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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1571

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POLISH DEFENSE MINISTER COMMENTS ON SOYUZ-30 FLIGHT

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Jun 78 p 3 LD

[RASS Report: "Notable Event"]

[Text] The head of the Polish military delegation, W. Jaruzelski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Polish National Defense Minister, made a statement for TASS and the Polish Press Agency at the Space-drome in connection with the flight of the Soviet Soyuz-30 spacecraft with a Soviet-Polish crew on board. The statement says:

"We are witnessing a notable event. From this world-renowned place, from the Baykonur Spacedrome, an international crew, the first Soviet-Polish crew, has just been launched into near-earth orbit. It carries with it our best wishes and heartfelt feelings. It has been given the great honor of making its contribution to the study and use of space, one of the factors in the creation of a new era of civilization. At the same time, in fulfilling this mission, it represents the socialist part of the world, displays peaceful intentions, and shows an example of heroic labor for the benefit of all mankind.

"This joint flight is continuing the pioneering path of Soviet scientists and designers, industrial leaders and workers, and Soviet conquerors of space. In connection with this event I should like to convey to them all on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the Polish leadership and Comrade Edward Gierek personally sincere congratulations and heartfelt thanks. Their successes are a confirmation of the humane essence of socialism, a testimony to the inexhaustible powers which are produced by the combination of the potential of human intelligence with the advantages of our system, of a highly idealistic, progressive human personality with the most modern, advanced equipment. These are precisely the aims which are being served increasingly effectively by cooperation between the socialist states, enriched also by the implementation of the joint 'Intercosmos' program. We see in it a particularly valuable new expression of internationalism under present-day conditions, and the prospect for the accelerated economic and technical development of our countries and the flourishing of our peoples."
"We are deeply convinced, with a sense of patriotic pride, that the first Pole, a communist and soldier, to take part in the implementation of this imposing space program will fulfill this particular crucial task. For us this event is all the more notable in that it is taking place on the eve of the holiday of Poland's rebirth, in the year of the 35th anniversary of the Polish Army. We see in this an imposing symbol of Polish-Soviet friendship which was born and strengthened in the joint struggle for your freedom and ours and which is continuing today reliably to serve the common cause of peace and socialism.

CSO: 1870
The State Security Forces were created 35 years ago in the fire of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War. This is an important event in the history of our country, a great anniversary celebration not only for the workers of this glorious corps, but also for all the soldiers of the internal affairs, organs and units for all our Armed Forces, and for all the Albanian people.

The State Security Forces were created by the party and, under the continual guidance, they became the vigilant eye of the dictatorship of the prolereriat, the unsheathed sword in the hands of our working people, for the defense of the social and state order.

In the glorious years of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, the matter of intelligence assumed a special importance both for defense against the enemy and for counteraction against him. Thus, along with the forms and methods of the underground war, the party time also taught to the male and female partisans and the many activists of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Movement the art of intelligence without which their important tasks could not be executed successfully.

The Anti-Fascist National Liberation Movement was growing and expanding uninterruptedly, the power of the national liberation councils was also being increased and reinforced, and the regular Anti-Fascist National Liberation Army was also being created. This fact enraged the occupiers and traitors of the country and activated the foreign hostile intelligence services, especially Anglo-American intelligence. The intensification of their activity and the creation of dozens of espionage centers and points around Albania to sabotage the Anti-Fascist National Liberation
War of our people made it necessary to coordinate intelligence activities in one center. It was under these circumstances that the Albanian Central Intelligence Service was created in July-August 1943. It was set up in the General Staff of the National Liberation Army while Intelligence Offices were created in the district [Qark] party committees. Relying on Comrade Enver's recommendations that "without precise and detailed information the action cannot be successful", the commands of the National Liberation Army units systematically began to use the data of our Central Intelligence service played an important role particularly during the Winter Operation of 1943-1944, the June Operation of 1944, and also during the general offensive of the National Liberation Army in the cities for the complete liberation of the fatherland. On this basis, our intelligence network expanded greatly; many intelligence centers and bases were created; and our network often successfully penetrated inside the enemy area. During this stage our intelligence service strongly relied on the various data provided by its underground intelligence network, and also strongly relying on the many pieces of information received from our vigilant people.

On 29 November 1944 a new luminous path was opened to our people who had suffered much, the path to socialism and communism. Albania was completely liberated and now it had its people's government, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This fact even more enraged our internal and external enemies. The workers of the State Security Forces were meeting now with all kinds of very cunning, profoundly hostile forms and methods of work. They had to discover and attack the carefully coordinated rebellions and plots, destroy countless armed bands, and prevent acts of terror, subversion, espionage, and treason, and to successfully confront a many-sided hostile propaganda which was accompanied everywhere by political blackmails and many provocations from land, sea, and air.

Because of the ardent patriotism of our working masses and of the high revolutionary vigilance of the workers of the State Security Forces, the criminal plans of the intelligence service of the foreign capitalist and revisionist powers, to organize the remnants of the internal reaction and to make all the counterrevolutionary forces rise up and attack the people's power, are unmasked one after the other. The clandestine groups and organizations, hidden under the names of "Christian Democrats", "The Albanian Union", "The Committee of the Mountains", "The Group of Deputies", "The Democratic Unity", and so forth, which were managed by the Anglo-American missions and composed of reactionary clergymen, war criminals, and agents of hostile foreign intelligence services--were unmasked. The devilish plans of some American agents, aimed at carrying out a list of acts of subversion and sabotage against important targets such as the oil bridge in Kucove, and the Rubik, Selenice, and Memaliaj mines, youth drives, the Myzeqe land reclamation work, the drying of the Maliq swamp, and so forth, were nipped in the bud. Dozens of armed bands, illegally placed on the territory of our land with the intention of stirring up internal reaction, were eliminated.
At this time, along with the direct struggle for discovering and defeating the enemies, the workers of the State Security Forces began drafting and implementing operational plans with the intention of penetrating deep in the centers of the foreign, hostile intelligences, of learning their hostile aims in time, and of giving them false information and leading them to an impass. Such was the fake radio "Buza e Bredhit" by means of which the foreign intelligence was fouled for 4 consecutive months (July-November 1949); the enemy intentions, tactics, and work forms and methods were learned; complete bands of subversives were eliminated, and important documents and materials were captured.

Another typical example that speaks for the high vigilance and sharpness of the State Security Forces was the organization of the so-called "Resistance Front". Through the sources of "Fortuna" [the storm], "Dara" [the tongs], and "Fiku" [the fig] it was learned that some hostile elements had created a secret organization in Tirana that was trying to extend its network throughout the country. Their intention was, after getting organized, to establish relations with foreign reactionaries and with some hostile intelligence services and, later on, to undertake open actions against the people's power. Beginning with the aims of these enemies, such as Hamdi Frasheri, Sejfulla Shima, Mark Zefi, Kadri Shala, and so forth, there took shape the idea of organizing the game with the intention of discovering all the threads of the counterrevolutionary elements, of establishing direct contact with the agentura bands that operated in our country and, afterwards, to eliminate them bit by bit. Through this game which is known as "The Resistance Front", 103 fugitives, were liquidated, of whom 86 were captured and 17 were killed; 500 automatic rifles and pistols, 2,000 bombs, 5 radio transmitting sets, and 1,000 gold coins, and so forth were seized.

A deserved success of the State Security Forces was also the "Liqeni 1 Vajkalit" game and many other like these, which made this glorious corps feared by the enemies and beloved by the people. Its victories over the enemies of our party and socialist fatherland follow one after another.

After the failure of the activity of the anti-party elements in the Conference of Tirana, the foreign and domestic enemies set up the big, criminal imperialist-revisionist plot led by traitors Teme Sejko, Panajot Plaku, and others. This plot, which was the fruit of the combined work of the intelligence services of some bourgeois-revisionist foreign countries, failed completely because our heroic party, our people, army, and the State Security Forces were vigilant sentries as always.

The appearance of the Khrushchevite revisionists and of their satellites of all hues brought an increase in the number of the enemies, of our socialist fatherland. Their strategy has been and remains the taking of the power and restoration of capitalism in Albania; whereas, their hostile tactics, forms, and work methods have continually changed in accordance with the conditions created and the various political situations.
The successes of our people's revolution in all fields of life have always been achieved through a fierce class struggle. In this connection, Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 7th Party Congress: "The great successes and victories achieved by our people led by the party in their struggle for the development of the revolution and the construction of socialism, are connected with the fact that the party has resolutely adhered to the line of the class struggle and has consistently developed this struggle both against the foreign and internal enemies and against those among the people and in its ranks".

This is best illustrated by the glorious, 35-year old militant path followed by the State Security Forces, a path penetrated by a difficult work full of dangers and full of bloody fights, which have been successfully surpassed, because of the cleverness, agility, audacity, and courage of the security workers, educated by the party in our Marxist-Leninist ideology. Their high qualities and virtues, tactics, and brilliant activities led them to discover and liquidate in time the invisible threads of the activity of the capitalist-revisionist intelligence services, to discover and liquidate the nests of the class enemy inside the country, to block the path to terror, subversion, and sabotage, to exterminate the many-sided subversive activity of the spies and agents dispatched to our country by the various espionage centers.

In the fierce class struggle for uncovering and attacking the hostile activity, the State Security Forces have achieved successes and have gained a rich experience. However, under the conditions of intensified hostilities on the part of the foreign and domestic enemies, the State Security Forces are faced with the task of raising revolutionary vigilance to a higher level, as well as of further perfecting all their activity and of placing it on more scientific basis.

The execution of the tasks entrusted by the party, as Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the 7th Party Congress, "cannot be conceived of without guaranteeing the comprehensive and continual support of the people". This is one of the major sources of the force. The State Security Forces have been and remain the steel-like hand of our valiant and freedom-loving people, who are successfully constructing socialism under conditions of the fierce capitalist-revisionist blockade.
ALBANIAN DELEGATE REPORTS ON AFRICAN STUDENTS CONFERENCE

Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 15 Feb 78 p 4

[Article by Muharrem Xhafra, secretary of the Central Committee of the BRPSH: "The FEANF, African Students' Progressive Organization"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Executive Committee of the Students' Federation of Black Africa in France, a delegation of the BRPSH [Union of Working Youth of Albania] participated in the 30th Congress of the Federation. The Congress met in Paris from 26 to 31 December 1977. Other participating delegations came from the progressive youth and student organizations of Chile, Equador, Greece and African countries, as well as young French sympathizers of the FEANF [Federation of Black African Students in France].

The FEANF is a large progressive, anti-imperialist, anticolonial and anti-hegemonic organization. It embodies the masses of progressive students of some of the countries of Black Africa attending various universities in France. The FEANF's militants are involved in the problems preoccupying the peoples of their countries, with whom they are waging a bitter war against imperialism, Soviet socialist imperialism and both national and international reaction and for genuine national freedom and independence, social justice and social progress. The FEANF solidarizes and supports the peoples' wars and revolutions.

In his opening speech at the Congress addressing the plenary session, the President of the FEANF outlined the annual activities of the Federation concerning both internal and international problems and international relations. He devoted special attention to the friendly relations and solidarity of the BRPSH and its present role in the world. This was greeted with long applause for the Albanian Workers' Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha and the BRPSH.

After the president's speech the foreign delegations spoke about the problems related to the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, hegemonism and the two superpowers: U.S. imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and the reaction. They also dealt with problems concerning the consolidation of the youth and student movements for freedom, independence and social progress.
Before addressing the Congress, the youth organization of the Chilean Democratic Front spoke with special love and respect for the Albanian Workers Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, about the important role the RPSH [People's Republic of Albania] plays in the international arena defending Marxism-Leninism and the Chilean cause. "The PPSH [Albanian Workers Party] stand against all opportunist theories, old and new," he said, "has become a clear orientation for every real revolutionary."

The head of the MEAM delegation told the Congress about his meeting with our delegation on the outstanding role of the PPSH and Comrade Enver Hoxha in defending Marxism-Leninism and the unmasking of modern revisionism in the world and in defending the freedom and independence of the people. The Congress received congratulations from the Marxist-Leninist youth organizations of Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Iran, etc., expressing their friendship and solidarity with the FEANF.

Our delegation's greetings were received with an ovation, especially the segments directed at the war against the two superpowers: U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, the war against modern revisionism and opportunistic theories and for the role of leadership and hegemony of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist part in revolution, the role and the attitude of the young people and students in a proletarian revolution, the BRPSH's support to the peoples of Africa struggling for freedom, independence and social progress, for the successes our people have achieved under PPSH leadership in the building and defense of socialism, etc. At the closing of the Congress our delegation presented the 30th Congress of the FEANF with the red flag of the BRPSH, which was placed at the center rear of the stage of the Congress Hall, where it stood until the Congress had concluded its work.

After the speech delivered by our delegation, the General Secretary of the FEANF made a complimentary speech in which he approved and once again stressed the issues raised in the BRPSH address, particularly on the absolute necessity of the war to expose opportunist theories, which to quote, "have lost more face in Africa than anywhere else." He emphasized the fact that the two superpowers, American imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism, are (to the same degree) the two most dangerous enemies of the peoples of the world and that one cannot rely on one superpower in order to fight the others. He also spoke about the absolute need to fight any type of imperialism or reactionary regime which is oppressing and exploiting the African peoples. He praised the achievements of Albania and its people under the leadership of our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. He said that the participation of the BRPSH in the 30th FEANF Congress represents an exemplary inspiration. Raising his voice above the loud ovation filling the hall, he hailed the PPSH and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Seventh PPSH Congress, and the friendship between the two youth organizations.

One might say that this session was dedicated to our country. It turned into a real demonstration clearly expressing the love of African youth for the PPSH, Albanian youth and Socialist Albania.
In its report the Executive Committee of the FEANF stressed the complicated international situation, the futility of euphoria and the tendency in the world for revolution. Once more the report stressed that it is impossible to rely on one superpower in order to fight the other or on one kind of imperialism to fight the two superpowers. Europe was presented in a dim light, while quite the contrary was the situation in Albania, which is steadily progressing towards the road of socialism with its own resources, is ignoring the crisis that is now plaguing the capitalist and revisionist countries and is successfully resisting the brutal imperialist-revisionist blockade. The report presented the prospects opened by the Seventh PPSH Congress in all the economic sectors of the RPSSH. It also stressed that Albania, under the leadership of the PPSH, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, constitutes a strong bulwark of socialism in the anticolonial and anti-hegemonist war. The section of the report concerning the relations with youth and student organizations in other countries focused on the revolutionary friendship existing between the FEANF and the BRPSH, citing the Seventh BRPSH Congress, the successes achieved by Albanian youth in every area under the PPSH led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and the strong support of the BRPSH for the cause of the African peoples, etc.

The delegates emphasized the various issues in the international situation and the FEANF's attitude toward these problems. The delegates showed their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Namibia, their rights, and with the struggle of other peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America against oppression and exploitation.

The Congress declared a bitter war against manifestations of opportunism both within and outside the federation. The delegates repudiated the position of the opportunists for collaboration with the African bourgeoisie to fight any imperialism and the two superpowers. The Congress stressed that such an opportunistic line will paralyze the struggle of the working class, capitulate and kill the people's wars in African countries and betray the interests of the African peoples. The delegates exposed all the types of opportunism and stressed the need to integrate their people's wars against imperialism and the reaction. The FEANF Organization, it was said at the Congress, will not deviate from its revolutionary principles.

During the closing session of the Congress, the delegations from the General Student Union of Guadaloupe and the delegation from the Workers Union of Guinea in France spoke extensively about Albania. The delegation from Guinea in France said that it is our responsibility to welcome the courage of a small country which has shown us how a small country can be great in its confidence in defending its revolutionary ideals. It said that the PPSH and the Albanian people and youth are defending, as their own, the just cause of all the peoples of the world, and that all of us must lend our support to this faith and draw an example from this heroic country and heroic people. This part of the speech about Albania was received by the Congress with long applause and ovations.

The Congress approved a resolution on Albania, a resolution which was considered one of the most important victories and decisions of the Congress and a blow for the opportunists.
Even part of the closing speech of the Congress, made by the President of the FEANF, was dedicated to Albania. In it he stated that it is our duty to particularly hail the RPSH as a stronghold in the anti-imperialist and antihegemonist war of the peoples of the world.

A very warm and friendly reception was given to our delegation at the Congress. Its entrance into the hall was received with long applause and ovations. Many delegates came to us during breaks and recesses. They spoke to us with great respect about our PPSH and Comrade Enver Hoxha and the example set by Albania and its courageous war against the various enemies of the peoples and the international proletariat. The love of the African students for our country, our PPSH and Comrade Enver Hoxha was evident not only during the Congress, but also outside the Congress, in our meetings with the leaders of the Federation, in our discussions with various militants and in the consideration they always showed us and their warm words for our people, our party and our youth.

The 30th Congress of the FEANF concluded its work successfully. It reached its objective and struck a strong blow against opportunist views within by strengthening the unity of its militant ranks. We departed from our African friends with full confidence in their resources and wished them further successes in their war for the implementation of their responsibilities to the people of their countries and for the victory of the revolution and socialism in Africa.
The modern forty-barrel rocket launchers stand hidden in the forest. The launching platforms are all aimed in the same direction, and the soldiers are busy loading the barrel openings with long, needle-like rockets. A few seconds later the descendants of the famous Katushas disgorge their destruction-packed contents in a burst of flame.

A muddy, pothole-filled road leads us to the scene of the exercise maneuvers. For more than an hour already the red and white gates have been closed on all the access roads leading into the military exercise area, and the guards standing alongside the gates know that they are not supposed to let anyone into the danger zone. The area will be sealed off like this for several hours. During this time the weeks and months of rigorous training and hard work that the men have gone through will be put to the test. Any vacillation, indecision, or lack of knowledge on the part of any one of these soldiers could mean that many others will get hurt. We encounter men dressed in field combat uniforms which display the results of their participation in previous heavy fire exercises. Target plotters, commanders, marksmen, communications officers. A due share of the responsibility for the success of the exercise is borne by these men, by their concentration, accuracy, and skill. They cannot afford to neglect a single aspect of this responsibility. The desired performance ratings for the unit and its weapons can be achieved only through the perfectly coordinated action of all these men.

For the time being, the rocket launchers are displayed in their staging areas. Soon after issuing the necessary instructions to his subordinates, the unit's chief of staff talked with us: "Modern warfare methods are imposing ever greater demands on our soldiers. Both in terms of their physical stamina and in terms of their mastery of increasingly more complex weapon systems and all kinds of other military equipment. The pace of training exercises
is picking up. What used to take us days to accomplish and where hours used to count, it is now seconds and minutes that count. The artilleryman too is mostly an appendage of his weapon. He has to move up to the designated firing position, check out his weapon, learn the target coordinates, calculate the target distance, aim his weapon, and fire, and then he often receives a new order to move somewhere else. He has to do all this in just a few minutes. Rocket launchers are highly mobile and versatile weapon systems. Indeed, the modern artilleryman only needs to know the location of two points and their coordinates, that is, his position and the target's position. It is entirely up to him and him alone as to how accurately he manages to 'connect' these two points and how quickly he managed to launch the warheads on their way to the enemy target ..."

It takes a long time to master the skills needed to perform these tasks in a flawless manner. Some unusual situation arise from time to time at the start of this learning process. The staff chief told us the following story: "We were still learning how to use these rocket launchers when they first joined our arsenal. The formation had to get ready to carry out rocket firing missions on short notice. Our first major test turned out to be a massive firing exercise. The battery commander fired off the dummy target. After we had launched the first volley, the members of the firing team jumped out of their vehicles, and every one of them ran off. That first launch scared the daylights out of them. Neither they nor we were expecting such a fiery volley. They didn't calm down until they heard the blast echo from the target area. Well, we learned something from this experience too."

Even before the firing team commander, sergeant Vaclav Dohnal, specialist-first-class, model soldier, and member of the Socialist Youth Union, started to tell us about his experiences, he mentioned that today's firing exercise is not the first one that his team has gone through. But today too the success of his team's performance in this exercise will depend on each of the four soldiers manning the rocket launcher.

A few minutes from now private Dusan Belenciak's arms will feel the full weight of the heavy rockets. The accurate setting of the controls and the aiming of the rocket launcher will for the most part depend on the skills of the marksman, private-first-class Vaclav Musil, specialist-second-class and model soldier. The driver, private Zdenek Bubenicek, also a model solider and specialist-second-class, is responsible not only for the vehicle itself, but also for its weapons support platform, which he controls by means of hydraulic equipment. The team commander, sergeant Vaclav Dohnal, gives all the orders. He receives instructions from his senior officer over a shortwave radio to be handed over immediately to the rocket marksman. He supervises the precision work of his subordinates, and then he launches the rockets.

"At first, I regarded this rocket launcher as some kind of minor miracle. As a civilian I had absolutely no idea that such a thing existed," remarks
sergeant Dohnal. "I only knew about the Katushas from films and pictures. But my commanding officers and fellow soldiers did not leave me in the dark for long on this score. I became familiar with the characteristics of this weapon, and I eventually learned how to operate it."

He joined this formation after graduating from a non-commissioned officers' school with the rank of private first class, model soldier, and specialist-third-class, and he eventually became the commander of this rocket launcher team. "As the team commander I mainly try to see to it that all of us do our jobs well. I have learned that, in addition to discipline and the meticulous execution of orders, polite language, mutual understanding and respect also help to get things accomplished. We are all members of the Socialist Youth Union, and each member of our team, whenever it is necessary, knows how to pitch in and do everyone else's job."

The driver, private Zdenek Bebenicek, assured us that everyone depends on drivers most of all. Even before he actually joined the service he was selected to attend a pre-military driver training course sponsored by Svazarm [Union for Cooperation With the Army]. Before he ever sat behind the wheel of a Tatra rocket launcher vehicle for the first time, he had to undergo a series of special psychological and mechanical aptitude tests. This was followed by a short driver training course. He was eventually promoted to the rank of specialist-third-class. Later on, he was confronted with another exacting test . . .

The driver training course is similar in design to the terrain which one usually encounters during tactical training exercises. Private Zdenek Bubenicek takes his place behind the wheel of "his" Tatra.

"Let's go!" says the instructor.

The distance separating the vehicle from its starting point of a few moments ago gradually widens. He drives in a straight line for several meters. Then comes the slalom course. The 500-meter long slalom course is marked off with stanchions. These stanchions are aligned and spaced in such a way that only the rocket launcher vehicle can pass along the marked course. Not quite 20 centimeters separates the vehicle from the stanchion markers. The driver gradually makes it through one of the most difficult sections of the whole course. This is followed up with a drive over some rough terrain. And then comes another obstacle -- a deep trench. The Tatra driver has to back up and start out again. This is the only way he can keep going and move on to pass the turning-a-circle-in-a-confined-area-test. And he passes this one too . . .

This drive was one of the tests that private Zdenek Bubenicek had to pass in order to win the rank of specialist-second-class. During the course of his regular military service private Bubenicek has travelled several thousand kilometers in his Tatra vehicle. His biggest test occurred during a winter joint forces exercise when every driver had to drive
hundreds of kilometers over difficult terrain. His formation returned from the exercise with high marks. "I have learned how to be a good driver in the army, and I would also like to put these skills to use when I return to civilian life," says private Bubenicek.

We go back to watching the action taking place around the rocket launchers. A special team of soldiers has finished marking the firing positions for the individual rocket launchers. The rocket launchers themselves are still waiting in their staging areas. Their launching platforms are all aimed in the same direction, and the long rockets are gradually and methodically being transferred from their storage bins into the launcher barrels.

All ready! A moment of silence, and then the sound of the Tatra engines reverberates through the forest. There goes the first one, the second one, the third one, the fourth one . . . . The vehicles emerge from the forest and move into their firing positions. We are standing some distance away, and amidst all of the commotion that has invaded the forest clearing we can hear men calling out and repeating numbers. A few more seconds of silence. The officer standing in front of us watches over the activities of the other men and checks everything against his stopwatch.

The men freeze. Only occasionally does anyone move about. Then they all disappear into their vehicle cabs. Now!

"Fire!"

This order is followed by fire, smoke, and a tremendous roar. The rockets spew forth like bullets from a machine gun. The fire fiery exhausts of the rockets, which a second from now will emerge from their launch tubes, flash several meters behind the rocket launcher vehicles. As the cloud of dust and smoke clears, the hot barrels of the rocket launchers again start to become visible. All we can hear now is a distant rumbling. The dust did not even have a chance to settle before we once again heard the Tatra engines start up. The rocket launchers are returning to their staging areas. Maybe in an hour or two the spectacle which we just witnessed will be repeated.

The forest road is covered with the tire tracks of heavy vehicles. And this was the only remaining trace of the rocket launchers and their crews.

For the members of this artillery formation the successful completion of these massive firing exercise credits marked the inauguration of the summer training season.
The town of Jablonec on the Nisa River in northern Bohemia is doing its part to make our women more beautiful. The skillful artisans of this town [illegible]. The jewelry produced here is a proud testimony to the skills of our artisans, workers, and technicians. This jewelry is much sought after by women all over the world. But it is not this Jablonec we want to talk about here. This article is concerned with a locale situated at the other end of the Republic.

But first a few introductory remarks. You will not find a community by the name of Ztracenka on any map of our republic. Our map has a mere three land register numbers that were invented by the "semi-permanent" residents of this place. No mail is delivered here, and the imaginary numbers of the three vacation cabins do not exist. In fact, that are no vacation cabins here rather this is the site of the headquarters of a military unit command staff, which comes here for meals, recreation, and sleep. But this facility is used mainly and very frequently as a command center for military training exercises held in the surrounding area for subordinate units.

We have already said just about everything there is to say about this place, but we could probably say a little bit more by way of rounding out our description of the surrounding environment. A native of Prague, Bratislava, Brno, or Plzen would say without a moment's hesitation that this place is hardly the dullest or most god-forsaken place in the world. In fact, there may be more action here than some of them could handle. There may be some truth in this, but the rub is that the inhabitants of these parts find the summer evenings and early mornings truly tranquil and charming. Provided of course that there are any inhabitants in residence. The unit commander and his staff spend most of their days and nights back in the big city, that is, in that very Jablonec to which we will be referring most often. We will be talking not only about Jablonec itself, but also about its immediate and more distant surroundings. In both summer and winter tank crews and motorized riflemen find this place to be a real paradise for high-quality, efficient, and economical training exercises.

Can a Commanding Officer Be Afraid?

We posed this and similar questions to several young commanders who were standing along the very shoreline of a large manmade reservoir, whose depth could not be gauged from the shore, and getting ready to carry out a difficult mission. The tank crews are getting ready for an underwear maneuver, and the motorized riflemen are gearing up for a surface crossing
maneuver, which is moreover "highlighted" by the requirement calling for them to navigate a timed course between buoy markers — the so-called slalom. All tank and armored troop carrier drivers and their commanding officers together with companies and crews are required to go through this kind of exercise. Of course, not until after they have "tested" the water in training pools, learned how to use breathing apparatuses and how to do a number of other important things, a knowledge of which are absolutely essential before any commander will let his soldiers go near the water.

The first person to answer the question as to whether there is any fear of traversing the reservoir on or below the surface was one of the commanders of the motorized riflemen squads. "Afraid? Why should I deny it. I'm here for the first time the same as the rest of the people in my squad. My valentine is beating a bit faster, and it feels as though it is somewhere higher up in my throat than it ought to be. A man should not be afraid to admit this. But in addition to the uneasiness, which one might also call a sense of fear, there is also a certain necessary amount of tension. This gives everybody a greater incentive to triple-check everything instead of just double-checking. Then again, it is an all the more happy occasion when you finally find yourself on the other bank and when you have seen for yourself how dependable our military equipment really is and how easily it overcomes such a difficult obstacle as the 200 meter crossing which you see here. In our squad nobody makes a secret of the fact that everybody is apprehensive."

The next person to whom we put this question was second lieutenant Rudolf Krchnavy. The several months that have passed since the fall of last year when he took command of his company have flown by like nothing, and all of a sudden he now finds himself standing with his men and tanks on the banks of a manmade reservoir, the width of which inspires respect even in those who are excellent swimmers. In fact, for them it might be much easier and quicker if they were ordered to swim across the reservoir.

"My feelings are more on the order of stage fright, and to the extent that I harbor any fears at all it is only for the sake of the crews, drivers, and commanders who, just like myself, are here for the first time in their lives. This is the first difficult mission we have had to perform as a group during the summer exercise season. I say as a group, since the entire company, including shell loaders, will be taking part in this exercise. The commanders and drivers graduated from non-commissioned officers schools, and I graduated from a 2-year officer's school. I have hardly even noticed the time that has passed during the past couple of months in which I have had command of this unit. Moreover, I have not even had a chance to have a good look around this place."

Wide and narrow-gauge chimneys [snorkel tubes] protrude out of the tank turrets looking something like the Petrin observation tower overlooking Prague. Periscopes are mounted on the tops of the chimneys that are used by the tank commanders to give directions to the drivers as they move
along the bottom of the reservoir. The tanks equipped with the wide-gauge chimneys, through which the crews can always evacuate their tanks in an emergency, are first in line for the crossing maneuver. Is there any chance that such an emergency could happen? Well, a driver could make a mistake, or a technical malfunction might occur. Such things do happen in rare instances, even though the people we talked to along the reservoir bank could not recall any such incidents ever having occurred during the long history of this kind of training exercise.

And even if something like this did happen, help would soon be on the way in the form of the rescue and evacuation team, which knows how to do its job to perfection. All a tank commander would have to do is send out the alarm signal, and the riflemen and sappers would move away from the bank so that the divers could jump into the water and come to the rescue. These divers never take off their tight-fitting wetsuits during such exercises regardless whether the weather is oppressively hot or bitterly cold,

"Everybody knows this, but a person cannot help being nervous when he climbs into one of those wide-gauge chimneys through which a tank can be evacuated in complete safety. Moreover, all of us have gone through this kind of evacuation drill in a training pool, and we all know what it is like to be two, three, or four meters under water. The pressure in your ears is a little bit higher, but other than that everything is normal enough."

Second lieutenant Krchnavy excuses himself and hurries off to join his unit. The radio signal is given to start the engines and move out. The tank crews are nervous, but a similar sensation is also being experienced by the commanders along the shore. This is because they are well aware of the fact that these tanks are manned by young people who know how to put on a brave show and manfully deny the need for any reassuring advice, but who are still about to go through an extraordinary and, for them, unprecedented experience.

Private Jiri Stoklaska is one of the shell loaders who are the youngest members of this unit. Private-first-class Jozef Hlavan came here a few weeks ago from non-commissioned officer's school, and he is already serving as a platoon leader. And it must be said that he is doing a good job of it too. What kind of a job will they do in carrying out this challenging mission? How will they cope with the apprehension and fear?

Tank number 55 moves up to the water's edge as if it wanted to first test whether the water was warm enough for a swim. The driver inches ahead stepping on and then letting up on the accelerator as if he were hesitant about plunging ahead into the unknown depths. A radio order from the command station forces him to move faster. "You see," the battalion commander points out, "this is what they all do when it comes time for their first crossing. They are cautious and not very decisive, but all they need is one more crossing and everything will change as if by magic.
The backs of their necks will get a little damp, but otherwise no one is going to get the least bit wet. But things will be quite a bit different when it comes time for the tanks with the narrow-gauge chimneys to make their crossing."

"Number 5, speed up! I repeat, number 5 speed up!" The words of the commander directing the underwater tank crossing maneuver sound terse and strict. The exhaust fumes which billow up from under the water confirm that the order was understood. Two or three minutes later we see first the turret and then the main body of the tank emerging out of the water, until we finally see the streams of water running off the tank's mudguards. Several dozen pairs of eyes watch the first crossing made by one of the crews in second lieutenant Krchnavy's tank company.

The return trip proceeds much more smoothly. The tanks complete the return crossing more quickly and on a more direct course. Is the battalion commander satisfied with their performance? "At this stage it is hard to say that I am completely satisfied, but there is one thing I have to say for them right at the very start. That is, the crews display a great interest in difficult training exercises of this kind, and they are anxious to prove that even water is no insurmountable obstacle for them. As of right now I still have some misgivings about their firing mission performance, but I believe that they will eventually do a much better job in this area too. As far as the company commanders is concerned, it is apparent that he has a desire to learn and that he has ambition, but for the time being he is still lacking in practical experience. But give him another year and things will be different. He is after all a trained miner, and this profession has endowed him with some very desirable traits. Namely, he shows perseverance, and he does not give up so easily."

In the meantime the tank crew of this company commander had returned, and we proceeded to ask them the following question: "What did it feel like to be under water?" Their commander answered for all of them. "It is not the same as being on dry land of course. Once in a while a drop of water dripped down onto our necks, and we were already looking forward to the moment when this would be all over with. We were all glad when the other bank came into view and with it the prospect of having solid ground under our feet again."

The Unemployed Rescue Team

The motor launch powered by a Tatra 111 engine was rocking back and forth on the waves stirred up by the wake of the oncoming tanks. Corporal and engineering school graduate Libor Volny together with his boat crew made up of private-first-class M. Tírner and private J. Hambalek had already spent the past several days in a row literally doing nothing but sitting in their combat motor launch. They are, so to speak, "unemployed" at a time when this reservoir is the scene of one of the most difficult training exercises known to tank crews and motorized riflemen. They spend
10 to 14 hours a day on the water, and it happens fairly often that they have to put in this time during night exercises on the surface and under the water. Over the past few days several different units have taken their turns in performing these exercise maneuvers, and yet the rescue team has not even had a minute's worth of work to do. "All of this has the appearance of seeming to be very simple as far as our job is concerned, but we have to be prepared. We have to be ready just in case something unexpected happens. Things are a little bit simpler when the tank crews are making their crossings. But we have to pay even more attention when the motorized riflemen take their turn. My crew is ready to intervene on a moment's notice and to help anyone who needs it."

The members of the rescue boat crew are experienced "sea dogs," who are already well acquainted with the Danube and other rivers and without whose dedicated efforts the successful construction of any bridge would be inconceivable. "It might seem to be a bit illogical, but the tank crews and motorized riflemen are happiest when they do not need our help." Corporal Volny glanced in the direction of an armored troop carrier which was parked a few dozen meters away on the reservoir bank and said: "Our job is not all that complicated really. The divers are the ones that have a more difficult job. They have to be in a combat-ready state like we do, but they have to also keep their diving suits on, which are not all that comfortable even when they are in the water, much less so when they are on dry land."

For long hours on end the hot armored troop carrier was home not only for the military divers, but also for the whole rescue team. The neatly rolled up steel life-line cables remind one of a nest of coiled snakes basking in the sun.

"The mission of the rescue and evacuation team is the same as that of the sappers. They keep an eye on what the tank crews and motorized riflemen are doing and are ready to intervene on a moment's notice. As is the case with the sapper company, they have not yet had an opportunity to demonstrate their state of combat readiness, and in view of the way everything is going it is certainly not likely that they will ever get a chance to do so." The unit commander smiled as he said this, and for the benefit of the formation commander standing nearby he went on to say: "Anyway, they have already received excellent training back home, and here they are merely resigned to doing what most soldiers know how to do best. It goes without saying that the water is the most important test of their mettle, but, based on their past performance, I have no doubts about their ability to do their job flawlessly."

Divers Not Allowed to Go in the Water

This might seem to be unreasonable, but this is the hard fact of life that has to be lived with during exercise maneuvers involving underwater tank
crossings and surface crossing by infantry military vehicles and armored
troop carriers. "We were already prepared for this, and it does not
matter to us in the least. We participate in diver training exercises
regularly so that we can do our jobs here well if we have to. It is too
bad that these training exercises are so infrequent. Even though I did
want to become a diver when I joined the service, I was nevertheless
surprised when my wishes were fulfilled. Man oh man, but that was one
of the most beautiful surprises of my entire life!"

Private-first-class Ales Masin and private Bohuslav Fesl are glad that
they were able to pursue careers as military divers. If possible and if
they get the chance, they say they would like to become sport divers in
Svazarm.

More tanks from the company are now approaching the water's edge. The
drivers have already mastered the technique of making underwater crossings
in tanks with wide-gauge chimneys, and now they are starting the second
part of the exercise, i.e., making crossing in tanks with narrow-gauge
chimneys, through which it is impossible to evacuate the tank. The
company commander says that none of his tank drivers or commanders, much
less so the shell loaders, have ever made a crossing in a tank with a
narrow-gauge chimney. "Even I haven't done this yet. We have already
had our first experience with this sort of thing, we have familiarized
ourselves with the mistakes that could be made, but which we avoided
making, and now everything will go much better. We want to do just as
good a job this time around, and our first underwater crossing experience
was also dedicated to accomplishing this goal."

For 10 hours now the divers have been sitting in the armored troop carrier
assigned to come to the rescue in the event of an emergency. They watch
with redoubled alertness as the first tank with a narrow-gauge chimney
moves into the water. They experience their most anxious moment when
the whole tank company moves up to the water's edge and proceeds to cross
the reservoir in combat formation. This is pretty much how things would
go in a real combat situation. In accordance with the rules of tactical
procedure they move forward in column formation, one tank after the other,
and once on the other bank they are all immediately ready to go into action.

Once again the divers never got their turn. Their neoprene wetsuits never
got wet, and they never inhaled a breath of air from their oxygen tanks.
They were left sitting idle just like the rest of the entire rescue and
evacuation team, which had only one brief chance to say something for
itself.

Ztracenka Comes to Life in the Late Evening

Every evening, sometimes around dusk and at other times in the late
evening hours, the staff headed by its commander sits down at Ztracenka
to review the events of the past day and draw conclusions for the next
day's schedule. There were a few spare minutes for us too so that we could talk with the unit commander. "I am most pleased by the fact that the schedule which we drew up is being scrupulously adhered to and that the training missions are being carried out successfully. Most of our units are doing a good to excellent job. I am especially pleased with their performance during the surface and underwater crossings. Many drivers and commanders did an excellent job during these exercises, just as they also did back at the tank park, where the staff units also did a fine job of getting the tanks ready for the maneuvers. With the summer military exercise season starting out in this way we can look forward confidently to the challenging missions which await us in the months that lie ahead."

The staff officers set down to a well-deserved dinner, and Ztracenka gets ready to turn in for the night. But only some people are going to get a good night's rest. Most of the men are once again going to climb into their GAZ trucks and set out for the night firing exercises for tanks and infantry combat vehicles and for the reservoir where the tanks are continuing to make night underwater crossings. It is sometimes long after midnight before the men get to bed. This is how things are in a military exercise area.

The night sky over Jablonec occasionally lights up, and after the illumination flares die out one can hear the deafening report of weapons fire. Jablonec has not gone to sleep. The tank crews have come to disrupt its evening rest. For tank crews this is a veritable paradise, which is afforded by the best possible material and technical support for training exercises. But do not look for this place on any map! It exists only as a part of the practical training of military units, who know how to exploit the advantages which it offers just as skillfully as do the hands of the chainmakers, goldsmiths, and engravers in that paradise of the Czech jewelry industry, Jablonec-on-Nisa.

Joint Czech-Hungarian Exercise

Prague OBRANA LIDU in Czech 17 Jun 78 pp 1, 4

[Article by Frantisek Hutka]

[Text] For a while the Bratislava suburbs reminded one of a big beehive. Things were buzzing around all over the place, and this was slowly transformed into that effervescing sound that is so familiar in cellars where good wine is fermenting. Things were really moving. Automobiles of all sizes and colors, passenger cars and trucks, were creeping along observing the special signs that had been set up for this occasion. Traffic patrolmen from Public Security stood in the intersections. Closer to the Hungarian border, where road traffic was still moving along normally, a VB patrolman under the command of constable-in-chief Zdeno Kostrub
manned his port. The patrolman was a quite stocky little chap, and even
the cold wind that came bearing down on us from the Hungarian plain did
not take away his friendly smile. All of the drivers passing by were
favored with his smile. He too was waiting for the signal from the radio
station.

It was no wonder that when the wind blew in a cold spring shower everybody
huddled up and stamped their feet. And from time to time the bolder ones
would reach with their left hand under their coats to grab something to
warm them up a little.

This old neighborhood, made up of one-level houses and cottages, often
slapped together with cheap building materials dating from the days of
the bourgeois republic and surrounded by big and little, ugly, moss-grown
sheds built out of all kinds of scrap lumber, was uninhabited. Its resi-
dents had moved away — to a new housing project in Bratislava where they
have running water, central heating, and bathrooms. Someday new citizens
of the city on the Danube will be born here, and they will have only photo-
graphs to remind them of how their parents used to live. And now, a few
more minutes to go until zero hour, I take another look around the multi-
tude of little alleys, cottages, and small houses. I can make out an
inscription on a wall marking the location of what used to be a bar. In
the distance I can see a musty old shack that used to be the shop of an
immigrant tradesman. In another section of this micro-city there used to
be a school.

Somewhere a dog barked. A stray cat was napping on a cracked wall and had
no inkling of what was about to happen in a few moments. The trees which
still survived here had started to bloom. One could tell that the gardens,
both those that had once been kept up and those that had been left to the
weeds, had not been touched by human hands for a long time. And, so, all
of this desolation had a depressing effect. It would remind older citizens
of the aftermath of a bombing raid. No, it was not a pretty sight.

A rocket flashed across the sky above the tall, noble trees in the park.
This was immediately followed by the peal of sirens. At this moment all
radio sets were turned on, and the telephone lines started to swallow up
the first orders and reports.

Thus began a large-scale joint exercise of civil defense units from the
Czecho-Slovak Socialist Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic. It
was not until this moment that all of the military secrets kept under
lock and key ceased to be secrets with code numbers, since so much com-
motion caused by the movement of heavy trucks and other equipment left
no doubts in anyone's mind that these people were not heading out on
some spring outing. Rather everyone knew that things were really going
to go bang around here, and there might even be some shooting. But it
was altogether certain that the fire hoses would be turned on. Because
The fire brigades were rolling out into the streets with every piece of equipment at their disposal, and they were not driving around in their red beauties just to put on a good show.

The staff responsible for directing this large-scale international exercise, which was under the command of a general, started to work at full speed. The scenario that was specially written for this exercise, under the terse title "Instructions for a Natural Disaster Mopping-Up Action Performed by Civil Defense Units of the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic," was gradually transformed into real images. A moment ago it was nothing more than a thick book full of written instructions, diagrams, figures, tables, and calculations. Now this textual material was being transformed into live scenes.

Three huge fires, which broke out almost simultaneously at several points in the large built-up area, had transformed the ruins, prepared beforehand by sappers, into the site of a genuine natural catastrophe. Fire, that excellent servant but evil master, had already gained control over literally everything flammable that happened to get in the way of its spreading tentacles. A thick layer of black and bluish gray smoke quickly spread out over the old neighborhood. People were running from house to house. These people were members of the institutional civil defense units from Bratislava's industrial plants. Active duty soldiers were crouched in the cellars of the ruined houses. These members of the military civil defense corps were acting out the role of "practice" citizens, who had taken shelter in the cellars in the face of the impending catastrophe. The rest were trapped in caved in houses, whose entrances had been sealed off, or in several one-story buildings unable to move by themselves to a safe area. At first glance it might seem to a casual observer that these small groups of men wearing masks on their faces, running from house to house and from street to street, did not know what they were doing and that this was a symptom of some kind of panic. But these men were in fact members of reconnaissance civil defense units. It was their job to ascertain the degree of destruction suffered by buildings and structures and to pinpoint the location of large fires, cave-ins, cut-off transportation arteries, and breaks in the lines of the water and gas systems. But before doing anything else they were supposed to determine the location of injured people so that their field radio operators could report this information back to the command center. After assessing this situation, the staff would decide which civil defense units, with how many men, what kinds of equipment, and by what route, would be sent to which threatened areas.

The command staff dispatched the well-organized Stefan Gregorovici Team from the Bratislava Construction Enterprises to clear the main arteries which were the only possible routes that would provide quick access to the center of the area of conflagration from where rescue teams could then fan out in various other directions. This mission was accomplished
by the well equipped excavation unit which, advancing meter by meter, cleared away all obstacles. The streets were cleared of all masonry, stones, and branches of large trees. On this day 150 members of civil defense units, reinforced by a transport and heavy machinery squad, were deployed for this purpose.

It was not long before all obstacles had been removed from the roads. Soon after these main lines of communication had been reopened, the excavation teams started to arrive, per the orders of the director of the Jozef Gregor Building Construction Enterprise, with their high-power bulldozers and compressors and escorted by a large number of Tatra trucks. They began the task of digging out the people trapped in the ruined buildings, and mopping-up work got under way in the very center of wrecked area. People came to help people in need.

At the same time, but at different locations scattered over a large area, the Czechoslovak and Hungarian civil defense firefighting units were already helping to contain the largest fires. In so doing they made use of all of the latest kinds of firefighting equipment. They worked courageously and diligently to push back the flames.

No one could help but notice the women that were moving around in the affected area. These women were members of the civil defense medical teams from both countries. They administered first-aid treatment to persons who had just been rescued from buried cellars and shelters and collapsed buildings. Lieutenant colonel T. gynt, a member of the staff commanding the Hungarian units, dispatched his firefighting and medical units in special vehicles to those places where they were most needed. The women employees of a Hungarian chocolate factory, now serving in the capacity of nurses, showed the utmost dedication in the performance of their duties. They paid no heed to the rain, the icy wind, the acrid smoke, or the mud mired terrain. The women members of medical units from plants and institutions in Bratislava also did an admirable job. An exemplary job was also done by the civil defense medical team lead by comrade Anna Michalikova from the Welding Research Institute.

On the banks of the Danube the Hungarian units set up a medical aid division, referred to in the vernacular as a "field examining station." The doctors, nurses, examiners, and everyone else at this station had their hands full with work. In response to a special order the Hungarian civil defense transportation unit started to evacuate Czechoslovak citizens to a nearby small Hungarian town. There they will receive proper medical treatment in a hospital and be provided with temporary housing. They were transported on special buses and accompanied by a team of doctors and other medical personnel.

The command staff in charge of the exercise dispatched members of a military civil defense unit to those areas facing the greatest dangers, and
their sole mission was to use all technical means at their disposal to rescue people trapped in collapsed buildings and to render assistance to anyone else who was forced to remain behind on the upper floors of damaged structures. A military sapper unit engaged in a wide range of rescue activities. This group, commanded by major R. Toth and reinforced with reserve personnel who are skilled engineers in civilian life, was not afraid to tackle any obstacle . . . .

The simple hand hammer, that age-old servant of man, played a large role in this exercise. That is, hammers were used to create openings to make sure that people trapped in confined areas first of all had access to a supply of fresh air. Then, using special cables, the soldiers would send in rubber pouches filled with drinking water. The soldiers were overjoyed when they finally heard the voices of the trapped people. This put extra strength into their arms, and soon they were gently pulling out one victim after another out of the opening. And as I was able to witness for myself, together with our photographer Jiri Slapak, it proved to be necessary to make several dozen of these emergency openings. But these soldiers also proved that they were capable of performing such feats as bringing people down to the ground from the upper stories of buildings by means of skillfully set up sliding-cable apparatuses. No one can deny that the military civil defense units participating in this exercise displayed a high degree of ingenuity, decisiveness, and discipline.

The rapidly approaching darkness began to engulf the large exercise zone. Only a few small fires, around which people moved to and fro, were still flickering here and there. The last few injured people were being examined at the medical aid stations. A great natural disaster had been brought under control by mere mortal men. They were able to conquer this adversary solely owing to the fact that they had learned everything there is to know about the use of modern rescue and evacuation equipment, that they had assimilated as second nature a large number of habits acquired through civil defense training, and that they have overcome their own personal fears of natural disasters. But they also owned this success to the fact that combined effort was made by the civil defense units of two friendly socialist countries.

These people did not take part in this exercise in order to teach anybody a lesson. They did so in order to polish up and strengthen the skills which they had previously tested only on a small scale, often strictly in a home environment where there was no opportunity to apply them on a large scale. And this exercise was held in order to prepare for the possible outbreak of a real natural catastrophe. This year's joint exercises of Czechoslovak and Hungarian civil defense units produced a bountiful harvest of valuable knowledge, which was shared in equal measure both by our own and by the Hungarian civil defense command staff.

The great exercise is over, but the experience, new friendship, and the record of improved collaboration have remained. In the interest of both our countries.

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BRIEFS

STABILIZATION OF POPULATION--The GDR population appears to be stabilizing. It decreased only slightly in 1977, according to the 1978 STATISTISCHES JAHRBUCH DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK, which has just been published. This yearbook shows the populations as having dropped to 16,765,000, as of mid-1977; at the end of 1976, the GDR had 16,767,000 inhabitants. The fact that the decline in population (scarcely 2,000 persons) in the first half of 1977 was only negligible (there was no substantial change in the situation during the second half of 1977, as is borne out by a comparison of birth and death rates) is a direct result of the large increase in the number of births. In 1977 approximately 28,000 more children were born in the GDR than in 1976. On the other hand, there was a decline in the death rate. At the end of 1977 there were 223,000 live births compared with 225,000 deaths. [Excerpt] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 134/135, 13-14 Jul 78 p 1]

AGRICULTURAL LABOR SHORTAGE--GDR agriculture does not have sufficient manpower for an uninterrupted gathering of the harvest. For example, in Dresden Bezirk, according to Siegfried Neubert, deputy chairman of the bezirk council, the manpower currently available for harvesting work is only one-third that of 25 years ago. Therefore, certain peak workloads cannot be managed without labor brought in from elsewhere. As a necessity, students, among others, will have to work in key agricultural enterprises during their semester breaks. Similar conditions exist in other GDR bezirks, where students are also to aid members of agricultural cooperatives. Since 1965 alone, the number of agricultural workers (excluding apprentices) has decreased by over 300,000 to a total of 820,000. [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 134/135, 13-14 Jul 78 p 2]
TRAINING FOR FDJ PROPAGANDISTS—"Schools for propagandists" are to be established at the 64 universities and 240 technical schools in the GDR, wherein FDJ members among those students specializing in social sciences and economics are to be trained for political propaganda work in enterprises and in the ninth and tenth classes of polytechnic secondary schools. This was arranged at the May 1978 FDJ Students' Conference in East Berlin, which convened for the first time in 7 years. The conference was attended by 600 delegates from GDR colleges and secondary schools. The FDJ students were charged with a commitment to more intense ideological training as well as to service as reserve officers following the completion of compulsory military duty in the NVA (National People's Army). Karl-Heinz Borgwaldt, secretary of the FDJ Central Council, who presented the keynote report of the FDJ conference, criticized signs of student loafing at GDR universities and technical schools.

[Text] [Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 13, Jun 78 p 7]
Esteemed National Assembly, dear Comrade Deputies:

I am fulfilling our constitutional duty in publicly reporting on the government's work to the legislators and to the country. Taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like also to relate how we appraise the country's social and economic position and the accomplishment of those tasks for which we are requesting the support of the National Assembly and all of our compatriots alike.

Drawing up a balance sheet has been made a great deal easier for us by the MSZMP Central Committee resolution of April this year, which summarizes the experiences of the path covered since the 11th congress and serves as guidance in defining additional tasks that are to be implemented.

The government counts on the assistance we obtain from the National Assembly through the debate on the report. We can perform our work on more sure ground if the comrade deputies verify the appraisal of the situation, compare it with their own and their electors' experiences and make it more complete and if they contribute their own proposals and ideas to the accomplishment of the tasks facing us.

Esteemed National Assembly: The experience of the government confirms the statement of the Central Committee that our social development corresponds in all fields to the line approved at the 11th party congress. The congress' resolutions have stood the test of practice, and for this reason we must pursue this well-proven policy which expresses the will and the interests of the people in the future too. As in the past, our domestic political life is well-balanced, the power of the workers is
firm and our people are carrying out their peaceful, constructive work successfully in a creative atmosphere. The ideas of socialism are permeating public thinking more and more, and the vital force of our public life, socialist democracy, is developing and is being enriched in its content.

In the Hungarian People's Republic—and anyone can find this out—there is constitutional order and socialist legality. The rights of the citizens are being asserted, and at the same time—as public opinion expects—our state organs are taking a resolute stand in defense of public interests against acts infringing the law. Our national defense is fulfilling its mission and is developing in accordance with the requirements.

Looking back on recent years, we can report with a sense of satisfaction and gratification that the results of our constructive work and our consistent peace policy based on principled foundations have further enhanced our country's international prestige. Our word carries weight and authority in international life. Soviet-Hungarian friendship, which is deeply felt and is continually developing, was well displayed in the worthy commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, opening new perspectives for mankind.

We have strengthened our cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and have developed our relations with countries having different social systems. Following our historic path, in recent years we have also enriched the socialist characteristics of our society with new elements; the socialist conditions of property have developed and we have strengthened with further guarantees the long-standing practice in our country of all citizens having equal rights—the right to work, education, creativity. The performance of and control over public affairs, and everything that gives a proper content to man's life, is not a distant hope but an actual possibility originating from the essential nature of our socialist system. Everyone who abides by our laws can exercise his rights. These rights are widening, and are becoming more and more complete, to the same extent as we progress along the path of building an advanced socialist society.

Assessing our internal conditions we can say, now more than ever before, that all compatriots who love their homeland, be they old or young, atheist or believer, worker or intellectual, cooperative peasant, employee or artisan, Hungarian or non-Hungarian with respect to his mother tongue, are united in one national body and are working for the common good in harmony and friendly alliance.

The primary basis of this free atmosphere is the open, Marxist-Leninist policy of our party, which had revealed initial contradictions and difficulties, as well as the fact that our people regard this policy as their own, and endorse and support this policy by their deeds. It is due to this fact that during economic conditions which have become increasingly
difficult, and in coping with expected and unexpected problems, we have performed most of the tasks we set ourselves.

While the social and economic crisis in the capitalist countries of the world is continuing and hitting millions, the forces of production have increased in our country, just as in other socialist countries. There is full employment, the standard of living has risen, the material basis of culture and science has widened, and the building of an advanced socialist society has continued without a break. When we speak of the results of our socialist development and pay tribute to the devoted work of our working class, cooperative peasantry and intelligentsia, we express the truth. At the same time, we are also aware that there are still very many improvements to be made and tasks waiting to be solved. As we have said more than once, this changing world is making demands on us which we can meet only if we work with greater responsibility, higher standards, better organization and discipline. We are deeply convinced that our people will shoulder these greater tasks and will be able to solve them successfully. We who work in the government consider it our main and honorable duty to provide favorable conditions for the successful solution of our social tasks.

Esteemed National Assembly!

When I submitted our work program in 1975, I asked you to trust and support the government. I am pleased to be able to say now that neither have been lacking. We have been constantly accorded considerable help in our work by the National Assembly and its committees. Throughout, we felt the helpful intentions of the party's leading bodies and organizations, the PPF, the KISZ and other social organizations and of the scientific and cultural institutes. Also, in the past years, cooperation was close and fruitful between the government and the National Trade Union Council, the ministries and the vocational trade unions. Although we argued at times, we have always found the solutions that served well our common goal, the furthering of socialist construction.

I can speak with appreciation of the work by the leaders and work collectives of enterprises, cooperatives and institutes that facilitated the implementation of government decisions. Also, we find with satisfaction that councils are performing their own work increasingly well and assuming an increasing role in the accomplishment of national tasks as well. Their guidance and coordination work has perceptibly improved and the decisive majority of them take the initiative and avail themselves of their greater independence to good advantage and increasingly draw the population into the administration of public affairs. Briefly, increasing their responsibility and jurisdiction has proven a correct and negotiable path.

Society's increased readiness to act has proven to be an irreplaceable source of strength for us. This is borne out by such splendid examples
as the socialist work competition movement, the large amount of voluntary social work undertaken for joint objectives, the youth construction camps reactivated year after year with the participation of tens of thousands of young people and creative manifestations by individuals and collectives of various sizes to improve matters.

Dear comrades, in their preparation for the session of the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers assessed the experience of its own directing role, in a wide-ranging debate. We have reached the conclusion—and perhaps we have not miscalculated—that the government and its organs have solved considerable tasks at an acceptable standard in the majority of cases. However, we cannot be satisfied with the results achieved. Proceeding from this fact, we examined our own responsibility and determined our future tasks. I think it is correct to state that we have made progress in exercising the coordinating and supervising functions of the Council of Ministers. The economic and social-directing role of the main state authorities and its central organs have been strengthened. The preparation of decisions has improved, but it is still not completely satisfactory. Contacts between ministries and area organs as well as enterprises is now closer and more substantial.

The government prepared the economic plans in due time and provided for their implementation. We put on the agenda and solved the most important task for this period—in the field of legislation. We took steps to further develop democratic principles in legislation and to widen social debates, and we decided on several measures for the development of legal propaganda. We issued a joint resolution with the national trade union council for the further deepening of industrial democracy. We dealt with the order of economic decisions, made progress in the further development of state supervision and within it the people's supervision, and we continued the modernization of state administration which we had begun earlier.

The demands on the government, however, as in other fields, have also rapidly increased. By examining our work from this point of view, we have been able to find a number of areas in our own work which can be improved. First of all, we must change what unfortunately happens frequently—the long time which elapses between the recognition of a situation, the decision and the action, and occasionally the fact that implementing decisions is a slow and prolonged process. There are also cases where certain measures and provisions are not being properly considered, so they have to be amended subsequently.

Analyzing the facts of our economic development, we have reached the conclusion that the central directive organs are not putting into effect the demand for efficiency with enough consistency. The central directive organs do not put enough emphasis on creating the proper balance. We cannot accept the fact that some decisions are still taken at a higher level than justified by the nature of the case. For this reason, central
direction has taken on the appearance of superfluous interference, and is assuming the responsibility of local leadership. Naturally, it is possible for a situation to arise when the government must retain the right of decision in the interests of society as a whole, and must act resolutely and rapidly when, in a normal situation, there is no need for central intervention. In such cases there can be no room for lengthy deliberation, but we must not turn the exception into a rule.

We cannot be satisfied with the situation that characterizes a number of administrative fields. The handling of cases is often awkward, there are many unnecessary restrictions and administrative work is excessive. The citizens, enterprises and institutions rightly object to this, because the complicated and lengthy proceedings of the authorities cause loss of time and often considerable extra expense. The forms and methods of supervision must also be improved. There is too much duplication in supervision: reports are produced in large numbers and control is still often formal and weak, while those responsible are often not called to account. This offends the sense of justice in our society.

For all these reasons, we have determined to take further steps toward improving the work of government, and for this we have a suitable program. As I have already mentioned, the Council of Ministers has made valid decisions for improving decisionmaking, administrative procedures and the system of supervision. We have made preparations for a major regulation of the role and tasks of the central and branch administrations. We are planning steps for the abolition of superfluous organizational duplications, and it is within this framework that we shall revise and reduce the committees, which have proliferated excessively. We want to rely more than at present on the personal responsibility of managers and on state discipline.

We realize that issuing resolutions is not in itself enough, and that the real standard of work is decided primarily by the ability of people, their competence and their commitment to the cause.

According to our experiences, the majority of those holding state posts and those who administer public affairs keep step with the constantly rising requirements. They carry out their tasks with a feeling of responsibility and a consciousness of their obligations. However, there are improvements to be made in this sphere as well. For that reason, in the future we must devote even more attention to the development of personnel work in state administration, and to further political and professional training, in order to insure that with planned and continuous cadre work we provide the best personnel conditions for carrying out the growing tasks. Also in the past years, the work of economic construction posed the greatest test of strength for us. Recalling the decades of socialist construction, we can say that this alone is nothing new. We know from experience that every phase of development has had its own difficult and complex tasks. This is true. Nevertheless, we
are not exaggerating when we say that there is more and something different at issue today, since domestic reasons and the changing world economic situation, existing simultaneously and enhancing each other, pressingly oblige us to raise all elements of our economic management onto a qualitatively higher level.

The required extent of a qualitative change is so great that we can only attain it through a deliberate collaboration of society and a complete mobilization of all our intellectual and material resources. Therefore, we will have to concentrate most of our forces on the accomplishment of economic tasks also in the coming years.

Now that we are half way through the plan period, we can once more state: In the Fifth Five-Year Plan we evaluated those processes of the world economy and the home economy which exert a significant influence on our development fundamentally correctly. We planned the direction correctly and determined the tasks correctly. Preparations were also carried out in time. We agreed with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries on the trade agreements, which have great significance on the foundations of the plans, before the beginning of the plan period. We adjusted the tasks for the development of production cooperation with those countries.

The ministries and the enterprises, in consultation with the working collectives, worked out the action programs. Wide ranging, open and responsible political work was successfully mobilized for the realization of these programs.

The achievements which we can report are not inconsiderable. Even amid the more difficult circumstances, our economy has developed in the direction prescribed in the Fifth Five-Year Plan. The efficiency of economic work has improved. In a number of areas, there have been measurable advances in the sphere of technological development. Productivity has increased, international cooperation has been enriched with new elements and has been strengthened even further, and we have put into operation a significant number of modern production capacities.

In answering this question, I must refer again to what has been indicated in advance, that is, that the changing prices in the world economy are causing such considerable losses that we can only counterbalance them over a long period, with purposeful and hard work. We have done a great deal for this in the past few years, but the task is even more difficult than expected. The influence exerted by the world economy is stronger, the handicap from the deterioration of the terms of trade has been considerably greater than we had expected. The conditions of the capitalist market have not improved. Even more, the prolonged crisis and the increasingly numerous protectionist measures have led to a further deterioration to some extent. On the other hand, experience has also shown that achieving an improvement in economic efficiency, particularly
as regards improving the production structure to an extent necessary for the reestablishment of economic equilibrium, is a more complex, expensive and time-consuming process than had been foreseen. The situation is aggravated by the fact that we have not yet been able to catch up with the higher requirements regarding the work of management and organization. This has led to many already existing opportunities not being utilized.

Leadership and social practices are not as yet everywhere infused with the spirit of not being content with the achievements of yesterday. The target must be raised higher every day, just as development demands, and as is done only by the best at present.

To overcome our problems of balance, we are also making use of foreign loans. Public opinion is regularly informed on this. We use the overwhelming proportion of these credits to speed up the modernization of production and to improve the export capacity of industry and agriculture. However, sober self-restraint is needed in making use of foreign loans. We must insure the conditions for repayment. For that reason, we must continue to observe the principle that consumption at home can increase only at a slower pace than the national income.

On the basis of our present knowledge, being aware of the more difficult circumstances, we must follow the direction of economic policy which we adopted as the basis for the five-year plan.

But it must be stated with complete frankness that in order to achieve the goals described in the five-year plan, the performance originally planned and produced so far is insufficient. More is needed, including a significantly improved efficiency. An approach is needed which does not tolerate careless work, lack of organization and wastefulness with the wealth of our society; and which motivates the constant mobilization of internal resources and the constant improvement of economic activities.

In full awareness of these facts, the government has devoted attention to economic tasks in line with their importance. Nonetheless, facts indicate that we must work resolutely to further improve all those conditions which facilitate the fuller realization of the principles of our economic policy. The simultaneous further development of economic planning, of the work of economic regulating and of the organization of the branches of the economy, is among the government's primary tasks. The foundation for the central direction of the economy is the economic plan. Amid today's complex conditions, the role of planning and the responsibility of the planners has doubled. For that reason, the practice of economic planning must also be further developed in a way so that the sureness of forecasting, the soundness of the decisions, should improve, so that planning fulfills to an even greater extent its function of formulating ideas and setting and harmonizing targets.
The other important task as regards improving the effectiveness of centralized planning is further developing the system of economic regulators. Even though we have done a great deal in this sphere, the incentive exerted by the regulators on the economic organizations are still not as great as they should be, particularly because of the contradictions in the price system. The economic regulators—that is, the system of financial supports and withdrawals—contains many elements leading to greater equalization, which washes away or at least significantly diminishes the actual differences in the economic results of the enterprises. For that reason, the enterprises which function economically and develop actively possess fewer sources of development in relation to the possibilities of their achievements, thus finding themselves in a relatively handicapped position. On the other hand, those enterprises which produce average results or even have losses receive unjustified advantages at the expense of the budget. This is made even worse by the fact that in awarding financial supports and various advantages, subjective factors also frequently play a part, and for that reason local interests gain the upper hand. We must certainly alter this position.

The primary task is the further development of the system of producer prices, making it suitable for providing a more accurate measure and orientation for the evaluation of the profitability of developments and current production. Expressing this in different terms, economic production necessitates producer prices which reflect the actual inputs better than at present. Changing producer prices also exert an influence on consumer prices. This is not only an important economic issue, but also a matter of great political significance, which requires careful preparation in the course of which, just as we have done in the past, the interests of production and of the standard of living must be evaluated together. Even while conditions become ripe for changing the price system, we must carry out those alterations in the system of regulators which appear indicated. Our intention is to carry this out during preparations for the plan for 1979.

In the first 2 years, industrial production increased by almost 12 percent, agriculture by approximately 8 percent and the building industry by almost 11 percent. Communications satisfied transportation requirements. Foreign trade turnover increased dynamically, by approximately 16 percent in 2 years. The gross national product increased 11 percent and this was due entirely to the improvement in work productivity. These facts well demonstrate that the annual average growth rate in every main branch fulfilled or came close to the five-year plan target and can stand up to international comparison as well.

This is a significant achievement if we consider that in 1976, the initial year, a drought afflicting agriculture retarded the development rate, which caused a serious shortfall in the gross national product. Therefore, we can rightly say that the outstanding production results attained in 1977 that came about through a deliberate collaboration of
the working people in industry and agriculture in the momentum of the socialist work competition that has developed in honor of the Great October Socialist Revolution are of great significance from the viewpoint of our five-year plan as a whole.

Along with appreciable results, there are also weak points causing problems in the implementation of the five-year plan. The essence of these can be boiled down to the fact that the dynamic development of production is not accompanied by an improvement to the desired extent in our economic equilibrium, which is measurable mainly in the foreign trade balance and the budget.

Our public opinion is frequently preoccupied by the question as to how can there be and why have we problems with the equilibrium when production is developing, productivity is improving and consumption does not exceed the foreseen extent.

Esteemed Comrade Deputies!

It is a frequently asserted and indispensable prerequisite for fulfilling the five-year plan and attaining our long-term objectives that, in the spirit of the Central Committee resolution of last October, we accelerate the modernization of the structure of material production, particularly that of industrial and agricultural production.

Is this emphatic accentuation justified? We can answer this in the affirmative. It is a fairly well-known fact by now that international conditions regarding prices have become detrimental for us largely because of our economic assets. However, it is not as yet sufficiently known that our price losses would be lower if most of our goods offered for export did not fall in the quality category valued as average by the foreign market, but in a higher quality category selling at a more favorable price. To put it differently, to be able to counteract the disadvantage arising from the changed world market prices, we must gradually catch up with the international vanguard. By accelerating technical development, overhauling manufacturing technology and improving work sophistication, we must produce modern goods of good quality and in demand which fulfill domestic requirements and can be profitably sold on the world market.

Also in the past 2 years, by implementing the measures resolved under the five-year plan, we made progress in the previously initiated modernization of the structure of production. We continue the implementation of central development programs. Through government decisions, we have finalized the long-term development projects of the five largest machine industry enterprises. We have concluded additional specialization agreements with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and we have discontinued the production of numerous outdated or uneconomical products. By virtue of a government decision, the Hungarian National Bank grants
credits amounting to 45 billion forints to enterprises, state farms and producer cooperatives that implement an economical and rapidly amortizing development project to increase competitive exports.

In the recent past we reviewed and verified what happens in utilizing credits. The government considers that the initial experiences are favorable. Therefore, we are contemplating the possibility of increasing the fund. Also in the past 2 years, the sphere of enterprises and products that have won recognition and prestige on the world market continued to expand. Thus, progress is being made. But our own interests and the world market's strict scale of values alike are urging still more rapid progress.

To make this process unfold more vigorously, well founded central plans and well formulated branch concepts are needed. In modernizing the production structure, industry continues to play a determining role. Under our policy of industrial development, while continuing the economical exploitation of domestic energy and raw material sources--including our coal, oil, gas and bauxite assets--we must accelerate primarily the development and modernization, in keeping with our assets, of branches of the processing industry that represent technical progress. Continuing our proven agricultural policy, we must more fully utilize natural assets providing favorable prerequisites in agriculture, the second fundamental branch of the people's economy, to increase production and, on the basis of this, to develop foodstuff processing so as to satisfy high market demands.

Experiences call attention to the fact that, along with the elaboration of plans for the development of sectors, considerably more care should be devoted to the coordination of intersector tasks, the acceleration of the development of high-productivity secondary industry producing components and units and of prerequisites insuring the handling and up-to-date marketing of goods and the promotion of saving specific energy and raw materials.

In addition to all this, terms of interest—and, in certain cases, the relevant organizational frameworks as well—must be further developed so as to tighten the identity of interests among producers, research and development institutes and domestic and foreign trade marketing the goods. There is special and great importance attached to the development of a more active market research activity and export services since we can only hold our own in the sharp market competition if market requirements are perceived by developers and producers, instead of with a delay and indirectly, rapidly and indirectly.

It is an indispensable prerequisite for modernizing the structure of production that, in elaborating our plans for the development of sectors and our technical policy, we should together with our domestic potential, also take the possibilities of the international division of labor into
consideration. In this respect, our particularly great interests are attached to deepening the cooperation pursued with the Soviet Union and even more integrally to join the socialist economic integration.

The special programs serving the development of energy and raw material production, agriculture, the food industry and the machine industry, the programs we have adopted at the latest Bucharest session of CEMA, are imparting a new impetus and furnishing reassuring prospects to the development of socialist economic integration. The joint implementation of the special programs lies in our primary interests because they enhance our safety in laying foundations for our future plans and provide additional new possibilities in our economic cooperation pursued with the socialist countries.

The planned and constantly developing relations in production we are realizing with the socialist countries do not preclude, but, indeed, foster our continued and expanded existing economic cooperation based on mutual advantage with developing and with capitalist countries. We intend to take advantage of the possibilities that also offer themselves in this respect. Simultaneously with an increase of the turnover of commodities, we will continue to attribute an important role to joint ventures in production and license and patent purchases insuring the assumption of modern technology. However, all this is not up to us alone. It also requires that our Western partners dismantle as soon as possible the still existing barriers that bar the expansion of mutually beneficial cooperation.

The modernization of the structure of production is a constant and fundamental task of the enterprises, but a task, nevertheless, that calls for coordinated central direction.

To this end, on the basis of a government resolution, the ministries of sectors have worked out programs for specific measures, which were recently presented to and discussed with the leading collectives of enterprises, state farms and producer cooperatives. We will build their tasks integrally into the system of planning for the people's economy. As part of this, we will review and, if necessary, formulate more precisely the development projects earmarked for the coming period of the five-year plan in every producing sector and we have begun the elaboration of the development policy concepts of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. However, we can only expect to succeed in modernizing the product structure if we rely even more intensively on enterprise initiative. I think that it is hardly necessary to prove this. Up to now, too, we have produced the best results there, in areas where central endeavors were complemented and further developed by enterprise initiative, where an enterprising spirit prevails and the management imposes exacting demands on itself and the collective. Such leaders deserve more support and greater social and material recognition than they are presently receiving. At the same time, we should be less and less indulgent with those whose
performance is mediocre or poor. This, too, is a necessary prerequisite for more rapid progress.

I would like to very emphatically stress that all economic leaders, whether they work in the government or at an enterprise, must realize that promoting the modernization of the production structure is not a temporary but a permanent task and not merely one of their tasks but one of their most important tasks.

We must achieve nothing less than to overhaul our industry's and agriculture's productivity and the modernity and quality of their products and attune them to the high yardstick of the world market.

This has been established and the directions to follow has been determined, so that now we must concentrate all our organizational ability on an exacting implementation. We are confident that we will win over our scientists, economists and technical and agricultural intellectuals for this difficult but appealing task and can count on their expertise and talent. We are also convinced that, in the future as before, we will be supported by the socialist brigades, which are always responsive to new things and can count on the ability and diligence of the workers and producer cooperative peasants.

Highly esteemed National Assembly, in order to carry out the development tasks on time, meeting the requirements as regards efficiency and equilibrium we must further improve all phases of investment work, from decisionmaking to the work of completion. We cannot be satisfied with the present situation. During the first 2 years of the five-year plan, partly as a consequence of the weaknesses of the central direction, disproportions arose in the process of investment which disturbed the planned character of the work. We overfulfilled the planned targets in their entirety. A fast rate of development also characterizes the period which has passed during the current year. It is not the overfulfillment in itself that is the problem. What is more, since the growth in excess of the plan derives primarily from the sources of the enterprises and from the greater utilization of export development credits, this could even provide certain advantages. What causes problems is the extent. The growth in investment significantly exceeds the rate of expansion of the productive capacities of the economy, and construction capacity cannot keep pace with the increase of investment demand. This is shown not only by the high proportion of construction orders which are turned down but also in the still characteristic delays in completing the investments and in many other unfavorable facts.

I wish to emphasize very strongly that we cannot forego the policy of active development in the future, either. In the interests of increasing the national income, modernizing production, the construction of housing and the development of the infrastructure, we must invest large sums in the future as well. However, thinking responsibly, we cannot
permit oversized and slowly realized investments to disturb the main proportions of the distribution of the national income, and scatter our resources even further. For that reason, the government, having evaluated the situation, recently instructed the relevant bodies to bring in measures for moderating the growth in the spending capacity for investment purposes. They should survey the obligations in connection with the investments at present being carried out, and undertake a survey, with the knowledge of all these factors, of investments to be started in the future, then establish a strict ranking of them.

We think the objectives of development must be listed in their order of importance not only by the government organs but also by the councils and the enterprises. The reduction of investment purchasing power in itself is not sufficient. An increase in the capacity of the construction and assembly industry, and above all its more rapid technical development, is also needed. For this reason, we have allocated supplementary funds to be used during the current five-year plan period.

At the same time, we must adhere more consistently to our own principles. Accordingly, with regard to decisions on development, we must impose truly stricter and verifiable demands of profitability when credits and subsidies are considered. Terms of interest must be further developed in a direction that encourages a concentration of forces, better preparations, more rapid execution, a greater degree of organization and more economical solutions. And investors must be compelled to attune their decisions on development better to realistically calculable manpower sources and the demands of the regional division of labor.

The next important area of our economic life where we must achieve a more comprehensive and effective improvement is manpower management.

The statistical data made available to the comrade deputies reveal that in the past 2 years manpower resources did not increase, but, on the contrary, decreased somewhat. I can add to this that we will not be able to depend on an appreciable increase of manpower resources in the future, either. This in itself is sufficient reason for us to husband manpower more methodically. Unfortunately, we are still not devoting enough attention to this important task. The situation remains that, on the level of the people's economy, there are more jobs than there is available manpower. Along with this, because of a lack of organization and other reasons—including a tolerated slackness of work discipline—a considerable amount of working time is lost, highly valuable productive equipment is unused and considerable losses are caused to the people's economy. Numerous facts indicate that a large portion of our economic leaders still fail to comprehend or refuse to take cognizance of the fact that where and how we employ manpower, this most valuable source of strength of ours, is increasingly exerting a determining impact on our economic development.
We dealt systematically with aspects of the management of manpower in recent years. In addition to the known measures pertaining to wages, we are making various concessions in support of investments that release manpower—noting, incidentally, that only a small portion of enterprises has taken advantage of this possibility—and we have liquidated a whole number of outdated plants not only in Budapest, but in the provinces as well. We are restraining the unjustified fluctuation of manpower and the increase of employees also through administrative measures and we offer better incentives to keep those who reach pensionable age working. However, considering the matter objectively, I cannot report a resounding success. Appreciable progress has only been made where the enterprise leaderships themselves have become aware of the full seriousness of the matter.

Because of all this, in a manner and the spirit called for by the Central Committee resolution of April this year, we must continue to make progress. Through central and enterprise measures, technical development, a more effective labor organization, a further improvement of working conditions and labor protection and incentives, but, if need be, also through disciplinary means, we must succeed in seeking out and tapping our reserves in manpower management. A situation must be created where wasting manpower would bring a perceptible disadvantage to enterprises and where they would be more interested in a rational economization. At the beginning of the year, the government approved a work program on improving manpower management. The main attention should now be concentrated on the consistent implementation of this.

Dear Comrades!

As the foregoing reveals, at the cost of great efforts, we accomplished considerable tasks in recent years. However, we cannot be satisfied with the improvement of efficiency and the equilibrium. The experiences to date of the implementation of the 1978 plan for the people's economy fail to show a material change in this respect, either.

In 5 months, industrial production increased almost 7 percent and the improvement of productivity, too, is acceptable. According to the plan, the construction industry increased its production approximately 5 percent. Although work was interrupted by freakish weather at times, the state farms and producer cooperatives accomplished their scheduled tasks, producing goods of good quality, household and ancillary farms concluded contracts to deliver a considerable quantity of goods also this year and procurement targets envisaged for the period were fulfilled. Preparations for the great summer chore have been completed in a well-organized manner and harvesting has begun.

Thus, production is coming along approximately according to plan, but we cannot say the same for distribution. This manifests itself in the fact that, mainly because of an overfulfillment of investments, domestic
utilization, including imports, is increasing more rapidly than planned, while exports, primarily in a capitalist context, lag behind the estimates. These relative proportions must be definitely changed. To this end, in addition to a consistent implementation of the government measures decided upon to curb investment purchasing power, the export output must be intensified, above all, in the coming months.

Rounded up, we have another 1/2 year ahead of us. In this time, we will be able to and must do a great deal to make the foreign trade balance sheet more favorable through organized cooperation between production and foreign trade enterprises, increasing exportable production, more flexible adjustment to the prevailing market conditions and a rational reduction of imports. This is an indispensable prerequisite for insuring that we attain, or, at least, come close to the planned state of equilibrium.

Parallel with the accomplishment of our current tasks, we have begun to make preparations for the 1979 plan and, as has become our practice, we intend to inform the enterprises in good time of the measures that will affect the future conditions of their management and are essential for the elaboration of their own plans.

Esteemed National Assembly, the government is able to report that we made progress during these economically difficult years in all important fields affecting the people's living conditions. Consumption has increased, although we are slightly lagging behind the estimates for this period of the five-year plan, due to the well-known reasons which arose in 1976. Taking into consideration the combined increase of 15.5 percent of nominal incomes and the 9 percent increase in a round figure of retail prices, per capita real income in 2 years rose by 5.3 percent, real wages of the workers and employees by 3.8 percent and the real earnings of the cooperation peasantry by 4.6 percent. In the increase of incomes, an equally important role was played by the wage rises from enterprise profits and from central monetary funds, and the increase of amounts spent on social allowances and provisions.

We have determined and carried out several important measures to improve wage ratios and earnings in certain occupations. We raised and made uniform the shift allowances in industry, in food trade and in catering. Central wage measures were taken in the electrical energy and clothing industries. In the fields of culture, education and health services more than 400,000 working people received wage raises. In accordance with this year's plan, the higher shift allowances were extended to further occupations and made general from 1 July of this year. The decision has already been made according to which the wages of health workers not covered by last year's increases will be raised from 1 October this year.

Speaking of the standard of living, I mentioned general indices. We well know that the average is not characteristic of every social stratum and
every family. For this reason, the government is examining year by year the changes in earnings ratios, and is paying special attention to the position of workers, working women and young people. The government is also informed regularly about the living conditions of certain types of families and the elderly. In this way we obtain reliable data and see not only the development but also the problems. Among the tasks now on the agenda is the improvement of the position of elderly receiving the old, low pensions, and families with many children. Next year or in the next 2 years we shall take steps to improve their position.

We know that in our concept of the standard of living, the quantity and quality of the supply of goods is of great importance. About this I can say, and I trust that this will meet with the opinions of the customers, that the well-known problems of 1976 have been largely eliminated. Just as last year, the supply of goods is now better balanced and offers a wider choice. In the supply of foodstuffs, the conditions for meeting the requirements of better quality nutrition have improved. The consumption of milk and milk products has increased in a gratifying but perhaps still not sufficient way, and the supply of fruit and vegetables is acceptable.

The demand for industrial articles can be met from domestic production and foreign purchases, apart from greater or lesser shortcomings. There are, however, unfavorable phenomena as well, and among these I mention the invariable rapidly growing consumption of alcohol. This is not good in itself, but an even greater problem is that there are unfortunately large numbers of those who know no moderation in the consumption of alcohol. This phenomenon involves many dangers and embitters the lives of thousands of families. There have been several government discussions. We have taken measures as well, but we can see that we must go further. We are also aware that intervention by the authorities in itself is not sufficient, and therefore the help of society is needed even more because it is only by joint effort that we can prevent the further spread of these unfavorable phenomena.

In meeting the daily needs of the people and in improving the position of working women, an ever greater role is played by the various services. As a result of investments and central financial subsidies, the value of services provided for the people has increased in the past 2 years by 10 percent on the average, and doubled compared with the period of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. Within this, particularly rapid development has been shown in the repair, laundry and dry-cleaning services. However, the development of dwelling maintenance has fallen far behind the requirements. Thus the development of the service network remains an important task and the government must pay closer attention to this.

Dear comrades, speaking of the living conditions of the people, I think it is our imperative duty to report on the fulfillment of the housing construction plan on which we had decided. In the first 3 years of the
Fifth Five-Year Plan, a total of 187,000 dwellings, about 17,000 more than planned, were built. In 2 years, more than 500,000 people moved into new homes.

The conveniences in the dwellings are more modern and there are more three-room apartments. As regards the rate of construction—8.8 dwellings per 1,000 people—we are still in the front rank in Europe, and this is no mean achievement. Unfortunately, the technical conditions of our dwellings inherited from the past are such that the proportion of renovations is necessarily—though on occasion perhaps unjustifiably—high in Budapest. For this reason, too, we are able to meet the requests of applicants for new dwellings only at a slow rate, and so the number of persons on the waiting lists is invariably high and has even increased.

A problem affecting many people and particularly characteristic of the capital city is that public services, shops, kindergartens, schools and cultural institutions are not constructed at the same time as dwellings, but after some delay. For this reason, justified complaints are frequent, particularly in new housing developments. Similarly, we cannot be satisfied with the rate of renovation and maintenance work. We also know that, owing to increases in building costs—though the state bears a major part of building expenses—families with average incomes and young people can obtain new homes only if they shoulder increasing financial burdens. The government knows the problems connected with the building and distribution of dwellings, and regards the search for ways of easing these problems as its important duty. At the same time, we are counting on the population to further the solution of this important social task through its own resources.

Speaking of the supply of dwellings, although there is still much to be done, the decisive characteristic is development and progress. Touring the country, one can get a clear picture of this. In our towns and villages, not only are tens of thousands of up-to-date dwellings going up year by year, but the environment of dwelling places is becoming more and more civilized, through joint efforts and devoted cooperation in social work between the population and factory and cooperative collectives. There is an increasing number of service and supply institutions that make life more comfortable. The road network has improved, mass transport is developing, the vehicle pool has been modernized and the construction of the underground railroad is continuing in Budapest. In our towns and cities and in the countryside as well, we are providing further possibilities for rest and enjoyable leisure-time activities.

Esteemed National Assembly:

In keeping with its significance, we have paid great attention to the health and social requirements of the population and the development of children's institutes and the educational system. Commensurate with our means, we have improved conditions with regard to personnel and further
expanded material allotments. In the past 2 years alone, we have raised the amount allotted to health, social and educational purposes under the budget by 17 percent. This amount is close to 33 billion forints today.

We have improved conditions for the operation of the health system. The Ministry of Health and the councils are implementing a comprehensive organizational program, from which we expect—and, according to initial experiences, this is a justified expectation—that it will foster a better utilization of the existing possibilities and contribute to raising the standard of medical care. Although material conditions have improved and health workers are working with a devotion worthy of recognition, we could not as yet fully satisfy society's increased requirements with regard to care.

The crowdedness of hospitals, day centers and social homes is a particularly great problem. Also here, as in many other areas, we are still confronted with the contradictions of the burdensome historical heritage and the new demands deliberately created by us. Our laws and social insurance system have turned health care into a civic right. Along with the full development of the system of institutes necessary for this, we must carry out the costly overhauling of the largely outdated hospitals bequeathed to us from the past as well. The condition of the health institutes of the capital is particularly unfavorable in this respect. Following the liberation—for understandable reasons—we had to improve the extremely backward health care of the provinces first. We have devoted a great deal of energy and material resources to this. However, we can now no longer postpone paying greater attention to improving the situation in Budapest as well. Another, equally important task of ours is to halt, or at least perceptibly lessen the shortage of health workers through planned training, the means of vocational guidance and an intensification of material and moral appreciation and to make catering for individual regions more even. All this demonstrates well that, while we can report great progress and a constant improvement in our people's health situation, there is still a great deal to do. The government recently made the shorter and longer range tasks of health development the order of the day and defined them on the basis of a comprehensive situation analysis. We are counting on obtaining in the future, as before, the helpful support of society in the accomplishment of these tasks as well.

Turning to the position of education, here, too, I can report measurable progress. The educational standard has risen and also the modernization of the subject matter of instruction is progressing at an appropriate rate.

Never before have so many young people studied at the day departments of secondary and higher educational institutes. This is made very clear by the fact that, in the 1977-78 academic year, 361,000 students studied at secondary schools and 65,000 at universities and colleges. The number
of students in evening and correspondence departments has increased as well. At general schools and skilled workers' training schools, we have built more classrooms and lecture rooms than planned. In accordance with resolutions on educational policy, we paid more attention also in recent years to improving the prospects for young people living under less favorable social circumstances to continue their studies. Student homes accommodate 22 percent of the secondary school students and 47 percent of the university and college students studying at the day departments. However, social care for students is still not satisfactory, there are not enough day centers, primarily at general schools.

Education is playing an increasing role both in the attainment of our social objectives and the shaping of individual careers. Increasingly, our schools are becoming institutes that equip youth with well-founded knowledge and an independent reasoning ability and launch it on its way with a socialist outlook on life. However, improving the quality of education and training and bringing their content up to date constitute a constant and ongoing task. For this, in addition to the work of our teachers attached to their vocation, we must insure increasingly improving material prerequisites. Therefore—and taking into consideration also the fact that the number of students will continue to increase rapidly in the coming years—we must continue and even intensify our efforts to satisfy the increasing requirements.

Along with improving—in conformity with our possibilities—conditions pertaining to personnel and material endowments, we regard it as an important government task to elaborate a long-term development plan for public education and to draft a more far-sighted projection, attuned to the requirements of the people's economy, of the demand for skilled workers, as well as to prepare and continuously implement a substantive and organizational modernization in compliance with the above.

Reflecting upon the past years, we can be pleased to conclude that our people have grown richer not only in material wealth, but intellectually as well. It is an important fact borne out by many indications that the ambition to become more cultured is becoming stronger and greater among ever increasing strata, including workers and agricultural working people. In addition to the fact that this is completely in keeping with our social endeavors, we welcome this also for the reason that, as I have already said, we must carry out a qualitative transformation in all areas of life, but particularly in the economy, which is inconceivable without a constant development of general and vocational erudition. I think that the relevance of this is close and clear. It is for this reason that I can speak with special appreciation of our creative intelligentsia and artists, the professional and voluntary educators of the people and the work of the radio, television and the press, of everyone who has contributed to enriching our people's culture. Also in the past years, socialist features have continued to strengthen in our artistic and cultural life, and, although we have a great deal left to
do in this area, we can say with a good conscience that there is enough for us to support. The government regards it as its duty to foster, in accordance with our material means, the improvement of objective conditions in culture and public education and expects cultural workers to continue to fulfill their noble mission to a high standard and committed to the cause of the people also in the future.

Dear Comrade Deputies!

The tasks of building an advanced socialist society and the new and high demands of development call for a well-founded awareness of the reality and reliable foresight in all areas of society and the economy. In fulfilling this requirement, the sciences are playing an increasing role today, a role that will even grow in the future. Devising the path leading to our objectives, laying the groundwork for far-reaching decisions and developing material production pose questions of a complex nature at all levels of leadership, the answers to which can only be found through the active participation of the sciences. Therefore, not only does the government request the help of the sciences, but it pays great attention to their development as well.

As a result of methodical and deliberate training and considerable material investment, our country's scientific potential has multiplied in the past decades. Research and higher educational institutes have a staff of over 80,000 people and almost half them are scientific workers and instructors. Approximately 17 billion forints are spent on research and development, which is more than 3 percent of the gross national product. These are facts that can stand up to a comparison with economically more advanced countries than ours.

As a result of all this, our sciences are capable of increasingly significant achievements, achievements that are noteworthy from a domestic and international viewpoint alike. Numerous outstanding successes have been achieved in basic research and the sciences are assuming an increasingly active role in the accomplishment of tasks for the people's economy. To note only a few examples, in the first half of the seventies, research was instrumental in laying the foundations for a modern petrochemical industry and a computer technology industry. Among other things, exemplary results have been attained in the pharmaceutical industry, electronics, plant improvement, protein research, geological prospecting and tapping the country's mineral assets.

Proceeding from society's many-sided demands on the sciences, we will continue to encourage high-standard research activities that embark on obtaining knowledge of natural phenomena and analyze the ramifications of social processes. At the same time, we expect more initiative from and the active participation of the sciences, particularly with regard to the development of modern marketable products and the introduction of new manufacturing processes in the coming period.
As in other areas of society, so in the sciences as well, conditions and requirements have matured for quantitative development to be replaced even more by an intensive development. Analysis of the guiding principles of scientific policy shows that we have made the initial steps on this path.

However, to better to concentrate our forces, we must continue to proceed rationally and boldly but also selectively, because the path of resolving all development tasks through the results of our own research will be even less negotiable in the future than it is at present.

Many industrial countries more advanced than we are rely considerably more on results from abroad than we do. Thus, taking over, bringing into use and introducing foreign intellectual products must be intensified and more deliberate advantage must be taken of possibilities provided by international cooperation, particularly cooperation with socialist countries. To improve method and efficiency, we must continue to progress in improving the interrelations between the sciences and practice. We can foster this partly by developing terms of interest and partly by modernizing the organization of the research base. We think it is important for enterprise research projects to be appropriately supported. Together with this, we intend to make provisions for a better coordination of enterprise, institute and university research and the development of direct contacts among them.

All this makes a further modernization of the direction and organization of the sciences indispensable. Following careful preparation, the Council of Ministers recently summarized the most important tasks in a comprehensive resolution. We are confident that we will win the approval and active support of the representatives of the sciences for the accomplishment of these tasks.

Esteemed National Assembly!

Also in the past 2 1/2 years, as before, our government's fundamental foreign political endeavors were aimed at insuring favorable international prerequisites for our people's peaceful creative work. In the period elapsed, we have further consolidated our fraternal relations with the socialist community's countries, primarily with the Soviet Union.

We have expanded our political, economic, scientific and cultural cooperation and raised it onto a higher level and we have strengthened the direct friendly ties linking our peoples. In conformity with our country's interests, we have intensified our activity in the work of CEMA and the development of socialist economic integration. We have assumed and we are assuming an active role in strengthening our defense organization, the Warsaw Pact. A constant strengthening of our socialist community's internationalist unity remains a cardinal principle of our foreign policy.
The developing countries are playing an increasing role in our international relations. This is all the more significant since half of mankind lives in these countries. Building on our common interests, we are increasingly expanding our economic, scientific and cultural cooperation with them. As do the rest of the socialist countries, our country is building and developing its relations so that it intends to be not only a reliable, friendly partner, but also a selfless helper to the peoples who have recently won their independence and are struggling for progress. In conformity with our strength, we will continue to support their struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism and to attain full economic independence.

Keeping in mind the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, equality and mutual advantage, we are expanding our relations with the advanced capitalist countries as well. Our government is pursuing a principled policy also in this respect.

We proceed from the fact that a multifaceted development of economic, cultural and scientific cooperation among socialist and capitalist countries is a prerequisite of vital importance for maintaining and deepening the detente process. It gives us satisfaction that we have progressed both in our relations with the West European capitalist countries and with the United States.

Esteemed National Assembly, for the last few years detente has been the ruling tendency in international politics. The advance of peaceful coexistence in Europe and elsewhere has been accompanied by a whole series of favorable international developments. At the same time, it cannot be denied that detente has not only its adherents but its opponents as well. There are forces which are led by selfish and shortsighted considerations, which are willing to risk the achievements gained so far, which endanger the peace of the peoples, and which are endeavoring with all available means to stop and even reverse the process of detente.

These extreme reactionary circles are increasing their attacks on the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the progressive, peace-loving forces of the world. Unfortunately, this unglorious endeavor is also being supported by the Chinese leadership.

We can also witness, in our days, the way in which the pressure of imperialism and neocolonialism on the developing countries is increasing. The forces of neocolonialism endeavor to bar progress by all possible means, even by armed intervention, if necessary.

Our government takes an active part in the struggle waged for detente. We were present and voiced our opinions at all those international forums where the strengthening of peace was discussed. It is our opinion that, from the point of view of the strengthening of European peace and
security, the full realization of the principles laid down in the Helsinki final act has paramount significance. With this intention in mind, the Hungarian delegation contributed to the success of the work at the Belgrade conference by making several recommendations, contributing to the positive endeavors of the socialist states and to the thwarting of the attempts which were contrary to the spirit of the Helsinki final act.

In the same way as it has done up to now, the government of the Hungarian People's Republic will also work in future for the full realization of the recommendations of the Helsinki final act. At the same time, we are conscious of the fact that one cannot expect spectacular results from one day to the next. Long-term, patient, and tenacious work is needed.

The international situation is influenced with particular impact by the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States. We deeply appreciate the patient and tenacious endeavors of the Soviet Union aimed at improving this relationship. At the same time, we regret that these initiatives are not received in accordance with their importance in the United States.

The most important task in preservation of the process of relaxation these days is the curbing of the arms race. This is a task that cannot be postponed. From the viewpoint of military relaxation, the Soviet-American negotiations to restrict strategic arms have the greatest significance.

There is no doubt that their successful conclusion would impart an impetus to negotiations underway in other areas, including those in Vienna on the reduction of armed forces. Our government consistently supports the struggle to resolve disarmament, prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, prohibit their production and halt nuclear experiments. It gives us satisfaction that an extensive and favorable international response has been elicited by the Soviet Union's and the socialist countries' proposals in this respect. We have actively participated in the UN General Assembly special session devoted to disarmament held early this summer. This session, too, has proved that the adherents to detente are making their voices heard more and more resolutely and how profoundly progressive world public opinion is permeated by the desire for lasting peace. Also the highly important document issued at the end of the session, which was made public recently, bears witness to this.

We support the Soviet Union's proposal that the production of all kinds of nuclear weapons and, with them, that of any other kind of mass destruction weapons, should be prohibited and that the permanent Security Council members and countries that have concluded military agreements with them should refrain from expanding their armies and increasing their conventional weapons. All this should be accomplished on the
basis of the principle that these steps must not involve unilateral advantages and upset the military balance of power that has developed among states. We fully share the position of the socialist countries' governments on the reduction of military confrontation between the two military-political alliances.

It cannot by any means be regarded as favorable that the NATO countries have responded, to the socialist countries' highly significant proposals with another new armaments program.

Our government supports the soonest possible liquidation of the tension points that alarmingly endanger mankind's peace. We support the struggle by the progressive Arab countries to resolve the Middle East crisis. We believe that a just settlement of the Zimbabwe issue and insuring the independence of Namibia are more and more pressing. We fail to comprehend and condemn the Chinese leadership's acts against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. We are in solidarity with fraternal Vietnam's heroic people, who have suffered so much, support their just cause and, as far as our strength permits, accord them any help to heal the wounds of the war and in their socialist construction.

Dear Comrades, despite the complicated situation that has developed in the international arena, we are convinced that the perceptible halt in detente is a temporary manifestation. Still, we deem it as indispensable that all adherents of detente unite and resolutely act in the defense of peace and security.

We are certain that the socialist countries' increasing strength and influence, the struggle by the hundreds of millions of peace-loving people and the collaboration of the progressive forces, as well as the capitalist countries' sober-minded politicians and public opinion will be able to restrain and repulse the opponents of detente and that we will be able to continue advancing on the path we have begun to pursue.

Esteemed National Assembly, I think it emerges from the report that we have accomplished a lot of work, but also that the tasks we will have to tackle in the future are greater still. In addition to successes, there are many difficulties to be overcome. Nevertheless, we can look optimistically to the future, because we can build on firm foundations. We have the correct policy and a clear goal and program. Socialist national unity is strengthening, our people's skill is expanding and public responsibility and willingness to act are increasing. Our people's economy is a dynamically developing socialist economy possessing great reserves. The fact that we are a respected member of the constantly developing socialist community enhances our strength and safety. We are faced with exacting, but attractive tasks, the successful accomplishment of which requires of the leadership even more discipline and better work at every level and place of work. The government will strive to further improve the prerequisites for achievement in the spirit of the resolution of the April Central Committee session. In this we request the help and support of the National Assembly and our working people as a whole.
ARMY PARTY COMMITTEE MEETS TO CONSIDER APRIL MSZMP CC RESOLUTION

Budapest NÉPHADSÉREG in Hungarian 20 May 78 pp 4, 5

[Article by Ferenc Szepesi: "We Perform in Spirit of the 11th Congress Resolutions"]

[Text] On May 12 the Army MSZMP Committee held an expanded session under the chairmanship of Colonel General Lajos Czinoge, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and minister of defense. Comrade Sandor Racz, a member of the MSZMP Central Committee and department head, participated and spoke.

After the chairman's opening remarks, Major General Dezso Papp, first secretary of the MSZMP Army Committee, presented the agenda and informed the party committee of the MSZMP Central Committee's meeting of 19-20 April 1978 on work completed since the 11th Congress and the tasks facing the party.

In the first part of his report, Dezso Papp discussed in detail the Central Committee's judgment of work performed since the 11th Party Congress, of the further tasks, assisting in a unified interpretation of the resolutions of the Central Committee, published in their entirety. He spoke of the intensive preparatory work worthy of the significance and importance of the subject preceding the Central Committee's interim report.

The MSZMP Army Executive Committee also took into account military experiences in carrying out the resolutions of the 11th Congress in the period of the preparation at the same time and in the same way as the area party organs. It established that the timely carrying out of the resolutions of the congress is going on successfully in all areas of our army's life. The main tasks set before us following the congress have proved correct. In the course of carrying them out, the political unity of our army has been further strengthened. The qualitative development of the army, its socialist character have been further improved. The socialist education of the young soldiers has been made more effective, the living standards of the personnel have been improved, as well as the working conditions and the socialist services. In every area of the army's life, the party's leading role is being realized, confidence in the party's policy strengthened, and ideological-political and action unity, the example of the communists, rose to a higher level.
An Active Approach

One of the central elements of our work — according to the resolutions of the congress — was formed by consciousness development. In our army, the extension of Marxist-Leninist ideas, consciousness formation proceeds in an organized way and at an appropriate level. The way of thinking of the professional soldiers is well founded, and the soldiers of the line understand the most essential political interrelationships. The political, military and general education of the personnel has been increased, interest and an active approach are characteristic of their attitude.

The members of our army agree with and approve of the party's foreign policy, and they believe that it faithfully expresses the interests of our people and consistently serves the cause of socialism and of friendship among peoples. They understand the need for peaceful coexistence and detente, but at the same time also the need for constant maintenance of military readiness. Their political firmness and alertness is evident in every situation, and to this we must also devote a great deal of attention in the future.

Both the party members and those outside the party understand and approve the work of the party's Central Committee for strengthening the unity of the international communist movement. They regard as determining the development of manifold relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. They understand the need and importance for belonging to the Warsaw
Pact; they support with deeds the fulfillment of our international obligations, and they conscientiously work for the strengthening of our brotherhood in arms. There is a constant and substantive friendly relation with the Soviet Army, with the Soviet southern military forces stationed temporarily in Hungary and its units, in the field of military building and technical development, in exchange of experiences in training and political work; and in joint exercises the action is closely welded together.

Our personnel show a great deal of interest in the events of our economic life. They approve and support the party's economic policy goals, and regard the 5-year plan as realistic. They approve of those measures which our party and government have taken to counter negative effects in the world economy, and steps in regard to agrarian political problems, housing construction, strengthening of work discipline and standard of living policy.

Realistic Outlook

In our army, too, we are consistently dealing with the understanding of basic problems of economic policy; in our national economic development, with the importance of Hungarian-Soviet economic relations and socialist integration; and with timely questions of social life. In close connection with the relations and tasks of the army, they explain the party's economic policy, its decisions, make known the results of our socialist building work, its problems and the tasks that need to be solved, for the carrying out of which our personnel is making serious efforts. The judgment of certain phenomena in our narrowed economic life is erroneous, but the development of a realistic outlook remains one of our important tasks.

Our personnel agree with the further development of the political system in our society, with the strengthening of socialist democracy and the modernization of our state system. In accordance with the importance of the army's political organs, they deal with the socio-political problems of building a developed socialist society. An important station in this work was the Ideological Conference of the Hungarian Army, where in addition to theoretical questions we devoted great attention to the understanding of problems drawn up in the resolutions of the 11th Congress and in the party's program statement. The results thereof are already evident in places.

Values and Tasks

The officers corps is determining from viewpoint of the ideological-political situation of our army. It is the evaluation of the Executive Committee that the political bonds of the officers corps and its proletarian internationalist attitude is firm. It strongly represents the position of our party; in recent years, its social activity has developed further; its training is the basic guarantee of the fulfillment of its service tasks, the raising of the subordinates.

A part of the officers corps has need for expansion of its objective knowledge, its self-instruction; it is indispensable that knowledge be refreshed and
developed; in certain categories, the development of one-sided training and education should be prevented.

In recent years, the role of the sub-officers in the training of soldiers of the line has increased significantly in our army. The greater part of the sub-officers — above all, the professional ones — are characterized by a way of thinking and attitude identical with that of the officers corps. There are a significant number of those who perform their professional tasks well, but their political and general education needs to be developed in order that they may carry out the duties that go with their assignments.

The basic task of our army is the training and the politico-moral education of the soldiers of the line, which fit organically into the social process of educating the future generation. The political and general education of the youth entering the army today, their social maturity and occupational knowledge level are more developed than they were for the age groups 5-10 years ago. Sixty percent of our young soldiers have a trade, more than one-half worked in a socialist brigade, 36 percent finished middle and high school. They understand the necessity of military service; the sense of responsibility for defending the socialist homeland lives in them, and the overwhelming majority fulfill their tasks actively. Annually, 65-70 percent are granted recognition, and in recent years more than 2,000 were granted various degrees of the "Service for the Homeland Merit Order. After fulfilling their military service, the majority return to civilian life enriched in knowledge, with a sense of obligation to socialism, community feeling, and citizenship discipline, and about 30-35 percent join actively in politico-social life.

But the education, moral comprehension and attitude of the soldiers of the line vary greatly. In some, we have to intensify an interest in political problems, raise their feeling of responsibility toward the community, help them understand better the causes of socio-political phenomena, and find their way in these matters more reliably.

The Executive Committee reported on the work done for strengthening the socialist features of human relations.

"We may say," said Dezso Papp in discussing the evaluation, "the atmosphere is good; relations correspond to service order, our relations are cultured and human. Lawfulness is solid, the requirements of regulations are being realized. In our outfits and institutes, there is a good community life in an organized political atmosphere which provides an appropriate framework for the development of self-activity by the personnel, of activities, responsibility for the common good and mutual respect for one another."

In some places, however, we must still make efforts in common for a cultured tone to be natural, for comradely relations to improve, and for keeping anyone from using disciplinary methods incompatible with our regulations, the principles of our socialist education, and with our practice. To this end, the party and KISZ [Communist Youth Federation] organizations have a great role, but we must make better use of the forums of the personnel and make the life of the subunits also more organized.
Continuous Development

The building of the army proceeds basically on the basis of approved plans. Our party and government have constantly encouraged conditions for army development. Our personnel, primarily professional, identifying with the party's defense policy and the development goals has solved in a sacrificing and disciplined manner the related, difficult tasks. The period since the congress has been an unbroken and successful continuation of the development that was begun earlier. It was not easy to attain this respectable result because difficult circumstances weighed on our work. And still, an important role in the realization of the plans was played by the enthusiastic work of people who directed and executed this activity without knowing fatigue.

The training results have improved significantly, the basic indexes of military preparedness — despite our existing problems — are adequate, and the alertness of the troops has continued to improve. There has been a happy firming up of mobilization readiness, the discipline of the citizens and of various administrative organs, and their understanding has increased.

Together with the development, new problems have regularly emerged, the solution of which is life by a disciplined regulation, and consistent and purposeful activity. Improvement in the level of leadership and leaders' activity was, and still is, of decisive importance. The development in this area, too, is considerable. The order of planning work, task setting, and rendering account has been stabilized and is more efficient. Further efforts must be made in developing decision-making ability, in raising the organizational level, in exemplary leadership, in restraining the bureaucratic outlook which is evident here and there, and in work and human relations between managers and his fellow workers.

"The decisive majority of the cadres meet the threefold requirement," Comrade Papp emphasized from the Executive Committee evaluation. In our army, cadre work has become an organic part of leadership activity. The party's cadre policy principles are being realized, state personnel work is in harmony with party and government resolutions. A further important task is help in guidance for an officer or sub-officer career; increased attention to officers and sub-officers who are in their first assignments; a bolder promotion of more capable officers and a loosening of tensions among those who are not promoted.

Military leaders and party organs alike have made serious efforts at improving management and making it more efficient. This has served well to strengthen military preparedness and created a stronger basis for the fulfillment of the army's basic mission.

We are realizing our building, investment and management tasks with greater efficiency and more rationally than before. An important part of army-oriented investments — releasing the national economy of the burden — is realized from their own resources, and with this we can improve the living and working conditions of the personnel.
According to the resolution of the 11th Congress, we are participating to an increasing extent in national economic building work. The successful activity of our technical troops in a new training system and the periodical assistance to our economy by our designated units have brought recognition in broad circles of the population.

The rational management outlook is being strengthened, but planned improvement requires the further effort of all communist and managing organs, management well considered with material goods and intellectual energy, the elimination of waste, the careful handling and guarding of our buildings and military technical means.

Communists in the Vanguard

"In the Hungarian Army the Organizational Regulation, party life, the work of party and movement organs have developed along main lines indicated by the 11th Congress. In party life, the Leninist norms are being realized, and party-type relations prevail. The party organizations are working successfully at every level, in the interest of making party policy known, having it understood and realized," said the first secretary of the party committee in explaining the Executive Committee evaluation.

Since the congress, the political influence of the party organizations has grown, and their relationships with the masses has been strengthened. The party card exchange represented a great upward force, and the exchange of ideas conducted with the communists in the army also served many lessons. In response, there was an improvement in the mass organization activity of the soldier masses, and the work performed between the party and the KISZ membership.

"Party life, at every level, has a positive effect on the political life of the army, on the inner relationships and on the most important processes."

Political activity, as it developed, has had a favorable effect on the work of the party bodies — they put tasks on the agenda which are more forward-looking, planned, and for the most part timely. The activity of the party bodies has increased, they represent the opinions of the communists more boldly, and they actively participate in the carrying out of local tasks. The party bodies are turning more systematically to the control of implementation, there is better harmony among the activities of the planning, organizing, enlightenment, persuasion and executive activities, and the adaptation of experience is better.

It is a serious achievement that the central and local refresher training system of basic organization secretaries is well developed and functioning well. One of the important sources of our development is that the party organizations have performed noteworthy work in carrying out the resolutions of the congress. In the course of this, they became politically strengthened, enriched in experiences, and level differences in the work of the various basic organizations were reduced.
The guidance, organizational and control work of the party leaderships becomes more expert, and they influence more and more successfully the political processes of the operational areas. Ideological work is more lively in the basic organizations, improvement is evident in the area of party commissions, and the cadre work and the exercise of the right to give an opinion is being developed more and more and is proceeding in a good direction. Achievements can be increased through a more disciplined and consistent implementation of the resolutions, the development of activity by the bodies, the increase of personal responsibility in implementation and the accountability of implementation.

The party committees and basic organizations have constantly and worthily welded the work of the KISZ and the trade union organs so that they will perform the political education and mobilization of their members in accordance with party policies and goals. The communists working in the mass organizations help in a party way in the realization of party goals, while respecting the independence of the organs. In accordance with both their KISZ and trade union functions, they took part and successfully worked for the solution of our tasks, their activities organically linked to the results attained in existing problems.

It is the judgment of the Executive Committee that there are characteristically substantive relations based on ideological principles between the leading bodies of the commanders, party organizations and mass organizations. But here and there at times, the continuity thereof and the better coordination of their work requires greater attention.

Farther on the Correct Road

"Recognizing and comparing the resolution of the Central Committee with our own experiences, it is important to stress that in the main problems we are following the correct path in the fulfillment of the basic tasks," said Comrade Dezso Papp. "The implementation of the resolutions of the 11th Congress is proceeding well, and what we did in the army and what we performed is worthy of the policy which the NSZP forged 20 years ago and has been following since then in a straight line. And since then the policy has remained like this, and therefore the development of our army is also continuous and upward."

The account of the Executive Committee does not represent the close of an era or the beginning of a new one. The tasks are known — our goal and duty is to carry them out. The results achieved in the course of our development provide a good basis for us — making up for omissions and struggling with new ideas and problems — to carry out honorably in the remaining 2 years the resolution of the 11th Congress. Why is this necessary? In order that we should adjust our political practice, our action and our industriousness all the more to the tasks, goals and obligations that face us.

The report of the first secretary of the party committee was followed by comments which supplemented and strengthened with many specific experiences the evaluation of the Executive Committee. Sandor Racz also spoke during the discussion.
Recognition for Good Work

In his comment Comrade Racz expressed the conviction that the report of the Army Executive Committee dealt worthily with the Central Committee resolution, and he called the situation in respect to the army's execution of the congress resolution proper, and he sees tasks as being right.

At its 19-20 April session, the Central Committee of our party prepared a very fundamental accounting. It stated that the review of the execution of the congress resolutions, the control of the execution and the definition of the further duties occurred in a phase of building a socialist society when the party's policy is being unbrokenly realized, and balance and dynamism are characteristic of the development of society. Nothing out of the way motivated the preparatory work or the Central Committee session.

Our party and people accepted the resolution of the Central Committee with understanding because our party's policy is unbroken, and we are continuing this well proven policy. The continuity of the party's main policy does not, of course, mean rigidity or immobility — the party showed the changes which have taken place in the external and internal conditions since the congress, and it defined the further tasks. Therefore, Comrade Racz called attention with emphasis to recognizing, understanding the materials of the Central Committee and to constantly keep the conclusions in mind.

The main conclusions can be summarized as follows: the resolutions of the congress and the program statement proved correct, they stood the test of practice, and there is no need for further resolutions; the congress resolutions were favorably received by the party membership, domestic opinion and the sister parties; it is very important that in the period following the congress the party and appropriate government organs — including the ministry of defense and the NSZP Army Committee — worked out their own plans for carrying out the resolutions of the congress, and this is proceeding well; respect for our party has grown domestically and internationally, and the reputation of our people has increased throughout the world; in order to continue successfully the proven policy, we still have to devote great attention to carrying out the resolutions of the congress and work more consistently.

Then Sandor Racz spoke of problems closely related to the work of all members of the army. He praised the historical importance of Hungarian-Soviet friendship. This friendship lives deep within our people, the peoples of the Soviet Union, and in both armies.

"The brotherhood of our armies rests on ideological bases and is firm. The most recent worthy manifestation of this friendship was the visit Comrade Janos Kadar paid to the Soviet southern military units stationed temporarily in Hungary as well as a joint exercise which you conducted with them, and a series of substantive Hungarian Soviet military meetings which have now become regular affairs. You frequently spend your time with your Soviet military brothers, and this directly and continually fosters the friendship between our peoples and between our armies. The soldiers of the army — particularly the professional personnel — meet the requirements of their important political tasks...For us, Hungarian-Soviet friendship, and the Warsaw Pact is a bond
which gives us a guarantee for guarding our sovereignty and independence against any possible kind of imperialist intervention. Let there be in the future, too, leaders of Hungarian-Soviet friendship, responsible and understanding supporters.

Then he spoke of one of the main themes of our foreign policy — the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, the main goal of which is to prevent a new world war. This, however, does not mean ideological disarmament. Our ideology and bourgeois ideology are irreconcilable, and we must always keep this in mind.

In the recent period, particularly in past months, Western imperialist circles have made increased efforts at feeding and reviving nationalism in the direction of Hungary and the sister socialist countries. This neo-policy of incitement is a diversionary tactic of imperialist ideology. It is very important to maintain adequate alertness against it, and to bear it in mind in our everyday political education work.

Sandor Racz informed the party committee that in preparing for the Central Committee session and thereafter as well, appropriate emphasis was given to defense affairs and to the activities of the armed forces and bodies — the party's leading organs gave a detailed evaluation of current party life in the army and of the work as a whole.
"Comrade Janos Kadar emphasized, and I pass it on with great happiness to the comrades here," said Comrade Racz, "that the realization of the resolutions is proceeding satisfactorily in the whole area of the army. This is in praise of your work, and let me add that for us this too represents a great happiness."

The commanders, the party organs and the personnel have carried out the part of the congress resolution called for to this time. The development and training of the army as well as the socialist education of the young soldiers and the personnel is proceeding successfully. There is admirable participation in building the economy.

The activity of the party organizations operating in the army is substantial and balanced, the leninist norms are being realized, democratic centralism is being strengthened, party discipline has been made more firm, and ideological political work and the activity of the party members have become more lively.

"A further condition for attaining the congress goals," emphasized Comrade Racz, "is the consistent execution of the resolutions at every level. We need to strengthen the collective activity of the party bodies and increase the personal responsibility of the body members for the execution of the resolutions."

As a result of measures taken to improve leadership, the unipersonal commander system has become more effective, work according to plan by the leading organs is more conscientious, the decisions are better founded, the lodging of requirements is more firm, and control is of a higher level. We need to improve the following work — we need to strengthen the realization of the central will, we need to increase independence and local initiative.

The resolution of the Central Committee on personnel and cadre work is being realized in our army. We need to strive for an even better planned cadre training and recruitment, with suitability and talent being decisive in the judgment. This is extremely important because the successful execution of the congress resolutions in the army takes place in the cadres like in other areas of the party and state life.

In conclusion, Comrade Racz summarized the evaluation of the Central Committee and said that the moral-political condition of the army is balanced; the professional personnel is unified in the realization of party policy; and the decisive majority of the personnel are fulfilling their tasks honorably. In the name of the Central Committee, he expressed gratitude for the hard and successful work performed in carrying out the congress resolutions, extended congratulations on the successes, and he wished much strength, success and health to the communists and other personnel working in the army in the further successful carrying out of the tasks.

Chairman's Concluding Statements

The party committee unanimously approved the evaluation of the executive committee on the interim work. In the closing speech, Colonel General Lajos