endeavors to become great and unique. Other important factors were that "in the fight during the Fascist occupation the CPCZ lost almost all its leading theoretical and political cadres" and that "the Soviet Union's victory over Fascism brought into the party masses of politically and theoretically inexperienced working people, petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, who entered the ranks of the Communist Party on a mass scale, when they were intoxicated by the victory over Fascism." All this later made it easily possible for "a significant revisionist group to be created even among the ranks of the party itself. In a state that used to be one of the firmest links in the chain of socialist states—for instance, at the time of the Hungarian counterrevolution—this group made very skillful use of all the peculiarities of the roots of revisionism in our country to transfer its influence from the sphere of ideology to that of politics. It is impossible not to see that this was also a consequence of the mistakes made by the party leadership of that time, mistakes that eased the way for expressions of revisionism and revived them."

The fact that the socialist revolution did not, and objectively could not, bring about the revisionists' ideas of absolute freedom and democracy led them to attack the very force that had at first intoxicated them. As Marx said, they were incapable of fully adopting the proletarian way of thinking.

"The fight against revisionism is not a time-limited matter that is concluded with the defeat of one group of revisionists. Socialist society is not without contradictions, even though they are not antagonistic, and it is not without its differences. Its development poses various questions that are to be scientifically and politically solved." In a situation of two existing social systems there is also the danger of a reactivation of revisionism in various forms. "Revisionism, which rejects the basic Marxist-Leninist principles, categories and laws, is incompatible with Marxism-Leninism itself. However, we do not fight revisionism by using methods of mere negation, mere rejection or mere criticism. We fight it primarily by simultaneously developing the scientific ideology of the workers' class—of all its three components [antecedent not clear]. For this we utilize the experience and knowledge of other communist and workers'
parties of the socialist states and also of other parties of the inter-
national communist movement.

"Only a Marxist-Leninist solution of questions and problems of the movement
takes the wind out of the sails of revisionism, which is striving to estab-
lish a kind of mythology of equality, freedom, justice and fraternity, in-
stead of the revolutionary ideal. These values, which, according to the
revisionist ideas, are absolute, are in their abstract nature as barren
and empty as the ideas of those who want to foist bourgeois 'good taste
and manners' on the revolution."

CSO: 2400
Socialist legality unquestionably constitutes one of the inalienable values of our society. Our citizens rightly see in it also an effective, tangible and concrete system which is the guarantee of their legal securities which the socialist society, in addition to full social security, offers them.

People's Rights and Civil Liberties

Our people saw and see for themselves that due to the consistent policy of the communist party, fundamental rights and freedoms are secured by law and really provided for citizens and that real equality of citizens is guaranteed under the conditions of socialist relations. In our country human rights are very extensive, materially secured, guaranteed and protected by the state. They have been elevated to the leading principles of socialist democracy and socialist humanism from which the vampiric and antipeople capitalist system is as remote as is the South Pole from the North Pole.

By its entire system, only socialism implements the highest right to human decent existence—the right to work and other social rights which the citizen enjoys virtually from birth to retirement in old age. Our citizens make full use of all political rights and freedoms such as the right to vote, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and association, trade union rights and other important personal, civil and political rights. Our citizens exercise these rights, in addition to other ways, through mass organizations and political parties of the National Front. By its legal system our state fulfills the obligations ensuing from ratified international agreements, and frequently it does more than required.

At the members meeting of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement], at the public meetings of national committees and also in the mass...
organizations of the National Front, all honest citizens publicly declared in recent weeks that by their mentality, work achievements and social commitment they were passionately devoted to socialism and CPCZ policy and that they condemned any attempt to disturb our socialist development. This political reality could be taken into account at the meeting of the Federal Assembly on 5 April this year which, as the supreme legislator, checks on the observance of constitutionality and legality in our society.

The Federal Assembly could with satisfaction take note of the fact that the process of consolidation of socialist legality continued and that new positive results were achieved in this important area. The political power of the people is protected by the entire system of the state and of the society, the rights and freedoms of citizens are implemented, and the development of all interests of the society is guaranteed. Increased attention is paid to the observance of citizens' legal rights by public organs and organizations. All this reflects a profound democratic spirit which is possible only under the conditions of the rule of the working class and of the working people.

Citizens' Participation in Consolidation of Socialist Legality

It is correct that, in order to promote the observance and enforcement of socialist legality, great demands are laid on the work of the judiciary, public prosecutors and state organs in general. These great demands, however, presuppose active support and participation of citizens in public administration, in the protection of the existing social system and of public order and in the development of all forms of socialist democracy.

One of the advantages of socialist democracy is the fact that the people not only give themselves laws through their elected representatives but also increasingly participate in their observance. This aspect was emphasized by Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the 15th CPCZ Congress: "Our laws express the will of the people and the needs of the socialist society. Not only the courts, public prosecutors and security organs, but the entire society, every citizen must, therefore, pay attention to the respect for them and to their observance."

There exists, therefore, a dialectical connection between the growth of socialist democracy and the consolidation of socialist legality. On the one hand, socialist democracy expresses and promotes the interest of the working class and of other working people in the exercise of their rights and freedoms, in the fulfillment of their obligations and in the observance of the rules of socialist law. It thus creates the conditions for an active participation of the broadest masses of the working people in the observance and consolidation of socialist legality. On the other hand, socialist legality is an indispensable guarantee for the implementation of citizens' rights and freedoms as well as for the fulfillment of their obligations to the society. It is one of the fundamental conditions of further development of socialist democracy.
We, therefore, condemn the attitude of certain individuals who would like to make socialist democracy a servant of their selfish interests, to take what belongs to other people, to manifest gross indifference to their civil and work obligations and, in accordance with their ideas of "pseudo-democracy," to live at the expense of others. Socialist democracy represents a dialectical unity of rights and obligations and requires that rights and obligations be balanced. Socialism and democracy are interdependent. They make possible and require the people's participation not only in production management, but also in the administration of public affairs, including the administration of justice.

The most important form of the working people's participation in the administration of justice in our country is the more-than-27-year-old institution of lay judges, who act not only in the area of court proceedings and decisions but also in other areas, particularly preventive education. Approximately 25,000 citizens perform this function at the present time.

Rich practical experience of these judges who discharge this responsibility only part time in addition to their regular employment creates, together with the high expert and political standard of professional judges, prerequisites for making court decisions in conformity with socialist legality. This people's participation in the implementation of judicial jurisdiction is inseparably linked to the social and political mission of courts in the socialist society. It is indisputable that the authority of courts and the citizens' confidence in socialist administration of justice further increased in the process of implementation of the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress. On the basis of the generalization of the results of decision-making activity, we can definitely state that the courts have always fulfilled their obligations whenever the citizens turned to them with the request to protect their rights and lawful interests.

Our national committees and their activists have significantly contributed to the development of socialist democracy and to the consolidation of socialist legality. An indispensable role in this context is played by the national committees' commissions for the protection of public order, whose activity includes, above all, the protection of citizens' health and security, the problem of socialist coexistence and the protection of property in both socialist and individual ownership. It is important that national committees promote and support the self-sacrificing work and civil fortitude of our people more than in the past. We must place more emphasis on the civil courage to attack apathy—on the civil commitment to combat petty-bourgeois indifference to and the alienated attitude toward the social interests. In accordance with the people's legal consciousness, penal policy must create the atmosphere of irreconcilability with any criminal action, in order to underscore the conviction that nobody who violates law will escape punishment. Honest people demand that recidivists and especially the perpetrators of violent crimes be severely punished.
Guarantees and Influence of Mass Organizations

Among the important rights of mass organizations—the ROH, SSM [Union of Socialist Youth], JZD [unified agricultural cooperatives] and production cooperatives—is the right to send an accuser or a defender as their representative to the proceedings in the okres court. These organizations should discuss on a larger scale in the workers' collectives guarantees for the correction of the accused, if reasonable prospects exist that he will reform under the 'collective's guidance.

There are, of course, many more forms of cooperation between the organs active in the criminal proceedings and mass organizations. It is necessary to continue in the effort to improve and expand this cooperation. Mass organizations should, for example, take better care of those citizens who return to work after the expiration of their sentence. It has been frequently found useful to include them in model collectives and brigades of socialist labor which offer a helping hand to these individuals.

As to the observance of socialist legality, I would like to mention one more area in which our citizens are most interested: labor law.

In the matters related to labor law, the arbitration commissions of the basic ROH organizations which were elected after 1 July 1975 are an important factor in the observance of legality and in the defense of rights of individuals. Their influence is evident among other things from the fact that of 15,000 labor disputes discussed by them in 1976 only 15 percent were submitted to the courts on the basis of the appeals filed against their decisions. The protection of justified interests of the working people and their collectives and the protection of economy and the defense of societywide interests depend largely on the arbitration commissions. The Federal Assembly expressed an urgent demand that the state and mass organizations should pay more attention to the prompt, complete and just examination of complaints, representations and suggestions of our citizens. Under no circumstances should they be overlooked or underestimated because they represent one of the proofs of people's predominant interest in public affairs.

The guarantee of civil liberties and constitutional rights are so solid in our country because the administration of justice is in the hands of people's organs, and the citizens' participation in the implementation and consolidation of socialist legality constantly increases. Here precisely lies the abysmal difference from the capitalist world where even the most opportunistic publicity of "human rights" cannot cover up the naked reality that lawlessness, mass unemployment, social inequality, race, political and national minority discrimination, persecution of labor organizations and unequal access to education lay bare the antipeople, inhuman essence of imperialism. Over there the masses resist the authorities, which employ violence. Over there the people are prevented from exercising influence on law which serves the exploiting ruling class. It is enough to compare, in order to make it clear that socialism emerges victorious from this comparison.
Czechoslovakia

CPCZ AGITPROP CHIEF EMPHASIZES IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 3, Mar 77 pp 3-21

[Article by Vasil Bejda: "Further Development of Ideological Work in the Light of the Resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress"]

[Excerpts] We are not forgetting that questions of state and democracy, rights and freedoms continue to be at the center of the ideological struggle. Anticommunist propaganda attacks against the Marxist-Leninist concept of democracy, rights and freedoms are particularly gaining in intensity at the present time.

It is characteristic of bourgeois ideologists and revisionists to try to obscure the class content of democracy above all else. It is no accident that anticommunist propaganda escalated its hateful and antisocialist campaign during the preparation and in the course of last year's elections to representative organs and national committees of all levels. It is endeavoring to hide the essence of bourgeois and socialist democracy by the most varied "concepts" derived from the abstract concept of democracy and freedom. We are, for example, witnessing attempts to prove that perhaps the Marxist-Leninist teaching about the class nature of the state and democracy is already outdated in conditions of the developing scientific and technical revolution. Some kind of a "state standing above classes" and "absolute democracy" are claimed to have evolved. In reality anticommunism is launching more or less veiled attacks against the very foundations of the socialist social order.

Not only history but the present demonstrates that even the most democratic bourgeois republic is unavoidably a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a tool of suppression of the overwhelming majority of working people in the interest of the bourgeoisie. Of course, the question of bourgeois democracy cannot be simplified because a revolutionary struggle is developing in capitalist countries and the influence of the world socialist community is being felt. Pressed by the struggle of the working class and other progressive forces the ruling circles of some countries have been forced to concede certain rights and freedoms which in the past was not the rule in bourgeois society.
But worker and farmer representation in state institutions of bourgeois regimes is minimal and more or less symbolic, in spite of these facts. It is not the people who govern in bourgeois society; imperialist monopolies and the owners of the principal means of production dictate their will to the entire society. To that end they are using the pseudodemocratic plurality of political parties, the parliament. The bourgeoisie does not hesitate to use force when it feels threatened by democratic forces—primarily by communist and progressive parties. The most reactionary segment of the bourgeoisie does not hesitate to resort to fascist methods, terror, murder and mass repression to obstruct democratic development and reinstate or maintain its class power, as the military junta in Chile did and does with effective external help, and as, after all, is demonstrated by all reactionary regimes in capitalist states. In fact, bourgeois democracy can be reduced to the participation of the people in elections. V. I. Lenin characterized the essence of such democracy by demonstrating that citizens were allowed once in several years to decide who will oppress and tread on them in the parliament. But in capitalism the masses of workers have no possibility of sharing in the real discharge of state power and administration, in the formulation and implementation of state policy and in deciding key questions of the economic and political life.

In its ideological educational work the party concentrates on explaining all these questions to the broad masses of citizens convincingly, with ever greater emphasis and documentation while at the same time making clear the truly democratic and humanitarian basis of the socialist political system by which the power of the working class and working people is being implemented.

The 15th CPCZ Congress discussed the questions and directions of further political development in connection with the current struggle for social progress and peace in the international arena. This also involves the ideological sphere. The experiences of our party also demonstrate that in the current period (when the power and unity of the socialist world community increases and the struggle of revolutionary, national liberation and anti-imperialist forces for national democratic and social freedoms of the working people in capitalist and developing countries is in the process of developing) the role of the ideological class struggle increases in the historical context between socialism and capitalism.

In view of the fundamental change in the balance of power in the world to the disadvantage of imperialism, the possibilities of the latter to resolve the basic class conflict between socialism and capitalism by war are becoming ever more limited. This is why the thrust of this contest has been transferred into the political, economic and ideological sphere.

This fact changes the position of the ideological struggle which is intensifying, assuming new forms and dimensions while its global character, its internationalization are being strengthened. At the same time the ideological struggle increasingly permeates all forms and aspects of social life.
The connection between the ideological and the political and economic struggle is increasingly intensifying and the ideological struggle is ever more markedly turning into a tool of foreign policy.

The striving of socialist countries directed towards attaining irreversibility of the process of reducing tensions is gaining ever greater support even in imperialist countries and helps in strengthening the position of revolutionary forces, counteracting effectively the efforts of the most reactionary forces of the present day world.

In these conditions the bourgeoisie is exerting an extraordinary effort to diminish the attractiveness of the ideas of socialism and of the successes of the peaceful foreign policy pursued by socialist countries. Therefore, it spends enormous material resources, cadres and other means on activating its struggle against socialism.

The solving of key problems of the economic competition by opposing social systems, the results of the political international struggle and especially the achievement of an irreversible relaxation of international tensions depends ever more directly on the ability of socialist countries and their communist parties to use the truth about socialism effectively and spread the ideas of scientific socialism in nonsocialist countries convincingly. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed it at the 15th CPSU Congress: "The problems of the ideological struggle are emerging with increasing urgency and the truth about socialism is a mighty weapon in this struggle."

Ideological work is being carried out by the CPCZ both in the theoretical and the educational and propaganda fields with consideration of current international conditions. Therefore, the struggle against bourgeois ideology and propaganda forms an indivisible part of it. Ideological political education includes both the forming of a strong ideological conviction and of an implacable opposition to bourgeois ideology and its revisionist allies. The party teaches workers to be able to analyze the demagoguery and lies of anticommunist propaganda and uncovers the crafty methods and questionable arguments used by the antisocialist ideological diversion.

The spontaneous reaction of our workers to a pamphlet boastfully called Charter 77 has confirmed the correctness of this procedure. It demonstrated the maturity and political sagacity of the Czechoslovak public which cannot easily be confused even by the cleverest maneuver of the anticommunist propaganda. This pamphlet, fabricated on the advice of anticommunist centers by a group of renegades and bitter enemies of socialism, again urgently demonstrates the need of a systematic struggle against anticommunism and its right-wing revisionist lackeys. The enormous effort expended by anticommunism to sully and slander countries of the socialist community in a coordinated manner and by all means testifies to the growing fears of the most reactionary imperialist circles about the results of the peace offensive waged by the socialist countries and about the decline of its influence in
capitalist countries, where the broad masses of workers are voicing ever greater opposition to the adventurous maneuvers at the brink of the "cold war."

The authors of the Charter 77 no longer even hide behind the mask of socialist sounding phrases and terminology. They went over to bourgeois cosmopolitan positions openly. But in spite of it, their protectors and "supporters" claim that they are "fighters" for a so-called improved, democratic, liberal socialism.

It is a transparent game. It is to be regretted that even some representatives of communist parties in West European countries accepted its rules. While trying to align themselves with the stream of constructive forces on the soil of the bourgeois system of their countries and fighting for "progress" by legal means, in their relationship towards socialist countries they support illegal subversive actions directed against socialism, form a common front with bourgeois and right-wing, revisionist, unsuccessful politicians and help in fanning anti-Czechoslovak hysteria. At the same time the new, unbridled, anticommunist campaign against socialist Czechoslovakia triggers opposite ideological activity with the objective of unmasking false propagandist fabrications which reflect the general intensifying crisis of present-day imperialism. In his report to the 15th congress Comrade Husak stressed that "in confronting our ideology, bourgeois ideology cannot offer modern man anything positive. It is an ideology of a class which is leaving the stage of history. This is the cause of its pessimism, fear of the future and reactionary character. This is also the source of its furious anti-communism."

The growing influence of the socialist community--the decisive factor in the international balance of class forces in the current world--the pressure of consolidating anti-imperialist forces and the pressure of deep social economic conflicts of present-day imperialism (of conflicts which are irreconcilable in their own context) lead bourgeois politicians and ideologues to the ever more intensive and designing use of ideological means. With their help they are trying to stem the shifts towards socialism in the minds of the broad masses in nonsocialist countries and use them to "poison" the minds of the citizens of socialist countries by false values and questionable models of a falsely constructed "free Western way of life."

The ideological contest between two opposite social systems reflects the changing balance of class forces in favor of socialism and peace and the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism. At Helsinki the leading representatives of capitalist states were forced to accept the principles of peaceful coexistence between states. They admitted thereby that they accepted the reality of socialism--the irreversibility of the socialist changes in the countries of the socialist community. At the same time the bourgeois ruling circles must expect that workers in capitalist countries will be increasingly attracted by the example of the existing socialism and become increasingly interested in its ideology and its way of solving thorny social problems of our time.
The reaction to these facts in the ideological sphere is manifested by an unheard-of increase in the intensity of attacks against socialist countries and the solidarity and unity of the socialist community. After Helsinki and the Berlin conferences, rightwing reactionary forces are being activated which are using long compromised methods of open blatant anticommunism from the times of the "cold war." At the same time bourgeois propaganda uses indirect methods of ideological warfare, even socialist phraseology and tries to misuse the growing economic, technical-scientific and cultural cooperation between socialist and capitalist states in defense of capitalism and for ideological penetration into socialist countries.

The common denominator of all these anticommmunist endeavors is anti-Sovietism which imperialist circles want to use in order to stem the rising authority of the USSR and its peaceful policy and to discredit and blacken its principled advance in consolidating the cause of socialism and progress. The CPCZ is well aware that the anti-Soviet propaganda is directed against the CPSU and the Soviet people and at the same time also against socialist Czechoslovakia, the interests of our working people and the entire socialist community. It is for this reason that Comrade Husak said at the Berlin conference [concerning] what we are trying to achieve by our entire system of ideological work, that "the Czechoslovak communists and our nations consider the struggle against anti-Sovietism to be their business and a matter of honor and the defense of the ideas and the building of socialism originating from deep inner conviction."

At the present time anticommmunism tries to use the relaxation of tensions for the purpose of ideological penetration by acting more harmoniously and flexibly by the use of better marked means. In conditions of relaxation of tensions the possibility that anticommmunist ideas might prevail through official policy have diminished considerably. New conditions governing international developments are determining the changes in the forms of the ideological struggle: "...the form of the struggle," wrote V. I. Lenin "can change and changes constantly for various, comparatively specific and temporary reasons; but the substance of the struggle, its class content, can never change as long as classes exist." (V. I. Lenin, "Works," Vol 22, p 273)

Imperialism is forced to maneuver under conditions of relaxation of tensions, change the proportion of various forms of propaganda, use official and unofficial channels and change and modernize theoretical doctrines.

In its efforts to erode socialism and the communist movement, anticommmunism uses not only the ideology of social reformism but primarily revisionism into which it places extraordinary hopes against the people of socialist countries and against the communist movement and the working class in capitalist countries. Under conditions of the building of socialism where the social milieu does not accept openly advanced bourgeois conceptions, revisionism is becoming the principal form of the introduction of bourgeois views into the revolutionary movement. In this way anticommmunism forms a specific alliance with revisionism in order to bring the working class under the influence of the bourgeoisie.
Our analysis of anticommunist propaganda also demonstrates that its foremost interest today is in attempts to misinterpret the content, meaning and objectives of the policy of international relaxation and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Against the principles adopted in the Helsinki document anticommunism does not hesitate to overturn even the very basis of this policy. It is trying to misuse the Final Act in order to interfere with internal matters of sovereign socialist countries and spread lies and slander about them. They would like to influence the development in socialist countries to coincide with the political structure of present-day capitalism and achieve in our political life freedom of activity by antischialist forces by means of questionable "theories" about the "indivisibility of the world," "transnationalism" and by renewed "convergent" approaches. Anticommunist propaganda pays unceasing attention to Czechoslovakia and its development also because the dissemination of objective informations about the prospering dynamically developing Czechoslovak society, which is guaranteeing its citizens work and a secure future, conflicts with the crisis situation of the working people in capitalist countries and does not fit the anti-concept of "total" oppression and the "suppression of human rights" in socialist countries.

In the current period the perspective of the socialist and communist future of humanity and its real existence in the form of a world socialist system induces the bourgeois and anticommunist ideology to direct the main thrust of its attacks against the working class and its historical mission—against socialism and communism which today already is the visible result of the policy of the working class and its avantgarde, the Marxist-Leninist party, in the countries of the socialist community.

At the same time anticommunism is trying to publicize cleverly and inventively all manifestations by renegades and the smallest deviations from Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It is no accident that the questionable heroes in anticommunist propaganda are all those who at home or from exile slander socialism, the socialist homeland and their own country. Similar tendencies are constantly being intensified and are becoming more suggestive in their attempts to hide or distort the truth about the real socialism and their own situation and, in this way, mislead the people at home and abroad.

In this context it is natural that in the forefront is the need to counter resolutely any misrepresentation of the life in socialist society on one hand and point to the great accomplishments of socialist countries on the other, especially to the assured secure life, the bright future, the real rights and freedoms of the citizens of the socialist state. We must go back to the work already accomplished and to its evaluation to be constantly reminded of the sources of success, learn from the past, strengthen the political security of our people and foster in them the feeling of self-confidence, patriotism and pride for belonging to the world socialist community.
The 15th CPCZ Congress paid great attention to the problem of improving the leading role of the party in all spheres of social life through the consistent implementation of the Leninist principles of the leading role of the party. It stressed the need of a comprehensive approach to the solution of all questions of socialist development. The successful organization and management of the ideological sphere calls for the consideration of the mutual interrelationship of individual sectors of the social life, for starting from concrete domestic and foreign policy needs and for planning the process of ideological political education for the long run.

We are fully aware that the current exacting tasks which the 15th congress has staked out for the area of ideological education can be successfully resolved only by a comprehensive approach to the management and organization of this process. Above all, this calls for coordinating and linking together world view and political ideology as a basis with economic work and moral education—with education towards socialist citizenship and legal and esthetic education by fostering the planned promotion of the general educational and cultural level of the people. Here no component must be neglected.

It further calls for the coordinated and unified action by all sources of ideological educational influence: theoretical work places, mass communication and propaganda media, cultural education institutions, educational installations, educational components of social organizations, state organs, management workers and others.

We do not underrate even other aspects of the comprehensive approach to ideological education, such as its organization and harmony with political organizational work and the inclusion of the people in the actual determination and implementation of party policy. We are also gradually beginning to strive for the consistent exercise of comprehensive, uniform and, at the same time, differentiated influence on all areas of the social life, all strata and groups of society.

The unheard of progress of mass communications and the fast spread of informations about events at home and abroad places new, more exacting demands on our ideological work. The increased level of information and education of the people calls for a more flexible, faster but, at the same time, responsible reaction by us to all important events from our viewpoint. We are endeavoring to increase the credibility, responsiveness and operational readiness of the entire system of mass communications and propaganda.

Of course, we must not underrate also person to person propagandizing and canvassing where the spoken word is irreplaceable especially when an immediate reaction to an expressed opinion is called for, a discussion about concrete and topical questions. Attention paid to individual propaganda work must not diminish as a result of the development of the means of mass communications and propaganda. Oral forms of canvassing and propaganda
are not the antithesis of the press, radio and television but form a unity with them and share with them the common task of forming a new man. Speaking about direct contact with the people V. I. Lenin stressed that the propagandist's work "cannot be replaced by anything else, not today, not ever." (V. I. Lenin, "Works," Vol 5, p 433)

An important condition of strengthening the influence of the party over the entire ideological area is improving the work with data and facts which make up the minds of the people. Therefore, we are beginning to collect and analyze data of this type more systematically, becoming better acquainted with the results of the ideological work proper and its influence on the minds and actions of people. Connected with it, is the improvement of the information system, the application of concrete sociological research results, public opinion research, analyzing letters and proposals by workers, etc.

The gradual solution of the above mentioned tasks will affect the efficiency of the ideological educational activity which was assigned an important role by Comrade Husak when he said in his report to the congress: "From the viewpoint of the future the requirement of improved quality and effectiveness of ideological work is gaining in importance."

Social consciousness and the spiritual life of society follow a relatively independent course in society's dialectically uniform complex of life. From this follow specific, relatively independent tasks and objectives of ideological work. It would be unrealistic if we tried to solve the complicated, extensive and long range tasks of the education of socialist man immediately and at once. Comprehensiveness and high effectiveness of ideological political work can be achieved only on the basis of prospective planning of this work.

We are aware that the achievement of a comprehensive approach and prospective forecasting and planning in the area of ideology are not matters which will be solved from one day to the next. But we are trying to organize our work already today so that the comprehensive approach be reflected in concrete plans of the ideological educational activity of party organs, basic party organizations, social organizations, work collectives and all ideological educational and cultural institutions. The findings and experiences of other fraternal parties, especially the CPSU, in this respect which unfolded tremendous theoretical and practical activity especially after the 24th congress, are of great help in generalizing and disseminating our experiences also in this area.
KAPEK ADDRESSES RALLY HONORING CORVALAN

Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1432 GMT 17 May 77 LD

[Speech by Antonín Kapek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, at a rally at Prague's Luncerna Palace on 17 May, honoring Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party—live]

[Text] Comrades! Dear Comrade Corvalán!

We are proud and happy that after more than 3 years of illegal imprisonment we are able to welcome you here, on behalf of the Prague communists and working people. You are the heroic representative of revolutionary Chile, of its people and Communist Party. We welcome you, the fighter for a socially just life for the working people, a revolutionary and a communist. Even in the hardest prison you remained free, faithful to communist ideas, faithful to the struggle of your people and to proletarian internationalism. It is with feelings of deep joy that we welcome you, Comrade Corvalán, among us in the hall of historic Lucerna. Here, 31 years ago, our Communist Party shaped—at its first post-war congress under the leadership of Klement Gottwald, at that time—the party shaped the development program of a socialist revolution and of construction of socialism in Czechoslovakia. We are meeting here where traditionally Prague's working people have expressed their solidarity with the struggle of progressive forces in the whole world and where we, many times, and also in the presence of your son Alberto Corvalán, energetically demanded your release and demonstrated support for the struggle of the Chilean people and for the Chilean Communist Party. Millions of working people throughout the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic raised their angry voices when they learned about the fascist putsch in Chile and your imprisonment as well as the imprisonment of communists and other democratically minded Chileans who are faithful to the cause of their people. They followed with concern and anxiety news about your life and health and about your imprisonment in a concentration camp on a frozen island. They also followed closely news of the preparations of a trial by which Pinochet's thugs wanted to get rid of the legitimate representative of the government and a fearless fighter of the resistance movement.
News of your liberation filled every upright man with joy and pride. This news became an encouragement for millions of progressive people in the whole world. Your name has turned into a symbol of the antifascist resistance of the Chilean people and has become an example of moral strength and greatness of a communist and revolutionary. [applause]

Your release, Comrade Luis Corvalan, gives us new impetus for the development of solidarity with the heroic fight of the Chilean people—and the nations of Latin America, Asia and Africa—against imperialism, fascism and racism. Your release gives us great support in the development of a developed socialist society in our country, as laid down for us by the 15th CPCZ Congress. We are implementing the conclusions of the 15th congress with the knowledge that our everyday efforts for further successes in the economic, political and cultural development of our republic also multiply the great international mission of socialism.

Comrades, the release of Comrade Luis Corvalan is, beyond a doubt, a victory for the international solidarity of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in the entire world. It also confirms the fact that the forces of socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, has had the decisive impact upon the development of international relations. The imperialist circles were forced to take this step, in releasing you. Their attempts so far to organize a trial not only with the representatives of the Communist Party of Chile, but also with the party as a whole, have suffered a decisive political as well as moral defeat. We see in this victory firm evidence of the strength of proletarian internationalism, which finds firm and powerful support in the Soviet Union and in the community of the socialist states. [applause]

For this reason, our rally today is also a manifestation of the people of Prague for international solidarity with all oppressed peoples, and we would like to assure you, Comrade Corvalan, that in us, all Chilean communists, all Chilean democrats and all the Chilean people have loyal allies and international brothers. [applause]

Since the times of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the class character and active unity of all parts of the international workers' and communist movement have been expressed by the famous slogan: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" Under the current conditions of the implementation of proletarian internationalism, it is necessary to bring together in all ways the major revolutionary forces of our epoch—the world socialist system, the working class in the capitalist countries, and the national liberation movement. Gustav Husak, general secretary of our party, stressed at the 15th CPCZ Congress that international solidarity is the most reliable weapon of the working class in its struggle for social and national liberation. For this reason, we support international solidarity. In our view, true revolutionaries cannot act otherwise. In this broad movement of the internationalist fraternity there is an enormous strength which is capable of asserting a notable influence on the world reactionary circles.
The Chilean comrades are in the best position to assess the strength of this solidarity, and we, too, can testify to this effect. The more we are aware of the importance of proletarian internationalism and firm alliance with the Soviet Union [sentence interrupted by applause].

Today in particular, in the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—the first victorious proletarian revolution which shook the capitalist world and started a new era in the world development, in which the historic birth of the socialist system became an example and a hope for the oppressed and enslaved, but also a cause of insane hate of international capital [as heard]—the Great October is a source and inspiration for all liberation, democratic and revolutionary movements which determine social progress. Sixty years of building socialism confirms the truth and current validity of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism by means of which the Russian proletariat became victorious 60 years ago and with which the Soviet people, led by its Communist Party of the Soviet Union, successfully builds a socialist and communist society. It is also being confirmed by our experiences and successes which we have achieved in the development of our socialist society. That is why we express, in the spirit of the legacy of the Great October, our determination to further strengthen the brotherhood of all communist and workers' parties, the community of socialist countries and the unity of the internationalist cooperation with the Soviet Union in the struggle for social progress and world peace. [applause]

Esteemed Comrades! We all have a vivid memory of the progressive and democratic course which had been inaugurated in Chile after the elections of 1970. In 1970, for the first time in Chilean history, there was created a government in which there were no representatives of the financial oligarchy and exponents of powerful monopolies. The orientation of the Communist Party, of President Allende and of the Government of Popular Unity, aimed at gradual democratic and socialist changes in the country, aroused fierce hatred of the internal and foreign reaction. Imperialism did not lose in Chile just an enormous wealth of copper mines but, after the victory of the Cuban revolution, Chile became another shining beacon of the struggle for freedom, for a second liberation in Latin America and for the final independence of the continent. That is why against the regime of popular power ceaseless attacks were waged, ranging from economic embargo to sabotage, subversion and murders, up to counterrevolution. When, on 11 September 1973, Pinochet and his generals carried out a counterrevolutionary putsch, betrayed and murdered the constitutionally elected president—Salvador Allende—and set up a fascist government, they wanted to destroy forever the hopes of the Chilean people for a better life.

Under the pretext of upholding freedom, democracy and human rights, they trampled the constitution, dissolved the parliament, banned political parties and the United Trade Union Center. They built dozens of concentration camps, prisons and torture chambers. The junta restored the traditional privileges of the international big capital and foreign monopolies which today plunder the wealth of this beautiful country.
Working people in Chile today are again unable to participate in the government of the country and in the management of the economy. They are not allowed to be organized in trade unions, and they have lost the right to work. Under the fascist junta, only one right is left to the Chilean working people, the right to die of starvation and to be exploited by the monopolies. The events in Chile have become an important experience for the international working class movement. These events have proved again that imperialism and its allies do not hesitate in the least to crush democracy and national sovereignty. They do so as soon as they are convinced that their class privileges and profits are at stake. Fascism in Chile has exposed its face, as we know it from the time of the Nazi occupation. It is fascism which claimed victims from among the best people of our Communist Party, which so bestially killed the people of Lidice, and which was getting ready for the total destruction of our capital city. In Chile, fascism still reins. Every night, Pinochet's gestapo arrests people in their apartments. People are dissappearing without the slightest trace.

We declare that we shall never stop our solidarity which must lead to the release of all political prisoners; to the smashing of Pinochet's gestapo [applause]; to an explanation about the fate of the missing comrades, Victor Diaz, Carlos Lorca, Ricardo Lagos and others and to the restoration of democratic and constitutional rights. Pinochet is not the first one to undertake it as his goal to destroy the Communist Party, to put an end to progressive views and to uproot the idea of the total liberation of Chile; but his plans, just as the plans of his predecessors, are doomed to failure. In 1970, Chile set out along the path of consistent anti-imperialist and antioligarchic changes, a path of strengthening its national independence and complete sovereignty. This was noted at the Conference of Communist Parties of the Latin American Countries, which was held in Havana in 1975. The historic results achieved by the government of people's unity, led by Salvador Allende, have been forever engraved in the memory of the entire progressive mankind. They have become a testimony of the fight for the national liberation of Latin American peoples, a fight which constitutes an inseparable part of mankind's endeavor for final liberation and for the end of exploitation and oppression. And so, the fight waged by the Chilean people against the fascist murderers is also our own fight. Progressive or reactionary, this is the decisive class question which divides the world in the ideological fight. However tragic and difficult the times now experienced by the Chilean people are and however complicated and difficult the path for the Communist Party in regaining political power over the bourgeoisie is, we have no doubts, not even for a moment, that the present bloody episode in the Chilean history—the history of the fascist rein of terror—is nothing more than an episode.

The fascist night in Chile cannot and shall not last forever. Despite terror, they were unable to, and did not, crush the longing of the Chilean people for freedom. The Chilean Communist Party is not only alive, but it is fighting. Salvador Allende's Socialist Party is working by its side.
All the parties of the Unidad Popular are working under conditions of deep illegality and are creating the nucleus of antifascist resistance. We do not doubt for one moment that the Chilean people, led by [passage indistinct] giving lessons in human rights. This internal and international reaction has overestimated its forces and has chosen an adversary that is too strong for it. This adversary is the entire democratically and socialist thinking Chilean people, who realized that they can live better, more freely and more dignified without a system of exploitation. An irreconcilable adversary is the entire progressive mankind which has come to know the revolting face of fascism, and that is why it sympathizes so profoundly with the heroic Chilean people. Capitalism with a fascist face has no firm ground under its feet, because it lacks a broad social foundation and relies on the bayonets of professional murderers who are prepared to do anything for money. In a world where for 60 years a socially just system has been in existence, where the government of the working people, freedom, democracy and humanism are not mere empty concepts, but reality, fascist-dictatorial regimes are a kind of anachronism which arouses the justified indignation and revulsion of every honest person.

Despite all financial assistance from abroad and cruel terror at home, the persecution of patriots and punitive expeditions, despite all the campaigns directed against fundamental liberties [passage indistinct].

Lies cannot overcome the truth; neither can oppression eradicate freedom nor can fascism eliminate democracy. Soon the country will emerge from this darkness, from this decline. No force has been found in the past or in the present to silence the Chilean people for long and crush the revival trends in society. [applause]

Yes, comrades, there is no force capable of arresting progress. That is why we are wholeheartedly, in our minds and by our deeds, behind the heroic Chilean people. That is why we profoundly respect and extend our entire internationalist support to their just struggle. [applause]

The Chilean people have in practice become aware of the mendacious character of the counterrevolutionary forces which, under the Unidad Popular Government, pretended to be democratic, invoked the law, the constitution, cultural traditions and human liberties, only to trample them underfoot immediately afterwards and resort to fascist dictatorship. We can see that campaigns are nowadays being unleashed against the socialist countries, abusing the question of human rights. These campaigns poison the favorable international atmosphere and denigrate everything that has been achieved after Helsinki for further progress on the road to peace and security in Europe and in the world.

The events in Chile warn against fascist recidivism, against the efforts of reactionary imperialist forces to return development to the days of the cold war. That is why the tireless endeavors of the Soviet Union for the
gradual enforcement of a policy of peaceful coexistence, for a world without wars and armaments, for detente and for peaceful cooperation, are accepted not just by our working people but by all progressive people as the only sensible option of a happy future for all mankind. [applause]

Comrades, the fact that the process of an anti-imperialist and antioligarchic revolution, pursued by the Unidad Popular Government, was interrupted by counterrevolution is only temporary. World developments are irrepresibly advancing in a different direction than that desired by fascist juntas and their protectors.

Capitalist society and its system are going through a profound political, economic, social and moral crisis. The successes of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and all the socialist countries are multiplying the attraction of the ideals of socialism, not only for the working class in the capitalist states but also for the broad mass of the people in the developing countries. That is why we are convinced that in the not too distant future, as President Salvador Allende said in his last speech, the mass of the working people and the Chilean people will march through the jubilant streets of the towns of Chile. [applause]

Our admiration goes out to their struggle. We have always been and shall remain in solidarity with them. [applause]

Glory to the Chilean people and their vanguard, the Chilean Communist Party, headed by the courageous revolutionary, Comrade Luis Corvalan. [applause, loud cheers]
CORVALAN ACCUSES CARTER OF INCONSISTENCY ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 May 77 p 1 AU

[PRAVDA interview with Luis Corvalan, given in Bratislava on 16 May]

[Excerpt] [Question] Gus Hall, CPUSA general secretary, has written to President James Carter that since he has been showing such great concern for the observance of human rights, it would be a good idea to have a talk about these things with you. Would you go to the White House?

[Answer] I can go anywhere, I am interested in going everywhere, and I can even talk with the Pope, when the gaining of any profit for the rights of the Chileans or any other nation in the world is involved.

However, I see in this proposal, in the CPUSA initiative, for which I am warmly grateful, above all a manifestation of solidarity and efforts to push Mr Carter to the wall, Mr Carter who talks so much about human rights, but who is fairly inconsistent when, for example, practical application in connection with the policy toward my country is involved. I am not going to succumb to the illusion that Mr Carter would give a positive answer to the U.S. communists.

CSO: 2400
HANUS EXPLAINS FUNCTIONING OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Prague RUDÉ PRAVO in Czech 28 Apr 77 p 3

[Article by Bohumil Hanus, CSR deputy minister of the interior: "Such Is Our Democracy"]

[Text] As we can see for ourselves, there exist most diverse ideas of democracy in the world at the present time. In the states of the Western world, which like to call themselves the countries of "true democracy," millions of people can look for jobs quite "democratically," but in vain, as we can see in our immediate neighborhood—the FRG. They can be quite "freely" killed by bullets, as it happens in Northern Ireland. Under the pressure of the bourgeoisie, a "democratic majority" in fact passes laws for oppression of the people, who do not want to be "democratically" satisfied with hunger and misery.

Our ideas about democracy are indeed different. Yes, we have, press for and practice socialist democracy which has a class substance every day. It is a democracy of our working people who together create the values of our common life.

Every citizen of our fatherland can see for himself that the socialist society really safeguards people's rights and exercise of democracy. He finds every day that our democracy is the democracy of all working people and for all working people.

Our people, however, is not a mere "recipient and consumer" of values, guarantees and securities. They themselves create them and decide on their practical application. They are, indeed, an active factor in the formulation, implementation and control of policies in our state. Socialist democracy represents the decisive way of building a new society which is based on the liberation of labor and social and national justice.

A long article would be required to examine in detail the democratic features of our entire political system and to fully analyze all aspects of our
democracy. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the description of the status, jurisdiction and activities of national committees because through them the rule of the people in the state is translated into the reality in every community, every okres and every kraj every day.

We have a total of 5,416 national committees in the CSR. Of this total there are 4,884 local, 426 municipal, 13 district, 85 okres and 8 kraj national committees. Our citizens elected 134,961 deputies to these bodies. They also set up 12,168 citizens' committees as the most important aktivs of national committees. They have 137,053 members. There will be more of them after the election of new citizens' committees. In the commissions and other aktivs of national committees 187,452 citizens work together with the deputies. Altogether this is almost half a million people who directly determine the development in the communities, administer citizens' affairs and decide on meeting their needs. In addition, all citizens who want to do so help them in this work. Can any country in the West boast of such a mass participation of the people?

The essential point, of course, is what the national committees decide, what measures they take and what they administer. There are, for example, schools, health care, social welfare, culture, local economy including the services to the population, construction of apartments and their repair, beautification of new housing projects and of communities, protection of environment and so on: The organizations which operate in these sectors and which are managed and administered by the national committees themselves employ almost 1 million people. National committees control a third of the state budget's expenditures.

Not only political, legal and social, but also economic conditions have been created to enable the national committees to perform their role as organs of all people, to take care of their needs and to further improve their living conditions.

In order to be able to learn about the citizens' experiences and needs, in order to be able to consult the largest possible number of people and to win over the broadest masses of the population to cooperation, the national committees establish and cultivate permanent, systematic and functional contact with people. This contact is maintained by the deputies, commissions, other organs, aktivs, particularly citizens' committees, advisory bodies and various work commissions and collectives. It is precisely there that new ideas are born about the development of cities and villages, new housing projects, hospitals, schools, transportation and trade networks, expansion of services to the population and measures for the improvement of life environment and of general conditions for people's life. Not only that: National committees confer with the citizens at public assemblies and meetings and systematically cooperate with the organs and organizations of the National Front and other organs and organizations in their territorial districts. This contact is not formal, however. Citizens' suggestions are taken into consideration and the feasible ones are translated into the reality.
The amount of money which the national committees manage is over 38 billion korunas and their organs decide on how to spend these funds purposefully and for the benefit of the society. In other words, it is the ordinary citizens selected by the people who make decisions with the participation of the general public. Naturally, the present possibilities of the national economy are the limit. People know that it depends upon them, upon their work what the society can offer them. The working people in the West cannot even imagine something like that!

A significant proof of the effect of this close relationship between the national committees and citizens on the satisfaction of the citizens' needs is the preparation and implementation of the election programs of the National Front. Their drafts were discussed with a large body of citizens and incorporated the citizens' suggestions. People together with the citizens judged what was realizable and what purpose it would serve. The fact that people in their drafting could see that their needs and proposal were being taken into account, that considerable thought was given to the way in which these suggestions could be carried out, and that their content was a matter with which all citizens were concerned motivated them to unequivocally elect the proposed candidates as the deputies of the national committees; to wit they regarded these candidates as a guarantee that the approved election programs would be carried out.

Our socialist democracy has another important aspect. Through the representative bodies—the national committees—people not only propose what should be done, which problems should be solved and how the general conditions should be improved. They also affirm that they themselves will take care of certain problems voluntarily, in their free time. This, in fact, is the essential feature of our "Z" beautification campaign, in the course of which the people carries out projects worth billions of korunas every year.

This initiative lasting already a number of years does not show a declining trend. On the contrary, the CSR citizens created and constructed within the "Z" campaign in the course of last year alone: 159 kindergartens, 463 sales outlets, 13 basic 9-year schools, 44 youth centers, 35 school cafeterias, 45 workshops for polytechnical training, 42 gymnasiums, 63 health centers, 78 social centers, 133 educational facilities, 349 waiting rooms for buses, 114 fire houses and a number of other establishments. They built more than 683 water supply lines, 500 km of sewers, 246 playgrounds for children, 171 sports fields and 725 km of local roads. Almost 2 million square meters of green areas were planted in our cities and villages. The values created within the "Z" campaign in the CSR during the 1971-1975 period exceeded Kcs7 billion.

These figures also are an illustrative and convincing proof that the socialist society has its intrinsic and constantly replenishing resources in the people's creative activity inspired by socialist democracy. Our democracy
is an active force in the development of the society. It not only proclaims, but also guarantees and generalizes the people's rights and the satisfaction of its needs.

At the present time, our citizens participate in one of the acts which likewise is the expression of the permanent links of the national committees with the people, a manifestation of people's active participation in the management of the society: They elect from among themselves citizens' committees which perform unique, valuable work; in particular, these aktivs convey the citizens' suggestions to the national committees, recommend solutions to various problems, comment on the citizens' demands and submit concrete proposals for their settlement. All this eventually results in the construction of the new kindergartens and nurseries, new bus stops, improvements in sales, transportation and so on. Citizens' committees act here as mediators of social regulations of needs with the result that the problems are not solved haphazardly, but in accordance with the social usefulness and benefit.

And what can the "autonomy" of cities and communities so extolled in the West boast of? Of corruption in administering city affairs, of bribes paid to the employees, of shady real estate deals, and so on and on. People are only an object which is manipulated. They are used as a camouflage to cover up the illegal decisions of "city administrations" which even the bourgeois press cannot pass over in silence.

Our national committees are also the guardians supervising the observance of socialist legality: of legal order and the observance of citizens' and organizations' rights. They promote in people respect for laws; they educate them in their observance and see to it that the rules of socialist coexistence are not violated. The settlement of complaints is regulated by law in our country, and by its content and impact constitutes an important part of public control over the observance of principles and norms of socialist democracy. Even the state apparatus is controlled by the elected representative bodies which see to it that state employees defend the interests of the entire society and make decisions in citizens' affairs in accordance with the legal order, with full responsibility and necessary competence. The people is well aware of the fact that the laws are approved by the representative bodies for its own benefit, for the beneficial development of the society. For this reason, the national committees, as the organs of the people, have the right and duty to see that they are observed.

The development of the socialist society gives rise to new problems every day. Even the most talented individual cannot cope with them alone. The collective decisionmaking, therefore, is a direct manifestation of our socialist democracy. For this reason, the national committees regard it as an obligatory rule that all their decisions of greater importance must be collectively examined thoroughly and from all aspects in advance, in order to find the best possible solution for the benefit of the people and of the society. For this reason, they consult people on the proposed measures to find out what they think of them.
Socialist democracy in our country is indeed a matter which involves all citizens. This is confirmed also by the fact that there are 39,516 women and 51,405 young people below 35 years of age among the deputies of the national committees in the CSR alone. More and more women fill responsible positions. There are 7,871 of them in the national committee councils. Of this number 198 are chairwomen, 289 deputy chairwomen and 909 secretaries. Moreover, it is in the interest of all people that the best individuals be in the representative bodies and wisely govern on behalf of the people and with the people. We, therefore, respect the people in our country who by their uncompromising advocacy of society's interests translate the rules of socialist democracy into reality. For this reason we naturally require that the deputies be interested in and appreciate new approaches and new solutions and be attentive to people, their troubles and needs. How are these qualities, on the other hand, treated in the states which claim the attribute of "true" democracy for themselves?

We are justly proud of the results which we have achieved in the development of socialist democracy. We are not, however, satisfied with them. Our ideas and intentions about further consolidation of socialist democracy have a completely realistic basis. We have not only the tendency to make a constantly increasing number of people participate in the decisions on further development of the society. We have also concrete goals which we want to attain in improving the relations between people and their representative organs. Due to the Communist Party as the leading force in our society, the forms and methods of socialist democracy will develop in harmony with the developmental needs of the entire society also in the future.

The national committees will in cooperation with the citizens continue to attack the problems of a better satisfaction of their needs. They will, for example, apply modern methods of efficiency to public and common catering. They will expand services which raise the housing standard, facilitate the household chores of working women and improve the living conditions of families. In accordance with the ideas of the socialist way of life, they will make transportation more comfortable, use of services and shopping in general easier and improve the living environment. Under their organizational care new apartments will be constructed (640,000 of them for 2.5 million people during the Sixth Five-Year Plan) and health care, the educational system, recreation and so on will further improve.

As an important means of systematic implementation of socialist democracy, the national committees purposefully create an atmosphere which enables and promotes the desirable search for new forms of people's participation in the management of the state and of the society. The goal is clear and comprehensible to all: to further consolidate people's securities and their confidence in the socialist system, and to create additional conditions for a creative exercise of socialist democracy for the benefit of the society and for the benefit of the people.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECHOSLOVAK–SWISS POLITICAL TALKS HELD IN PRAGUE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 77 p 2 AU

[CTK report: "The Czechoslovak–Swiss Political Consultations Concluded"]

[Text] From 16 to 18 May Czechoslovak–Swiss political talks were conducted in Prague. They concerned the preparation of the Belgrade Conference of the participants in the CSCE and other multilateral and bilateral issues.

The Czechoslovak delegation was headed by CSSR deputy foreign minister Dusan Spacil and the Swiss delegation by Dr Albert Weitnauer, general secretary of the Political Department. The talks passed in a constructive spirit.

Dr Albert Weitnauer was received by Frantisek Krajcir, first deputy foreign minister acting for the CSSR foreign minister, and he also was received by deputy foreign trade minister Jaroslav Jakubec on behalf of the CSSR foreign trade minister. The talks were also attended by Walter Jaeggi, ambassador of the Swiss confederation to the CSSR.

On Thursday general secretary Dr A. Weitnauer departed Prague accompanied by Dr Hansjoerg Renke, deputy chief of the political secretariat.

CSO: 2400
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JAN HUSAK DISCUSSES 1978 YOUTH FESTIVAL

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 20, 21 Apr '77

[Interview with Jan Husak, secretary of the Union of Socialist Youth Central Committee by Josef Vesely during a recess of 3d session of the International Committee for the Organization of the 11th World Youth and Students Festival, at the Habana Libre Hotel, Havana: "The Youth and the World"; no date given]

[20 Apr '77, p 4]

[Text] Our guest is a member of the Presidium and the secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Socialist Youth, Jan Husak, [who is also] secretary of the Czech national committee for the organization of the 11th World Youth and Students Festival. The discussant is Josef Vesely.

[Question] Because our interview took place during a recess in discussions at the 3d session of the international committee for the organization of the 11th World Youth and Students Festival--on the 22d floor of the Habana Libre Hotel, from where in the reflection of the tropical sun one could observe most of the places where, in 15 months, the world youth will meet--the first question logically pertained to the meaning of the festival slogan: For anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship.

[Answer] This broad slogan which was formulated at the last festival in Berlin really can unite most of the young generation of our planet in one simple idea--regardless of its political, philosophical or religious convictions. The idea of the festival was expressed in this fundamental sense first of all so that boys and girls could meet on such a broad platform at all. As a matter of fact, the youth of the world does not have any General Assembly of the UN, and the young people usually do not have much opportunity even for international contacts. A comparison may be found perhaps only in the Olympic Games or the Universiada which, of course, are reserved for the top athletes.
[Question] In addition to that very broad festival idea, however, we may find certain young people's groups in the international youth movement which are closer to one another than to others.

[Answer] Certainly. It is logical that with young workers fighting for their basic rights in the capitalist world we meet not only on the platform of the struggle for peace and friendship but also of the struggle for social progress. On the other hand, certain groups have excluded themselves from any cooperation: the neofascist, Trotskyite, Maoists and ultrarightwing organizations. Of course, the very extent of the festival which is being organized in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship condemned them and their revanchist, adventurous political aims.

Thus, understandably we shall seek even further cooperation with those young people in the world with whom we have something in common—first of all, those who are standing with us on the same side of the barricade in the class struggle on an international scale: the workers, farmers and students. The youth of socialist Czechoslovakia is bound by the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress, which also will be incorporated by our 2d Congress of the Union of Socialist Youth of the CSSR this September in its program for the next period in the area of economy and ideology as well as in the sphere of international activity.

Therefore, in the spirit of the party policy the international activity of the Union of Socialist Youth has assigned and will give in the future clearcut priority to the development of cooperation with those youth organizations anywhere in the world which are the reserve of the communist and workers' parties and whose policy is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

[Question] If we depart from that wider framework, are even higher standards achieved by our cooperation with the youth from the fraternal socialist states?

[Answer] Naturally, that is the basis for our international activity. We are participating with our closest friends in the policy of the parties and governments of our countries in the spirit of socialist internationalism, which means primarily striving for greater friendship among the nations of the socialist community and expanding their broad cooperation. The Union of Socialist Youth concluded, for instance, an agreement for long-term cooperation with the Leninist Komsomol, valid until 1980, which was signed in Prague during the visit by Comrade J. M. Tiazhelnikov, first secretary of the Leninist Youth Communist League of the USSR; similar agreement with other fraternal youth unions are in existence or in the works as well.

[Question] Has this quality of relations been reflected also by common ventures in the international area?
Unquestionably. On the basis of the progressive youth movement, coordination is not only necessary, but I would say, even absolutely unavoidable. For one thing, it offers us excellent opportunities for an exchange of valuable experience—some movements have more contacts, others have less. And what is even more important, we are involved in the same common thing, the support of the historical peace program of the 24th CPSU Congress which was further developed last year at the 25th congress of Soviet Communists and which was adopted also by other fraternal communist parties in the conclusion of their congresses, including our 15th CPCZ Congress.

An important moment from the viewpoint of the international youth movement must be the fact that the peace policy of the USSR and other socialist countries, just as all our common motives for a constructive international cooperation, is attracting the young generation of every country, regardless of its political system. How is that reflected in our international activity?

One must bear in mind that every initiative aimed at the fulfillment of this peace program, whether the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in 1975 or the disarmament negotiations at the United Nations and elsewhere, stirred the natural interest of the young people all over the world, regardless of their political, philosophical or religious convictions. Such an interest stems from the fact that the problems of peace—eliminating dangerous focal points of tensions, ending the hectic arms race—are touching directly upon the fate of each member of our generation, a generation which has not experienced any world war and does not intend to sacrifice its life's desires, ideals and plans for some future even disastrous destruction. And, therefore, we have found it much easier to meet on a common platform here than anywhere else. Without any hesitation we may offer our hand to those young people in the capitalist world or developing countries who are prepared to translate into reality the ideas of peace and disarmament together with us, to oppose vehemently those forces which are obstructing the way to the relaxation of international tensions. This was what Comrade L. I. Brezhnev demanded again urgently in his recent address before the 16th congress of the Soviet labor unions.

And if we and our partners in a wide spectrum of the youth movements shall agree about the struggle against the war and arms race—and I am certain that no soberly thinking young person can be a proponent of mankind's annihilation—we can certainly agree also about the demands for a development of a constructive international cooperation.

The European Youth Conference on Disarmament will be meeting in November of this year in Budapest. I believe that it will be one of our specific contributions toward the implementation of policies of the socialist countries, especially of the USSR, aimed toward the abolition of the threat of war from the people's life.
Indeed, that is one of the conclusions of the so-called Helsinki youth conference which took place in Warsaw last year. Even before that, the Union of Socialist Youth Central Committee will organize in Czechoslovakia an internationally attended seminar concerning that problem. On that occasion we do not intend to stress so much the contribution made by the Czechoslovak youth to this endeavor but rather the fact that we have—even in view of our republic's location at the crossroads of the world of capitalism and the world of socialism in the center of Europe—quite a special interest in complete fulfillment of Soviet proposals concerning disarmament as well as in common proposals made by socialist countries concerning measures leading to military relaxation.

On the other hand, the progressive youth of West Europe itself is organizing mass actions against the increasing military budgets, in support of disarmament, against dragging their countries into NATO's aggressive plans.

The youth in the capitalist countries is arguing very vehemently against the arms race policy. Rightfully it says: Funds for our education are being cut; there is a scarcity of job opportunities; the social welfare budget is being reduced—yet more and more dollars, pounds, marks, schillings, guldens and francs are being spent for arms and armies. By the way, in this context a few words on the role of public opinion. We, the young people of Czechoslovakia, not mentioning the Soviet Union, do not need to address our governments with our demands for an active approach to disarmament: Actually, in recent years just the USSR submitted about 80 specific proposals for the limitation of the arms race, and the Czechoslovak delegates at the United Nations also have been very active on other occasions in that direction. On the contrary, the West European youth must act so as to exert necessary pressures on their governments, because the politicians there—not all of them and not always—are opposing the proposals for military reductions. The military-industrial groups in the United States, GFR and other countries are extremely interested in keeping their profits and still remain very influential. So much more strongly must, therefore, sound the voice of the progressive public, and of the youth most of all.

It may be correct to speak now about the cooperation of the Union of Socialist Youth with those progressive international organizations whose founding members we are—by which I mean the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Students Union.

As the representatives of the young generation of the socialist Czechoslovakia, which unambiguously belongs in the dynamically developing socialist community, we are playing a very significant role there. We are striving decisively as we shall strive in the future for the Czechoslovak youth's active contribution to the development of the progressive international youth movement. I do not mean the question of material aid only but rather its political aspect. We know, for instance, that certain
Attempts have been made on the part of the West to isolate our country internationally. However, just as the role, authority and prestige of the CSSR have grown in general international relations, we are making similar progress in this area as well.

[Question] The scope of the international activity of the Central Committee of the Union of Socialist Youth is very broad. Our contacts with youth organizations of the developing world also have been expanding recently. Could you mention some more specific reasons for that?

[Answer] We are proceeding first of all from the policy of our party whose indivisible part is its solidarity with the people's national liberation movements and its support for the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid. This is the basic consideration. Otherwise I also can say from my own experience that young people in numerous developing countries are expecting from us, most of all, our experience in building a new life. They are undergoing a transition from deep colonialism through various forms of neocolonialism to a search for a way from their national liberation to a social liberation, to a genuine independence from international monopolies and imperialism.

Let us take Angola, for example. Thanks to international solidarity, that country has recently freed itself from Portugal's colonialism and now is already installing a socialist development program. Or on the other hand—Namibia which is dominated by the South African racist regime and still awaiting its liberation, just as are the nations of Zimbabwe and some others.

By the way, in the question of the struggle waged by the South African peoples against racism and apartheid—as well as in the question of peace and disarmament—the international youth movement also can find a common language in support of that just struggle. We do not need to generate solidarity by artificial means. It is being created spontaneously in face of the danger which stems from all mankind from the criminal policy of racism.

That problem resembles the one of the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam. As we have supported the nations of Indochina in their just fight for the preservation of their national independence, we intend to render them the necessary support also in their peaceful reconstruction.

Another factor motivating our solidarity with the Third World countries is the no less dangerous phenomenon appearing particularly in Latin America—fascism. We know it best from Chile when even today people are disappearing in the streets and the agents of the secret police DINA [National Intelligence Department] are dragging them away to concentration camps. The youth's international solidarity which among other things brought about the release of Gladys Marin, secretary general of the Communist Youth of Chile, is still relevant, so much more so since terror and arbitrariness are affecting also the young people of Uruguay, Paraguay, Guatemala and other South American countries.
It may be proper to mention also that our solidarity has not been demonstrated solely in moral and political forms but also as material aid which is already traditionally connected with the preparations for the festival. What role has the Solidarity Fund played here, for instance?

Because in conversations with the young people in our country I have met with that question quite frequently, I should like to explain in greater detail this concern. The purpose of the fund is, I believe, quite self-evident on the general level. It renders material assistance to progressive youth movements in the world, if such an aid is needed. Contributions for the Solidarity Fund are raised on a completely voluntary basis, which fact I wish to emphasize. From the kraj and okres committees or from basic Union of Socialist Youth organizations it is collected by the Central Committee whose presidium is the only organ making decisions on the uses of the fund. This is decided collectively so that the purpose of the funds spent be always thoroughly considered in the political respect.

What specifically is obtained with that money?

For instance, musical instruments, sports needs, typewriters and mimeographs primarily for the needs of our young comrades in less developed countries; however, it also included the equipment for the Pioneer House in Hanoi. Furthermore, for example, in certain justified cases we pay for airplane tickets for comrades from organizations which are lacking sufficient funds.

With that is connected the question of the actual amount of money which we have in the Solidarity Fund.

The amount changes because contributions are always coming in and disbursed again; in general it amounts to several million korunas. And exactly in connection with the preparations for the 11th World Youth and Students Festival in Cuba in 1978 we presume that, as concerns the Solidarity Fund, the activity of our boys and girls from enterprises and schools will be further expanded because you yourself attended the 3d session of its international organizational conference and heard there that those questions were among the most discussed concerns.

Of course, in view of the fact that the festival will be held this time for the first time across the ocean, far from the places where the young Africans and Asians are living and working under difficult circumstances, it is logical that more material assistance will be needed than, for instance, in Berlin in 1973.

I should say many times more. However, I would like to mention that the idea to hold the festival in Cuba was a very fortunate one because socialist Cuba will simultaneously represent our entire community.
[Question] At the same time, however, neither the Cuban comrades, as the hosts to the festival, nor other socialist countries would want to organize here some artificial display of socialism for those glorious 9 days in the summer of next year.

[Answer] Of course not! It will not be necessary at all to paint the achievements of the new social system in rosy colors. Our Cuban comrades will be able to show the delegates of the youth from all over the world the real life of America's first socialist country and, indirectly, also the life in socialist countries on other continents, such as it really is—with a high standard of health care, social welfare, without unemployment, with its happy young people who have the guarantee of a still happier future. We do respect the entirely realistic approach of our Cuban comrades to the organization of the festival, especially as it concerns its material and organizational parts—without expensive single-purpose investments which after all are not necessary. The attractive dormitories in schools and pioneer camps which are now serving or will be serving their purpose even after the festival will surely be satisfactory also to the delegates from all over the world.

[Question] Let us go back once more to the results of the 3d meeting of the international organizational committee here in Havana which you have attended as the leader of the Czechoslovak delegation.

[Answer] I am convinced that the meeting has fulfilled its purpose. Fundamental questions pertaining to the organization and program of the festival have been clarified. Last but not least, also its date was approved, i.e., from 23 July to 5 August 1978, when the Cuban comrades will be celebrating the 25th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada garrison in Santiago de Cuba, by which the path to the fundamental social transformations on the island was started under the leadership of the then still very youthful attorney Fidel Castro, now the leading representative of the Cuban party and state. The importance attributed in Cuba to the festival has been stressed also by the fact that Fidel Castro heads also the national organizational committee.

Our delegation took the opportunity of the meetings themselves as well as of numerous bilateral meetings to inform the representatives of youth organization from all over the world about the activities of the Czechoslovak national organizational committee and about the ways which will reflect the prefestival activity in the daily life of our young people. This year it is naturally and efficiently connected with the preparations for the 2d congress of the Union of Socialist Youth in the CSSR which is scheduled for next September and whose conclusions will indubitably mean a new, significant impulse to the culmination of our preparations for the festival.
SPECIAL RADIO BROADCASTS AID DRIVERS, TRAFFIC CONTROL

Prague ZAPISNIK in Czech No 6, 1977 pp 44-45

[Interview with Leo Kustos, deputy editor in chief of the editorial board of the armed forces, military affairs and security of Czechoslovak Radio by J. B.: "The Green Wave Aims Across"]

[Text] [Question] A look at the calendar no doubt evokes unsettling feelings for a majority of our motorists. Rapidly the time of regular weekends is approaching, April will again become the traditional month of safety in transportation, and on Friday and Sunday on our highways the great migration from the cities to the country and back will begin. A look at the calendar also reminds us that it will be already a year since the regular theme of the Green Wave began to sound from the radio. Can you give us a brief summary, Comrade Kustos?

[Answer] It was on 26 March of last year at 1400 when on the middle wave frequency of 1070 kHz and on the ultra short wave frequency of 66.83 MHz the theme of the Green Wave was played, which since that time has become on Fridays and Sundays the constant companion of our motorists on the highways of the CSR.

[Question] Naturally, for the time being not all...

[Answer] We began to broadcast on the Zbraslav transmitter with an output of 30 kW. The motorists critically indicated what we also felt—that good audibility of our broadcast is within perhaps only 50 km around Prague. But I will return to this problem again.

With the help of the Czech Ministry of Interior the Green Wave set up cooperation with the kraj administrations of the SNB [National Security Corps], teletype communications with all these administrations and communications with the okres departments of the VB [Public Security] were set up. Thus we gradually assured ourselves of a continuous supply of information on the traffic situation, traffic safety measures and the condition of highway systems. At the same time communications with our editorial office in Bratislava and the sending of general news on the traffic safety situation in Slovakia
were ensured. Furthermore, we welcomed the initiative of the comrades from the Central Customs Administration and the Administration of Passports and Visas of the Federal Ministry of Interior. The result of this initiative was, that we began to obtain information also about situations at the border crossings. During the tourist season some border crossings are literally overcrowded, people wait long hours for processing, without suspecting that at other crossings the situation is perhaps more favorable. We concentrated on operational information from the border crossings into the GDR, Poland and Hungary, and this practice proved itself very well. We will definitely resume it this summer.

[Question] The Green Wave, then, with these exceptions did not go beyond the area around Prague last year?

[Answer] Our editorial office in Bratislava together with our Green Wave began to provide an analogous service for the motoring public under the title "Radio Service of Public Safety." So far, it was not a matter of an independent program, but of short independent entries in the broadcasts of the Bratislava station.

[Question] Motorists are certainly interested now in what kind of surprises you have in store for them this year after the first experiences.

[Answer] Thanks to the understanding of the leadership of the Czechoslovak Radio we have been broadcasting since the beginning of the year with an output of 60 kW and since March even with an output of 110 kW. This output of our transmitters guarantees a much better range of the Green Wave. It is possible that already by the time the readers get this issue of ZAPISNIK the Green Wave will have at its disposal a transmitter in eastern Bohemia with an output of 50 kW. Due to this, our broadcast will be heard well on the middle waves in the area of Krkonose, Central Bohemia, East Bohemia and a part of North Bohemia krajs. Certain difficulties with reception will continue only in western and southern Bohemia.

At the beginning of February we had a conference in Bratislava. We decided to propose to Czechoslovak Radio a trial transmission of a regional Green Wave also for Slovakia under the same conditions as in Bohemia. Beginning 1 July we are planning to ensure the Green Wave on a trial basis for a period of 3 months on the territory of the Slovak Socialist Republic by means of our Bratislava editorial office. We are also building a special independent communications system, so that we will be able to cut into the broadcast of Bratislava from Prague and vice versa. This in particular will be welcomed by motorists who, during vacations, drive across the republic.

We have been preparing a further surprise as of 1 April, as a gift of the VB and Czechoslovak Radio to the drivers of long-distance and international transportation for the commencement of the Safety Month in Transportation. This will be a nation-wide broadcast of the Green Wave. Drivers can listen to it five times a day after the news on the nation-wide Hvezda station.
We want to make 3 to 4 minute reports on highway situations on the territory of the entire CSSR from As to Presov. Furthermore, in cooperation with our foreign broadcasting we are preparing a similar service in four languages in the broadcasts of Inter-program for foreign visitors who are driving in our country.

[Question] Is it possible to expect that the Green Wave will even cross the borders of the CSSR?

[Answer] That is a further innovation which we are preparing, although we have been testing it in part already last year. With comrades from the radio of the GDR, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria we negotiated that they will provide us during the summer tourist season with advice for our motorists in the form of teletype or direct reports. Thus, our tourists driving to the Baltic, the Black Sea, the Adriatic or to leave Bhlaton will find out ahead of time where there are any kind of detours, what the possibilities are of accommodations and where, which camping sites for motorists are full and where there is still room, we will warn also about differences in traffic regulations, it will simply be a series of information which should simplify vacations and make them more pleasant for people, spare them of unnecessary worries, guard against offenses and let them arrive safely.

[Question] Do other foreign radio stations practice in close cooperation with traffic organs such extensive and broadminded aid to motorists?

[Answer] Broadcasts for motorists exist in a number of countries—in Austria, the FRG, France and elsewhere. But not to such an extent and with such an approach as here. For example, in England there is only an occasional information for motorists. In the United States it is more of an advertising affair and only some private stations have taken it up. In France, this idea has broken down because of financing. It can simply be said, that an extensive program devoted to motorists, such as our Green Wave, does not have an analog in the world. We are not concerned with commercial interests, but above all with the safety and education of the people.

[Question] Have you calculated how many people take part in the broadcasting of the Green Wave?

[Answer] The number of people naturally changes in conformity with the intensity of highway traffic. In the summer it is about 800 to 900 people. There are tens of patrol cars, hundreds of radio stations with communications specialists, hundreds of members of the traffic service of the VB and members of the PSVB [Auxiliary Public Security Corps] on cross-roads and highways, at teletypes, pilots on board of helicopters. Our editorial office, which is small: one person acting as the broadcast director and the script writer, three specialists of the VB traffic service, the director, two technicians and two announcers. Nine people. And all motorists should be our main contributors.
[Question] Do you have any interesting experiences directly from the cooperation with motorists?

[Answer] We have a lot, and here are some which illustrate the broad scope of our broadcasting. For example, when employees of Autobazar came to work at 6 o'clock in the morning in one town in Slovakia, they found that someone had stolen their safe with a large amount of money and drove away in a stolen Volga. Immediately they reported the matter to the VB and to our Bratislava editorial office. After authorized approval was given, our Bratislava editorial office announced the search. In 3 hours the car along with the safe were in the hands of VB members.

Toward the end of the year, at the request of the parents and a department of the SNB of one of Prague Districts, the Green Wave announced the search for a 7-year-old girl who was lost. In 2 hours one of our listeners called to tell us that he had found the girl.

[Question] By means of the Green Wave an unprecedented link between the VB traffic organs and the drivers and vice versa occurs. Motorists have occasion to sound various warnings about unusual situations on the highways, give various suggestions and send critical remarks. How do you handle this?

[Answer] We welcome all the information and remarks of motorists. The Green Wave cannot by itself solve the various problems on the highways, but precisely because we are a means of communications, we communicate on the one hand information of the traffic organs of the VB to the drivers and on the other the information and remarks of drivers to the traffic organs of the VB. We pass on other remarks to the highway administrations, transportation enterprises and other institutions. We are also interested in how the remarks of the drivers were treated.

[Question] Could you cite again some examples from practice?

[Answer] Because our broadcast has a traffic educational direction, we recently gave drivers, for example, advice on how to eliminate troubles with windshield wipers. And immediately a number of motorists reacted with critical remarks: "You advise us well, but what is it worth, when for 2 years already we have been hunting in vain for the rubber blades for windshield wipers?" The Green Wave traced the steps and ended up in a production plant, where it thrust the microphone before the comrades and asked them to explain to drivers how they intended to solve the problem. A solution was found and we also broadcasted the point of view of the plant.

In Prague, there were difficulties with the reconstruction of a street. The completion date was constantly being delayed and motorists again turned to us with critical remarks. The Green Wave sped off to said street and held out the microphone to the head workers and workmen of the enterprise which was doing the reconstruction of the street. We found out some interesting things. The comrades at the site assumed obligations, we helped to monitor
them, and began to popularize the results of their good efforts and, finally, the reconstruction of the street was completed 2 months earlier than expected after all.

[Question] In conclusion, it would obviously be useful to give motorists some advice in a nutshell and to summarize the main things that they should remember as contributors to the Green Wave.

[Answer] The first piece of advice is: Tune in the Green Wave even before coming back from the weekend. Even on the smallest transistor radio you can hear us within 100 km of Prague and on efficient receivers or with an outside antenna practically throughout the entire territory of the CSR. You will find out in good time when you should leave for home and what you are actually going to face.

[Question] What about the broadcast time and the frequency?

[Answer] Every Friday from 1400 to 1800. Every Sunday from 1600 to 1930 (beginning on 1 May from 1700-2030). The frequency is 1070 kHz on the middle waves, that is, 280.6 m; and 66.83 MHz on the ultra short waves.

[Question] How can motorists contact the Green Wave directly?

[Answer] By calling the number 2115, extension 360 or 612 during the broadcasts. They can write to the address: The Green Wave, Czechoslovak Radio, Prague.

[Question] In conclusion, would you like to give a message to the hundreds of thousands of our motorists?

[Answer] They should understand that they are the co-creators of our broadcast. Without contact with them our efforts would be in vain. The Green Wave is proof of what attention the pertinent organs are devoting here to the safety of the people. From our broadcast studio we would like to help people return from weekends content, rested, safely, easily and in a good mood, with which they should return to their jobs the next working day.

7807
CSO: 2400
[Text] Alcoholism. It already has far too many black marks to its account. And in many respects its "balance sheet" has an ever rising tendency. We know about it. We know that it is holding back an even more rapid development of our society, that it is impairing socialist communal life, that it is causing great social, economic, moral and health damage. And in spite of this, we have not succeeded in achieving more marked successes in the duel with this liquid peril. Excessive consumption of alcoholic drinks is also one of the main causes of crime. The number of punishable offenses committed under the influence of alcohol has not been declining, on the contrary, it has been increasing. We are paying dearly for ignoring this serious problem, for being indifferent to it, for the irresponsibility and the non-fulfillment of fundamental duties. It is startling that one does not even consistently proceed against those who serve alcoholic drinks to minors, persons under 18, against those who knowingly violate our laws. And such cases are not isolated. In more than one restaurant, saloon—or better said—joint, they are a matter of course. This often happens before the eyes of fathers and national committee officials. Data about the prosecution of such saloon keepers, barkeepers and waiters are ridiculous, but only at first glance. And they should not be. After all, we have a law forbidding the serving of alcoholic drinks to minors. The penal code contains provisions about prosecution. Article 218 says: He who serves alcoholic drinks to persons under 18 regularly or in greater quantities will be deprived of his freedom for up to 1 year. So much for the letter of the law. And what is the reality like? In 1974 the courts in the Slovak Socialist Republic punished one person (!) for failure to observe the law; last year there were "already" nine persons. Even if the state treasury receives no small amounts from the sale of alcoholic drinks, our society pays dearly for it. Each citizen should realize this. And when someone does not respect the law, he must suffer for it.
NEW WRITERS UNION BUREAU--The new Writers Union Council, composed of 91 members, elected the bureau of the union in its first plenary session. The bureau is composed of 27 members. George Macovescu was elected chairman of the Union of Writers; Constantin Chirita, Laurentiu Fulga, Dumitru Radu Popescu, Marin Preda, Franz Storch, and Andras Suto, vice chairmen; Geza Domokos and Ion Hobana, secretaries; and Alexandru Balaci, George Balaita, Ana Blandiana, Geo Bogza, Radu Boureanu, Zoe Dumitrescu-Busulenga, Ovid S. Crohmalniceanu, Mircea Dinescu, Anghel Dumbraveanu, Geo Dumitrescu, Eugen Jebeleanu, Lajos Letay, Mircea Malita, Ioanichie Olteanu, Octavian Paler, Nichita Stanescu, Constantin Toiu, and Ion Vlad, members. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 May 77 p 4]
NEED FOR DETENTE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

Skopje SABOTA (weekly supplement to NOVA MAKEDONIJA) in Macedonian
9 Apr 77 p 6

[Article by Sveto Serafimov: "Detente in the Mediterranean as Well"]

[Text] By virtue of its geographic position as a link among several continents and straits which shorten routes and are of great strategic value, the Mediterranean has always been a sea in which all major world powers have been interested, as a result of which it has not been bypassed by conflicts. Today oil-rich countries, in whose raw material everyone is interested and which has brought about world crises, as was the case with the year which triggered the biggest industrialized countries in the West directly following the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war, are located either on its shores or in its immediate vicinity. A number of naval units of the American Sixth Fleet are permanently plying the Mediterranean, while the other world superpower—the Soviet Union—is not behind in the number of ships. Foreign military bases have been built in some Mediterranean islands and countries. Some of the countries are members of one or the other military alliance. This situation is always fraught with danger, the more so since the waves of the Mediterranean also splash countries which have been in a state of military conflict for decades, a conflict for which no solution has been found as yet—Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Whenever it is a question of detente and of establishing better relations among countries, particularly among superpowers, for an eventual conflict between them could bring about a nuclear war with its unfathomable consequences, Yugoslavia has promoted such a universal detente aimed at eliminating existing confrontations and establishing equal and just relations among nations and countries, whether big or small. Such an attitude, stemming from our general policy of peaceful coexistence and equal and active cooperation among countries regardless of social system, based on the familiar principles of mutual respect of sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity, and nonintervention in domestic affairs of other countries, has been applied by Yugoslavia in its relations with the countries in the Mediterranean area, both those which are part of Europe and the countries of North Africa and the Middle East.
Understandably, we would like for the Mediterranean to be a sea of peace, without foreign navies and military bases and, therefore, without a threat to the peace in this part of the world. Meanwhile, on the basis of current realities, which are quite different from wishes, our foreign policy is pursuing objectives such as the broadening of the initiated process of establishing an atmosphere of greater security and cooperation among countries on the European continent and in other areas and, above all, in the area of the Mediterranean, known from way back as a powder keg which could explode at any moment.

Yugoslavia developed such friendly relations and extensive cooperation with one of the Mediterranean countries which is a member of the Atlantic Pact that this logically led to the solution of a question which had long hindered the development of good neighborly and friendly relations: the Osimo Accords concluded with Italy, recently ratified by both countries and justifiably given as an example of how to settle unresolved problems among neighboring countries even though having different social systems and different views on individual international problems.

Our country has established such relations of understanding and cooperation with many other Mediterranean countries, not only with those which, with it, are members of the big family of nonaligned countries, and are promoting a traditionally good economic, cultural, political, and other cooperation, but also with countries belonging to the different blocs or regional economic groups but which are ready to develop relations and cooperate on the basis of the principles which are becoming evermore accepted in international relations.

In the forthcoming continuation of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, which it will host, Yugoslavia will promote again the universality of the detent process and of the restoration of good relations among countries and, above all, of extending this process to areas in the immediate vicinity of the European continent as is the case of the Mediterranean.
SETINC AND 'MLADINA' EDITORS DISCUSS YOUTH ROLE
Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovenian 7 Apr 77 pp 6-7

[Discussion between Franc Setinc, secretary of the Executive Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee Presidency, and MLADINA editors Pengov and Psenicny on 31 March 1977]

[Text] Anniversaries such as the 40th anniversary of Comrade Tito's taking over the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, his 85th birthday, and the 40th anniversary of the founding congress at Cebine are related in life and work with the broad and in depth endeavors of contemporary society, with the implementation of the legislation on associated labor and preparation for the congresses of sociopolitical organizations including the League of Socialist Youth. The latter, its role and current objectives as well as its weaknesses and, of course, the younger generation and formation of the socialist awareness of young people were discussed on Friday, 31 March 1977, by Franc Setinc, secretary of the Executive Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia Central Committee Presidency, in a conversation with MLADINA editors Andrej Pengov and Vili Psenicny. The basis for the discussion were the secretary's thoughts expressed at the seminar of the opstina conference of the League of Socialist Youth [LYS] Ljubljana-Center held 10 days ago in Portoroz.

Knowing the Thinking and Ideological Trends of the Young

[Editors] Whether we speak about the current struggle for the transformation of society in our midst, the struggle for socialist transformation and involvement of the school, or of the substance, form, and mode of operation and ideopolitical indoctrination within the LSY and society in general, working actions and education of the young for work—all these problems lead to the question as to what is the situation with respect to the endeavors to form the socialist awareness of the young person.

Setinc: The forms of socialist awareness of young people cannot be discussed in terms of abstractions. We must know the ideological thought
processes of the young generation and be familiar with their problems, feelings, and aspirations. Only then we can address the question of how to form the socialist awareness of the young people. Unfortunately, we are still all too often talking in the abstract, detached from the actual problems and true feelings and thoughts of the young people. We should take a look at all the specific manifestations and derive from them the specific objectives of the action to be taken.

[Editors] Often it happens that we in our thoughts transcend the actual state of affairs. The young, to whom the status quo frequently appears incoherent, have a particular propensity for this. However, this is not enough for implementing an idea as such. What is needed are proper conditions and, above all, people who can make such ideas come true in real life by pragmatic application of their actions.

Setinc: It is by no means enough that the LYS thinks about socialist awareness and responsibility. We must actually have within the LSY young men and women who can muster the energy needed for revolutionary action, which is the best training for the formation of socialist awareness. The best way is not sermonizing, lectures, appeals. What is needed is the gathering of positive experiences in the practice of revolutionary struggle, self-management, preparation and acceptance of decisions.

[Editors] The youth working actions were certainly a great experience especially if one knows how hard it was necessary to fight to have them introduced again.

Setinc: The LSY undoubtedly attained a great success in this area. However, the spirit of the youth working actions must become ingrained in every aspect of the young people's activities. You see, at the university we shall in the future have to confront certain structures, particularly in the assertion of changes at the institutions of higher learning. The youth organization should prepare a plan of action for this purpose which should be as thorough as the plans for every youth working action.

[Editors] The ideopolitical indoctrination of the young is, of course, one of the basic tasks of the LSY. While the youth working actions are an important form of such indoctrination, the indoctrination is generally still conducted primarily through seminars, political courses, lectures and the like. Every year more than 45,000 young people are exposed to these forms of indoctrination.

Setinc: All our seminars should stem from the actions and be a creative discussion of real life problems, the actual reasons for delays and blocks occurring in the development of socialist self-management. At the same time they should be an agreement on the plan for action. Otherwise the seminar is left hanging in the air and does not relate to actual practice. The study must thus be a prerequisite and preparation for action.
The development of socialist awareness of the young people is certainly conditioned by the purpose and achievements of our revolution.

Setinc: The image and thinking of our people has undergone a basic change. This is true even when they are dissatisfied. In their criticism they express a higher level of their awareness because they are aware of their situation when they are not satisfied with it. People want to improve their situation, although they are using another vernacular to make this known. They do not always speak about socialist self-management, associated labor and so on.

If a worker in a Novo Mesto factory says she is working under impossible conditions, that the factory changed over to modern methods, which means that it purchased new machinery without changing the working conditions because the hall remained the same and the workers are still choking on bad air; if this worker points out that her norms are being cut so that some in the same employment feel no production difficulties, then she is expressing a high degree of awareness.

Reward According to Performance Is in the Worker's Interest

Setinc: It is not enough for the youth action group members to learn some slogans out of the legislation on associated labor. The battle will not be won in this way. We shall continue to observe that there are impediments, that things do not move, and that matters are proceeding too slowly. It is only necessary to listen to the young worker, and we shall see that he is interested in having standards specifying distribution of income according to performance and that they desire that performance be considered rather than disregarded in setting the level of the reward.

Setinc: In the League of Communists we recently considered a few self-management agreements on distribution of personal income and found out that not one of them gave consideration to income relationships. Thus, for instance, the standards for setting the income level of workers in common employment were set solely on the basis of expenses. When we work out and establish standards for valuation according to performance, the problem of uravnilovka will disappear.
[Editors] Often we find that the young people remain on the periphery of social events and that their role falls short of what it could and should be.

Setinc: We must not be satisfied that only a few young people are active in a given youth organization. Our immediate objective must be to make our creativity, our participation in the building of socialism, assume mass movement proportions if we want to formulate socialist awareness in every young person. The blame for the fact that young people frequently remain on the periphery of social events can often be attributed to the LSY, which is not doing enough to promote the affirmation of the young person, young professional, and young intellectual in all walks of the society's activities. Young people who have no support from the LSY remain on the periphery, in a corner, while the positions of power remain controlled by technocratically operating individuals, who are blocking our efforts to achieve socialist self-management.

[Editors] And how do we go from here to where the action is?

Setinc: Very simply. Instead of 10 resolutions, principal positions, and decisions let us have 5 real breakthroughs. Where self-managing ways are blocked, these are the places where the revolutionary drive of the youth must assert itself. Inadequate activity of the trade union, party, or other subjective entities must not be an excuse for inactivity and reserve on the part of the young.

Professional Youth Politicians Are Undesirable

[Editors] The 10th Congress of the LCY and, of course, the congresses of the LSY directed the youth organized in the LSY to overcome serious difficulties in their organization if we wish to be successful in forming the socialist awareness of the young people.

Setinc: I think there are still plenty of weaknesses such as only operating on the initiative handed down from various organizational levels, parroting of the official line by the action groups, formalism, verbosity, and pursuit of offices because of their perquisites. Operation through forums means, in effect, a narrowing of the LSY's base: Instead of broadening its front it is narrowing it down to some kind of youth aristocracy. Formalism repels young people because it frequently places more importance on writing a resolution—even though it may be couched in a horrible action group vernacular—so that we may say that we have accomplished a task rather than taking action to bring about a change. Frequently it is also a matter of parroting, on the part of action groups, that unacceptable style which long ago became useless even for the older generation and which we should abandon. One gets quite a turn when he must listen to resolutions and decisions that are so alien to the language of the young people. Of course, there is plenty of this in other organizations, too, and we must work to get rid of it whenever it appears.
Another thing. If there is a thing that should come naturally to the youth organization then rotation is such a thing, that is to say, a rapid turnover of the cadres occupying the various positions. This is why we are against professional youth politicians whereby, for example, somebody becomes a "permanent" youth organization professional.

[Editors] One of the important goals which the youth organized in the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia [LSYS] set for themselves at the Ninth Congress of the LSYS is, among other things, the institution and careful keeping of membership records.

Setinc: Accurate records are undoubtedly necessary and important for any organization. However, action must not be impeded because of poorly maintained records. Moreover, we are all too often treating the records in a much too formalistic manner. It is more important that we discuss with each prospective LSYS member his views about the events in society, the importance of his joining the organization, and the questions of his world view.

We find that the majority of the young people supports the socialist self-managing administrative way. Even though they may not always realize this, they are in fact supporting self-management. However, it is not enough that the young people actually advocate such a course of development, it is also necessary that the young people be aware of their actual situation and their true interests, so that they may translate this awareness and interest into action. The actions of the young, however, must proceed from the results achieved in the building of socialism. In their struggle the young proceed from the principles set forth in the program of the League of Communists and, although there also are among them young people who are religious and do not necessarily always accept all the ramifications of the Marxist world view, they nevertheless accept the principles of the League of Communists' program, that is, the principles which deal with the transformation of society, the struggle for socialism and for new social relationships based on equal rights, for liberty, democracy, and so on, and who recognize the leading role of the LC in our society, which is a requirement for their admission to membership in the LSY although their ideological views may differ from that of the LC.

These are the basic premises from which the LSY must proceed in developing its action for expanding its organization and, of course, establishing a planned personnel policy. The question of records must, accordingly, not be confined to mere filing of membership data cards.

[Editors] During the recent complication with scholarships, the youth organization was subject to a great deal of criticism for not having done enough to see that the agreed upon scholarship policy was implemented. The matters have now become somewhat stabilized even though it had to come to some undesirable actions during the academic year. And this was precisely what gave the impression of a campaign type action as opposed to rational planning.
Setinc: We are still all too often inclined to resolve problems with a campaign type action, to our own detriment, of course. In our socialist self-management system we have formulated a system of deputies. It is within this system that we should seek resolution of all social problems, including the scholarship policy. It is precisely in this area that the LSY has a great responsibility as an important factor in social relations. Poor functioning and failure to keep current on the part of some professional services must not be offered as an excuse. If we find that these are not operating well, let us organize so that our professional work and results—and we certainly have no scarcity of young professionals—will make the unprofessional performance, poor improvising, and, above all, irresponsibility of some professional services—such as, for example, those that had absolutely no knowledge of the scholarship situation and which only revealed their ineptitude in this connection—look ridiculous.

The Attitude Toward MLADINA Is the Attitude Toward the LSY

[Editors] It is difficult to envision effective operation of an organization, especially of a mass organization such as the youth organization, without a suitable and well disseminated information medium of its own. In this connection we observe that the LSY publication MLADINA has a much too small circulation in spite of the numerous decisions, some of which were even adopted at the congresses. For the purpose of illustration let us mention that only every 30th young person subscribes to MLADINA.

Setinc: I think that MLADINA made important advances recently. Its contents are becoming increasingly more pertinent to the experiences of real life. This is not only in form, attractiveness, aesthetics but primarily in the way its articles are written. Its small circulation is a problem of the organization because the attitude of the young people toward MLADINA is their attitude toward the organization. To promote the circulation of its publication the LSY should seek suitable specific forms of its own, just as the LC did a few years ago.

[Editors] One often hears questions concerning the independence of the LSY in view of the fact that its program is founded on the basis of the LC platform and that it is expected to operate within the framework of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People.

Setinc: The youth organization must, of course, strengthen its independence if it wants to be creative. The fact that its program stems from the LC platform is no reason for the LSY to relinquish its independence. It must be independent in the formulation of its own positions, and independent and revolutionary within the front of socialist forces of the SAWP.

The established system of deputies is a skeletal structure. This framework is now being filled and it is precisely the LSY that should be the fastest moving and innovative organization in this process.
The LC platform is a sufficiently broad framework for this independence, creativity, and revolutionary drive. The legislation on associated labor, for instance, has formulated the basic principles of associated labor but not the actual structural arrangements. This is what must still be fought for. And for this purpose it is necessary to develop the creativity of young groups, experts, intellectuals, and critically creative young people.

[Editors] Although young communists should be the ideological nucleus of the LSY, we find that many of them are prone to neglect their "natural obligation."

Setinc: In recent years the ranks of the LC were rejuvenated considerably. Many young communists probably do not see their interests in the ranks of the LSY. This interest can only be stimulated by action in specific places and by the removal of the weaknesses which we already discussed.

Search for New Forms Within the Existing System—A Preparation for Congress

[Editors] We also discussed the formation of socialist awareness of young people. Parents should be the first to exert an influence in this direction, particularly the communists.

Setinc: In addition to the school, parents have the greatest responsibility for the formation of socialist awareness. In my family we often complement each other to our mutual advantage. My younger son asks provocative questions and in conversation these questions are explained, so that I, too, often gain new insight into a particular problem.

[Editors] The positive experiences as well as weaknesses which we discussed are in a way indicative of our course of action in preparation for the congresses.

Setinc: Equally as for the LC it also holds for the LSY that we must no longer operate by way of resolutions, making appeals to the young people to do this and that, that they must implement some programs and so on. This way of doing things by passing resolutions is becoming sterile in the mechanism of a self-managing socialist democracy. Therefore it is not only upon the LC to think in the time prior to the congresses about new forms, new ways of operation, and new forms of organization and activity. It is also upon the LSY to work within the system, that is to say, to organize the young people's action in the trade unions, basic organizations of associated labor and local communities. This action should not be confined merely to some kind of youth organization meetings attempting to exert influence over real life situations. The solutions must be sought elsewhere and together with the working people within the united action of the working class and all other working people.
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY BECOMES INCREASINGLY WORRISOME

Skopje SABOTA (weekly supplement to NOVA MAKEDONIJA) in Macedonian  
9 Apr 77 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Tulevski: "Great Concern Caused by Juvenile Delinquency"]

[Text] Court records show that all history of delinquency begins at some early age. It is then that the first, perhaps naive, deviation from social legal norms occurs. It is a time when many people irreversibly take the path leading to their own catastrophe.

Juvenile delinquency is a serious problem of today. This would seem to be quite clear and confirmed by a number of scientific analyses based on the systematic study of socially harming actions. In the Macedonian Socialist Republic as well we note transgressions committed mainly by juvenile delinquents. Naturally, this would be no reason for sounding a general public alarm since this has existed for many years. Nevertheless, the "daring" of our young people is a matter of concern. According to data submitted by the Macedonian RSVR [expansion unknown], between 1970 and 1975 juveniles in our republic committed a total of 20,439 delinquencies; juveniles and children together accounted for 26,059 delinquencies. What way are we following? Is this not a reason for concern and warning? Could we remain unconcerned by such a condition involving minor delinquents? We could not despite the encouraging fact that the growth of juvenile delinquency has been stopped and, of late, it has begun to decline by some 5 percent per year.

Studies of the spreading of juvenile delinquency show that it has been substantially concentrated in the bigger urban centers of the republic. In any case this is explained by their hasty urbanization and dynamic development or, one may say, as their logical consequence, a fellow traveler and cost of civilization. This is confirmed by the following example: out of a total of 20,469 crimes committed by minors within the five-year period we mentioned, 9,729, or 47.5 percent, occurred in Skopje. It is interesting to mention that percentagewise the number of young criminals in our main city is growing. In the past six years 17,041 or 83.2 percent of all crimes
were committed in the following more developed communities: Skopje, Bitola, Tetovo, Kumanovo, Titov Veles, Shtip, Ohrid, Prilep, Strumitsa, Kochani, and Gostivar. The remaining communities accounted for 3,428 crimes or 16.8 percent. Such crime indicators are different in all areas of the republic: in the areas of 13 Eastern Macedonia obshinas a total of 3,643 crimes were committed in six years, whereas the same number of obshinas in Western Macedonia recorded 5,939 cases. In any case, it is obvious that there is a characteristic disparity in the number of cases, particularly based on the level of development of the communities. Yet, even though most criminal actions were committed in an urban environment, the fact that within that time some 6,600 cases were recorded in villages and rural settlements indicates that criminality is running its course. With an average of 1,100 crimes per year, today the villages are becoming evermore involved in the whirlpool of illegal tempests.

The highest percentage of crimes committed by minors and children are related to property—18,083 or 88.3 percent. This is followed by the following: violent crimes, 427 or 2 percent; sexual, 168, or about 0.8 percent, and others, totaling 1,796 or 8.9 percent. It is interesting to mention that in most of these cases private property owners have been harmed. The most widespread type of such crimes is thefts accounting for 9,370 cases. Of these: 2,564 cases of pickpocketing; 1,608 bicycles stolen; 979 cases of stolen parts and objects from motor vehicles; 947 cases of petty theft; 234 cases of cattle stealing and 3,038 other. In recent years pickpocketing has declined substantially following the increased efficiency of the internal affairs service.

Within the same period there were 6,185 cases of breaking and entering committed by minors. This involved mainly shops, private premises, motor vehicles, and others. There were 83 cases of robberies, the most severe property crime. The number of crimes of sex and violence declined. The largest number of violent crimes took place in the Skopje and Gostivar municipalities, and the biggest number of sex crimes were committed in Skopje.

In the past six years several cases of drug use and peddling by minors were noted in our capital city. Of late there has been an increased number of illegal use of motor vehicles, and others.

Within the six-year period under consideration a total of 5,831 minors were "sentenced." Some 60 percent, or most of them, are older minors. Actually, these are young people aged 16 to 18, attending mainly secondary or vocational schools. It is interesting to point out that 5,156 of the "sentenced" minors lived in homes with both parents. An insignificant number lived with one parent only or with other individuals, or alone. Incidentally, it should not be considered that the complete family unit always provides good and healthy conditions for living and real education. On the contrary, studies conducted so far show that in such families as well there are major disagreements among spouses due to a number of reasons.
such as drunkenness, loafing, adultery, infidelity, and others. The highest percentage of the "sentenced" individuals were apprentices and high school and university students.

There are a large number of reasons for the appearance, extent, and growth of deviant behavior of children and adolescents. Among others, a modest selection would include the following: unhealthy family environment, omissions in the intellectual, physical, and moral education provided by the schools, negative influence of the urban environment based on the fast pace of development, migration movements, and contacts with foreign countries (with bad along with good results), youth unemployment, street influence, and others.

Obviously, steady efforts must be made to block areas of delinquency and bring back the young people to the real path and insure the tranquility of our social life. Actually, such efforts are being made: emphasis in the treatment of juvenile delinquency is on prevention rather than repression. Unquestionably, the reasons for juvenile delinquency lead us to the answer of how to protect and treat the "wounded youth." We must continue to search for this answer.
Good Friday in Skopje was a pleasant evening near the Vardar River. The red cross on the roof of the church had been lit for one week. Four clergymen, followed by a mass of people, are singing and walking around the holy temple holding candles. The candles cast a strange light on the faces. The bell is ringing. Captivated by the mysticism, children are trotting at the side of their parents or grandmother.

Easter Saturday. At around 8 am the churchyard began to be filled with people. People are coming from everywhere. A big slowly rising river. By comparison, yesterday's people seem a handful. Cars are parked wherever possible. Serious middle-aged people come out of Renaults, Opels, Volks-wagons, or Fiats...young people are crossing the bridge. There is hardly a white hair in the mass of people gradually filling up the yard. Young people come from the "Vanila," from dances, or from the discoteque.

"How was it at the dance?"

"Boring. It is more interesting here."

A large number of candles are being sold. The vendor is unable to meet demand. "Believers" buy them and light them for good health. A couple holding candles is sitting in a huge Oldsmobile with Skopje registration. In the yard the people are holding the lit candles and talking. The candles of the clumsy get blown out but this is rarely interpreted as a bad omen. It is only the whim of the wind or a friend. The wax has melted and keeps dripping on the new Italian boots bought with money squeezed out of the parents.

"I bought eight candles."

"Why do you need so many?"
"In case. Let us be on the safe side."

Someone lights his cigarette from the candle without expecting it to become sacred.

"I lit a candle for a passing grade in Latin."

"And I lit a candle for a failing grade in Marxism."

From time to time a serious individual wearing glasses and white hair on his head would pass by. He would reach the place where the candles are stuck in the sand and, together with the students, would make his wish for good health and a long life.

There is incredible crowding at the entrance to the church. A pile of bodies out of which we see occasionally a head or a hand fighting for air. The bulk of the body is of extreme importance in such cases. Elbows are used to make room. Two people are fighting like roosters, cursing and pushing each other before they can be separated. Old women are sitting in the church. Only here could we find them in such large numbers. The deep expression on their faces is disturbed by the obvious crowding. Something purporting to be a bed is standing in the middle of the premises. It contains a representation of the dead Christ, a cross, and a book. The people reach the spot, kiss the objects, leave money, take a green twig, and crawl under the bed. Some find it more difficult than others. The biggest number is that of young people who find it easy to master even that obstacle to their final "purification." Most of the money is small coins but red colored bank notes are visible as well. The cross and the book have been kissed hundreds of times, mouth after mouth.

From the walls the holy apostles look at this earthly crowd and bless it peacefully.

At the very exit, slightly concealed in the shadow, a young couple is kissing with a passion unrivaled in the world.

Somewhat away from them an empty bottle is rolling in the grass and one can hear a semi-drunken song and curses.

"I could have thought that one could find you anywhere but here!"

"Why?"

"Aren't you a communist?"

Someone is wearing on his coat the badge of the 10th congress.

The Black Maria arrived and militiamen appeared and took their places.
The Vardar flows under the bridge and a river of people stands on the bridge.

"How are you?"

"Well, and you?"

"I too. Why are you here?"

"Just to see how things are."

Astonished tourists come out of the bus station. Those who know explain to them that the Orthodox Easter is being celebrated.

The bell begins to ring. The people gather. It is very crowded. The clergy appears on the small balcony. A hymn is heard from the choir. The people look admiringly. The old threaten unruly children.

"Zhaklina, light your candle!"

"Yes mother."

The white-haired man produced the printed speech written for Easter. Many people would have envied his reading, particularly the fiery way in which he called for donations...

The bell rang again and the people make room for the walk around the church.

Eggs are being broken. They have been colored at home with decals which stores and vendors have been selling for quite some time.

The people are walking around the church while the bell is ringing.

"Would your people have let you go to the theater?"

"No way. I had trouble making it to the church."

The river has flown away. The number of people could be estimated in five figures.

We remember that some comrades seem to ignore the fact that it is the "custom" of the young to go to church during Easter.

Christ has risen! He has risen truly!

Is this possible?!