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# TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1310

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALBANIA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of Hoxha Works Lauds Dictatorship of Proletariat</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Vesim Xhango, et al.; ZERI I POPULLIT, 14 Aug 76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BULGARIA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Conditions in Bulgaria Described by Catholic Prelate</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(DRUZINA, 15 Aug 76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CZECHOSLOVAKIA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Daily Discusses Berlin Conference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, 5 Aug 76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substantive, Organizational Changes in Education Described</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(M. Vondruska Interview; ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, 2 Sep 76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EAST GERMANY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trends in Development of Worker Militia Units Discussed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Michael Mara; DIE WELT, 24 Sep 76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controversy Reported on Status of Churches</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Various sources, various dates)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Freedom Defended by GDR Functionaries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Letter Cites Tensions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDR Leadership Criticized</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- a -

[III - EE - 63]
CONTENTS (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Divergent Views Expressed on Religious Freedom</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(DIE WELT, 17 Sep 76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview With Former GDR Pastor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functionary Defends Status of Churches,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Friedhelm Kemna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HUNGARY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Apathy Among Intelligentsia Scrutinized</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Andras B. Balint; MAGYAR HIRLAP, 13 Aug 76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Students' Attitude Toward Religion Examined</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lajos Batai, Jozsef Czirjak; FELSOOKTATASI SZEMLE, Jul-Aug 76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**POLAND**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scout Union Role Vital in Shaping Proper Youth Attitudes</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Henryka Witalewska; GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, 13 Jun 76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ROMANIA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Papers From Discussion on Nation in Modern World</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ERA SOCIALISTA, Aug 76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Minorities Issue Examined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Gall Erno</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concept of International Solidarity Analyzed,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Ion Mitran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regulations on Work Cards Published</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 29 Jul 76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REVIEW OF HOXHA WORKS LAUDS DICTATORSHIP OF PROLETARIAT

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Aug 76 p 2

[Article by Vesim Xhango, Meri Nauni, Tomor Isaraj: "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Albania Lives, Watches and Works"]

[Text] For us workers in the Traktori Plant in Tirana, as for all the working masses in our country, the putting into circulation of each volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works is an important event. We now have at hand Volume 22 of those works. Among the many other problems dealt with in the materials of this volume, an important place is held by the very valuable teachings having to do with the question of the people's rule, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its preservation, consolidation and continual improvement.

The establishment of the people's rule in our country on 29 November 1944 was the greatest victory in the age-old history of our people. The party tightly bound and merged into a single whole the fight for national liberation with the fight to destroy the old antipopular and reactionary government, to set up the rule of the people. Remaining true to its clear Marxist-Leninist program, the party never allowed the landlords and the bourgeoisie--without firing a single shot at fascism--to deceive the people and get positions in the government after the liberation. "Thanks to the correct class stand of our party and its resolute tactic," Comrade Enver maintains, "with the liberation of the country all power passed right from the beginning into the hands of the working class, in alliance with all the patriotic working masses of the country, into the hands of a single party, the Communist Party of Albania." (Volume 22, p 92).

Comrade Enver, speaking in this volume about the question of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, emphasizes that our party has remained true to the great teaching of Lenin, fully confirmed in life as to its vitality, that it is easier to get power than to hold it.

The period of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, as pointed out in this volume, is characterized by a merciless class struggle, which has aimed at preserving, reinforcing and improving it, purging it of traces and influences of the old society, at avoiding the danger of
degeneration into bourgeois revisionism, and at elevating the active role of the state in all spheres of the full construction of the socialist society. This class struggle has been waged against internal and external enemies, from landlords and merchants to kulaks and various antisocialist elements, from armed bands of diversionists and traitorous organizations of spies and saboteurs to the various imperialists and the modern revisionists. The enemies of the people, Koci Xoxe, Tuk Jakova, Bedri Spahiš, Panajot Plaku and others, with direct instigation by the modern revisionists, as Comrade Enver emphasizes, have aimed at "liquidating the party and the people's rule." "Their traitorous slogans," says Comrade Enver in his speech to the solemn meeting devoted to the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Labor Party of Albania, have been the demagogic slogans of "liberalism and the democratization of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Volume 22, p 154).

The class struggle has been waged without letup against alien manifestations and influence as well. The thrust of this struggle has been directed particularly against bureaucracy and liberalism, for the further development of socialist democracy, which, as Comrade Enver teaches, is the general course for the reinforcement of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the whole socialist order. Comrade Enver's speeches and conferences in this period bring out clearly the results obtained in the fight against manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism and for strengthening the ties of the government with the masses, for the further rapprochement of the state apparatus with the grass roots and their problems, for the enhancement of the initiative and self-action of the working masses, for their active interest and participation in affairs of state, for the revolutionization of the relations between the cadres and the masses; and so forth. Comrade Enver, in the materials published in this volume, teaches us how to prevent the dictatorship of the proletariat from ever degenerating into an anti-people, revisionist and bourgeois dictatorship, and how to keep it ever as a powerful weapon of the revolution and socialist construction. Precisely because the teachings of Marxism-Leninism have been applied consistently in our country, "the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania," as Comrade Enver has emphasized, "lives, watches and works." (Volume 22, p 293).

The Khrushchevian revisionists, as rabid and arrant anti-Marxists betraying the interests of the working class, under the deceitful pretext of "creative development of Marxism-Leninism," loudly preach the theory of "surmounting the dictatorship of the proletariat and converting it into a state of all the people." Thus they deny the proletarian class character of the socialist state as a dictatorship of the proletariat, thereby concealing their bourgeois and counterrevolutionary dictatorship. Today in the Soviet Union and some other ex-socialist countries, the dictatorship of the proletariat has been fully liquidated, the working class is no longer in power but the new revisionist bourgeoisie, the bourgeois dictatorship. The French revisionists have even removed entirely from their statute the term "dictatorship of the proletariat," thus flagrantly betraying the interests of the proletariat.
The teachings issuing from the 22nd volume have been deepened still further in a good many later party documents and Comrade Enver's speeches. Of particular importance are the decisions of the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th plenums of the Party Central Committee having to do with the continual fight against every manifestation of bureaucratism, liberalism, intellectualism and technocratism in order to keep ever intact and constantly strengthen the inseparable leadership of the party in the socialist state, as a basic and unshakeable principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and an indispensable condition for its existence.

The 15 years that have elapsed fully confirm the correctness and vitality of those teachings. There has been a broad work program, both for all the working masses of the country and for us, the workers of the Traktori Plant. The objective of our work has always been Comrade Enver's admonition that "the situation dictates to us the necessity of further strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country... vigilance must stand as a primary duty for us. The party must be ever prepared and place itself at the head of the people in performing the political, ideological and economic tasks and in defending the fatherland and the purity of Marxism-Leninism." (Volume 22, p 337). We keep this admonition always in mind. Under the leadership of the party organization, the collective of the Traktori Plant, along with the whole working class and the other working masses in our country, is making its contribution to tearing down the fierce imperialist-revisionist blockade.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is grounded on the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasants under the leadership of the working class and its party. All experience in socialist construction in our country, as shown by the materials in this volume, testifies to the great care and the successive measures taken by our party to strengthen and anneal this alliance all around. The political-ideological understanding of these measures and the fact that our plant has direct ties with bread production impose upon us important tasks in turning out products of the highest quality and in initiating as many drives as possible with regard to the countryside, in bringing the spirit of the working class to it and in strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasants. We originated the initiative, now known and disseminated throughout the country, "to go to live and work permanently in the country." About 65 workers from our plant have embraced the initiative of their vanguard comrades and have gone to the country to work and live there permanently. Many others, communists and youths, have gone to work and live in the country for 1 to 3 years.

Comrade Enver has constantly admonished us: "Preserve and develop still further the high qualities of the working class..." Bearing this teaching always in mind, the party organization and its levers, the mass organizations in the Traktori Plant, have done a good job of educating and arming the workers with a correct understanding of their role in political-social life. The initiative "to anneal our consciences as we anneal steel" originated within our collective. About 500 workers in our
plant have taken part in worker controls organized during this year.
During these workers controls organized under the leadership of the party
organization, inside and outside of the plant, we have discovered short-
comings and weaknesses as well as good work; we have criticized them and
have intervened energetically to have them eliminated. We conceive and
apply worker control, in accordance with Comrade Enver's teaching, as
worker vigilance in action, as dictatorship of the class in action.

In addition to worker control in the fight against bureaucratism and for
reinforcement of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the party organi-
zation in the Traktori Plant has attached prime importance to the continual
revolutionization of the relations between the cadres and the masses. The
working class in our plant has trained within itself about 48 cadres with
higher education and hundreds of others with secondary education. We
have put into practice the systematic rotation of cadres from administra-
tion to production and vice versa. About 26 comrades from our ranks have
gone to the central government departments in the past year alone, while
about 40 engineering-technical cadres from the technological bureau
switched directly to or near to production in April of last year.
Similarly, the participation by cadres and all mental workers in physical
labor has been practiced. Notable advances have also been made in
having the cadres render an accounting to the masses, which form of work
is also being widely practiced and has further strengthened the steel
bonds between the cadres and the masses.

The working collective of our plant is quite clear that the dictatorship
of the proletariat, the fatherland and socialism are defended with weapons
in hand. Comrade Enver emphasizes: "We must defend the sacred soil of
the fatherland at all costs. We must create such obstacles for the enemy
that he will be nailed to the spot and annihlicated." (Volume 22, p 410).

We always bear in mind the admonition of our beloved leader that every
one of us is a citizen-soldier. Therefore, in addition to the job of
learning, we are preparing intensively for defense. We, like all soldier-
peoples, are ever prepared to pour lead into the mouth of anyone who should
dare to do the least harm to the sacred and inviolate borders of our
beloved socialist fatherland. This will always be the case because,

as Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized in his speech to the solemn meeting on
the 25th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland, "the dictator-
ship of the proletariat in our country has stood and stands like a granite
rock."

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CHURCH CONDITIONS IN BULGARIA DESCRIBED BY CATHOLIC PRELATE

Ljubljane DRUZINA in Slovenian 15 Aug 76 p 4

[Text] Early in August on their return from Rome, where they had a private audience with Pope Paul VI, the Roman rite Catholic bishop of Sofia and Plovdiv, Bogdan Dobranov, and his secretary, priest of Eastern rite Belovey dov made a stopover in Ljubljana. Dobranov had already been consecrated as bishop in 1959 but it was only this year that he was allowed to visit Rome. During their rest in Ljubljana the two ecclesiastic dignitaries were visited by the editor of DRUZINA with whom they discussed the status of the Catholic Church in Bulgaria.

Among the 10 million people living in Bulgaria there are only 75,000 Catholics, of whom 2,500 belong to the Greek rite. The Roman rite Catholics have two bishops, one for the northern and one for the southern part of the country.

As bishop of Sofia and Plovdiv, Dobranov is in charge of the southern part. There are altogether 55 Catholic priests in Bulgaria, of which 19 belong to the Greek rite. They have no seminary and, for the time being, no seminarians. However, the bishop took pride in telling us that he had just prior to his departure for Rome been able to ordain a seminarian whom he and his priests had personally instructed in theology.

The decrees of the Ecumenical Council have not yet been translated into Bulgarian, they are being read in Latin or in other foreign languages. The new missal, however, has already been translated into Bulgarian in its entirety. The printing in mimeographed form was performed by a government enterprise. Other liturgical books, too, have been translated and reproduced. Thus it is now possible to conduct the services and dispense sacraments in the Bulgarian language. The Greek rite Catholics, who are for the present still using the Church Slavic language in their services, will also soon change over to Bulgarian. The translations for this purpose are ready.

There is no religious press in Bulgaria. A yearbook may be published every year but the printing is limited to 3,000 copies because of the small allotment of paper made available to the Church. The two guests added in passing
that even the Bulgarian Orthodox, who are by far the strongest religious community in Bulgaria, have not succeeded in developing a strong religious press. All that is being published is the fortnightly paper CHERKOVNI VESTNIK [CHURCH HERALD] and a theological review DUHOVNA KULTURA [SPIRITUAL CULTURE].

The Bulgarian Catholics are far ahead of the Slovenians in their fervor to attend mass. A full 80 percent regularly attend Sunday services, including a substantial proportion of young people, while the children may, in keeping with the Soviet example, attend mass only when accompanied by their parents. The priests are not allowed to instruct children, hence this religious duty is assumed by the parents themselves. This includes preparation for the Eucharist and the confirmation. The priests try to provide the necessary preparation for this important duty at the Sunday services.

And the relations with the Orthodox? The bishop assessed these as very good. Priests of both religions are personal friends and cooperate in ecumenical worship.

The Church receives its financial support from the faithful, whose donations, however, cannot be substantial because they themselves are living in modest circumstances. The priests support themselves almost exclusively through donations for saying the mass. Quite understandably, their life is rather austere. In contrast with the Orthodox clergy, the Catholic priests receive no subsidy from the government.

On being asked by the editor of DRUZINA to what he attributed the fact that he was permitted to visit Rome where he had studied 37 years ago, the 62 year old prelate replied that negotiations were in progress between the Bulgarian government and the Holy Sea. A mild thaw is, accordingly, taking place in relations between the Church and State. Some of this should also be attributed to the resolutions of the Helsinki conference.

And the future of the Catholic Church in Bulgaria? The bishop is optimistic and full of confidence in the Divine Providence and Grace.
The international communist and workers' movement has now become the greatest, most influential and ideologically mature mass force of social development. Every defeat suffered by imperialism on the international and domestic fronts, especially in recent times, is inseparably tied with the successes of the communist and workers' movement. The social law of the single historical orientation of all revolutionary movements and changes is asserting itself with ever greater clarity. All contemporary trends of the revolutionary movement are gradually joining into one anti-imperialist stream. It is becoming a more and more obvious fact that the irreversible, final outcome of the world revolutionary process is transition to socialism.

From this viewpoint, the European communists, who met at the end of June in Berlin, collectively evaluated the present situation in Europe and formulated common aims and tasks today confronting communist and workers' parties, as well as all democratic and peace-loving forces on our continent.

Leading representatives of 29 European communist and workers' parties exchanged views in Berlin and discussed such important topics as peace, security, cooperation and social progress in Europe. These topics are even more serious and essential because it was precisely Europe which became the focal point and scene of the bloodiest wars, in the flames of which tens of millions of people perished and immense material and cultural values were destroyed.

For long decades the communists have been in the forefront of the struggle for peace, security, cooperation and friendship of peoples. If in recent decades the face of Europe has changed, it is primarily to their credit. "Today it is clearer than ever before," said L. I. Brezhnev at the Conference, "that imperialism cannot dictate Europe's destiny. In determining this destiny the socialist states and the workers' and democratic movement in capitalist countries have an important voice. These very forces have contributed decisively to the fact that Europe has been living in peace for more than 30 years."
The conference met at a time when the principle of peaceful coexistence became the leading trend in relations among states with different social systems and after the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe had confirmed that principle. However, it also took place during the time when the enemies of detente, representatives of reactionary militarism, revanchism and Maoism were doing everything possible to turn Europe back to the cold war period and to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. It is all the more important for the communists not to spare their energy, tenacity and firmness in the struggle for peace and security, not to relax their effort toward that goal, but, as L. Brezhnev said, on the contrary, to intensify it. In its jointly prepared document, the Berlin Conference set its basic goals in that direction. It outlined the strategy and tactics of a peace offensive which can never cease until the communists fulfill their historical task.

European communists have clearly demonstrated by their actions that there is a close organic connection between the struggle for relaxation of tensions and for peace and security in Europe on the one hand and the struggle for the peoples' social progress on the other. Therefore, the communist parties declared themselves unanimously in favor of the idea of internationalism, solidarity and fraternal unity based on the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

In fact, the communist movement has gained tremendous experience in its struggle for the workers' vital interests, for the consolidation of revolutionary forces, and for socialism under various conditions. The communist movement is trying to generalize and theoretically substantiate these experiences, the more so since the activity of each fraternal party, despite specific features which cannot be duplicated, also contains common characteristics, of importance for the entire communist movement.

The success of peace and security and progress as well as social and national liberation depend to a considerable degree on the unity of the international army of communists, and on the cohesion of all revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving forces. Proletarian internationalism has become the most effective and reliable weapon of the communist parties and the working class as a whole in the struggle for the transformation of the world in the workers' interest. At present it is most important and essential that despite some different viewpoints the conference produced a document unanimously approved by all the participants, which is a truly collective work of the participating parties.

The Berlin Conference stressed the main point: the effort of fraternal parties to strengthen their comradely relations in all possible ways and to cooperate even more constructively, closely and shoulder-to-shoulder, while fully respecting mutual equality and independence and taking into account the different conditions in which they struggle.
Internationalism is becoming an even more powerful factor in cementing the world communist revolutionary movement. Problems of proletarian internationalism are emerging as a focal point of the world ideological struggle. The imperialistic ideologists and politicians are very much aware that cooperation of communists of the entire world offers the revolutionaries a reliable means to achieve their goals. They are therefore trying in every possible way to blunt that weapon. While the internationalists assert that communist parties need a single worldview and coordinated policy in order to successfully fight for their national and international aims, the opponents of this view maintain that such an approach means abandoning their independence and risking the loss of the possibility of working freely and normally. There even are persons who in this connection see a menace of "dictatorship," "hegemony" of the large parties in the movement or fear the creation of certain "centers." All this is then closely tied with some sort of "intervention" in internal affairs, violation of the autonomy and independence of individual parties.

In Berlin L. I. Brezhnev said of course clearly,—and the final document of the conference stressed this also—that internationalism does not mean reestablishment of some kind of organizational center but it means, as L. Brezhnev stated, "solidarity among the working class and communists of all countries in the struggle for common aims, solidarity with the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress." He stressed that what matters is "free cooperation of fraternal parties combined with strict observance of equality and independence of each of them." Such solidarity remains a powerful and reliable weapon of the communist parties as well as of the entire workers' movement.

Marxism-Leninism combines the independence of communist parties with unity of the world communist movement. Proletarian internationalism organically links all principles, such as solidarity, mutual assistance, independent activity of each communist party, as well as their full equality. However, it must not mean rejection of common responsibility.

The Berlin Conference of European Communist Parties was, first of all, proof of conscious, principled and joint upholding by European Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties of this responsibility. Communist parties in the countries of victorious socialism as well as those in the capitalist countries are fully aware of this. The conference demonstrated that the communists in Europe realize that they are responsible for the destiny of the peoples of our continent. It proved that the communists are capable of answering basic and vital questions about the development of peoples. The firmer the solidarity of fraternal parties and their mutual assistance, the greater will be their success in individual countries and on the international scale.

The conference pointed out direction and perspective to all democratic and peace-loving forces, and its significance reached beyond the frontiers of Europe. It became the proof that we live in an epoch when the people have taken their destiny into their own hands.
In connection with the opening of the new school year, the Czechoslovak Press Bureau asked CSR Minister of Education M. Vondruska, for an interview. The first question dealt with the importance of changes taking place as of 1 October in our education and instruction system, especially in the basic schools.

With the beginning of the current school year changes will gradually be introduced not only in basic schools but in the entire teaching and educational system, including the adult education, preparation of teachers and education workers, and in the field of specialized schools, etc.

They are the result of needs and requirements of the stage of our country's socialist development subsequent to the 15th CPCZ Congress. In the current school year the new concept of education and instruction is being introduced in all first grades of basic schools. However, even this initial measure is being undertaken not without appropriate preparation. All the proposed changes have been carefully tested for the last 4 years as a specific model in almost 150 basic schools. Only after thoroughly reviewing and evaluating all results in the entire first level of the basic school, which are planned to last 4 years in their new form, we are beginning to introduce them universally, from the first grade up.

The obvious conclusion, therefore, I believe, is that this involves not merely a "modernization" of teaching, one, furthermore, that is restricted to mathematics. The core of the changes consists in the very approach to the function of the pedagogical process and its content. Until now disproportionate emphasis has been placed on memorization, encyclopedic education, and rote work. It will now be replaced by development of logical thinking, independent creative work, inventiveness, and intellectual activity.
Goals for individually taught subjects are derived from these basic purposes. The mother tongue and mathematics are of key importance. They both have in common the emphasis on active participation by the pupil during the lessons. Instruction sets, which give parents unnecessary concern, are being introduced into mathematics. One must realize that no higher mathematics, no complicated teaching subject disproportionate to the children's age are involved. On the contrary, the pupils will learn according to a child's ability to differentiate, generalize, abstract and also apply knowledge gained, and thus by gradual comprehension penetrate the world and its laws. Also, a new teaching subject will be introduced—primary knowledge, which is a follow-up to the program of unified education in kindergartens. It gives the youngest pupils primary correct notions about social life and culture.

Simultaneously with the gradual introduction of this new concept at the primary level of basic schools, experimental verification of the new concept at the second level of these schools—i.e. in the fifth to eight grades—will be carried out. That means that when this year's pupils of the first grades have completed the fourth grade of the basic school, everything will be ready for them to advance according to the new pedagogical concept from the fifth to the eighth grade of the future second level of the basic school.

[Question] During the Fifth Five-Year Plan principles were formulated and approved for reconstructing the content and organization of youth training for the worker occupations. The proposed reorganization will be carried out in stages, beginning 1 October, 1976. What is the principal meaning of this reconstruction and how is its implementation reflected in the school year just beginning?

[Answer] One of the basic aims of our school system in its long-range development is to offer to the overwhelming majority of our youth full secondary education with a maturity certificate. This purpose reflects not only the tendency to facilitate access to advanced education for the young but also a no less important consideration—that is, the constantly increasing requirements in qualifications and general educational level of future workers.

There is an additional very important fact, namely, that in the new school system the educational institutions for apprentices—or more exactly, secondary trade schools—which will prepare young workers within a new institutional framework—together with other secondary schools will assume the demanding task of completing the obligatory 10-year school attendance. The obvious conclusion is that a substantial increase in the general educational element in this preparation will be introduced throughout the entire sector of apprentice schools. In addition, the already existing 4-year educational branches, leading to a maturity certificate, will be further expanded; in addition, study curricula at secondary trade schools will be broadened and the so-called more demanding variant of the fundamentals of general educational subjects will be utilized more intensively in the 3-year branches.
[Question] Which pedagogical and organizational measures are being prepared in the secondary school sector?

[Answer] The existing branches of secondary schools—i.e. gymnasiums, secondary trade schools, and vocational training schools—will be brought closer together by setting a single educational and teaching goal. This should lead to the best possible placement of graduates of these schools in social activities for which they are best qualified and to their ability consciously to choose advanced studies. Each school will at the same time preserve its specific character, according to its specialized purpose.

As for gymnasiums, the polytechnical character of teaching will be consistently enhanced, the system of electives will be more widely utilized, and the experimental teaching of rudiments of specialized training will be continued. In secondary trade schools the level of teaching general education subjects will be raised, with emphasis on mathematics. The content and method of practical training will be improved at the same time. This will fully reflect the importance of training middle-level technical cadres for the development of individual economic branches, management, culture, and state administration.
TRENDS IN DEVELOPMENT OF WORKER MILITIA UNITS DISCUSSED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 24 Sep 76 p 7

[Article by Michael Mara, Berlin: "Worker Militia Units Practice Combat"]

[Text] In the whole territory of the "GDR" maneuvers of the paramilitary "Workers Militia" are taking place during the current weeks. The so-called tactical exercises are being conducted on the occasion of the completion of the 1973/76 training period "under conditions of modern combat" and are probably the largest in the history of the militia units. They were prepared long beforehand--for example "demonstration exercises" were held in all bezirks in recent months and are to demonstrate the "increased combat value" and combat readiness of the militia units, whose military importance has grown continually in recent years.

The beginnings of the militia units go back to the early 1950's. In 1952 the SED began to form armed units of the party in the so-called State Enterprises (VEB). Under the shock of the people's uprising of 17 June 1953 the SED pushed the buildup of the militia units systematically at great expense as the "organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat" in enterprises, state institutions, and other installations.

Today the militia units, which passed their test in the summer of 1961 in the military blockade of East Berlin, can no longer be compared with the poorly equipped and trained "enterprise militia units" of the 1950's. In the words of SED General Secretary Erich Honecker they have "their firm place in the system of our security and defense measures." Under its leadership the SED in recent years has made a series of decisions aimed at the "military strengthening" of the militia units, which officially belong to territorial defense and are trained by specialists of the People's Party but are under the command of the SED.

The "greatest growth in the combat value of the units until now" in the training period just ending and affirmed in the most recent SED materials is primarily attributable to the following measures:

--The SED is spending more on its militia units than ever before. Armament and equipment have been considerably improved. Among other things the militia units have received modern infantry weapons and vehicles.
--The militia units personnel has been "filled out" and "rejuvenated." Replacing the "old fighters" who retired for age and health reasons, thousands of young reservists from the National People's Army (NVA) have come in. The total strength of the militia units is increasing, according to estimates of Western observers (East Berlin keeps the number secret), to about 400,000 men. The average age has dropped sharply.

--The quality of training of the members of the militia units has steadily improved in the military sense and has been adapted to current combat conditions. The training bases have been expanded and modernized.

--The militia units are more broadly "supported" by the regular armed forces than formerly. Recently they have been trained to a greater extent in cooperation with the other armed organs.

--The SED has concerned itself especially with the "strengthening of the political-moral level" of the militia units. The political indoctrination and education of the members of the militia units, who are recruited from among reliable "toilers," has been further intensified. In the conception of the SED leadership, the militia units today are "capable of closed military operations" and "unconditionally ready for action." They can also be used for offensive military assignments. The members of the militia units are to provide the proof in the "tactical exercises" beginning now.

It is evident from the militia unit newspaper DER KAEMPFER published by the SED that combat operations on a large scale are to be tested under largely realistic conditions, and, indeed, in collaboration with regular troops. In recent weeks the members of the militia units were given a thorough preparation "morally, politically, and psychologically." Due to the high physical and psychological demands the greatest value has been placed on the "political motivation" of the combat exercises, since--according to DER KAEMPFER--"despair, concern for the self, and panic have devastating effects in combat."

The SED is announcing "a steady strengthening of the workers militia" for the coming years as well. The latest issue of DER KAEMPFER says in this connection that the specific material about armament in the NATO countries and the increased antisocialist agitation are to be exploited better than previously "in order convincingly to demonstrate the continuing aggressiveness of imperialism" and to justify to the militia units the "new tasks" and "heavy demands." The "image of the enemy" held by members of the militia units is to be "further shaped," based on an alleged" preparation for aggression by the adversary." The SED once again thereby stresses what can be made of its assurances of military relaxation of tension.
CONTROVERSY REPORTED ON STATUS OF CHURCHES

Religious Freedom Defended by GDR Functionaries

[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 17 Sep 76 p 4]

[Text] "The socialist state guarantees freedom of conscience and religion, and also and above all in such a way that in no case will the state interfere with the preaching of the word of God or with other internal church affairs which are arranged by the churches and other religious communities themselves on the basis of rule of law and legality, which are binding on everyone -- beginning with our constitution." This was spoken by Chairman of CDU-East and President of the People's Chamber Goetting at a presidium session of the executive board of his party in Burgscheidungen (Halle Bezirk). In his speech, the complete text of which is now available, Goetting stated that the gospel is preached freely in the GDR and that theological work is developing freely in pleasing diversity in lively discussions between representatives of different doctrinal persuasions. Church music, church publishing and all other branches of church activity are also developing freely, in similar fashion promoted by the state. Lay institutions of the churches are performing their devoted service in complete freedom and in so doing "are recognized by the whole society, are supported and appreciated."

Goetting named figures in this connection. According to his information, the eight member churches of the Union of Evangelical Churches alone maintain in the GDR 52 hospitals with 7,000 beds, 87 homes and institutions for the physically and mentally disabled, with room for more than 6,000 persons; 280 old age and nursing homes, with room for about 11,000; 112 convalescent homes; 23 children's homes; about 550 congregation care centers; and more than 300 children's day centers, with room for more than 17,000. According to Goetting's figures, the Catholic Church supports 40 hospitals and 167 other church homes for social welfare purposes in the GDR. Similar statistics could also be cited for the smaller religious communities. He went on to say that everyone knows that the state shares in the cost of maintaining these institutions. Just a few days ago the newspaper of the CDU-East, NEUE ZEIT, reported that the state spends M60 million annually just to maintain churches of importance for art history, to support
good church music and for the charity work of churches. These and many other facts, according to Goetting, show that "churches in our state can act freely."

Christians and churches in the GDR are said to be freed of the compulsion to abuse their faith to suit the purposes of the ruling circles, which have nothing at all to do with Christian precepts. For the first time in German history the convictions and concerns of "peace-loving and socially conscious Christians" are in close agreement with the interpretations and goals of the whole society and are being realized more and more extensively with the progressive formation of developed socialism. The existence and activity of the CDU-East, which currently numbers about 80,000 members, are among those unfettered opportunities GDR Christians have for putting their faith in practice. Many Christians are active "in our socialist reality" and work "towards continued improvements in our society." If now and again there is someone "who cannot come to grips with his life and his environment, then it should be our common task to help him." Socialism needs everyone, has room for everyone, and rebounds to everyone's advantage.

Deputy Party Chairman Heyl joined in at this point and alluded to the words of the influential SED Politburo member Lamberz. The latter had announced in a so far unpublished speech before leading cadres of the CDU a somewhat more flexible attitude toward the church on the part of the SED, but he had also said: "Tomorrow, just as yesterday and today, people follow different intellectual paths in finding their place in the ranks of conscious fighters for peace, progress, and socialism." Because these paths lead to the same goal, Heyl continued, the means of getting there must also be similar. "In any case, many a Christian in our country has not yet correctly understood this. They believe that as Christians, in order to remain Christians, or to prove that they are Christians, they must act differently from Marxists in the social sphere at any cost." He went on to say that it is not a matter of acting differently, but of doing the right thing, that the right thing is this: loyalty to socialism requires not only energetic cooperation to strengthen socialism on all sides, but also "the conscious acceptance and participation in structuring its long-range perspective--the communist future."

Church Letter Cites Tensions

[Bonn DIE WELT in German 20 Sep 76 p 2]

[Text] A letter from the Conference of Evangelical Church Executive Committees to the congregations on the self-immolation of Pastor Oskar Bruesewitz was read on Sunday in the evangelical churches of the "GDR." The text of the letter is as follows:

The self-immolation of our brother pastor, Oskar Bruesewitz, has caused
serious anxiety. Explanations, slanders, dementi, and the call for information have kept many in suspense. The statements of the Church Executive Committee of the Evangelical Church in the church province of Saxony have been accepted with approval by the Union of Evangelical Churches in the GDR. They will be distributed to the parishes. We have all been affected. Inquiries have been made stemming from this perplexity:

--to our churches, whether or not the witness of Jesus Christ is not being told listlessly and nervously in them;

--to the church executive committees, whether they take up and deal with the actual cares and worries of the parishes, pastors and church workers decisively enough;

--to pastors, church workers and congregations, whether they guarantee a mutually supporting communion;

--to state organs, whether freedom of faith and freedom of conscience are really given room, especially for young people;

--on the public treatment of this event, how it conforms to the truth and to the dignity of man.

The plaint raised to God that a brother took this path must not become silent as a result of inquiries and accusations. We do not know what finally drove brother Bruesewitz to this act, but it is not for us to be his judge. Rather, the path which he chose should be left to God to judge. The one thing that is certain is that he wanted to be a witness of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The words "When one member suffers, all members suffer with him: stand as the lesson text for 18 August 1976. Brother Bruesewitz' act and the consequences which it triggered once again show the tensions which beset our society and the breaking tests to which many are subjected.

It is becoming obvious that we are not serving life in our society and in our Church by repressing problems and contradictions instead of openly working to solve them. Thus it is our job to see to it that in our society recognition and respect for the convictions of others characterize the cohabitation and collaboration of people.

It follows that Christians and non-Christians must take one another seriously as partners in the attempt to overcome these problems and master these tasks in our world.

It is especially urgent that in the homogenous socialist system of education an atmosphere of trust be created, and that children and youths be able to
live untroubled as Christians. All of us are also challenged to stand at the side of our children in these things more decisively and more convincingly.

A fundamental overall clarification on the resolution of individual cases in the education sector must be attained. Our efforts to start a dialog concerning these fundamental questions have so far been in vain. The church executive committees will continue to strive for this dialog. We ask parents and church workers to continue to use their opportunities for dialog too. Brother Brusewitz' act has caused questions to be raised which we have discussed among ourselves and which cannot be dismissed.

Many pastors, church workers and members of congregations are suffering from the shrinking of the congregations from apathy and lack of courage. The great promises of the Bible and the small flock seem to contradict one another. The fact that the effects of our witness are so often concealed from us causes us much anxiety. We want to exchange views and ponder this question honestly together and above all in front of one another.

Fear and resignation often dim our vision of what we can do.

We have still not managed to find sufficient clarity for the political witness of the Church and of each individual Christian in our environment.

Many feel there is a deep gulf between the decisions and statements of the Church executive committees and what the congregation really needs. We have not yet learned to act and to speak in a way that each side can understand.

We hope that the tensions in our churches which we are now experiencing will lead us to a new sense of community with one another. We can consort with one another openly. We do not need to be ashamed of our weaknesses in front of one another. We can trust in God's word. In this way we can mutually encourage one another to steps of hope. May our letter contribute to that.

Through his living word Jesus Christ has many means of tearing us away from sadness and convulsions, from our angry anti-attitudes, from our paralysis and apathy and making us so certain of his life that thus consoled we can take the path with him and say "but as servants of God we commend ourselves in every way: through great endurance, in afflictions, hardships, calamities...as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing, as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing everything." (2 Corinthians 6, 4 and 10).
Berlin, 11 September 1976
Conference of the Evangelical Church
Executive Committees in the German
Democratic Republic

GDR Leadership Criticized

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 20 Sep 76 p 4

[Text] On Friday before 2,000 listeners in the cathedral at Halle, the Magdeburg evangelical bishop, Werner Krusche, exhorted Christians in the GDR to take a constructive and critical share of the responsibility under socialism. Krusche spoke at the first great event of the Church Congress which opened in Halle the same day. He said Christians could view socialism "in no other way than as an open process in an open history toward an open future." Krusche criticized an attitude of resignation and of defeatism in the face of shrinking membership figures and in contrast emphasized the manifestations of a new religiosity and activity of lay Christians. "We are not at the end, but rather at new beginnings!" Bishop Krusche advocated in principle the cooperation of Christians and Marxists with the aim of doing everything useful for man. Because the social rights of man under socialism are placed in the foreground as compared to the individual rights of freedom, "we Christians will continue to remind society of the right of the individual to be himself."

Krusche spoke critically of the conceptions of the GDR leadership concerning the cooperation of Marxists and Christians under socialism. He said: "In the realm of politics we often have the impression that our sharing in the work is desired, but not in the sense that we might have something substantial of our own to contribute." It is regarded as a matter of course that Christians on their own motivation "will do exactly what the party of the working class has set down." The complete willingness to participate which has been manifested will continue to grow in proportion to the chance we see of being able to bring our own practical considerations effectively into the decision-making and implementation processes. The whole thing is a permanent learning process which cannot take place without conflicts and without disappointments on both sides. But God's ways lead on -- beyond prejudices, reservations, and disappointments.
DIVERGENT VIEWS EXPRESSED ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Interview With Former GDR Pastor

Bonn DIE WELT in German 17 Sep 76 p 5

[Interview with Pastor Klaus-Reiner Latk, in Wetzlar; "One Can Live in the GDR, If One Keeps Silent About Being Christian"]

Text--"It was a completely normal departure such as for retired people, only more rapid," says Lutheran Minister Klaus-Reiner Latk from Riestedt near Sangershausen (Thuringia). Latk, with his wife and two children, was shoved into the FRG by the GDR authorities.

Latk, since 1970 a clergyman with the congregation in Riestedt, had repeatedly clashed with GDR authorities and had spoken out publicly -- in the ZDF (Second German Television Program (FRG)) about the self-immolation of Pastor Oskar Bruesewitz in Zeitz. Latk also took part in Bruesewitz's funeral.

Shortly after his resettlement Pastor Latk, who hopes to get a living in one of the Land churches in the FRG, spoke with the IDEA, the news service of the Evangelical Alliance. DIE WELT publishes this interview, slightly condensed.

Question Pastor Latk, is your deportation connected with your statements about the death of Pastor Bruesewitz?

Answer The connection is pretty evident. When I started a poster action against the shooting at the border, they asked me to come in, in order to tell me that my departure application was being processed. After the television interview concerning the Bruesewitz case, it was announced to me that my departure would take place within 14 days.

Question The press spokesman of the EKD (Protestant Church in Germany) states that a Christian can survive in the GDR if he observes certain rules, but that the kind of open preaching of Pastor Bruesewitz was doomed to failure. Accordingly, must people in the GDR be hypocrites?
The council of Zeitz Kreis once told me that the questions of youth are regulated by law. This statement alone says it all for the citizens of the GDR; for the West it must be added that it is held to be a subversive activity to talk to a young congregation and to read the Bible with it.

What does Lutheran witness mean in a communist country or what can it mean?

Lutheran witness is actually not possible when the case of Pastor Bruesewitz is evaluated. For everything in the GDR that appears to be connected with the church is in danger of being slandered as subversive, for example confirmation or children's church services. I once experienced that in practice even choir members did not dare come to rehearsals, because it was not possible for the pastor to schedule the rehearsals so late that on the way they could no longer be seen by anyone. It is possible to live in the GDR if you keep silent about being Christian. In the GDR it becomes evident, as perhaps nowhere else, that the Marxist-Leninist ideology is the greatest danger that exists for human society. As pathetic as it may sound: in the GDR not only the Church but non-Christians suffer from it as well.

Lutheran youth work was the great concern of Pastor Bruesewitz. What is the status of that in particular in the GDR?

The explanation for the fact that religious work with youth makes such an offensive impression can be found in the youth law in connection with the public education law and furthermore in the Ninth SED Congress. Since the Ninth Congress, they deal seriously with everything, even with the strongest ideology. Naturally, only cadres who adhere to the party line may attend advanced schools, for example. It was shown by the FDJ document "Work for Atheists" that Christians, who believe that they espouse socialism or can assist socialism, are people who by mistake have not yet understood the class struggle. This makes it clear that youth work is the greatest concern of the state.

What could and what should people here in the Federal Republic do for their fellow Christians in the GDR?

That which costs the least and would be the easiest to carry out: visits over there. Maintaining contacts between congregations in order to talk to each other and provide courage.

There are often warnings from the Church that existing possibilities can be endangered by criticism of the GDR.

I just cannot understand that a human being who relies on God can fear for some reason that something could deteriorate in his work for God's kingdom if he gets involved with such work.

In your opinion, is the Ecumenical Council of Churches (OeRK) doing its utmost for the persecuted Christians in the East bloc states and in the GDR?
In my personal opinion, Geneva pursues a policy of doing its utmost in such a manner that nobody sees it. Perhaps it sounds harsh, but in this direction we actually regretted the stand of the Ecumenical Council of Churches.

In the interview on the Second German Television Program you basically replied in the negative to the question of whether anything could change after the death of Pastor Bruesewitz. What causes you to make this assumption?

The general psychosis of fear in the GDR. We had many good acquaintances in the village. After the television interview there were fewer and fewer who greeted us in the street. We heard from the neighborhood that people warned each other not to visit us. They counted on our disappearance. Even so, I hope that something can change based on the fact that the Bruesewitz case is still being talked about and it is not possible to dismiss this testimonial in a negative way.

Functionary Defends Status of Churches

Bonn DIE WELT in German 17 Sep 76 p 5

Article by Friedhelm Kemna: "Under Socialism Churches Are Free"

Berlin--In order to pacify the Christian congregations in the GDR after the self-immolation of Pastor Bruesewitz from Zeitz, the SED recently gave a large amount of publicity to the chairman of the Eastern CDU, Gerald Goetting. To the presidium of his party Goetting painted a sound picture of the churches in the GDR on the subject of "Civic Duty and Christian Duty."

With four statements Goetting tried to refute well-known facts regarding party pressure and discrimination of those who belong to the Christian churches in the SED state. The nominal Christian Democrat agrees with SED's argumentation without any differences: "Freedom is unthinkable without socialism, just as, in the reverse, there is no socialism without freedom." Thanks to the existence of real socialism in our nation we are able to establish that there has never been a time in the history of our people when they were able to breathe as freely, act as consciously and jointly, master the present and face the future as purposefully as today in the German Democratic Republic."

Goetting's speech, printed in a prominent place by the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, culminates in four assertions contradicting all the well-known facts publicly recognized by everyone:

a) Christians and churches are "freed from the necessity of having their faith misused for purposes of a ruling class." No holder of a religious office has ever been forced to speak out theologically against a policy of
social injustice or preparations for aggression, against racism or inhuman behavior.

b) In the GDR, all religious congregations enjoy the same rights. To misuse faith would be "inconceivable."

c) The socialist state guarantees freedom of faith and conscience and does not interfere in any kind of church matters. In this connection, Goetting made the reference, which makes everything relative, to the "legal order and laws of the GDR." Finally, the functionary points out the "million mark amounts" with which the SED state participates in the reconstruction and restoration of churches. (The cathedral in East Berlin, for example, is financed exclusively by church subsidies from the FRG.)

d) In the socialist state, the "concern of Christians who are peace-loving and conscious of social responsibility wholly agrees with the concepts and goals of society as a whole." Among the "opportunities for free activity open to Christian citizens" in the GDR Goetting also counted the "existence and activity" of the Eastern CDU.

11949
CSO: 2300
POLITICAL APATHY AMONG INTELLIGENTSIA SCRUTINIZED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Aug 76 p 3

[Article by Andras B. Balint: "Outsiders?"]

[Text] We finished the university together, but since the commencement ceremony—a good 4 years ago—we have not met. Thus we greeted each other with understandable pleasure and after the mutual banging on each other's back and the how-are-you-how-are-you's we stepped into the nearby restaurant to refresh our memories along with a good dinner and a pitcher of beer.

But 10 minutes later we were already rowing in the present and, sitting alongside the onion-smeared roast, what else would we be talking about? Of course—meat prices. When I was busily performing an autopsy on the reasons for the price changes. I saw that the topic was boring my friend and sure enough, after a swallow of beer he looked at me: "Let it go to heck, old pal, this does not interest me. I do not take part in politics." And he shepherded the subject onto his family problems.

You don't take part in politics? The question fell out of me when we separated and I was walking towards home on the Danube's abandoned coast. Then how can you take care of your job assignment as legal advisor, how can you function as a trial lawyer, argue, stand up for the interests of the enterprise employing you, how can you evaluate whether those who turn to you for counsel are right or not? How are you able to take part in the work of the council of directors, of which—as you said—you are a member? How can you watch the news on TV, how can you read the papers? Or...you just do not participate in politics with others?

The wind cooled me off a little, and I remembered how many similar opinions I had heard at the university and since then—thus my classmate is not an oddball at all, but the representative of a quite widespread way of thinking. I don't take part in politics, I have no opinion, you cannot find fault with me—this is the guiding principle of this type of thinking. Which, unfortunately, is popular not only among the elderly, not only those wandering along the periphery of life but in the circles of youth, of the young intelligentsia.
The resolution of the Central Committee of KISZ [Communist Youth Organization] on the issue of the young intelligentsia also convinces us about this. True, it is clear from the document that according to previous polls the passive sector is only a small proportion of those under 30 years of age, but one must even so consider their effect. Of course, the KISZ is able to measure the degree of activity primarily in who and how participates in the work of the youth organization; but if problems of participation exist, how could there not be some with those who are members only formally, with those who talk along the side of issues, with those who exempt themselves from everything?

According to the resolution from among the intelligentsia the young technical and economic people participate in the KISZ-work with the most enthusiasm, and in the community life of the plant in general. This is logical, since they work in the factory environment and the politicking of the workers has an urging effect on them. The degree of organization of the lawyers, public educators and the agricultural engineers may also be said to be satisfactory or mediocre, but that of the teachers, the doctors, and the druggists is inadequate. Of the teachers simply because their work is extraordinarily heavy, and besides, in only a few schools is a basic KISZ organization of teachers operating; of the doctors because of the great degree of isolation. (This isolation is an apt term in two ways: it is valid for the young village doctors who do their job alone, usually in strange surroundings, locked in away from the public, and it is valid for the doctors of hospitals and clinics, who—I myself have met such people—make friends only among themselves, do not "lower themselves" to the nurses, office personnel and attendants of similar age.)

But in general the picture is not quite this discouraging; I have painted it a little darker on purpose. Of course, the statements cited from the resolution are true, but it is also true that the major part of the young intelligentsia take their share in the work honestly, participate in the political life of the plant, of the institution, criticize, suggest, make their voices heard. But we must not forget even that minority who walk in the world as elegant strangers and even if they do their jobs, due to their lack of interest they do not really stand up to the confidence bestowed upon them by society at the time the diplomas were awarded.

But let us add immediately: even they have a few excuses, which can even be taken into account and are worthy of attention. In their lives, says the KISZ KB [Central Committee] document, "The great tasks of fitting in at the place of employment, beginning their careers, founding a family, specializing in their trades, furthering their training which even separately are great, have appeared in a condensed manner, during a relatively short time and simultaneously." And if they meet with failure in one of them, if they have difficulty with fitting in, if they are not assigned independent and creative work, if they immediately run into a stone wall in the collective of co-workers, it is really understandable that they might lose interest, turn inward, become apathetic. And it is also typical that they call upon the ancient principle of "don't speak, mouth; don't ache, head" to their aid, just like my legal
counsel friend whom life leached out during 4 years from a vehement debating partner, from a radical individual to a saltless, faceless paper-shuffler.

And yet, in spite of all of this: we must count on them also. The country needs their high level knowledge of their trades, their ability for orientation unbelievably badly—and not only from tomorrow on but from today on, from this instant on. Without their doubts and faith, knowledge and willingness to work our mutual—country-building—tasks will hardly ever be put in order.

8584
CSO: 2500
COLLEGE STUDENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARD RELIGION EXAMINED

Budapest FELSOOKTATASI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 7-8, Jul-Aug 76 pp 416-421

[Article by Lajos Batai and Jozsef Czirjak, academy assistant instructors of the Teacher Training Academy in Pecs: "Marxist Atheism in Philosophy Instruction"

[Excerpts] In what follows we want to air a few important experiences we had while teaching a basic course that tie in with the theme of our title. Our subject is the problem of the religious phenomenon—that is, what we consider it to be and what we are doing to overcome it and for the effectiveness of the struggle.

So why does the atheist position come up? It is not we who pose the question but rather our students, some by their silence. Naturally they know, for they have studied it in the "Foundations of Our World-View," what the requirement is, what the "official" position is. But what do they know about addition? Do they adequately understand the antagonism of religion and socialist humanism, the materialist world-view? We feel that such a sharp formulation of our question is not only justified but necessary. Not only because we are formulating, on the basis of teacher training, first, our experiences, second our evaluations and third our teaching ideas but also because what is involved, on both the religious and atheist side, is an ideological position and thus one of the areas of the class struggle, a position summing up a style of life, behavior and its characteristics.

How does the question and problem of religion live in our students? Is it a problem at all? On the basis of several years' experience we might take the following as a starting point.

They do not take part in actual, systematized profound religious instruction or education. They do not have information about religious teachings (catechisms, the Bible) or customs or about the manifestation and significance of these. The need for detailed religious criticism does not arise in this fashion. The "more basic" religious positions which can be found in a few students are not active and so we won't bother with them here.

Even on closer examination religion or religiosity has no definite content to be rejected. Their knowledge is limited to a few well-known quotations, "a social phenomenon," "opium," etc, but this does not mean that they understand or recognize the need of these.
They are acquainted with the constitutional right of freedom of conscience and of the religious freedom and the possibility of free religious practice deriving therefrom. They do not know that this is the freedom to choose non-freedom. And primarily they do not know the practical consequences deriving from the possibility, the choice, given by freedom of conscience. They do not know how the selection of a world-view means an interpretation of reality taking place intellectually and emotionally and thus means also a critical interpretation of a world-view opposed to their beliefs. This evaluation cannot be an abstract rejection because the Bible, for example, also belongs to the historical culture of mankind.

It is not at all clear to the candidate teachers that by their admission and calling they have chosen and put themselves under an obligation. Again, they know only the requirement but they understand it little even if they have accepted it.

It is an essential viewpoint that in the regularization of state and church relations and in the relationship of the Hungarian churches to socialism (practices, theoretical guidance, sermons, speeches) they deal with the everyday questions of believers.

They also experience the positive behavior of believers and church people. They say, "Religion, an illusory conviction, gives an additional incentive." They are acquainted with historical and contemporary examples of movements religious in form, which represent progress substantively and in results.

In general they do not see clearly the substantive and formal significance of church rites (church weddings, christenings, etc) and do not consider the accepting or rejecting of these rites to be elements in the taking of a world-view position.

They do not see that religion is a distorted but at the same adequate reflection of the "world turned on its head;" they do not see that it is not simply a question of consciousness but rather necessarily arises and is maintained in societies burdened with alienation.

The world-view position of our students is still undeveloped; determined behavior and emotional obligation are missing. They cannot achieve well-founded conviction in school areas alone (the level of which in any case remains below what is now possible).

Naturally we have not indicated the more important symptoms as if we were publishing a survey. Without a written survey interview it is difficult to bring the actual picture to the surface. We must take this outline, understandably, as a basis in our atheist education for we regard the taking of such a basis as realistic, even in the strict sense, to be a precondition in the interest of being able to realistically clarify a starting point for our basic atheist position in philosophy instruction, of being able to define the timely problems and thus aid correct practice.
What Is To Be Done?

When discussing religion as one of the phenomena of our society it must be noted that the socialist society "as it arises carries with it in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it came." ("Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 19, p 18). Thus its possibilities are determined and in a state of inception. At the same time, in it, the basic interests of the working classes and of the social strata coincide. This is already a reality. Equality, as the disappearance of the difference between classes and thus the liquidation of class antagonism itself, is already being realized in our homeland.

Thus social conditions are favorable and there is no doubt that they have a new quality. Although the birthmarks or their effect are preserved and present their role is subordinate. The 20-year-olds of today are already the products of our society. "Dogmatic" religion no longer has any attraction for them. Their opinions and answers are sincere; they are not patterned on the well-known expectations regarding the rejection of religion. But are the atheists?

In our sessions the young people formulated the situation by saying that it was anachronistic to be religious, especially the KISZ members; but often at the same time they said that "there was nothing else in its stead" by which they admitted an internal identification. This, unfortunately, involves no few heads and it is not superficial but required serious preparation and the openness and sincerity of the community to bring it to expression. Of course, this open community is a good foundation for further progress, too.

What Is the Task of Philosophy Instruction?

What opportunities are there? We have now arrived at what we really want to say. It is our experience that today an agitation-propagandistic, enlightenment "atheism" which poses only the so-called timely problems and hopes to have an effect through this misses the mark for it does not recognize the true nature of its subjects and sets itself unrealistic goals.

Philosophy instruction, as one area and tool of Marxist atheism, is itself a consciousness forming factor aiding conviction but it does not do this from an enlightenment foundation according to its intention. When we "measure" the results, however, we well see that the atheism of our philosophy instruction does not adequately fulfill its ideological-political function. Is it incapable of it? Many factors could be brought up as excuses but as we see it there are still unexploited opportunities here.

We think that on the basis of the number and quality of the scientific achievements appearing here (journals and books) the answer to the above question can only be negative in regard to religious themes. The trouble is with transmission, with atheist propaganda! Since we are talking about philosophy instruction we mean here the selection of points of emphasis, getting them understood and accepted. We are making a mistake by concentrating
on ideological-political and thus practical tasks and questions since we
are not sufficiently consistent in showing a way for the practical solution
of our tasks via and with the aid of our science, Marxist theory. In the
sense of Marx we are not sufficiently theoretical and for this reason we
are not practical. What this means is that we must lead our students to
the classics and not to one or another quotation. Understanding and deciphering
their pithiness and use of concepts will require a teacher's aid and thus much
time from teacher and student alike; it will require continuous self-study,
and this is an objective, real problem.

[A three-page passage citing nine works by Marx, Engels and Lenin is here
omitted.]

The "development" of atheism in our students cannot be limited to philosophy,
and just a few hours of that. There is a fundamental need for instruction in
the professional faculties to form the world-view of the students, not
spontaneously but with planned awareness.

In his teaching and instructing the teacher can hardly use directives:
"There is no God," "It is forbidden to go to religious training," "Only
unaware men are religious," etc. These pronouncements have a completely
negative effect on the children (and the parents). So if we do not supply
our students with the armor of a scientifically well-founded theory, such
as Marxist-Leninist atheism, there cannot be much promise of success that
the young teacher starting his career will find methods for practical atheist
education in their professional subjects or in their activity outside of
class.

Our students must see that they must make use of what they learn in the
course of instructional-educational work in the future in accordance with
the characteristics of the age group. What is essential, however, is that
this educational task not be limited to some homeroom hour or to the final
conclusion of some actual teaching unit. This educational task can and must
be realized fundamentally not in one or another hour but via the professional
teaching in the course of all instruction. This means that the concepts
"God" and "religion" should not come up in the great majority of the class
hours but, influencing the way of thinking of the students, a picture must
be developed in their heads so that these concepts simply "have no room" in
the system of their knowledge.

Insofar as a crucial role is played today among the persuasive arguments
of the teachers by such principles as "Religion is an invention of the
priests," "It survives it serves the interests of the ruling class," etc,
which correspond at best to a "stupid materialism" (than which a "clever
idealism" is more valuable according to Lenin), this proves that the question
of education for atheism must be increasingly placed in the foreground.
SCOUT UNION ROLE VITAL IN SHAPING PROPER YOUTH ATTITUDES

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 13 Jun 76 pp 1, 4

[Article by Henryka Witalewska: "There Cannot Be a Good School Without the Scout Movement"]

[Text] What is the most effective way to appeal to the hearts and minds of the young? What should be done to find the best solution to the problem of forming modern patriotism and correct civic attitudes?

The last session of the Council of the Ministry of Education held on 28 May of this year at the Scout Center "Perkoz" near Olsztyn was devoted precisely to the formulation of the tasks of the school and the Scout Movement required to implement the resolutions of the Third Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee.

The commissioners of education, members of the Polish Scout Union Headquarters and the Scout Union region commanders from the whole country also participated.

Minister Jerzy Kuberski chaired the deliberations and Czeslaw Banach, deputy director of the Science and Education Department of the PZPR Central Committee, Jerzy Wojciechowski, the Polish Scout Union commander and Wladyslaw Wawrzynowski, deputy chairman of the general committee of the Polish Teachers Union participated.

Also present were the Olsztyn Voivodship hosts: First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Leon Klonica and Olsztyn Voivodship leader Sergiusz Rubczewski.

The report devoted to the tasks of the school and the scout movement in implementing the resolutions of the Third Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee was presented by the Polish Scout Union commander, Jerzy Wojciechowski.
What matters then were considered to be of primary importance? On which problems will the two partners concentrate their attention? What will be the primary areas of their mutual cooperation?

Forming the Hearts and Minds

It was decided that task number one will be further improvement of the ideological work among children and youth, especially in the area of shaping patriotic and civic attitudes. It will involve search for and discovery of the best solutions for the skillful development of modern patriotism and the preservation in this most important educational activity of the correct balance between the traditional and the modern.

Above all, it is necessary to develop the youth's political culture, to shape the students' historical awareness, to enrich school life and the life of scout tribes with activities having deep patriotic meaning, to provide the youth with appropriate personal examples, to develop respect for national symbols and to enrich ceremonies.

This last point was strongly emphasized at the Third Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee and it acquired great weight and significance. The national and state symbolism, the school and scout movement symbolism, when skillfully used, create unlimited possibilities of influencing the imagination and emotions of the youth. Indeed, one of the most effective and valuable ways to develop patriotism is to work through the emotions, a skillful appeal to and capture of the heart.

Consequently, it was decided that one of the most important common tasks, i.e. common to the school and the scout movement, was the nurturing and enrichment of various forms of ceremonies, of the national, school and scout symbolism and the popularization of lay customs, especially those such as student initiations, graduation ceremonies and presentations of personal identity documents.

The next task in front of both partners is a fuller and more effective employment of educational potential embedded in the programs of individual school subjects, especially of the arts subjects. For instance, the contents of the material with which the students become familiar during the history and Polish language lessons will be used to a greater degree in the organizational activities (such as performing tasks related to the patron of a troop and tribe, or to taking care of National Memorials, or during vigils). In turn, scout tribes will help for example, with the setting up and improving of school National Memorial Halls, which constitute a particularly valuable and beneficial means for developing patriotic attitudes and emotions.

There are great possibilities for closer cooperation between the school and the Polish Scout Union in the area of preparing the youth for universal defense tasks. For instance, the school defense preparedness activities can be, and often are, supported by various forms of scout work and above all by the Technical Defense Field Exercises, which enjoy great popularity.
The next area of common endeavor strongly emphasized at the council, both in the report presented and during the discussion, is the devotion of greater attention to developing better conditions for the students to participate creatively in cultural activities. This not only involves taking care of the youth who have special artistic abilities, developing the children's and youth's amateur creativity or popularizing various arts among them. It also involves preserving the native language, fighting jargon and defilement of our speech. Finally, it involves the exceptionally important and significant matter of setting the fashions (both in the area of dress and manner) springing from native sources while fighting against the pervasive imitation of patterns foreign to us.

And the next area of common impact: further development of youth self-government. For this purpose, the Student Code, the young people's own constitution, introduced last September, could be used very effectively. The most important thing is that the students perceive the code as their constitution, which they can use skillfully. For this reason, the school and the scout movement, which has considerable experience in the area of self-government, will devote their special attention to this problem.

And finally, one of the most important links in forming civic attitudes, strongly emphasized in the speech of the deputy director of the Department of Science and Education of the PZPR Central Committee, Czeslaw Banach: education through work. To truly educate, however, manual work must be real and sensible and not make believe, as often happens.

The matter of compulsory hours of physical work for students is of prime importance. This will become the object of special care of the school and the scout tribes. Both partners will try to develop a closer cooperation with production plants, which can help a lot in this particular area.

At present, the scout organization numbers close to 2.7 million students. Even though this is an impressive number, the growth of the Polish Scout Union in individual regions, voivodships and schools is very uneven. To put it simply, the geography of the organization's activities leaves much to be desired. The following data are from the report by the commander, Jerzy Wojciechowski.

The Katowice troop, for instance, numbers about 253,000 cubs, scouts and instructors while the Chelm, the Biala Podlaska and the Leszczyn troops number less than 30,000 (the average number of members in a troop is about 100,000).

Another disproportion: in the troops in large metropolitan areas, especially such cities as Warsaw, Poznan, Odansk, Szczecin, Lodz and Krakow, the average percentage of youth organized significantly differs from the national index (from 20 percent in Warsaw to 38.4 percent in Krakow).
Another anomaly: there are city and town scout districts where the index of organized youth in the schools above the grade level sometimes reaches 90 percent, but there are some where it barely exceeds 10 percent (for example, in the Krowodrze section of the Krakow troop it reaches only 11.9 percent).

The situation is similar in the schools above the grade level. For instance, in the Bialystok section the spread ranges from 19 to 94.9 percent.

And it is the main task of the educational authorities and the Polish Scout Union to equalize all these anomalies. There is no doubt that these striking inequalities in the development of the scout movement are closely related to the school situation; where the schools are poor there, almost as a rule, the scout movement is weak. And these poor and neglected schools, neglected in many respects—and we still have many of them—are going to become the object of special care for both partners.

Special attention will be especially directed to strengthening the scout movement in schools above the grade level, particularly in the basic schools where the educational effort still leaves plenty to be desired; the effort will be directed to searching for proper programmatic solutions for the large city environment and to the further strengthening of the Polish Scout Union in the consolidated town schools.

Boarding schools are also in the center of attention. This subject was strongly emphasized both in the report and during the discussion and also by Minister Jerzy Kuberski during the closing session of the council. What is going to be done in this area?

One of the things which will be done by common effort will be a discerning evaluation of all boarding schools inquiring into their material base and their educational ambience. Special emphasis will be placed on the natural outcome of the essence of these institutions: the development of student self-government and independence and the proper fulfillment of the slogan "the youth are the cogovernors of the boarding schools." The emphasis will be placed on more active and more articulate participation by the youth in the development of educational programs and internal rules of the institutions.

Taking Care of the Instructor

Another key problem, crucial for all organizational endeavors in the field of education: the instructor cadre. Inasmuch as the clear majority of scout instructors are recruited from among teachers and students, the problems of the cadre and especially of its preparation are an object of common interest.

At this time, the ranks of instructors number 113,000, out of whom 62,000 are teachers and 37,000 students. Thus, the teachers now constitute 52.6
percent of the instructor cadre (until recently this percentage amounted to 65) and the students 33.6 percent (this index clearly went up lately, until recently it was 21.8).

The task which confronts the educational authorities, the schools and the scout organization is to strengthen the position of the instructor who, after all, is the most valuable ally of the principal. The instructor should be freed from other duties and an effort should be made to create in the near future in every town consolidated school and in every large grouping of schools above the grade level, the position of a teacher-scout instructor.

The most serious aspect of this group of problems is undoubtedly the proper training of the instructor cadre. We have achieved respectable results in this field, such as the introduction (starting in the school year 1975/76) to teacher education courses of an obligatory subject: educational methodology in the Polish Scout Union. But there is a need for continuous, systematic progress. For instance, it is important that the education of instructor cadre gain a strong position in the system of teacher education and development.*

Another matter of enormous importance is the awakening among the youth of interest in and love for teaching work and of the willingness to undertake studies at the schools preparing for that profession.

"Feeling Jointly Responsible"

The proposed program of activities of the scout troops and tribes in the year 1976/77 was submitted to the members of the Council. The program theme is a motto excerpted from the Constitution: "Recognizing our joint responsibility for the fate of our country" and it contains four fields of action. These fields are defined in the following manner:

--every day we are creating the future of Poland;

--we want to know more than we do now;

--in the scout community we are learning the adult life;

--we are shaping the socialist style of life and action.

*At the beginning of June, a symposium was held in Bydgoszcz on the subject of training and development of teachers in the field of scout work. We will devote a separate article to that conference, which was organized by the Advanced School of Pedagogy, the Institute for Teacher Training and Educational Research, the Office of the Commissioner of Education and the Commander of the Bydgoszcz Scout Region.
This proposed program, with minor corrections, was accepted and it was decided to treat it as an important directive for mutual cooperation, which will be still closer and more united. There is no doubt that there cannot be a good school without a good scout movement and there cannot be a good scout movement without a good school. If we want the school life to become real preparation for life then the scout organization must play a special role in school life.

As Minister Jerzy Kuberski emphasized in his speech, the decisions taken at the last council begin a new important phase in our entire education; in a way they introduce the school into the era of the developed socialist society, they translate into the language of practical education the directives of the sixth and seventh party congresses, which were best reflected first at the Seventh and then at the Third Plenary Sessions of the PZPR Central Committee.

Concluding the report on this important meeting, I would like to add that an excellent illustration of how to implement in practice the educational tasks which were discussed at the council was a beautiful outdoor show in the Fields of Grunwald prepared by the Warmia-Mazury Troop, which bears the name of Grunwald. This show mostly played on the emotions of the numerous scout youth gathered for this celebration and tried to appeal to their hearts as effectively as possible.

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In speaking at this round table I should like to address myself to the multidisciplinary study of interethnic relations and coexistence between the Romanian people and the national minorities. To reach conclusive results of great scientific and social-political value, let us be constantly guided by the party documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture, a program document that affords us a solid theoretical and political basis and is also a stimulating guide in this respect.

The RCP Program says that "The nationalities will continue to exist for a long time, both in the period of socialist construction and in that of communist construction. This will require a constant effort to secure full equality of rights and conditions for the unrestricted progress of each nationality without distinction." Thus the spirit and the letter of the program require of us a profound and objective knowledge of the facts in order to contribute information and recommendations to the party and state organs' efforts to further improve interethnic relations and the institutional elements called upon to implement party policy in solving the nationalities problem. In this light, the investigation, processing and theoretical generalization of the data and knowledge concerning the past of both the Romanian people and the national minorities reveal the process of development and consolidation of the unity of workers in Romania, regardless of nationality, as a regular as well as purposeful process the determination of which is part of the party's scientific management of our social activity as a whole.

As for scientific research, it is easy to imagine how fertile it would prove for the enrichment of Marxist social theory in general and of sociology and political science in particular, and for in-depth study of the consequences of the great revolutionary reforms taking place in Romania for interethnic relations. Scientific analysis of the results as regards provision for equal rights, the particular mutual influences between the brother cultures, and the changed social structure of some communities and areas under the impact of industrialization are a few of the problems whose precise formulation would further the
prestige of our sociology and political science. And let us not forget that the facts and our efforts are the most convincing arguments for exposing slanderers and combating the provocative manifestations that are still going on in some capitalist countries.

Of course in our times all international congresses on sociology, ethography and political science are taking a great interest in the problem of ethnic minorities and regional movements. The specialized bibliographies show the growing number of studies, surveys and books treating various aspects of this problem which, if it is not studied and resolved, constitutes a factor for unrest in several capitalist countries of Western Europe. The Institute of Political Sciences and Study of the Nationalities Problem under the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy is helping to develop scientific research on this question, and considerable progress has been made. In this connection we welcome the recent publication of the historical studies of the Hungarian and German nationalities. To be sure the development of scientific research requires a critical dialog with various schools and trends, while socialist Romania, with its facts and achievements, would offer new, original and conclusive results in the solution of the nationalities problem.

In connection with the theoretical-methodological aspects, I would point out the need of defining the concept of nationality. I formulated such a definition hypothetically in my recent book on this subject, entitled "Self-Knowledge of Today and Yesterday."

It is of particular theoretical as well as practical interest to analyze the cultural phenomenon, the culture of such a nationality as the Hungarian one in Romania considered as a microculture expressing the existence, interests and aspirations of this community. To be sure this microculture is an integral part of the whole nation's culture, the unity of which implies no standardization. On the contrary, it presupposes the existence and development of varieties, of distinctive traits rooted in the diversity of language, folklore and other characteristics that go to make up the traditions, historical conditions, psychology etc. of the national minorities.

As for literature, in developing the concept of "Romanity" Gaal Gabor established a close correlation between the literature and the people or nationality that it expresses. From this standpoint (on the basis of the dialectic between continuity and discontinuity), the Hungarian literature born and developed in Romania has played an important part in forming the social and national consciousness and in the self-knowledge of the Hungarian population. The culture and literature of the Hungarian nationality in Romania are developing in an environment of mutual influences with Romanian literature and culture and with those of other national minorities. In a primarily multidisciplinary study, only the coordinated efforts of sociologists, philosophers, political scientists, historians, jurists and folklorists can produce the desired result. Hence also the urgent need of developing the methods and techniques of these complex and, by definition, collective studies.
In connection with the concept of international solidarity, the wealth of controversial literature on the subject our round table is discussing offers a wide variety of approaches. Some of these contradict each other to such an extent that it is no exaggeration to say that we are confronted with as many interpretations of the concept as subjective wishes, historical circumstances, temporary interests, social aims and national aspirations have been "cast" in one period or another in the concept of international solidarity. This does not mean, let us acknowledge, that we have to deal with any theoretical or methodological "disorder." On the contrary, all the recent approaches are based upon analysis and interpretation (in different ways to be sure) of the purport of the memorable appeal or slogan that became a banner of the revolutionary struggle: "Proletarians in All Countries, Unite!"

If someone were to write the history of the idea of international solidarity he would undoubtedly find that it has to do not with the evolution of a slogan (unchanged in form since the middle of the last century, when it came to summarize for a long time a requirement of the strategy of the period, an aim of the simultaneous advance of the labor movement in several countries), but with the search for the way to fulfill the high aspirations to social freedom, which is inconceivable without national freedom. Therefore any fruitful working hypothesis for formulating criteria to coherently and rationally define the principles of international solidarity must be based upon the fundamental consideration that it has a specific content in every historical period and consequently takes particular forms that are constantly enriched by new theoretical and practical conclusions.

In its traditional sense, international solidarity expresses the unity and mutual support of workers in all countries in the fight against exploitation and oppression and for the abolition of the old capitalist system and the construction of socialism and communism. This view is constantly stressed in the party documents and the speeches of Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu. In this connection, his speech at the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture is a major contribution to the substantiation of the revolutionary theory of international solidarity in our time and to the definition of the aims and criteria of this solidarity. Essentially, according to this idea construction of the new order in one's own country and manifestation of solidarity with workers in other countries who are also building socialism or hope to, fighting against exploitation and oppression, form an indissoluble unity. I might say that harmonious combination of revolutionary patriotism with active support of the worldwide struggle for social progress accompanied by every nation's unrestricted advance is actually the ideological essence of the internationalist attitude.

There is a particular need of clarifying the criteria of solidarity in theoretical discussions and social-political thinking because rational arguments are abandoned in articles, studies and monographs published in various countries and unilateral conclusions are drawn as to a kind of preferential solidarity, with the organizational and ideological consequences that flow from it (coordination of the various actions from a "center," international documents in the nature
of directives, etc.). The promoters of such views reach the point of theorizing about "subordination of national to international interests," and impairment of the prerogatives of national sovereignty and independence. It is now wonder that some bourgeois authors write that "Actually, internationalism claims to supersede nations, states and national interests." (Patrice Gerald, "The Political Systems of the Socialist States," Cujas, Rouen, 1976) Others, more given to political philosophy, regard the sovereign equality of states and nations as a "mythical concept" that "cannot eliminate the brutality of group behavior, the vast range of differences in power among the nation-states, and the fact that they invariably model their responses in a more or less respectful manner according to power." (Robert A. Klein, "Sovereign Equality Among States: the History of an Idea," Toronto, Canada).

It is evident that objective, scientific analysis calls for clear theoretical distinctions and avoidance of any confusion as to the meanings of categories and terms, such as national interest and international interest, for example. We must not overlook here the confusion of some theorists between the international interest as a real expression of common interests of several nations or all nations (which can motivate joint actions based upon free consent, observance of national sovereignty and full equality of rights, and cooperation for mutual benefit) and the interests of one nation and one state, which obviously cannot be regarded as those of any others.

Bourgeois authors discussing the problems of national and international interests tell us that the states' sovereignty and complete autonomy in forming their own policies is a basic principle of the international system, yet "This autonomy can be limited or even abandoned by an act of will. The states may decide to merge in larger units of a different nature, or they may be forced to do so." (Josep Frankel, "Between Autonomy and Interdependence," in "National Interest," London, MacMillan, 1970, p 148) In describing the "process" called modernization of the modern world, another political scientist says that when the nations unite in organizations like the Common Market, NATO etc. the restriction of their sovereignty is not "equal," because "The small countries lose more of their sovereignty than the big ones." (Robert Dahl and Edward R. Tufte, "Size and Democracy," Stanford, California, 1974).

Some ideologists' efforts to justify preconceived theories overlooks the logic of the arguments that is characteristic of scientific research and their rational comparison with the objective facts, and this of course leads to the subjective approach. But as Lenin said, "Unity of action on an international scale requires both clarity in the basic ideological concepts and a precise determination of the various practical methods of action." ("Complete Works," Vol 27, 1964, p 31) There is no question that the designation of these viable criteria for clarifying the idea of international solidarity must be based upon a comprehensive, profound analysis of the modern era (in all its components), when the balance of power unmistakably indicates the decisive importance of the irreversible course toward construction of a new world order and toward social progress. Modern social-political relations are characterized by general and fundamental processes that do not "evolve in parallel," isolated from each other, but are interdependent and to a certain extent even mutually conditioned, determining
together the course of all mankind toward progress. These processes are repre-
sented by the transformation of socialism into a world system, by the collapse
of the colonial system of imperialism and the growing role of the countries that
have taken the path of political and socioeconomic independence, by the continu-
ning development and maturing of the international communist and labor movement,
and by the growth of many communist and labor parties into a true national
force. Now that the working class parties are far more experienced and are fac-
ing a greater variety of problems that can be resolved only by each one of them
and by the social forces in each country, the success of the revolutionary move-
ment does not depend upon the "globalism" of the strategy but upon its correla-
tion with the particular conditions.

But it is not only in the labor movement but also on a broader scale that new
qualitative processes have set in which are expressed by the extent of the pro-
gressive, democratic forces everywhere and by the deterioration of the whole
system of national and international relations in the capitalist world as one
of the consequences of the general crisis of capitalism.

In addition to the peoples' constantly increasing acceptance, in the last few
decades, of the ideas of socialism, which have a vast power of attraction and
act as a factor for world reform and political radicalization of the masses,
the great technical-scientific revolution, the international division of labor,
the phenomena of interdependence, and relations of bilateral and multilateral
collaboration among the nations of the world have all been intensified. Now
more than ever these phenomena call for application of the principles of inde-
pendence and sovereignty, full equality of rights, noninterference in internal
affairs, mutual benefit, and not departure from these principles.

The increasing effect on all continents of powerful social forces (the working
class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the middle strata, the broad masses
of women and youth, some circles of the intelligentsia and the army, and vari-
ous other social categories) who are militating, in different ways of course,
against the imperialist policy reflect the will of the peoples to be complete
masters of their destinies.

These radical changes in the configuration of the modern world and the constant
"pressure" of objective factors in favor of social progress are not due to "out-
side stimuli" but to internal, national effort and collaboration with other na-
tions or advanced social forces.

In relation to the evolution of the modern world, the concept of international
solidarity primarily requires recognition of the existence of the national
states as well as the independent, autonomous revolutionary and democratic par-
ties and organizations. Their solidarity emanates from the unity of their major
aims, which is a unity in diversity. Naturally absence of the prerogatives
of national independence, any denial of the capacity or right to an independent
policy, or promotion of the formula of the "model," in the sense of a standard,
would negate the meaning of the idea of solidarity.

At the same time, the existence of several socialist states lends the value of
an important criterion of international collaboration to each one's solidarity
with the others and to the promotion of relations of full equality and friendly mutual aid among all the respective countries, for purposes of the all-around development of each and the general victory of socialism and communism.

The all-around development of the new order in several states and the future transition of other peoples to socialism in the most varied ways require application of the principles of the new kind of international relations, which express the essence of socialism and its superiority over capitalism and which will permit collaboration and cooperation among free and independent nations with equal rights. Under these circumstances, international solidarity demands active participation in the democratic solution of all the complex problems of the modern world in accordance with each nation's interests, as well as consolidation of militant solidarity with all the progressive, anti-imperialist forces.

From the standpoint of the ideals of the socialist revolution, the defense of national freedom and independence is essential to the practical achievement of the new order throughout the world, and it is the true test of the authenticity of international solidarity and consequently one of its criteria. This solidarity does not emanate from any specially constituted authority above the nations and their representative political powers, the communist and labor parties. The latter are responsible to their own working class and their own people for their activity. As Nicolae Ceaușescu says on this subject, "The first duty of a revolutionary party is to lead its own people in the defense of the masses' economic and political interests, social justice and democracy, and national independence and integrity. Success in this struggle is the essential criterion of every party's revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist spirit. This not only does not conflict with international solidarity but, on the contrary, constitutes a sine qua non for true proletarian internationalism."

Accordingly our party's conception of international solidarity is broad, comprehensive, and in full accord with the changes that have taken place in the world and the new dimensions of the revolutionary process.
REGULATIONS ON WORK CARDS PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 76, 29 Jul 76 pp 6-8


[Text] The Ministry of Labor, on the basis of Decree No 783/1969 Regarding the Organization and Operation of the Ministry of Labor, and later modifications, and Article 25 (1) of Council of State Decree No 92/1976 regarding the work card, expecting the approval of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions, issues the following order:

Approval is given to the methodology of filling out, completing, preserving, and presenting the work card, as outlined in the annex of this order.

Petre Lupu, Minister of Labor, in Bucharest, 26 July 1976, No 136.

Annex

Methodology of Filling Out, Completing, Preserving, and Presenting the Work Card

I. Regarding the entries that are to be made under the chapter headings of the work card, the following points are established:

The situations called for in the chapters of the work card format are to be filled out in Romanian, with black ink or typographical ink, legibly, and without erasures, on the basis of the documents called for by law, including, in the designated place on the form, the signature, first and last name, and the position of the person who fills out and completes the work card. The work card is to be filled out as follows:

1. In chapters I and II, where the format calls for the number and date of the document regarding a person's legal status, the information entered will be that under which the respective events were recorded in the register of legal status.
2. In chapter III, documents regarding education issued by foreign states are noted if these documents were recognized by the Ministry of Education and Learning; legalized copies of these documents will be presented.

3. In chapter IV, next to qualifications and specializations, mention the forms of improvement of professional training where graduation is certified under the conditions of law.

4. In chapter VI:

a) In column 2, at the beginning of the work record, note the complete name of the unit and the location where it is headquartered; the column remains blank in the case of registrations regarding intervening changes in the execution of the work contract.

If the unit has changed its name, note the new name upon the first intervening change in the professional situation of the card holder, further mentioning, "the former............." (the old name of the unit).

b) In column 3, enter: the assignment, change of position and pay rate, change of pay rate with no change of position, and change in place of work within the framework of the same contract when this involves a change in work group, transfer, reassignment, interruption or cessation of activities, the breaking of the work contract, noting precisely, in each case, the legal basis upon which these events took place and the situations covered by the law which confer work tenure and tenure in each unit, as evidenced by the documents of the responsible organ upon which the entries are made.

For personnel who carry out their activities as cooperatists in the framework of a craft cooperative, for the beginning of activity enter "coopted," and for end of activity enter, in each case, "withdrawn" or "excluded from the cooperative."

When registering a period prior to the date of 1 January 1949, it will be done on the basis of proof of having subscribed to the former social insurance firms, entering "subscribed" on the form.

If a person did not work because the work contract was terminated, but the responsible organs determined that it was illegal to terminate the work contract, on the basis of the document which annulled these measures, enter in the first blank line "annulled decision number...............terminating the work contract upon the basis of position number ............."

In cases where there is an interval between the date when activities ended and the date of termination of the work contract, enter the end of the activities, with the exact date and causes, and, in the next line, enter the termination of the work contract indicating the legal basis and date of issue of the notice terminating the contract.
For a temporary work disability for which a person received payments from the state social insurance fund, occurring after the termination of the work contract, enter "began temporary work disability" and respectively "ended temporary work disability," which will be noted by the last unit with which the person was reported at work, after which follows a new closure of the work card.

In cases of activities carried out in the permanent framework of the Ministry of National Defense or the Ministry of the Interior and other situations, for which certain persons are to benefit, according to law, from certain increases in work tenure, a special note is to be made in the work card, in the first blank line, mentioning the information regarding the increase granted by the unit where this person works and the documents where this information is found, indicating the legal provisions serving as the basis for granting this increase in tenure.

c) In column 4 enter the year, month and day when the situation mentioned in column 3 takes place.

d) In column 5, note, for workers, occupation, category and pay grade, and for technical, economic, specialized, and administrative personnel, note the position, class, and rank.

Proof of the period of employment within the parameters of groups I and II for pensions is provided by the place of work, work group and the point in the table annex of the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Health upon which the time and place of employment is calculated for the person in this situation, according to his work program. When there are changes in the place of work, within the framework of the same work group or in another group, entries are made corresponding to the newly created situation.

When the activities of the holder of the work card no longer fall within the framework of groups I and II, enter in column 3 "ended employment in group ..........," noting the necessary data in the other columns.

After making these entries, on the next line in the work card, precisely note the length of time worked in work groups I or II for pension purposes, in accordance with the daily, weekly, or monthly work program, using the entire space from column 3 to column 7 as follows: "During the period from .......... to .......... worked in work group (I or II) position number ...... from the annex of Order number .......... of (date) .......... of the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Health, totaling ...... years ...... months ...... days (also repeated in letters).

e) In column 6, enter the pay rate of employment as shown in the documents of the responsible organ that established the rate.

In cases in which the employed person benefits from a pay rate that is larger or a compensation that, according to legal provisions, is included in the employment pay rate, enter in the work card both the employment as well as,
separately, below, the increase or compensation included in the pay, making note appropriately when this situation ended.

Additional pay that is granted intermittently or over a specific period of time which is included in the pay rate is entered in the work card, in each case, at the end of the calendar year or upon the date when these extra payments end, on the first blank line in columns 3-7 as follows: "During the period from .......... until .......... received pay at an increased rate (or compensation) in accordance with article ...... of (the normative act) totaling ...... lei, at an average monthly rate of ...... lei."

Those persons who were not able to have their work card completed for whatever reason will present, in original form, the legal documents which prove the length of their work tenure, including their military documents or documents issued by military organs, in order to be entered in their work card by the unit where they work.

Certification of the reviews called for in article 20 (4) of the decree will be done by entering "Verified the validity of the entries made within the framework of the unit," after which the person who made this certification will sign his name and note his position. After this entry, the work card will be presented to the head of the unit, or his delegate, who will sign it and place the stamp upon it.

At retirement, when the retirement order is issued, the pension organ will make an entry on the first blank line under the chapter "Information Regarding Work Activity," noting the number of the pension decision, the category of pension, the amount, and the date of the pension.

5. In chapter VII, enter the corrected page, current number, column or line, noting at the same time the text as it was modified or completed, and the number and date of the act on the basis of which the correction was made. The correction will be made by lining out the erroneously entered data, in such a way that the old entry can still be read, entering below, in red ink, the exact data by the unit that maintains the work card.

II. Regarding the Issuance of the Work Card Form, Duplicate Cards, and Presenting and Preserving the Work Card

In carrying out the provisions of article 25 (2) of the decree, the county directorates, and the Bucharest Municipality directorate, for work and social welfare problems will distribute requested forms to the units. The units will attach proof of payment equivalent to these forms. Each time work card forms or supplementary pages to the work card are requested, the unit must justify their increased use.

The work cards are preserved in dry rooms, protected from the dangers of fire or flood, in metal files with locking devices, in classification boxes in alphabetical order according to the name of the card holder. At large units, they will be grouped together by sections and then placed in alphabetical order.
Files containing documents of the work cards will be maintained separately from the work cards, in the same order as the work cards, having the same number of orders resulting from the register of evidence.

Whenever there is a change in the personnel who work with the work cards in the units, the work cards will be inventoried.

In carrying out the provisions of article 9 of the decree, the issuance of a duplicate work card is done on the basis of approval given by the county, or Bucharest Municipality, directorate for work and social welfare problems, as a result of a request by the card holder or the unit, from which are provided the circumstances under which the card was lost, worn out, or, in case it was destroyed. At this time, the organs of the respective directorate will apply article 23 (1) of the decree or will establish if there is a need to apply the provisions of article 23 (2) of the decree referring to legal punishment.

The duplicate work card is completed in the same manner as the original work card, mentioning on the first page of the card that it is a "duplicate," as well as the number and series of the original work card.

Evidence of the work card in the unit is maintained in the register of identification numbers, code 15-02-06, approved by the Government Commission for the Rationalization of the Documents in State Socialist Units.

Work cards that are not claimed by the card holder upon the termination of work are turned over, with a written note, to the unit archives, to be maintained permanently in the case where it is not known where the card holder is working.