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BRIEFS

USSR VESSEL BEARING GOTTWALD'S NAME--A new Soviet cistern vessel which started its maiden voyage yesterday has been named after Klement Gottwald. The ship is part of the Latvian fleet and is capable of carrying 40,000 tons of cargo. [Text] [Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Oct 78 p 2]

CSO: 2400
IMPROVEMENTS NEEDED IN POLITICAL WORK IN MILITARY FORCES

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Feb 78 pp 28-37

[Article by Manxhar Binaj: "We Must Wage a Lively and Concrete Ideopolitical Effort in the Army to Direct the Entire Military Activity"]

[Text] Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed at the Seventh Congress of the AWP that the building and defense of socialism in our country compel the party organizations and committees to constantly improve the organization of ideopolitical work, "so that a better relationship can be established between education, life and work and so that education can play a proper role in the ideological and political molding of the communists and of the masses."

The party committees, bureaus and local organizations in the army, guided by the historic decisions of the Seventh Party Congress, by the directives of the Party Central Committee and by the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, have, together with the members of the structures of defense, carried out an all-around ideopolitical work. They have labored so that through all this effort they can successfully tackle the principal and most pressing problems and tasks which the party has laid down in connection with combat preparedness and readiness, with the issues arising in the daily life of the various units and companies, and to sweep with the iron broom all remnants and blemishes of the hostile putschist group in the armed forces which was unmasked and punished by the party and the people. This all-around educational activity has created everywhere among the soldiers, volunteers, school children and student masses, a healthy moral and political mood, a steel-like unity around the party and its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, has raised to a higher level the mobilization of the people to fulfill the planned targets for the defense and consolidation of the victories of revolution and of our socialist construction.

The objective of the ideopolitical work of the party carried out last year in the armed forces was that, simultaneous to the Marxist-Leninist ideological molding, all communists, cadres, soldiers and volunteers should live with the situations, correctly grasp them and always view their duties in close relationship with the situations. As a result of the grasping of the situations, in all the units of the defense structure and in all the broad working masses in the city and the village, an enduring state of psychology and conviction has been created enabling the swift implementation of the tasks relevant to the strengthening and defending of our socialist fatherland.
Living with the situations, with the issues laid down by the party, with life's concerns, is for all the workers of the country, as well as for the members of the military structure, one of the platforms upon which is based their education and their training. If the communists, the cadres and the masses,—it is stated in the report of the Politburo of the party Central Committee of the 3d CC Plenum—understand, the created situations well, then they will draw concrete lessons for themselves, will be better mobilized for work through revolutionary inspiration, spirit of sacrifice and through ever greater discipline and determination.

The first and foremost objective of the entire ideopolitical effort in the army is to understand in principle and to translate into practice the party directives and decisions for combat preparedness, guided by the fundamental demand that the defense of the fatherland is the uppermost duty. As in every field of endeavor, in the army too, the party directive inspires the people if it is explained and understood well in accordance with their professional level and the duties which they must perform. The party organs and organizations, the communists, the cadres and the entire armed forces, by thoroughly grasping the military line of the party, the ideological content of its decisions and directives regarding defense, will find it easier to work and struggle accordingly in a militant and creative spirit and through initiative, to implement them. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us: "To understand thoroughly the importance of military issues, one must above all deeply feel the love for the fatherland. This love is above everything else. Therefore, if this love for the socialist fatherland is correctly crystalized, then the performance of the military duty is placed on the order of the day as one of the principal tasks, the precise implementation of which guards the fatherland from potential perils." The practical implementation of this admonition requires that the party organs and the army commands perform with a healthy ideopolitical content and to guide the entire military activity, the education of all the members of the structures with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and with the revolutionary teachings of our party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, to instill in the mind, heart and conscience of every person the love for the fatherland, for the people, the party, socialism and revolution.

The great and ever increasing duties laid down by the party find their concrete expression in the training plan of all the structures for the year 1978. The main objective of the ideopolitical work in this field is to unravel the ideological and practical side of the tasks laid down; because these tasks can and must be met through continuous study for the ideoprofessional advancement, by waging a class struggle against bureaucratic and liberal manifestations in the field of the popular military science, of the rules and programs of education and training, to strengthen the military and technical discipline, to maintain a socialist attitude toward duty and property, to perfect the moral fiber of the soldier etc.

In addition to the Marxist-Leninist ideological formation of the military establishment, the work of raising the quality of military training, of carrying it out under war-like conditions, achieves special importance in
order to put into practice the recommendation of the Seventh Party Congress that "All, the population led by the communists and situated in the most difficult locations, master our military science, be vigilant and fully ready, including the ultimate act of sacrifice in the defense of the homeland from any threat." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Congress of the AWP, p 299).

All these tasks will be carried out successfully, accurately and on time if, as the party recommends, the leading party organizations and organs in the army will stand always in the forefront, assure that everything is permeated by the party's policy, inspired by it, by its principles and norms, so that everything submits to its leadership and vigilant control.

Now that we are on the threshold of the new year, when the new tasks and demands are known, when the corresponding objectives have been discussed and determined for every topic, branch, sector and structure, great, difficult and complicated duties arise before the party committees, bureaus and basic organizations in the field and in the army, which require a profound scientific attention, care and treatment for all the forms of the ideopolitical military and technical-economic work. When we say let us deal with military and defense questions in a scientific manner, we have in mind the unfolding and implementation of the directives and the orientations of the party, to be found in the annual training plan schedule sent to every military unit by the Ministry of the Peoples Defense.

The party committees, bureaus and organizations in the army and in the field have acquired great experience in the struggle and are at work to put into practice the party's orientations regarding defense. At the beginning of the new year, they had already taken measures and carried out a comprehensive ideopolitical work with the communists, the cadres and with all the members of the defense structure, through a broad discussion of the demands and the principal issues of work for each unit, for every type of weapon and servicing, for each soldier, volunteer, school-child and student, by concentrating more on the duties and objectives to be achieved in the plan of training and of education. In conformity with the duties and new demands, the programs of concrete work were examined, containing ideopolitical, organizational military and technological measures to be conducted through the various phases of training. At the same time, the commands, the staffs and the youth organs and organizations, under the care and leadership of the party organizations, adopted the course of work on what they should concentrate the attention for the implementation of these duties.

In this sense, however, serious work is not being done everywhere in the effective enforcement of the tasks listed in the annual training program. Here and there one finds organizations, and even party bureaus and committees, doing superficial and formal work. Instead of engaging in profound studies, to understand their duty and what is expected of them, they limit themselves to the simple presentation of the demands and of the training program for the members of the armed forces. Other shortcomings are added to formalization and superficiality in this field, such as globalism in the educational and training work and sometimes also the expectation, evident in some units, that only the highest organs can perform the ideological and technoprofessional tasks for them.

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In the process of work for the implementation of directives in the army, like everywhere else, importance is attached to the practice of the mass line and based on this principle, to the development of the ideological debate in the basic organization or party committee, so as to arrive at the conclusions enabling the specification of the most concrete measures for the implementation of the decisions or the duties. The broad utilization of the thoughts of the masses, the proper organization of the discussions about the problems of military education and training stimulates the communists, the cadres, the soldiers and the volunteers to take active part in the examination of the problems, brings to light ideas and various concepts and viewpoints, invigorates the life of the party organizations and of the youth in the respective units, helps raise to a higher degree the unity of thought and action, clarifies the problems, creates conditions enabling the drafting of manageable and realizable tasks. Experience has shown that when good measures are taken, when consultations, debates and confrontations have been organized for the understanding and implementation of the directives, the results have also been good, the duties have been carried out qualitatively and on time.

Nevertheless, much remains to be done in this field, especially in overcoming shortcomings, so that the problems can be discussed in depth, to be treated as aspects of the class struggle, to eliminate the superficial treatment of the phenomena, to prove the struggle and the work carried out for the fulfillment of tasks, to reveal the new which is born, to strengthen, to generalize and to develop it further through the ideopolitical, study and generalizing work, by drawing from specific facts and phenomena profound and complete conclusions, which can contribute to the improvement of the situation.

The method of action in the fulfillment of duties, the confrontation between organizations, organs and the most advanced communists, as well as the criticism of shortcomings and weaknesses in the backward sectors also plays an important role in the adoption and implementation of the party directives and orientation. In this regard it is necessary to carry out a well-planned program, carefully programmed and directed by the party organizations in the army and in the field. The positive experience, and based on it, the organization of socialist competition exerts a great influence on the educational-military work, stimulates the revolutionary drive to undertake and carry out tasks which would make the defense of the homeland, as the party expects from us, invincible.

Therefore, the party organs and organizations in the staffs, in military units and in the field are obligated to take overall, permanent measures for the political, military, patriotic and revolutionary education of the soldiers, school-children and the students. The homeland and socialism, life and the work of the working people can be defended only through a conscientious army, only through an armed people, and this can be achieved when in this army there exists a firm and conscientious proletarian discipline, when the people are convinced of the necessity for combat readiness of the highest order, to strengthen military discipline and order, of the great role which the masses themselves play in the defense of the socialist homeland.
The party has reminded us constantly that like everywhere else, in the army too, in its ideopolitical work with the people, special care should be given to the concrete activity. There are abundant examples and facts which show that when the party organizations, communists and cadres have worked with care and with patience in an individual manner with the people, when they have entered their inner life, when they have dealt concretely with political clarification, with the detailed organization of the work with the people and have led them with their good example, then they have achieved an active and revolutionary education, have raised to a higher degree the feeling of duty and responsibility in every soldier and volunteer to think and act as a revolutionary and patriot in performing their military service, in physical training and in mastering the peoples military art.

To carry out an ideopolitical work with a profound content and with concrete objectives, it is necessary for the communist, the cadre or the party organization to keep in mind the specifics of the unit, the nature of training or of the duties, the educational level of the soldiers or of the volunteers, the temperament, the character and the habits of the people, therefore, they should think carefully in dealing with them. In the army there are many cadres with fine experience for concrete educational work. The question is to pick them out, to activate them, to assign them tasks and to provide them with the means which will enable them to transmit their experience to others.

The ideopolitical work takes on concrete characteristics when every organ or party organization, every communist and cadre attaches great importance to the political work in the crew, patrol, service, in every specific duty. There are ever greater results when the ideopolitical work is carried out in a differentiated manner, when in the discussion of the problems and in laying down the tasks, let us say, with the infantrymen, artillerymen, tankmen, schoolboys and students one observes the requirements of the weaponry and of service in the combat in which they are active. Of educational value are the different activities carried out with the members of the military, for example events which speak of the heroic acts of our people during wars of liberation and independence, and in particular about the National Liberation War, by combining this work with various cultural activities, such as the organization of literary afternoons or evenings through recitals, book-reviews, patriotic songs, staging of dramas which have to do with the defense of the fatherland, etc. These and other activities of this kind, if broadly used, will exert a great influence in arousing the patriotic and class-revolutionary spirit of the entire effective of the various military structures.

Work has been done in this field and there are results, but there are cases in this field too of liberal manifestations, of weaknesses and omissions to the extent of violations of discipline, violations of requirements and of rules, violations of laws, which have been damaging to the technology, uniforms and other military property. In fact there has been much talk about the protection of military material which is the property of the
people, talk about the implementation of the rules of guard service, of
the employment of weapons in the service, in training and everywhere else.
The Ministry of Peoples Defense has drafted special rules and in general a
great effort has been made and is being made regarding these problems in
the army. Nevertheless, there have been cases in which the service and
training have not been carried out at the required level, thus leaving
many unfulfilled objectives. It is necessary to correct these shortcomings
and weaknesses through an organized ideopolitical work, especially through
an individual work with the people, whose effect often can not be matched
through other mass forms. The question is for the party organizations and
the cadres to take this effort in hand, to carry it out tactfully and care-
fully, by utilizing all the possibilities and means for the work to have
substance, be comprehensible and capable of implementation, so that it can
serve the ideological formation, military preparedness, physical training
of all the members of the various structures of the country's defense.

The further improvement of the level of ideopolitical work and the improve-
ment of the method and of the style in the educational work, in the mili-
tary units too, like everywhere else, aims, among other things, to head off
the problems, to be continuously on the go, to preexamine carefully the
development of the situation, the obstacles and difficulties which arise,
by politically, ideologically, militarily and morally preparing the commun-
ists, the cadres and the entire membership. In relation to this, Comrade
Enver Hoxha admonishes: "The party committees and basic organizations must
request from all the communists, that based on the general party line, they
talk continually with the masses about the party policy, confront any politi-
cal problem, provide answers to the issues raised from below, enlighten the
people with patience and fight openly against the propaganda of the enemy."
It is necessary to keep in mind these lessons of the party leader in order
to qualitatively improve the educational work in the military units, in
order to consolidate the successes and to oppose the mistakes and shortcom-
ings even if they appear small, because if ignored they can become dangerous,
can cause lack of discipline and confusion and can undermine the revolutionary
character of our Peoples Army.

Work practice in some military units has shown that when the situation is
under control one also evaluates the situation, takes the necessary measures
for the strengthening of the educational work and to raise the level of
training. We mention this because it happens that this request is ignored
and as a result there is a drop in the work standard, cases of the under-
evaluation of training begin to appear, under the pretext that "we have
achieved sufficient knowledge, therefore there is no need for fatigue in
this work," thus causing damage to the level of preparedness and readiness.
Such was the case last year with some units. The party organizations set
out to discover the source, found the causes and in order to restore the
situation, advised the commands, the staffs and the instructors of political
lessons on how to present, discuss and combat these concepts at work. In
this manner, an open confrontation took place regarding all questions of
education and of training, it was concretely talked about the work with the
people, those who excelled were praised, whereas those with weaknesses were criticized. It must be noted that the latter persons not only submitted to self-criticism, but also pledged that they would not permit the recurrence of such instances in the future. The cadres and the communists translated their pledges in practical activity, in the field of training and also noted that the criticized soldiers, helped by their comrades, performed with alertness and in full compliance with the demands and rules of combat during training.

The successes in this field, however, can be even greater when the ideopolitical and military work is carried out continuously and qualitatively, when spontaneity is opposed, when the cadres always carry out an intensive effort and do not limit themselves to some moves, so to say, when something happens, when in the unit some extraordinary event occurs or there is violation of discipline. The party has admonished us to work and to be vigilant, to see that nothing bad occurs, and if this happens, not to lose sight but get hold of ourselves and not let things get out of hand. On the contrary, we must make a profound analysis of the manifestations, draw political, ideological conclusions, make generalizations and issue overall measures to improve the situation, by giving priority to the educational work, so that the soldiers and the volunteers themselves draw generalizations and fight conscientiously in order to amend the shortcomings and mistakes.

In the political-educational work with the soldiers and volunteers, we sometimes are confronted with such practices when the requirements of the training program or other problems are treated without taking into consideration the nature, the condition and the concerns of a unit or a company. Formalism and negligence have reached the point where the ideopolitical or technoprofessional work is done in a monotonous and repetetive manner. Such activities and practices in educational and professional work are not in order. Teaching and educational work is not performed to be formally in order with the program, it must not be measured in terms of whether the program has been fulfilled or not, and it must not be evaluated with pretty words, phrases and rote repetition of texts, but the type of effect it has made, its results, how it inspires and mobilizes the people to fulfill the tasks on time and according to the expected quality must be observed. Because it can happen that one is in line with the fulfillment of the program, with the number of themes, of lectures or of discussions, but when training does not meet the objectives laid down, when a unit is beset by violations of discipline and other foreign manifestations, then the situation changes, the results speak of a routine and formal effort not in compliance with the given admonitions. The question is to raise the quality of educational work, so that the assimilation of the program of combat preparedness serves the strengthening of the moral-political condition of the member, the quantitative and qualitative mastering of the Peoples Military Art, and that every soldier and volunteer manifest at work and in life the characteristics of the revolutionary fighter in the service of the consolidation and the defense of our socialist order.
The party committees, bureaus and basic organizations in the entire educational effort, should devote greater attention to its content and to the use of the most suitable forms to attain this objective. It is necessary that top priority in the entire educational system be given to the understanding and implementation of the party military line, the understanding and implementation of the rules of the military art of the peoples war, all of these closely combined with the duties of the military preparedness and readiness which every unit must complete. The experience of many units and companies shows the great value of the educational work according to the problems of the unit itself which concern the soldiers, the volunteers, the students and the schoolboys, by subjecting them to discussions, debates and confrontations.

The conduct of a high-level education effort has deeply convinced the communists, cadres, soldiers and volunteers of the necessity to train under nearly war-like conditions, not to be deterred by any difficulties and not to separate words from deeds. But the creation of deep convictions requires the strengthening of the force of reason, the broad and correct use of the theoretical theses and of the positive examples drawn from the daily practical activity, requires the discontinuance of sweeping declarations and words which drown the rational ideas and thoughts of the people. The party's work experience, as in every field in our country, in the army too, shows that when the people have clearly understood the objective and have created profound inner convictions, then they have more precise views regarding their duties, and to carry them out they will stop at nothing, but will make even the ultimate sacrifice.

In order to conduct an educational effort at the required level, it is necessary that it be closely combined with the fulfillment of the training program, both in the ideopolitical fields as well as in the military technological realm, by viewing them in unity, in mutual dialectical unity. The combat preparedness and the physical training of the soldiers, volunteers, schoolboys and students will produce the required results when one understands the reasoning behind this preparation and whom it will serve, when the participants of the various structures are conscious and completely convinced that they are being militarily prepared and physically trained to defend their people and fatherland, the party and its Marxist-Leninist line from all the internal and external enemies, imperialist and revisionist. And the conscience, the political and ideological convictions, can be considered molded only when the soldiers and the volunteers are fully prepared, physically and militarily, when they know how to use their arms and technology, when they master the science of combat, the military art of the peoples war.

In order to raise the qualitative level of educational work, some party committees, commands and company staffs have made it a rule to analyze, at the end of every month or in conclusion of a training phase, their work in connection with the military preparedness, of discipline, order and of readiness and on this basis to draw the results and the successes, but also
the shortcomings, weaknesses, the various concepts which have hindered the implementation of some duties, in order to assess the good results, to criticize the mistakes and to proceed with the work. The fact that, as a whole, this work is related to life, that it is carried out in the fields of training, in infantry and tank maneuvers, during marches and service, at all times, without waiting for the assembly of soldiers and volunteers in class, when they study the subject matter or the army manual is positive.

The party admonishes that the ideopolitical work assume, in the different structures of defense as throughout the institutions, a mass character. This presupposes not only the inclusion of the entire membership in these activities, but also an increase in the number of those who will conduct them. And for this duty to be correctly implemented it is necessary not only for the organs and specialized personnel to occupy themselves with the ideopolitical work, but for all the cadres without exception, regardless of the sector in which they work or the duties which they perform. Each one of these people, wherever they work or live, is obliged to be a militant agitator and propagandist for the party line, is required to explain to the mass of soldiers and volunteers the party's decisions, and to closely combine the fulfillment of duties with the external and internal political situations.

As a result of the proper understanding of this party admonition, many communists and cadres in the army do not wait to be assigned tasks by the party organizations and to act, but on their own initiative they go to the soldiers, conduct political work, explain military activities and rules, discuss and elucidate various problems, tackle and inform the party organization and commands about the issues which arise. But to act accordingly and on a timely basis, it is necessary for them to get greater help from the party forums, the political organs and the responsible cadres.

Some party committees and political organs have started to do a good job in this field. In order to broaden the horizon of the communists and the cadres and to instruct them as to where they should concentrate the greater attention in the ideopolitical work with the membership and to combine it with the responsible unit, they have and are conducting lectures and talks with them about the international situation, they recommend important press articles and literature, and have issued directives and important decisions laid down by the party. In this manner, the communists and cadres have been enabled to deepen the content of the ideopolitical work and to exchange experience in terms of how to conduct, more effectively, the work at the grassroots, where the soldier is trained, where the worker and the collective farmer works, how to sit down and talk with them openly, to learn about their concerns and needs, and after becoming familiarized with the situation, they should assign tasks and together they should tackle the job in order to solve the problems fully, qualitatively and on time. In this manner it has become possible to combat some erroneous ideas and attitudes evident among some cadres and especially among some commanders of some particular weapons and services, who show indifference toward ideopolitical problems. There
are also those who when they go to the unit show greater interest for ques-
tions of a professional-technical character and less for other questions
which have to do with the education of the people. Therefore, in combat
and in active work, the communists and the cadres are being better prepared
so that they consider themselves party workers, to be political people,
devoid of technocratic tendencies and other alien manifestations which harm
their ties with the mass of soldiers and volunteers, but to be militant
revolutionaries, to grasp and carry out the military line of the party every-
where and at any time, to see and treat in unity the ideopolitical and milita-
ry education of the entire effective which is trained in the various
military structures.

The party committees, bureaus and basic organizations are now faced with
the concrete solution of the duties laid down by the training program for
1978. The question is to intensify the work for the overall education of
the members, by better combining it with the duties for ideological and
military professional-technical molding, with the strengthening of discipline
and of order, with the consolidation of combat readiness, with the military
preparedness and physical training, with the mastering, strengthening and
upkeep of the military technology, with the rapid development of the techno-
scientific revolution etc., so that the entire people's army better masters
the military art of the peoples war, to be always ready for the defense of
the victories of our revolution.

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PREVENTION OF VIOLATION OF LAWS URGED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Feb 78 pp 49-58

[Article by Liri Gjoliku]

[Text] Our party has always attached great importance to instilling a profound Marxist-Leninist world outlook in our people, to completely revolutionize them, in order to transform them into real fighters for socialism, since the building and protection of socialism are in fact the work of the working masses guided by the party. The great, permanent and resolute work of the party to mold our new man aims for our ideology to progress from a dominant ideology as a whole to a dominating one also in the conscience of every communist and worker. Concurrent to this objective is also the preventive struggle against foreign manifestations, conflicts among people, crimes and other violations of laws. It is a component part of the ideological struggle, it has its own specific objectives which are achieved by activating the forces which drive our society.

The preventive struggle aims for our people to base all their activities on the demands of our socialist morality and laws.

The activities which violate these norms have been and are considered alien manifestations which affect our socialist.

As a result of the extensive educational work of the party, the virtues of our people have been consolidated and they glow in a new light. The main principles of communist morality, such as trust in Marxism-Leninism and revolution, selfless struggle to build and defend socialism, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the correct attitude toward work and socialist propriety, active class humanism, high regard for collectiveness, etc., are shining pages in the catalog of our new man, which are irreconcilable with any alien manifestations. Precisely these characteristics are dominant in our socialist reality.

The consolidation and further development of these characteristics of our man is the main objective of our socialist justice. In our laws of the socialist state there is a dialectic relationship between the norms of proletarian morality and socialist legality, because the most important norms of this morality have become law and binding for all in the name of socialism and the defense of our state of proletarian dictatorship. When we say
binding we mean that against which those people who deliberately or by neglect, generally induced by alien manifestations, violate our laws is applied according to the occasion, in various forms of state administrative measures which also have a strictly educational character.

We take a class position toward alien manifestations because if we do not combat them they will gradually erode the individual, the society and the state as rust affects metal, as has been the case with the Soviet Union and others. Surely, as the party has explained to us, this phenomenon is not fatal. Social progress, like everything else in life, follows its own course of development according to objective laws, but if it develops in favor of socialism or temporarily in favor of capitalism, this will depend on the subjective factor, on the leadership of the party, on the society itself. Marching on this road, socialist Albania is providing its example. For this we are all ready and alert. The party and Enver Hoxha teach us to sweep up the dust of alien manifestations daily, to block their road, to clean the stains and prevent them from developing in our territory. We should not underestimate them or take them lightly by claiming that they are "remnants." They are the weapons of our enemy who uses them against us and with which he tries to destroy our people gradually, by urging on to them various habits, such as narrow personal interest and petty bourgeois individualism, foreign tastes and fashions or indifference. They want to replace our socialism and our state of the proletarian dictatorship, to transform them into its tools and to strike at our socialist society through our people too.

The forming of the character of our man and his equipment with high moral communist virtues is not an easy task, but is achieved through a sharp class struggle against the bourgeois-revisionist pressures, and against all remnants and manifestations of alien ideologies. This is related to the process of the transformation of the conscience and world outlook of the people, because the conscience of every individual is not formed alone in the process of the socioeconomic conditions under which he lives. The conscience is conditioned also by the impressions, concepts, habits etc., accumulated through the long experience of the people, passed on from one generation to the other and which the individual assimilates in daily contacts in his surroundings. The party teaches us, however, there is no such thing as an ideological vacuum, because if the conscience of our people is not fed continuously with our ideology, it will be filled, as we allow it, with bourgeois-revisionist ideology. This is a rule which we must never forget.

The result of all this is that the character of an individual plays an important role, and in the final analysis constitutes the root of the personality of everyone, it sets and determines the direction of the individual and social activity. In the character of the man one can measure the good or insufficient educational work, as well as the ties between the hostile foreign pressures and internal pressures etc. Let us mention the selfless work of our workers, led by the working class, in building and defending
socialism, the heroic acts of many people who have sacrificed even their own lives to protect socialist property and to defend the country, as well as many other examples in relation to the struggle and the work of our people to fulfill honorably the duties in the fields of material production and cultural progress. These characteristics reflect the party's overall work, show that the greatest victory in our society has been the creation of our new man possessing high moral character and virtues.

As the party points out however, this reality must not lead to self-complacency and to the erroneous idea that we have accomplished everything in this direction. The fact that we detect alien manifestations among some people, such as the violation of proletarian discipline at work, who fail to fulfill the state plan, give priority to quantity over quality, manufacture products of low quality below state standards, etc., prove that there is a lack of educational work in preventing some negative phenomena, which in specific circumstances could trigger civil conflicts and commitment of criminal acts. It is necessary to expose and to intensify the struggle against these phenomena because they are manifestations of an alien ideology, and as such they have been and remain the broadest front of hostile activities which strike at the most sensitive parts of socialism. It is therefore necessary to organize, under the leadership of the party organizations, an extensive propaganda program with a healthy ideological content, clear and easily comprehended by the masses so that our people can act properly at work and in life, and carry out correctly their duties as behooves a worthy worker and citizen of socialist Albania.

It is the party members themselves who must set an example in fulfilling these duties. Through their correct behavior they can influence other people to become all around worthy citizens. This enables the party organizations to lead effectively this important sector of work and the concrete struggle for the communist education of the people. And when we say that the party organizations lead this struggle we have in mind an active process in which they have the situation under control. They must continuously discover and assimilate the positive examples, strongly oppose all alien manifestations in various fields of endeavor, find the real causes of civic conflicts and of criminal acts, activate the departments so that they can deal with cases which serve to popularize the laws, investigate and indict offenders and organize trials with the participation of masses etc. It is necessary, however, to understand and create a wider concept about the depth and the diversity of the preventive struggle which is not simply a propaganda activity but a many-sided organizational, economic, political-ideological activity planned and carried out in dialectic unity.

We say it is a multifaceted organizational, economic and political-ideological activity which is carried out in unison because it includes all the measures taken to prevent various conflicts and offenses such as, for example, measures to guard socialist property, the professional qualification let us say of sales personnel, of quality inspectors, the assignment of guards, the proper organization of state control and of revisionism control, finding
jobs and housing for people released from jail, as well as the measures taken to reeducate them, the concrete and differentiated work with the people who have succumbed to alien manifestations, the popularization of laws on different categories of professions, etc. These and other similar ones are aspects of the preventive struggle.

The negative phenomena, such as crime, civic conflicts and other violations of the law are of course not characteristic of our country. But whatever their extent or nature may be they must be opposed, since they are bearers of the element of crime and as such are openly hostile to our Marxist-Leninist ideology, to the norms of proletarian morality and socialist legality, and as such are a source of manifestations of crime. If we are to be free of such phenomena it is necessary to take preventive steps instead of believing naively that criminality is alien to our social order. We must not lower our guard, not forget the remnants and imperialist-revisionist encirclement which presses heavily against us and tries above all to degrade our people, tries to destroy them and eventually launch them into counter-revolutionary activities. The struggle against criminality, therefore, is related to the defense and consolidation of our socialist order. Similarly, consolidation of our order itself acts as a remover of every source of this plague of social threat which crime is.

By its own nature, our socialist order is not a source of negative phenomena and of crime. The question is therefore raised: Why are we from time to time faced with such phenomena? What is their cause? Why do we still find in the conscience of some people, regardless of the profound changes in the social life, remnants of the past? Why is it that in most of our people these past remnants play a role, whereas among some people the old psychology has such an effect as to lead them into committing crimes?

All these questions have been dealt with in the materials of our party. Comrade Enver Hoxha explains: "In our fatherland century old feudal and patriarchal relations have dominated. The foreign rulers and the traitors in our country have incited crime in order to easier divide and rule the working masses. Together with the reactionary clergy, who has always played the foreign card at the expense of the people, they have tried to implant ideas, habits, traditions and manifestations of the old world, 'stains' which we even today find present in the daily life and work of some people, in their attitude toward work, ownership, society, family, etc. etc... This is the internal cause of criminality.

"The external cause of crime," continues Comrade Enver Hoxha, "is the imperialist-revisionist ideological diversion... The enemies of our country, the imperialists and the revisionists, employ all the forms and tools of their propaganda, such as radio, television, films, the press, diplomatic and commercial representation, tourists, ship personnel, drivers, cultural-sport groups, post-communications etc., to influence our people morally and politically, to lead them into the road of criminality, and gradually, if possible, to change the confusion of the people into antagonistic contradictions. They try daily to spread ideas for the destruction of the family, to spread spiritual emptiness and the morality of their countries and to influence especially our youth through their ethics and esthetic norms." (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches, 1970-1971, p 304-305).
In order to carry out a preventive struggle with better results against every alien manifestation, of particular importance is not only the investigation of the concrete causes of every negative phenomenon, of civic conflicts and of crimes, as well as the knowledge of the concrete conditions which enable them to grow. Because of the ideological-political and cultural molding, however, or because the living and working family and social environment of the people who manifest alien expressions and commit criminal acts varies, it is necessary to carefully examine these acts on an individual basis, to clearly define the responsibilities of the people, of the mass organizations and of the various administrative departments which willingly or involuntarily, have contributed to their growth; therefore, on the basis of this analysis concrete measures should be taken to eliminate them. It is very important to know this well, if one considers what an important role the examination of each conflict and criminal act in the education of our people plays in the molding of proletarian conscience.

This is because in molding the socialist conscience, which is a complex process, we encounter both the social psychology of the people as well as their individual psychology. It is therefore necessary to know social opinion in general well and also to know the people as individuals.

Work has been done in this direction and there have been results. Nevertheless, it is necessary to better conceive the duties in this field and to launch actions which will improve the quality of work. The examination of concrete causes of the negative phenomena, of the family environment, of the social circles and of the work conditions which have contributed toward the manifestation of antisocial and immoral viewpoints among those people which commit illegal acts, plays an important role in finding suitable forms of the preventive struggle. We say this because some studies undertaken by the departments of justice in connection with acts of hooliganism, have shown that such manifestations are to be found among youths who come from families with accentuated alien manifestations, such as liberal or conservative stands in the most varied forms of their parents, who willingly or unwillingly have transmitted them to their children. In addition, there are also those parents who proceeding from petty-bourgeois sentimentalism, unjustly interfere in the affairs of their children, especially in cases of new families. Things go so far that they try to accept the whims of their children, for them to lead a carefree life, and try to fulfill all the needs of the newly wed. There are also other cases, although rare and alien to us, when young people get married only to live in Tirane or in some other city, and by lacking reciprocal respect and love it happens that they quarrel and eventually ask for divorce.

Of course it is their families who are mainly responsible for this matter, but one should not exclude the opinion, that these people work and live together with other people who should be aware of these unworthy acts. It is necessary for the mass organizations in the blocs, boroughs and in work centers to take a stand toward them, not to accept acts which are irreconcilable with the norms of our morality and which later cause civic conflicts and crimes.
In such cases, as in every case of the violation of laws, the combination of the educational work with the concrete implementation of the requirements of law is important. From the studies and generalizations made about the bureaucratic and liberal manifestations in the social and state activities of some people, of cadres and communists or of mass organizations and of administrative organs, it has become evident that in the struggle against alien manifestations, importance is given either to administrative measures or to some sort of formal moralizing work with the people affected by such manifestations. Such formal preventive work, along with opportunistic and liberal attitudes, cause damage to the work in this field of educational activity and of the implementation of the class struggle which is also incited by the enemy. Above all, it is necessary to expose quickly and to strike early at the inception of alien manifestations and the liberal attitudes toward them, because in this way we will be able to reduce civic conflicts and crimes. In this regard, many mass organs and organizations, social activists and various cadres have a good experience, such as the educational work with the children or with quarreling parents, with gossipmongers, etc. Explanatory and convincing work, warm and social talks, the just and principled criticism, has prevented many conflicts and violations of laws.

But it can be said that not the same thing is being done by everyone, everywhere and always. The staff of the civic hospital in Gjirokaster had noted for a long time that a fellow colleague acted in total violation of his medical profession, but they failed to take steps in time and as a consequence by ignoring the voice of the mass organizations, of the work collective, nothing was done on his behalf and eventually he landed in the hands of the legal authorities. Such cases must immediately become object of lively debates, the entire social opinion must be aroused, heated discussions and confrontations must take place in the mass organizations, in the administration and together with the organs of law, corrective measures be taken, because in this manner the negative phenomena will surely be kept under control.

The correct combination of the method of conviction with that of state coercion plays an important role in the preventive struggle. Investigation, trial and the solving of concrete issues, whether civic or penal, is one aspect of the work of investigators, procurators and of judges, the other important aspect of their work is that it better serve the preventive struggle. The work of investigators, procurators and of judges in these conditions is measured by the quality of work in convincing the masses, as well as by the sociopolitical problems which they draw from every concrete issue for the party, mass organizations and for the various state organs.

The courts and in particular the village and the borough courts, as organisms with accentuated social and administrative character, have and are making efforts to improve the quality of their work. The peoples judges are ever more aware of the fact that their activity has an accentuated political character, whose aim is to educate the masses with the ideas of the party.
and with the norms of communist morality. The work to comprehend and to implement socialist legality, as a preventive step of civic conflicts and of crime, the careful investigation of such issues, as well as the making of correct decisions for each case is of great importance to reform the guilty people and to educate the other citizens to respect socialist legality, to convince the workers to conscientiously implement the norms, rules and laws at work, in life, in the society and in the family.

V. I. Lenin stressed: "First we must convince; then we must force. Under any circumstances we must first convince and then force." (V. I. Lenin, Works, vol 32, p 242). Guided by this lesson, our party has oriented its masses, the mass organizations and administrative organs to put the stress on the great importance of convincing work in solving the nonantagonist contradictions which exist in the midst of our society. The organs of our peoples justice are also aware of these orientations.

In order to improve the quality of work in this field, Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out: "The party has established a proper rapport to properly combine the method of conviction with that of administrative coercion. Coercion, like conviction serves education in our country. He who misuses this rapport by employing only one method of education at the expense of the other, violates an important principle." Thus, setting aside this fact, administrative coercion in our country is carried out in different forms, depending on the nature of social relations which are defended by the law. The principal forms through which administrative coercion is carried out are disciplinary measures, administrative coercive measures, civil force and penal punishment.

In the preventive struggle, of great importance is the cooperation and coactivity of the different departments of the state apparatus with the mass organizations. This cooperation and coactivity is an objective necessity which is a result of the class nature of our state order and of the profoundly democratic principles on which these organs are built. "Cooperation with the mass organizations," Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, "enables the just and correct solution of a series of problems which have to do with the violation of our social norms, with alien attitudes toward social property and prevents the consistent assignment of these issues to the organs of justice. Such cooperation has a great educational influence on the peoples masses." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the VII Congress of the AWP, pp 122-123).

There is good experience in this field, especially in relation to the close cooperation at the district level between the departments of justice, the offices of the procurator and of internal affairs and the mass organizations, in particular with the Front, youth and women's organizations on social problems, such as family quarrels, disagreements among neighbors, etc., which in some cases cause offenses of insult, slander, beatings and injuries, or acts of hooliganism on the part of some youths which often result in crimes of misbehavior in the society etc. In this field one can find good experience everywhere. In the future it will be necessary to strengthen the cooperation
between all the departments of justice and the administrative departments and mass organizations in the struggle against all alien manifestations and liberal attitudes toward them, as well as against the pressure of bourgeois-revisionist ideology which represents a real threat to the degeneration of our people. In particular, the departments of justice must cooperate with the school and with the youth organization. It is a fact that our school has become the center of the revolutionary education of the young generation. The school has and continues to train hundreds and thousands of middle and higher cadres who go to work where the fatherland and the building of socialism needs them, a fact which generally speaks of a healthy class-revolutionary education. But much remains to be done in this field to consolidate the victories achieved to prepare a new generation with those high moral and civilized qualities which the party and the future of the fatherland expect.

The strengthening of the cooperation and coactivity between the departments of justice and the mass organizations, the establishment of a solid front in the struggle against alien manifestations on a level which the party expects would forever form a proper concept among all the workers, cadres and communists, that the struggle against these manifestations is not only an obligation of the party organizations and of the particular departments of justice, but a duty for all. This will create an unhealthy environment for the people with alien manifestations, because the healthy social opinion itself, which we must constantly keep alive with the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, will prevent the development of these manifestations which are equally alien to our ideology and dangerous to our socialist order.

Of great importance in the struggle against the violations of law and in general against alien manifestations is also the acquaintance with the ideopolitical content of our socialist legislation. It is necessary to make it clear to all that our laws are the most concentrated expression of the party’s policy and that to publicize them has to do with the acquaintance of the party line and policy. This is a component part of the communist education of the workers.

Through the great work of the party regarding the acquaintance with the ideopolitical content of the laws, the party tries to strengthen, among the board masses of the population, the communists and the cadres, the idea that the socialist legality is an important element of social conscience, that its basis is the Marxist-Leninist ideology, that juridical viewpoints play their active role in the communist education of the people. In these circumstances, of particular importance is the acquaintance with the new Penal Code, which by expressing the will of the working class and of the other working masses represents a powerful weapon of the proletarian dictatorship in the class struggle. The norms of the Penal Code defend the socialist state, the Albanian Workers Party, as the sole leading political force of the state and of the society, the socialist wealth, the rights and the interests of the citizens, oppose bureaucracy and liberalization as the main
threats to the state of the proletarian dictatorship, help the complete construction of socialism and communism according to the principle of self-reliance and inspires the education of the citizens in the spirit of respect for socialist legality. The comprehension of the ideopolitical content of the Penal Code and of the various laws will help fight those trends which have and continue to be evident among some cadres and workers of the administrative and economic apparatuses to supplant legislation with opportuneness or lucrativeness, the narrow local or broader interest, to give priority to the personal interest over the general interest etc. By not being acquainted and by not properly implementing the legal demands of relations in the field of production and distribution, these administrators of the economy make illegal concessions, such as violations of production technology, disregard of contracts, etc., acts which in some cases lead to legal prosecution. In addition, in relation to the acquaintance and the implementation of laws, not infrequently there have been cases where some cadres and workers, motivated by liberal concepts and under the pretext of the "struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and formalism," go so far as to violate the rules and as a consequence also the law. Thus, for example, in the trade sector it happens that the demands of the decision of the Council of Ministers of the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania about the circulation and documentation of the commodities are not implemented, in other places acts are committed in violation of laws, such as, for example, exercising of private profession, nothing is said about it, etc.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his report to the Seventh Congress of the AWP, by talking about the future duties of the department of justice said: "A particular duty remains the development of a broader work for the propaganda of the laws among the working masses so that they know them better and become more conscious in implementing them and defending them. At the same time, this is also a duty also for the organs of authority and of the mass organizations." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the Seventh Congress of the AWP, p 124).

In implementing these recommendations, our organs of justice have increased their efforts to qualitatively improve the work, to struggle against the manifestations of globalism and of formalism in the work of promoting the laws and to further strengthen the cooperation with the mass organizations and other organs of authority. And we are doing this not only through lectures, and discussions, but also through the correct development of trials before the masses, through the examination of the decisions of the courts, through studies, generalizations etc. to get acquainted with the ideopolitical content of the case in question, so that it can be implemented by all and on time.

Under present conditions, when our fatherland is building socialism surrounded by wild imperialist-revisionist enemies, when in the world, in addition to the bourgeois ideology, the most varied revisionist and opportunist "theories," are being circulated, which separately or together are employed to poison the conscience of the proletariat and of the people to obstruct the victory of
proletarian revolution and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, the struggle and work for the Marxist-Leninist education of our workers, for the formation of the healthy revolutionary world-outlook toward each phenomenon and action, assumes special importance. This must be faced with all means, including the preventive work against alien manifestations and the violation of laws, because in this manner the achieved victories are consolidated, a valuable contribution in the educational work of the party is given for the communist formation of our man as a worthy citizen of the fatherland, determined fighter of the cause of the working class, of Marxism-Leninism and of revolution.
ANNIVERSARY OF CREATION OF CUSTOMS ORGANS CELEBRATED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 15 Aug 78 p 3

[Article by Bajram Muco, director of the Directorate of Customs in the Ministry of Finance: "Protectors and Implementers of the People's Interests"]

[Text] From the day they were created to today, in all phases of building our socialist society, our customs organs have always fulfilled their function by precisely performing their duties according to orientations provided by the party. They have implemented the laws and other sublegal acts with discipline and correctness, having as a focal point the implementation of the party's orientations for constant reinforcement of the dictatorship of the proletariat to protect the interests of the working masses. The 35-year activity of this institution cannot be separated from the revolution, from the cradle of its birth.

The customs function has its origin in the period of the national liberation struggle, in those moments when the Albanian Communist Party (now the Albanian Workers' Party), the sole leader of the people's revolution, had managed to unite the Albanian people in the National Liberation Front for national and social liberation. Of special significance for the customs functions, which had to do with the development of the economy and commerce, were the instructions from Comrade Enver at the Conference of Peza on 16 October 1942. Thus, the platform of duties for the political and economic struggle, compiled by the Albanian Communist Party and approved by the conference, among other things, stated: "An organized struggle is to be waged against the Agricultural Bank, autonomous Italian companies and all those exploiters who profit at the expense of the people through the intervention of the occupiers."

The country's occupiers and traitors endeavored to disrupt the National Liberation Front not only militarily and politically but also economically. For this purpose, they not only aimed to isolate the liberated zones economically, but also expedited the exportation from the fatherland of various goods from the liberated zones of the South. As a result of these maneuvers which the enemy used, the need arose for customs activities to be conducted by the partisan guards of the local commands at all of the border crossing points.
The General Staff of the National Liberation Army, on 15 August 1943, thus ordered the establishment of partisan units with customs duties and this date has stood as the day our customs organs were created. Ever since then, one by one, customs orders and instructions have been issued. In the resolution of the antifascist National Liberation Council for the former province of Gjirokaster entitled, "On Prohibiting the Exportation of Foodstuffs, Pharmaceuticals, etc.," which was forwarded for implementation to partisan customs guards of that province, read as follows:

"... Free Zone, 5 January 1944.
National Liberation Council, Leshnice (to be communicated to the people).

"To volunteer partisan customs guards at Catister, Sopik, Peshkepi, Kakavije, Vrisera, Sotire, Theollogo, Konispol, Permet, Rreze, for implementation.

"Since we noted time and again that foodstuffs and needed articles are being sold in various and secret ways outside the liberated zone, taking into consideration that the Albanian people, especially in the southern region, do not have sufficient food for themselves, much less for export, the Provincial Council unanimously saw it necessary to prohibit exportation completely and to take rigid measures against those who do not obey this order.

"The prohibited articles are: 1) all food goods; 2) pharmaceuticals; 3) footwear and all other shoe materials; 4) soap.

"This measure was taken not to hinder trade relations with the neighboring people, but because our people are in great need of all of the above materials."

The content of the above resolution shows that customs activity was achieved through special partisan units and that in this document the political character of the customs function and its precise juridical formulation are clearly defined.

Upon the country's liberation, the Albanian people, under the party's leadership, set as its own objective the reconstruction of the country destroyed by the war and the improvement of the difficult economic conditions caused by the ravages of the war.

The approval of the first Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania by the Constitutional Assembly on 14 March 1946 was a great historic victory for the entire country. In the second chapter of the first constitution, "Social and Economic Order," article 7 states: "... Foreign trade is under the control of the state, and the state also regulates and controls all domestic trade." This principle is also expressed in the new Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and continues to be a fundamental principle on which the customs organs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania base their customs activity.
Approval of the Customs Code for the first time in our country was of great significance to the customs organs. The requirements of pertinent dispositions of the customs code and resolutions of the Council of Ministers issued on the basis of and for the implementation of it, mark a further accomplishment of the activity of customs organs, which have influenced the successful development of foreign trade.

Revenues from customs tariffs, which are deposited to the state budget in the accumulation fund of the people's economy, do not constitute a considerable amount, as happens in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, where customs revenues comprise a high percentage. Thus, while the customs revenues in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania comprise a quite minimal part of national income, in the Federal Republic of Germany the revenues from customs comprise more than one third of the country's national income.

On the basis of party directives and the teachings of Comrade Enver, consistent with the revolutionary situation created in our country, the existing laws and decisions regarding the customs organs, as well as all other state organs, have been reviewed in order to make them better suited to our economic and social development.

The party has devoted special attention to the formation and molding of the new man with new concepts also on the customs front. This is a ceaseless process which is developed through an ideological class struggle against alien influences. However, the imperialist and revisionist foes, profiting from the expansion of our country's relations with the outside world, intensified their hostile activities. They have developed their activity with respect to our country by many ways and means, including the customs channel. With broad scale development of the economy, following a correct policy, relations with foreign countries have steadily increased. Therefore, the active stand of customs organs in protecting the general state and social interests and in the struggle against indifferism, against alien displays and liberal concessions to them has been strengthened.

The customs organs in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, charged with a series of political functions as a component part of organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which are effectively implementing the party line with their daily activity, protect the interests of the state and of socialism in this sector. Our customs people are political people. They struggle with all their might to keep pure and hold high their moral and political figure, to be devoted to the fatherland, honorable and just, principled and revolutionary, conscientious, knowledgeable, cultured, well mannered at work, incompatible with shortcomings, liberal concessions, indifferism and bureaucratic procrastination, effective in developing the class struggle, in implementing laws and decisions, in implementing the line and directives of the party and the recommendations of Comrade Enver.
Making a balance sheet of the 35-year path of our customs organs, we have before us highly positive examples of veteran customs workers who have fought for many years as revolutionaries for the defense of the party line and the interest of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as the passionate work of young customs workers and all workers' collectives, which increase the initiative of self-action and ideopolitical and technical-professional maturity, forming a fence against everything hostile which imperialism and revisionism endeavor to interject through the customs channel to hurt the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.
LIBERALISM, SECTARIANISM IN IMPLEMENTATION OF LAWS CONDEMNED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Aug 78 p 2

[Article by Liri Gjoliku: "Neither Liberal nor Sectarian in Implementing Laws"

[Text] Our laws are profoundly popular. They express the people's fundamental, actual and perspective interests. The party and Comrade Enver have continually stressed that the question of implementing and defending laws must be, first of all, a conscious act of the broad working masses. It is both important and decisive to create a sound social opinion through a broad educational effort with the masses and a differentiated and specific effort with certain individuals, so that alien concepts, demonstrations and practices which lead to the violation of our laws will not find an opening.

The fact that our laws protect the vital interests of the working masses and that intensive educational and explanatory work is being done to make laws known and to create profound convictions about the need to implement them, have made the violation of laws in our country a rare phenomenon. This is also a result of the struggle against demonstrations of bureaucratism, liberalism and sectarianism in the implementation of our laws. Despite this sound and positive generalization, shortcomings and deficiencies in the actual implementation of our socialist legislation are still apparent. Shortcomings have been particularly evident in the implementation of various forms of state restrictions. Let us take a specific example. In certain villages of Diber, Korce and Elbasan districts, the village courts have punished for various transgressions and violations of laws individuals who have had an adequate educational background. Comrade Enver Hoxha has stated that there is a correct rapport set by the party for a good combination of the method of persuasion with that of state restriction. Restriction, like persuasion, also serves an educational purpose with us. One who upsets this rapport by using only the one method -- education -- and ignoring the other violates an important principle. These teachings orient us clearly that we should be neither liberal nor sectarian in our work with people. With us, the forms of state restriction are used in special cases, when they are essential. Nevertheless, there is some
avoidance of this. The standard punishments which have been given by several village and city precinct courts indicate that the basic party organizations, the people's councils, the heads of cooperatives and the mass organizations there have not understood to the necessary degree the party's orientations regarding the education of individuals, as well as the role of courts as state organisms having, at the same time, a pronounced social character.

There are occasions when certain people's councils and heads of cooperatives, hurriedly and without investigation, send to the court for judgement persons who should not be there. Thus, they say, "We are covered," without considering that they are fully exposed. Can displays of liberalism be combatted from sectarian positions? Certainly not. In a single day the Trojan village court in Elbasan District, for example, judged more than ten persons based on denunciations by the people's council. Such instances occur in other villages as well. These convictions, when unjust and not well founded, bring about harmful consequences. These individuals and their families are truly disturbed because they are our people and did not mean to contravene laws which express their interests. This also has an impact on the cooperative itself because interested persons, neglecting the affairs of the cooperative in order to discover the truth, lose many days of work and thus the general interest is impaired. These then cause quarreling and hatred to arise artificially which, intentionally or not, cause an infringement, although slight, upon public unity. State restriction will work especially where it is appropriate in terms of time and degree and is also clear cut and without sentimentalism. In these cases, we should start with the fact of how well that measure will serve, in the final analysis, toward eliminating the evil, the social injustice, correcting people, educating them, and public unity. But what happens? They take several different state restriction measures in a formal manner, without studying in each case all of the circumstances which impel a person to cause damage, for instance, to agriculture, to commit penal misdemeanors and other violations of the law. They do not investigate, as the party teaches us, the specific causes of each offense, the circumstances surrounding it or the degree of the person's culpability relating to his character traits. Thus, an analysis is not always made of the objective and subjective causes of each offense. A good investigation assists the state and economic organs, the mass organizations and the workers' collectives to take appropriate measures for educating the individual or, as the case may be, for applying punishment upon him. Through the analysis of such attitudes will the liberal or bureaucratic behaviour of these state organs and organizations emerge. Should we not stop and consider the fact that the people's council of some village has not taken any measures and has not required the leadership of the agricultural cooperative to be held accountable when, leaning toward bureaucratic positions, it does not provide the cooperativists with sufficient posture for their personal livestock? This people's council thus seems to be liberal toward the leadership of the cooperative while, on the other hand, it demands the punishment of certain cooperativists, considering itself "revolutionary."
In fact, it has a sectarian attitude and, intentionally or not, it becomes a bearer of the alien ideology because both liberalism and sectarianism are influences of the same ideology, the bourgeois and revisionist ideology.

There have been and there are manifestations of this nature in the activity of courts at all levels, as well as in the activity of the prosecutor's office. We say this because the activity of the village and city precinct courts is inseparable from that of the district courts and, therefore, the deficiencies in the latter's work are also reflected in the lower courts' activity. Both the village courts and the district courts, which exercise control over their activity, in cases where they have given unjust sentences, have failed to consider that determination of the type and degree of punishment is not a simple formal juridical process but a creative one, an activity with a pronounced political and juridical character. It requires that the judges and deputy judges have a thorough knowledge of our Marxist Leninist ideology, the party's policy, the ideological content of laws and the status of law violations.

The people's court of the city of Kavaje, for example, heard the cases of several individuals who were practicing a profession without a license. In this case, not having viewed the problem in depth politically and not having evaluated correctly the degree of social risk of this act, the court did not give proper sentences. These individuals, motivated by the petit bourgeois psychology of profiting as much as possible by violating the law, influenced by traces of the petit bourgeois mentality, have committed an act which leaves the way clear to nourish the sense of private property.

Also harmful is the attitude of the onlooker and indifference toward those persons and families who keep small livestock or fowl in excess of the number permitted. This violation of the norms of the statute of the cooperative encourages private property, shirking from common work and damage to social property, which leads to the violation of socialist law. Thus, the sense of private property increases when given a chance, when one wavers back and forth between liberalism and sectarianism. "The party line, in the matter of implementing laws, as elsewhere, is not accomplished by jumping from one extreme to another," said Comrade Enver, "from opportunism to sectarianism, but by proceeding with determination and without wavering on the correct path."

The party and Comrade Enver continually advise us that sending a person to court should be an extraordinary case, when the cup overflows, and when judgement has become essential. Nevertheless, it is necessary to conceptualize and treat this phase always as a final educational measure, when the guilty will feel deeply that he has violated the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The judgement of a specific person must therefore be a school of learning for those who have alien aspects. In order for this to be accomplished, all sound social opinion must be brought to bear where a conflict or transgression has occurred.
In his speech, delivered at yesterday’s session of the 33d UN General Assembly, Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of the People’s Republic of Bulgaria, stated as follows:

Mr Chairman, on behalf of the People’s Republic of Bulgaria delegation, I congratulate you on your election to the post of chairman of the 33d UN General Assembly session, and I wish you success in this function which involves great responsibility. I would also like to congratulate the newly admitted UN member—the Solomon Islands.

Mr Chairman,

Despite the complicated and controversial international situation, the period that followed the 32d UN General Assembly session was filled with great activity aimed at further intensifying the process of detente, aimed at consolidating peace throughout the world. The countries belonging to the socialist community and the peace-loving forces persisted in their efforts to liquidate international conflicts and to endow the policy of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems with a practical meaning. In several areas of the world the aggressors have suffered defeat. The struggle for self-determination and national independence of oppressed peoples, for the liquidation of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid has been intensified.

The results obtained on the European continent are positive. On this continent the process of reorganizing international relations in accordance with the final Helsinki document continues. Now all states participating in the CSCE have the particularly important task of observing and accurately implementing the principles and agreements that have become the basis of detente and cooperation on the European continent.
The situation on the Balkan Peninsula is also developing favorably. Coop-
eration among the Balkan countries is assuming an ever expanding meaning,
its forms are becoming more varied. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is
trying to overcome prejudice and distrust, it is seeking businesslike and
realistic solutions to various problems as well as the definite and final
liquidation of the dark pages of the past in relations with neighbor coun-
tries. We consider history as a source of learning and wisdom, and not as
a source and means of poisoning our present relations. We believe that the
Balkan countries' peoples will not allow their relations to be influenced
by the intrigues and attempts of forces hostile to detente, peace and coop-
eration. As Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chair-
man of the State Council, stated in his speech on 15 June 1978 at Blagoevgrad:
"Our sincere and profound aspiration is to look forward to the future, to
build our political, economic and cultural relations among the Balkan peoples
and countries upon new foundations, to progress along the path of good neigh-
borliness and cooperation. Our policy toward all Balkan states is principle-
minded consistent and lasting, it is by no means influenced by opportunisti-
considerations. This policy is in conformity with the interests of the
neighbor countries and peoples, and it is naturally, in conformity with the
Bulgarian people's vital interests as well."

Along with the successes achieved in alleviating confrontation and in con-
solidating peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems,
certain negative phenomena have also appeared in international relations.
The enemies of detente are trying to take the world back to the dark times
of "cold war," they are trying to start a new round of the arms race. The
long-term program adopted at the last NATO session, a program which provides
for new expenditures amounting to $80 billion, will produce a tremendous
increase in rearmament. This program represents an overt provocation against
the will of the peoples throughout the world, who want to see realistic results
in limiting the arms race as soon as possible. In order to justify this policy
the NATO member-countries—as so many times in the past—resorted to the out-
dated and well-known assertion about the existence of an alleged military
threat by the Warsaw Pact member-countries. Despite the persistent, biased
propaganda, however, we are convinced that worldwide public opinion cannot
be deceived and that it is well aware of the true goals of militarist circles
aimed at disturbing the existing military balance to its own advantage.

We should do away once and for all with the anachronistic approach to questions
of peace and security and with the outdated cliches which were the result of
the passive attitude of the past, cliches based on the idea of military super-
iority. It is beyond any doubt that the policy from the position of strength
is no longer in conformity with the realities of the contemporary world. In
the nuclear century this policy is becoming an increasingly inadequate means
of settling controversial questions among states. The application of this
policy as regards the socialist community countries is particularly hopeless.
The sooner people become aware of this truth, the better it will be for man-
kind and for universal peace.
We are convinced that the signing of universal treaty on the non-use of force in international relations will give a new impetus to detente, it will contribute to the expansion of detente over all areas of the world and will decisively reduce the danger of a military conflagration.

With the unanimous adoption of a declaration on strengthening international security the UN member-states once more confirmed their striving for applying the principles of the UN Charter, as well as the other generally accepted principles and declarations aimed at international peace and security and at the development of good-neighborly relations and cooperation.

In recent years, however, certain Western circles have assumed the role of international judges on the observation of human rights in various countries. They are interfering in the domestic affairs of these countries. It is significant that the most zealous "champions" of human rights do not consider it necessary to deal with the rights of citizens in their own countries, the state of these human rights being rather deplorable. Exploiters, aggressors, colonialists and racists have no moral justification whatsoever to talk about human rights. The People's Republic of Bulgaria rejects any attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of states under any pretext whatsoever.

In our opinion the main task today is to consolidate detente and not to allow any return of the "cold war," not to allow any expansion of a new round of the arms race so as to be able to start real disarmament. This is in conformity with the interests of all peoples throughout the world.

Mr. Chairman, the development of the international situation strengthens our profound conviction that the maintenance of peace and security in the world and of the guarantee of normal living conditions and creative activities of the peoples, for their well-being and progress are indivisible from the struggle for stopping the arms race and for disarmament.

The 10th special UN General Assembly session on disarmament confirmed the urgent necessity of implementing coordinated and prompt measures for military detente. In the final document adopted basic trends were determined which must include the coordinate efforts of the UN member-countries. In our opinion we must now take practical and timely measures to stop the arms race and to give an impetus to real disarmament.

We share the understanding that the main and most topical task facing us is the task of preventing nuclear war. A correct measure along the path toward this goal will be the starting of negotiations with the participation of all nuclear states for the signing of an agreement on stopping the production of nuclear weapons and on liquidating the existing reserves of such weapons. A new contribution to the normalization of the international atmosphere and to reducing the danger of thermonuclear war would be the signing of a convention on the consolidation of the guarantees for the security of nonnuclear states. In this connection the initiative, explained in the letter sent by A. Gromyko, USSR minister of foreign affairs, to Mr Waldheim, the UN secretary general, is of great importance.
It is our conviction that the present session must devote the greatest
attention to this initiative and make an adequate decision on this matter.

On the European continent the adoption of the proposal submitted by the
Warsaw Pact member-countries, whereby the CSCE participating countries must
assume the commitment of not being the first to use nuclear weapons against
each other could play a role of particular importance.

The signing of an international treaty on universal prohibition of the
development and production of new types and systems of mass destruction
weapons would contribute to a great extent toward stopping the arms race.

One of the immediate tasks of the disarmament committee must be to work out
a treaty on banning the production and utilization of neutron weapons. We
hope that commonsense and foresight will be demonstrated and that the resolute
rejection of plans on the production of such barbaric weapons and the demand
for their unconditional banning will be respected.

At the present moment an extraordinarily positive role would be played by
the successful conclusion of the negotiations being conducted on various
disarmament questions. The proposals submitted by the socialist countries
at the Vienna negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments in central
Europe provide the opportunity for achieving results that would not affect
the security of any country whatsoever in this area of the European continent.
Taking into consideration the great significance of Soviet-American negotia-
tions on limiting strategic aggressive weapons, we hope that the artificial
obstacles created in the process of these negotiations will be eliminated.
All conditions exist for a successful conclusion of the negotiations on stop-
ping nuclear tests and on banning chemical, radiological and other weapons.

The question of making universal the international agreements and treaties
signed so far in the sector of limiting the arms race is of great importance
for actually limiting this arms race. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has
signed and ratified all basic documents. It is in the interest of peace and
security that all states do this, in particular the nuclear states, as well
as those countries which have a considerable military potential.

Our country declares itself in favor of reducing military budgets of the
states, above all those of the security council permanent members. A similar
measure would exert a beneficial influence upon the development of all coun-
tries, in particular the developing countries.

We entirely support the decision of the special session that a universal dis-
armament conference must be convened as soon as possible, and we think that
the present UN General Assembly session must determine the deadline for hold-
ing this conference for the purpose of taking over its practical implementa-
tion.
As a participant of long standing in the Geneva disarmament negotiations, the People's Republic of Bulgaria highly appreciates the contribution of this important forum to the efforts for solving disarmament problems. We are convinced that the disarmament committee can achieve even more sensitive results as long as their sincere interest and as long as serious and persisting efforts are devoted by all members of the committee.

Mr Chairman, in certain areas of the world dangerous hotbeds of tension and military conflicts continue to erupt, conflicts which are exerting a negative impact upon international relations and which represent a serious threat to world peace.

The task of a peaceful and just settlement of the Middle East problem is assuming an increasingly urgent character. The truth that the path of separatist negotiations can only intensify the conflict has been fully confirmed. Such separatist negotiations can only be an obstacle to the just cause of the Arab peoples and can only further delay a total settlement of the Middle East crisis. In our opinion, the Camp David agreements are leading precisely to this result, despite the attempts of the countries participating in these negotiations to convince the world of their success.

The government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is convinced that for the establishment of lasting peace in the Middle East it is, from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, it is necessary to implement and guarantee the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right of self-determination and their right to create their own state, as well as to guarantee the independent existence of all states in that area. The most efficient forum for a comprehensive peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem is the Geneva Conference, chaired by the United States and the USSR, with the participation of all sides involved in the conflict, including the PLO.

We think the Cyprus question should be resolved in a manner likely to be in conformity with the vital interests of Cypriot Greeks and Cypriot Turks and in conformity with the interests of peace in the Balkan area and in the Eastern Mediterranean. The achievement of these goals demands that a political solution of the question be found, it demands that the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus be insured.

The hegemonistic course followed by the PRC leadership causes serious concern among the world public. This line of policy creates every increasing difficulties for the consolidation of peace and detente. In order to achieve its great-state goals, the PRC leadership does not stop at anything and does not hesitate to apply all kinds of pressure—from stopping so-called selfless assistance to kindling armed conflicts and direct participation in them. This dangerous policy, which is hostile to the interests of peace and international cooperation, is also expressed in provocative actions against the SRV. There is no doubt, however, that the heroic people of Vietnam, tempered in the struggle against imperialism, for freedom and independence, will be capable of resisting any pressure.
Mr Chairman,

The period that has elapsed since the last regular UN General Assembly session was filled with active struggle by the colonial and dependent countries, with the full support of the democratic and progressive forces in the world, for self-determination and national independence, against racism, racial discrimination and apartheid. The decisions of the special session on Namibia as well as the international conference on the struggle against racism and racial discrimination showed once more who the forces are that are striving to preserve colonial domination, delay the liberation and revolutionary process in Africa and undermine progressive regimes. These decisions clearly demonstrate that the unity of the African countries and of all progressive forces is a guarantee for victory over the colonizers.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people support the struggle of the oppressed peoples for national liberation, for the liquidation of racism and racial discrimination. We are supporting and will continue to support and assist the newly liberated countries against aggression and colonialism for their independent and democratic development.

Mr Chairman, last year the United Nations, as well as its member-countries, also devoted considerable attention to the problems of reorganizing international relations in the economic sector. The building of international economic cooperation on a just and democratic basis will contribute toward eliminating the lack of equal rights in international economic relations, toward eliminating exploitation and the economic dependence of developing countries on the developed capitalist states.

We are categorically against discrimination in international economic relations, as well as against the attempts to link the development of economic relations among countries to the implementation of conditions. Such attempts have nothing in common with international cooperation and are doomed to failure.

In closing my speech, I would like to stress that the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as a member of the socialist community, will continue to contribute to the consolidation of the United Nations and to the transformation of this organization into an efficient instrument for preserving universal peace and for consolidating international security, into an instrument for disarmament and for the well-being of all peoples!

Thank you!

CSO:  2200
A thorough analysis of the character and essence of our epoch and of the concrete development of the revolutionary process justifies exceptionally important theoretical conclusion about the particular historical mission of the Soviet Union in implementing the basic trends of the contemporary epoch as regards the transition from capitalism to socialism. Progressive mankind feels tremendous respect for and gratitude to the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and their CPSU because of their exceptional contribution to the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

It is a well-known fact that historical trends are manifesting themselves, above all, as law-governed rules in the development of the world system. Such trends, in turn, are subject to and explained by the law-governed rules and trends of particular socioeconomic systems. This peculiar feature of the historical process, however, by no means eliminates or diminishes the historical responsibility of each individual country, in particular if such a country has a relatively important share in the world system and is capable of assisting and stimulating the development of the world system and of the entire historical era. This impact of one single country must manifest itself, not as a temporary phenomenon, but as a social law. It is normal that the law-governed rules of the worldwide community should manifest themselves in a concentrated form in the development of an individual country.

It is obvious that the Soviet Union, which was the first to reach for the stars for the sake of mankind's happiness; the Soviet Union, which was the first to defend the world against fascism; the Soviet Union, which played a decisive role in the postwar successes of socialist revolution and the national liberation movement; the Soviet Union, which today has the decisive share in the economic, scientific and technical potential of worldwide socialism—it is obvious that this Soviet country has a special place in the fate of mankind and of socialism. This is not because of somebody's sudden whim, not a literary exaggeration, but because it is an objective result and a law of history.
The special role of the Soviet Union is, above all, a law-governed, objective and essential part of the very character, origins and development of the contemporary global revolutionary process.

Marx and Engels reached the conclusion in their time that socialist revolution is feasible only as simultaneous, revolutionary action, at least in the main capitalist countries. In his letter to Engels of 8 October 1858, Marx noted: "The difficult question for us is this: Revolution on the continent is imminent and will immediately assume a socialist character. Nevertheless, will this revolution not be crushed in this small corner of the world, since the movement of bourgeois society is still on its way up in much larger areas?" As a result, the main question for Marx and Engels was how to insure a victorious development of socialist revolution so as to prevent the great tragedy of the glorious Paris Commune. Marx and Engels saw the way out in the simultaneous revolutionary actions of the proletariat in all countries so as to defend the initial achievements of revolution.

In the epoch of imperialism the circumstances had basically changed, and Lenin brilliantly explained the new, objective opportunity for socialist revolution to be victorious in a single country. Of course, Lenin's idea should not be generalized in the sense that we should imagine such a revolution being feasible in every country, even in the smallest one, simply because the proletariat is sufficiently organized along revolutionary lines. Such "an individually chosen" country should possess sufficient revolutionary resources. This means not only the people's political consciousness, theoretical awareness and revolutionary enthusiasm, but also an additional economic, demographic and territorial potential. Generally speaking, comprehensive resources are also necessary to enable such a country to successfully resist the initial and inevitable pressure of internal and foreign capitalism—and what is needed even more importantly is the capacity to become a stronghold and a historical foundation for the subsequent development of the worldwide revolutionary process and, thus, to make revolution possible in every country, even in the smallest one.

Such is the objective, historical role of the Soviet Union. Regardless of whether some will admit it or not, the socialist revolution objectively took the following form: First a victory of socialism in the USSR and then a gradual falling away of countries belonging to the chain of world capitalism—with the decisive support of the USSR—followed by the formation and development of the world socialist system. The USSR became the great international revolutionary force that was capable of opposing the "holy alliance" of world reaction and made possible the victory of the socialist revolution in the countries of Eastern Europe, Asia, Cuba and the other countries now marching along the road of socialism. The USSR also made possible the successes of the national liberation movement. The USSR's liberating mission in the Balkans consolidated the victory of the socialist revolution in some of those countries and revealed the boundless horizons of the socialist society. The worldwide revolutionary process is developing on the basis of the historic revolutionary successes of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary defense of this process by
the Soviet Union. The great home country of Lenin has accomplished its exceptionally important mission, namely, to make the consistent expansion of socialist revolution possible. The existence and impact of the Soviet Union basically changed the character of the revolutionary situation and filled the gap Marx was afraid of.

The peculiar role of the Soviet Union in the development of the revolutionary process is being preserved and expanded in contemporary circumstances. This role is not a historical fact belonging to the past but is an evident, general prospect for the entire epoch of transition toward socialism and communism with a worldwide scope. Even those circles which, because of political shortsightedness, theoretical ignorance, great-state chauvinism and narrow nationalistic interests, of which Chinese Maoism is typical, are trying to assume the role of heroes, attacking the greatest country of mankind's most cherished hopes, and are flamboyantly showing off an "independent policy," allowing themselves to flirt vainly and carelessly with imperialism, to display cheap acrobatics and play the role of a new antithesis to socialism—all this without taking into account that they are turning the communist ideal, the most glorious ideal, into a miserable caricature—even they are in existence only because of the historic presence of the USSR. Without the USSR, world imperialism would have crushed them without difficulty, and nothing would have been left of their vain flamboyance and ridiculous pretenses. The price of their anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet policy will be the destruction of their peoples' glorious revolutionary socialist struggle.

This peculiar role played by the Soviet Union in our epoch is an absolute and doubtless truth; it is a categorical truth for imperialism and for all the dark forces of reaction. These forces not only are perfectly aware of this truth, but have worked out their entire strategy on the basis of this awareness. The basic concepts of anticommunism since the sixties have been based on this awareness. The anticommunist, imperialist forces of all political currents, rallied in the international alliance of reaction, long ago reached the conclusion that anti-sovietism is and must be the most promising trend of their struggle against socialism, peace and democracy, that the total form of struggle against socialism and progress must be precisely this anti-Sovietism, since the Soviet Union is precisely the very basis of socialism.

The strategy of the anticommunist, imperialist forces is, by weakening and isolating the Soviet Union, to inflict a decisive blow against worldwide socialism and all progressive forces throughout the world, and also against miserable creatures of pseudorevolution such as Maoism. The strategy of the imperialists in this respect is being implemented through various tactical methods, such as: Playing down the successes of socialist and communist construction in the Soviet Union; distorting and discrediting Soviet foreign policy; isolating the Soviet Union and, eventually, playing it off against other individual countries or communist parties; comprehensive support and encouragement of any actions directly or indirectly containing any elements of opposition to the Soviet Union, and flirting with individual countries or political circles, which even includes granting them serious concessions as long as this might play them off against the Soviet Union.
All possible courses of action are being put into operation. In this respect, imperialism is interested not only in espionage, military blackmail and economic and political defeats, but even in the seemingly most insignificant events and facts. Imperialism is fully aware of the USSR's special role, has analyzed it from a theoretical point of view and in practice has made it the subject of a huge and incredibly expensive global program of struggle against the USSR, against socialism, democracy and peace. Imperialism has also gladly made use of the unexpected services of various revisionists, theoreticians, great-state nationalists, self-proclaimed judges and other abortive children who appear in every revolutionary period. Marx said that where there is a storm there will also be mud. First the Maoists, but also some other pseudorevolutionaries, are trying to utilize the caricature of Maoism to cover themselves or justify their own retreat from socialism and Marxism-Leninism—they have all found themselves in the dirty mud of the contemporary great revolutionary storm.

Every country is an equal member of the socialist community and is responsible to the same degree for the destiny and prospects of socialism in its own house and in the world. From the viewpoint of socialism and the progressive social movement of our times, there are no large and small countries—all are equally responsible for the great cause of socialism. No country has the privilege of withdrawing into its own shell, to observe the movements of our time and make its own plans from purely national positions—which actually do not exist but are only a special cover for nationalism. The weakening of socialism in any country evokes instability and problems for the entire socialist community. Unity of action and cooperation on the basic and cardinal issues of socialist and communist construction is the question of all questions of socialist and communist construction.

A differentiated approach and special attention to the role of the Soviet Union's historical mission as regards the comprehensive social progress of our time and as the main force of socialism is still justified. From a historical and moral point of view, the Soviet Union is the first country that was capable of escaping the doomed chains of capitalism and that launched into the stormy, social pursuit of human ideals.

From the theoretical and practical point of view, the Soviet Union has tremendous experience in the theoretical research and summing up of socialist construction. The theory and practice of socialism in the Soviet Union is an essential and necessary criterion for appraising the efficiency and expediency of the theory and practice in every other socialist country, regardless of its national peculiarities and regardless of concrete historical circumstances.

From the economic point of view, the Soviet Union has a tremendous economic potential. About 70 percent of the socialist countries' total national income belongs to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union produces 75 percent of the socialist countries' industrial output. The Soviet Union invests 80 percent of the socialist countries' capital investments, and two-thirds of the socialist
community's scientific potential is represented by the Soviet Union, while two-thirds of the expenditures for implementing CEMA economic programs goes to the credit of the Soviet Union.

From the military point of view, the Soviet Union has the basic and decisive military potential for the defense of socialism and peace in the world. If it were not for the USSR's military power, imperialism would altogether abandon all means of ideological, political and economic blackmail and would commit an unprecedented, merciless aggression against everything decent and progressive in this world. The USSR is not merely one of the countries of the socialist community. It is more than one regular unit of the national units comprising world socialism. In essence, the USSR is the moral, political, economic and military basis of the socialist community.

Objectively, the USSR is a decisive factor for the social development of socialism and the world revolutionary process. This special role is in the nature of an objective law of our time for everything related to the socialist and communist community. Its role is decisive for the socialist countries because of the credits granted, the delivery of necessary raw materials and production capacities, and the USSR's participation in the integration processes. The USSR plays a decisive role in preserving the inviolability of the socialist countries' borders and in defending their state sovereignty against imperialism. The USSR plays a decisive role in strengthening the further development of the atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, in maintaining the absolutely necessary political climate of peace and cooperation among peoples throughout the world.

The peculiar role of the Soviet Union objectively stems from the growing internationalization of life in contemporary circumstances and from the law of the stability and uniformity of the historical process of socialism and communism. This law demands very complete coordination, agreement and mutual interaction among the various aspects of social life within the worldwide socialist system. With regard to its trends, it will bring about a transformation of the peoples' history into a uniform history of civilization. This law demands an interaction among socialist countries that should have the character of a unity of action.

Underestimating the USSR's contribution and its role as the real basis and decisive factor of world socialism is a manifestation of a nationalistic tendency, chauvinism, abstract scholasticism and social demagogy. Practice convincingly shows that uniting all efforts and actions of the socialist countries on the basis of the closest cooperation with the USSR is a necessary condition for socialist construction in every country.

The worldwide revolutionary process is an international force and can develop precisely as an international force. In addition, it cannot be and is not a spontaneous, mechanical result of generalized national actions, but it presupposes and demands actions coordinated to the greatest extent. The approach to the Soviet Union is the nucleus of the national and international development
of socialism; it is an approach aimed at consolidating comprehensive relations and cooperation. Thus, the most favorable domestic and international conditions for building a developed socialist society can be created.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov has stressed: "The approach to the Soviet Union is the touchstone of revolutionary spirit and internationalism, the watershed between forces of progress and forces of reaction." This statement has a profound theoretical meaning: it sums up the role of the Soviet Union in our contemporary era with precision and an analytical approach. This statement expresses a definite, scientifically founded stand. It is the stand of the BCP Central Committee, and it is not only an expression of mutual affection between two peoples and two communist parties, not only the expression of a certain historical tradition. This statement, above all, represents the theoretical expression of objective aspects of our time and describes the objective role of the Soviet Union in our epoch. Recognizing the USSR's international power and its contribution to world socialism, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov has repeatedly stressed, is consolidating its relations with the USSR. The implementation of the policy of convergence of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR is an expression of an objective necessity and a mature new historical trend that prevails in the socialist countries, in their mutual relations and in their relations with the great country of Lenin. This policy is therefore of primary international importance because of its practicability.

This policy is an example of the fully mature and necessary forms of relations between all countries and the USSR—a cooperation that must take the form of coming together! The USSR is not only the flag of our time; it is also the power of our time and the symbol of the communist future.
An international conference on literature entitled "Depiction of the Working People's Victory in Socialist Literature" took place in the Hradec and Moravici Castle last week. On this occasion we requested Miroslav Rafaj, the Ostrava branch secretary of the Czech Writers' Union, to grant us an interview. His branch took part in preparations of the above-mentioned conference.

[Question] The conference was part of the 21st year of the Bezruc's Opava Festival. What place did it have within the festival?

[Answer] The conference on literature defined as its task the review of quality of the literary depiction of the working people's victory. This important international meeting of writers, literary critics and theorists within the framework of Bezruc's Opava cultural festival was organized by the Czechoslovak Writers' Union, the Institute of Czech and World Literature of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (CSAV), the Silesian Museum together with the Petr Bezruc Memorial and the Profil Publishing House in Ostrava. This fact stressed once more the stimulating and constantly live legacy bequeathed by the life and work of this important Czech poet in his creation as well as social protest. Conferences on literature within the framework of Bezruc's Opava are organized every year. If this year's conference, organized in order to do honor to the 30th anniversary of February and 60th anniversary of Czechoslovak statehood, defined as its task chartering of results achieved in our, as well as fraternal, literatures, it signifies the closest approach toward true quintessence of the festival which enlivens the cultural community of our whole kraj. Our primary concern was a further activization of the poet's legacy which is entirely topical in its position which openly favors the working man, creator of all values.
[Question] The Ostrava branch of the Czech Writers' Union is to be credited with a notable contribution to the conference's success. What part did its members take in preparation and development of the conference?

[Answer] The branch's members, currently representing a not-too-numerous collective, prepared and organized the conference. They were assisted by the staff of the Peter Bezruc Memorial. They took part in the conference by contributing to discussion by their reports. The conference developed well in a totally working atmosphere and it made great demands on its participants. The fact that the Czech Writers' Union's branch in Ostrava was able to solve its demanding task successfully, proves that the Czech Writers' Union as an organization has succeeded in achieving vital development of its work even in the kraj of our republic and that its activity is being sustained by the members' initiative, i.e. also by members of the branches. I do not have to emphasize that such occasions represent a real test of the capabilities of the creative union.

[Question] How would you characterize the discussion's development?

[Answer] In the introductory report, Dr. Hana Hrzalova analyzed significance of February for the development of Czech socialist literature with a special regard to some questions of contemporary prose which stresses the significance of progressive traditions of the Czech prose, their current development as well as the valuable positive aspects of contemporary prose results. This report has clearly shown the main direction of today's writers' thought, depiction not only of problems and difficulties of life, but primarily the deep concentration on the traits of contemporary man. Appeal to authors to concentrate in their further work on depiction of men-communists stemmed from the results already achieved.

Milan Blahynka emphasized in his speech the undeniable qualities of contemporary poetry continuing its most valuable traditions. The significance of Walker's, Nezval's, Biebl's and Neumann's work is ever alive and inspiring. Production of Vilem Zavada, Miroslav Florian, Ivan Skala, Josef Rybak, Jan Pilar and other authors creatively continues the work of their predecessors, develops their legacy which is ever alive. Blahynka's presentation was stimulating not only because of his voluminous analysis of the problems of contemporary poetry which helped to clarify criteria of its evaluation, but also because his emphasis of the specific task of the contemporary young generation of poets gave support to its purposeful development and quality.

A great impression was made by contributions of other theorists of literature speaking of the mutual interaction between contemporary socialist literatures, inevitable process of mutual influencing and developing of international traditions in literature, traditions which are valid and inspiring for authors of all countries, consequently also for writers of those countries which still only dream of socialism. Words about truth and man, repeated several times, sounded within the context of the conference as a reminder to all writers: Beauty is in truth and truth is in life. Consequently life is beautiful, provided that it is being lived honestly as well as honestly depicted. It was not by accident that voices were heard in the
discussion speaking of the capability of literature to convey its ideas, to respect the reader, voices speaking of the writer's duty to write in a way that his words could be understood by the contemporary reader whose ideological as well as political standards are undeniably high.

[Question] Guests from socialist countries also took part in the conference. How did they share in its discussions?

[Answer] Contributions of foreign delegates from the USSR, GDR, Poland, Romania or Bulgaria were interesting because of their detailed theses on mutual influencing of socialist literatures which were based on numerous examples. It has been quite clearly demonstrated that also the basic theme of this conference, such as depiction of the working people's victory really is in the contemporary socialist literatures, fully agrees with the most basic activity of creators of literature in all fields and genres: Victories already achieved or in process of being achieved under the complicated circumstances of the contemporary world are by their inspirational force formative for a majority of creators to a degree where no room is left for doubt on the future of socialist literatures, the Czech and Slovak included, Dr. Ondrej Marusiak demonstrated it in his speech when he spoke of heroic characters in the contemporary Slovak prose. He used the types of heroes-Communists populating the prose of Slovak writers, in order to show historical man in this citizen of the new world "who constantly creates human values and by his daily activity confirms that humanism is fully a part of socialism."

This conclusion of the conference inevitably stemmed from the entire discussion. The writer's awareness that no star is more beautiful than the star of communism develops his ideological background and co-determines the democratic character of his creation, the socialist conclusion of his work.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

CSO: 2400
BRIEFS

DEFENSE MINISTER TO USSR--[CTK report: "Brotherhood-in-Arms"] In its report on the visit of a Czechoslovak military delegation to the USSR, the TASS news agency emphasizes that Army Gen Martin Dzur was received by Aleksey Kosygin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. According to the news agency the meeting was held in a sincere, friendly atmosphere. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet awarded Martin Dzur the Order of the October Revolution for his combat merit in the joint struggle during World War Two and for his great contribution to the strengthening of the combat brotherhood between the USSR and CSSR armed forces in the postwar years. In a friendly working atmosphere, the delegation exchanged views with USSR Defense Minister Marshal Dmitriy Ustinov and other Soviet supreme military officials on the further strengthening of fraternal friendship and all-round cooperation between the USSR and CSSR armed forces, as well as on other issues of interest to both countries. The two sides expressed great satisfaction with the successful development of friendly relations and military cooperation between the USSR and the CSSR, and emphasized efforts for the further expansion of relations between the Soviet armed forces, the Czechoslovak People's Army and the armies of all member states of the Warsaw Pact. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Sep 78 p 6 AU]
Comrade Diehl, the "History of the SED" starts with a survey of the more than 100-year history of the revolutionary German workers' movement from its beginnings to the liberation of our people by the Soviet Union in 1945. What function does this first chapter, covering such a long span of time, have within the framework of the whole book?

Prof Diehl: This chapter shows the line of tradition out of which the most successful revolutionary party in German history has emerged—the SED—a line which this party is resolutely carrying forward. It goes back to the beginnings of the revolutionary German workers' movement, to Marx and Engels and the League of Communists, to the "Manifesto of the Communist Party." It makes it clear what was involved in the struggle of the communists from the very beginning: To help along the laws of social development in the achievement of a breakthrough, to burst the chains of capitalist exploitation, and to set up a new society, the socialist society.
In taking this as its point of departure, the first chapter permits the work accomplished by us in the last three decades to be seen as a great historical movement, as the fulfillment of the struggle of many generations of the revolutionary German working class.

From "Manifesto" to Party Program

In detail, the chapter describes the ordeals which the revolutionary advance party of the German working class honorably endured at that time in its struggle against feudal reaction and capitalist exploitation, against imperialism and militarism, against fascism and imperialist warfare. It shows how throughout many decades the revolutionary vanguard grew stronger and how it gained that maturity in the course of harsh class conflicts which enabled it, after the liberation of our people from Hitler's fascism, to lead the entire working class, all the workers in our country, to victory over imperialism, to the founding of the workers and peasants power, and to the constructing of socialism, which is the most profound revolutionary upheaval in the whole history of our people.

In this and in other chapters, confirmation is given, on the basis of the concrete experiences of our party, to the universal validity of the Marxist-Leninist perception that it is the most important task of the working class in the fulfillment of its historical mission to create a revolutionary party which is equipped with the scientific theory of the proletarian liberation struggle.

Thus a function of this first chapter which is important for the whole book lies in spanning the course of history from the founding of scientific communism up to our present SED program as it was decided on at the 9th Party Congress—a program which is treated in the final chapter of the outline. Reflected in the objective of the SED program "to continue to fashion the developed socialist society in the German Democratic Republic and thus to create the fundamental conditions necessary for the gradual transition to communism" are both the continuity of the struggle of German communists and at the same time the historical dimensions of the social and political successes achieved under the leadership of the SED in the 30-year history of the GDR—successes which were scored by the workers of the GDR in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist society of nations.

It is not coincidental that the anticomunist attacks which were launched some time ago in the imperialist mass media against the "Outline of the History of the SED" are also directed against this historical proof of the continuity of our movement. In its entire tenor, the outline makes clear the historical lack of perspective of all anticommunists at the same time that it conveys to us an awareness of our strength and confidence in our victory.
NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: In your opinion, what role do the revolutionary traditions of the workers' movement play in connection with the thinking and actions of the communists of today?

Prof Diehl: By understanding ourselves as heirs to the revolutionary traditions of the German workers' movement, we at the same time acknowledge the obligation to carry on this heritage along the same lines as our vanguard fighters. The concept of a heritage is not exhausted with retrospective glances, but rather creates the obligation to carry forward what has been achieved.

Of course, to be an heir of traditions presupposes first of all that one understands these traditions well and makes them his own, and in fact entirely in the sense of the words of Goethe: "What you have inherited from your fathers, you must earn, if you are to possess it." The demands on a person which spring from the class struggles of the past can be met only by him who comprehends this past as his own. Therefore the history of the party is equally valuable for the present and for the coming generations.

One of the demands made on a communist which arise from this history is that he familiarize himself with the principles of historical development so that he can understand those of developed socialism, and above all, one of these demands is for him to translate perceptions into revolutionary action. Today, that means mobilizing every capacity, every force, for the sake of strengthening socialism, for the systematic fashioning of the developed socialist society.

To be a communist today means, as always, to propagandize the strategy and tactics of the party and to aggressively take issue with the imperialist ideology, with the distortions and falsifications of our world view and of genuine socialism.

To be a communist today means not least to actively stand up for the unity of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: The development of social consciousness is evidently taking on more and more importance within the ideological work of the party....

Prof Diehl: The study of its history has been and is always a necessary component of the ideological work of our party. As you know, Lenin stated: "Whoever has an attitude toward the history of his movement as one who forgets everything cannot be a class-conscious worker." In line with this perception, the revolutionary party of the German working class and its prominent representatives have always intensely concerned themselves in all stages of the struggle with the historical lessons and experiences of the proletarian liberation struggle.
Precisely now, when we are approaching the anniversary of our republic, is it advisable to remember what great work our party has performed—for example, exactly three decades ago, in the year 1948, for the purpose of revealing to the members of the party, to the laborers and other workers, decisive experiences and lessons of the history of the German and international workers' movement. At that time, this was done in connection with the 100th anniversary of the Revolution of 1848/49, the 30th anniversary of the German November Revolution, and with the turn toward the systematic study of the history of the CPSU.

Candid Description of Whole Course of Struggle

At that time it was essential to resolve the fundamental question in the class struggle—the question of power—in favor of the working class and its allies. In harsh conflicts with the reactionary bourgeois ideology, with the different varieties of opportunism, the party saw to it that the leading role of the working class and the continuing forward progress of the process of revolutionary upheaval was secured. In historical retrospect, one can say without question that the intense preoccupation with the historical experiences of the revolutionary struggle which we engaged in in 1948 helped to prepare politically and ideologically the establishment of the workers and peasants power in 1949. This example makes it clear that our concern with history is always brought to bear upon the current tasks, upon the present and the future, and that it receives from this its meaning and utility.

Lying also in this tradition is the decision of our party leadership to prepare this outline of the history of the SED and to thoroughly propagandize its findings. But this is now being done—to hark back to the just-mentioned example—on a far higher stage of historical development. At that time, a few years after our liberation from fascism, what was essential was to prepare for the coming transition to the socialist stage of the unitary revolutionary upheaval process. Today it is essential to acquire from a study of our successful development in the GDR over the past 30 years new revolutionary energies for the further shaping of the developed socialist society as it is traced out in the party program. When therefore we talk today about the revolutionary traditions of our party, what we also have in mind above all is the great wealth of experiences and traditions, completely new in quality, which have been moulded by the victories of the working class and by socialism—a wealth which is indissolubly connected with the activity of the SED.

The response received so far to our outline confirms the strong consciousness-raising effect of the vivid conveyance of the history of the SED. Many comrades are saying that they had recalled many things in reading this which had already receded into the background of their memory, and they thus regained for themselves high points of their lives and historical processes which they had helped to shape. Thus from a knowledge of the history of the party there emerge strong stimuli toward the
resolute implementation of the party resolutions, toward helping in the party's general political work, and toward unity and cohesiveness within our ranks.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: It is very important for younger people in particular to have this history conveyed not only in terms of its consequences, but also with the inclusion of the problems and conflicts which the party had to overcome in the course of its history.

Prof Diehl: In its decision on publishing this outline, the leadership of the party has also responded to the need to make the younger generations familiar with the historical experiences of the struggle of our party. It is just the young generation, which knows from its own experience only the last stages of the development of the socialist GDR, which needs a true-to-life knowledge about the party's whole course of struggle, about all periods of the history of our republic. Many positive examples prove how this knowledge helps younger people to understand in greater depth our present times and the policy of the party of today, to live up to their own responsibility, and to answer to it at every moment, even under difficult conditions, with their own initiative.

For this reason also, the outline was designed in such a way that an abundance of concrete-historical facts is conveyed. The history is described as it really happened. Made clear to the reader are the new necessities and problems which arose in each case from the continually changing objective and subjective conditions of the party's struggle. And it is shown how the party found answers to these which have stood the test of time.

The policy of the party, its wrestling with the elaboration and realization of its strategy and tactics, is presented as a continuously creative achievement of the party, of its organizations, and of its functionaries and members. The outline mirrors how the party always seeks for the most effective way to put into effect the laws of society and how it creatively applies to our concrete conditions of struggle the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism. In this sense and in light of the experiences of our party, this outline corroborates—all attacks of our enemies notwithstanding—the inexhaustible vitality of our Marxist-Leninist theory. It has been, is, and will continue to be our reliable compass for materializing the interests of the working class and all the workers, and for continuing to carry forward the socialist development of our society.

In this outline, the dialectic of the struggle between socialism and imperialism has been fully taken into account. A multitude of examples gives a clear conception of the circumstances and the severity of this class conflict in the course of the history of our party. The whole account makes it clear that the imperialism present in the FRG, in
conformity with its class nature, has never reconciled itself to the existence of the socialist GDR.

Above all, however, it is convincingly substantiated how socialism was successfully set up in our country under objectively difficult conditions and how its triumphs were securely safeguarded. Thereby our party, alongside the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries, has made a contribution toward changing the international balance of forces in favor of socialism. To be prepared to defend the socialist triumphs, to not indulge in any illusions about imperialism and to resolutely resist its ideological sabotage—that also is a part of the experience and tradition of our party which it is essential to consistently preserve and carry forward.

Historical Achievements of All the People Acknowledged

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: The "History of the SED" pays full tribute to the great achievements of the workers of the GDR in the construction and development of the socialist society. That is, numerous heroes in the sphere of labor, honored scientists, inventors, innovators, and artists are mentioned. What were the motives for this kind of presentation?

Prof Diehl: The development of the GDR into a respected member of the socialist society of nations, into a nation with a highly developed industry and agriculture, into a country whose society is secure, with high literacy, science, and culture, is the work of the entire people, the achievement of the working class under the leadership of the party, in alliance with the farmers, the intelligentsia, and all the other productive classes. The working class, by establishing its revolutionary national power in the form of the GDR, created completely new conditions for the liberation of the creative energies and the history-shaping power of the masses.

When outstanding deeds of workers, farmers, artists, and scientists are mentioned in this outline, this thus mirrors the high esteem the party has for the achievements of the entire working people. "The history of the SED is at the same time the history of its inseparable solidarity with the working masses," said Erich Honecker at the conference with the first secretaries of the kreis administrations. To further strengthen and develop this solidarity of our fighting alliance with the masses is a basic principle of our policy which finds expression in every line of the "History of the SED."
LEGAL RULES, REGULATIONS REQUIRE MORE CLARITY, UNIFORMITY

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[Article by Dr Carola Luge and Paul Toepel of the GDR for Politican Science and Jurisprudence and Dr Ulrich Schaarschmidt of East Berlin: "Raising Public Confidence in the Laws--A Component of SED Legal Policy"]

[Text] "Improving the socialist system of laws as planned in accordance with the maturity of the socialist society and raising public confidence in the law--these are firm elements in the policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany."¹ In the matter of improving the socialist system of laws and raising public confidence in the law, the SED pursues the goal of "developing the attitudes and relations of citizens in a socialist manner and ensuring the realization of their rights and duties."²

These tasks assume particular importance in the period of the organization of the developed socialist society. They cannot be separated and must in fact be considered in close unity and interrelation. In the socialist society an excellent quality of socialist legislation results in a high level of public confidence in the law. At the same time a high level of public confidence in the law presumes and encourages the planned improvement of the socialist legal system in accordance with the maturity of the socialist society. In the developed socialist society a high level of public confidence in the law and its assurance in various forms and by the most varied methods is an essential element of socialist legality for the observation and implementation of laws by all state organs, state and economy functionaries, social organizations and citizens.³ Special significance is with public confidence in the law by the citizens of the socialist state, who consciously and responsibly accomplish the tasks assigned them and display great creative achievements.⁴ It is a specific feature of social security for our citizens. "Great confidence in the law reflects the rising standard of living in socialism and its atmosphere of security which facilitates for every citizen the achievement of a full life in a dignified, healthy and clean society."⁵
For the citizens in the developed socialist society public confidence in
the law means most of all the guarantee of the reliable defense of the so-
cialist system, the peaceful lives of the citizens, social and personal pro-
property as well as the citizens rights and liberties.6 The first and deci-
sive prerequisite consists in the planned legislative work in the most im-
portant fields of social life, which has resulted in the uniform and uncon-
troversial settlement of the fundamental social relations, and on the basis
of which social life is organized and shaped by the conscious action of
citizens in conformity with legal standards. At the same time the legis-
lative activity of the socialist state also results in the steady improve-
ment, expansion and qualitatively higher level of public confidence in the
law. This is demonstrated in the legal regulations issued following the
Eighth and Ninth SED Congresses.

The improvement of the political and economic bases of the socialist social
and state system as well as the assurance of the socialist lifestyle as the
"characteristic mode of social life and individual behavior in all circum-
stances"7 by the provisions of the socialist constitution8 are essential
prerequisites for the steady reinforcement of public confidence in the law
and its maintenance.

The socialist constitution is the juridical criterion of all legislation,
the implementation of the law and, especially, the application of the law.
It is therefore the basic document for the improvement of the citizens con-
fidence in the law. By the strict observance of socialist legality in
state leadership it guarantees the ability of citizens fully to observe
their constitutional rights and duties which are protected with increasing
efficiency. Specific provisions of the constitution directly serve the im-
provement of confidence in the law by the citizens of the developed social-
ist society. This is particularly evident with regard to constitutional
rights and duties.

Concerning the steady consolidation and perfection of socialist legality,
the amendment and supplementation of the GDR Constitution presented greater
claims on state leadership activities. To improve public confidence in the
law, it was required by the constitution to settle by legislation the pro-
cedure for dealing with petitions and applications (article 103 [3] GDR
Constitution). This was done by way of the Law on Petitions and Applica-
tions of 19 June 1975.9

The ZGB [civil code] provided a significant contribution to the further or-
ganization of our socialist legal system. Its clear and unequivocal deter-
mination of the object of civil law and the generalization of the methods
of settlement applicable thereto improve the efficacy of socialist law in
its totality and provide a crucial contribution to the reinforcement of
public confidence in the law. As a result of the plain and accessible or-
ganization of this body of laws the citizens better understand the purpose
and function of the socialist civil code, more completely recognize their rights and duties in the field of civil law and are thus enabled to observe them consciously and responsibly. The entire ZGB is directed to the prevention of offenses and the avoidance of injuries and dangers to life, health and property. Citizens and enterprises are obligated to behave responsibly and consistently, and creatively to exercise their civil rights and duties.

The further rise in the public confidence in the law is reflected in the civil code's fundamental provisions on socialist property.

The 26 January 1977 meeting of the People's Chamber's constitutional and legal committee regarding the first experiences gathered from the application of the civil code agreed that "its exact and memorable provisions on the inviolability of the people's property, the duties for its rational use and the detailed provisions for its protection are standing the test... They call for increasing efforts by enterprises and citizens to carry out responsible accounting and checks as well as for more order in the handling of state financial and material funds."^10

These regulations also provide that the protection and augmentation of socialist property as the duty of every member of society represents the vital basis for the improvement of the people's material and cultural standard of living and, therefore, the guarantee of citizens rights.11

In addition the ZGB firmly anchors the cooperation of citizens within the scope of renters communities (something which has already become a matter of course). According to these provisions enterprises of building and housing administration, in particular, may conclude contracts with renters communities. These contracts deal with the rights and duties of both parties concerning the repair, beautification and administration of residential buildings including the financial resources earmarked for that purpose (article 114 ZGB) and help provide satisfactory housing conditions for the citizens.

Specially significant for reinforcing the public confidence in the law is the new labor code. This body of law has an enduring effect on the improvement of the feeling of social security and safety of working people and their families. It reflects the benefits, values and ideals of socialism and ensures the right to work as the fundamental human right which is multilaterally linked with all other democratic rights, duties and liberties of the people."^12

The AGB [labor code] does more than guarantee the right to work and to a job. It primarily ensures the development of the socialist personality at work, the most important sphere of social life. It concretizes the political, economic and social achievements as well as the vital constitutional rights of the working people--the right to work, cooperation, education, leisure and recreation, to the protection of health and fitness for work, and so on--as well as their guarantees. The AGB thereby more and more effectively
supports the realization of the coincidence of interests between society, collectives and working people, the encouragement of socialist relations at work, the consistent implementation of the socialist performance principle as well as the improved skills of production management and, consequently, work collectives.\textsuperscript{13}

In the perfection of the guarantees of the rights and liberties of working people great significance lies with the expansion of the rights of labor unions which, as comprehensive class organizations, supply an essential contribution to the defense of citizens rights and the assurance of public confidence in the law. Many management decisions (by the enterprise manager, for example) require the approval of the labor union leadership. That applies to (among others) the issue of the enterprise work schedule (article 92 aGB), where the labor law provides for the labor union's cooperation. We must also emphasize that the supervisory rights of the labor unions in the field of health protection and safety as well as the codetermination rights of labor union spokesmen have been expanded.\textsuperscript{14} Enterprise labor union leadership organizations are entitled "to request explanations regarding projects for new or reconstructed equipment and jobs, to comment, require safeguards as to health hazards and safety, and submit suggestions for their further improvement. The enterprise manager must enable the appropriate enterprise labor union leadership to scrutinize the pertinent scientific-technological documents."\textsuperscript{15}

The expansion of protection for the rights of citizens is also underlined by the legal institution of the transition contract which is new to the labor code and designed to ensure the smooth change-over of a worker from one job to another in a new enterprise.\textsuperscript{16}

In addition to the legal provisions cited, the need to raise public confidence in the law as the reflection of the planned improvement of the socialist legal system and the guarantee of socialist legality permeates socialist law in its entirety. This is evident in the constitutional normative acts and achieves particular significance in those sections of the law which serve the intensification of the economy and the further deepening of socialist economic integration.\textsuperscript{17}

The further rise in public confidence in the law is also vividly demonstrated in the new law on the Public Prosecutor System in the GDR of 7 April 1977,\textsuperscript{18} in the amendments and supplements to the criminal code\textsuperscript{19} and the code of criminal procedure\textsuperscript{20} as well as in the law on the execution of sentences\textsuperscript{21} and the law on rehabilitation,\textsuperscript{22} because criminal provisions largely reflect the protection of the personality, its dignity and health as well as the rights of the citizens, and because they testify to the humanism of our social and state system.

II

Arising from the improved assurance of public confidence in the law as an element of SED policy are great requirements on the work of central and
local state organs with respect to shaping, adjusting and amending the law. In conformity with social needs it is necessary as per plan to create the necessary legal regulations, ensuring at the same time that they fit harmoniously into the system of standards in effect, are easily noted and intelligible. It is essential to the nature of socialist law that the working people should be able to inform themselves of their rights and duties as established in legal regulations, though they have no specific legal knowledge. We therefore need a consistent orientation to a law close to the people. That is why we must cancel obsolescent regulations, summarize in one normative provision several provisions now in effect and dealing with the same topic, and employ clear and unambiguous language in the text of the law.

Especially since the eighth party congress great efforts have been made on this basis. In connection with the issue of new legal prescriptions as well as constant cancellation and summarization the law now in effect is being simplified, the incidence of legal regulations limited to the absolutely necessary volume, and contradictions between various regulations avoided. The legal regulations already cited and others involved in necessary new regulations in important sectors were therefore designed to eliminate the multitude of provisions which were excessively complex and, to some extent conflicting. All these efforts were reflected especially in the law on the Local People's Representations and their Organs in the GDR and in the civil code.

In his report to the Ninth SED Congress Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized that "work on the perfection of socialist law...continues as planned. Its conformity with the requirements of development is to be thoroughly investigated for important sections of the law now in effect, and coherent regulations aimed at." The provision of coherent regulations signifies in the first place the preparation of legal codes for fundamental sections of the law. The GDR labor code bears eloquent witness to that effect. The further organization of the rights of working people by the new labor code also involved the cancellation of many then valid labor law regulations and standardization in this new code (article 14 of the introductory law on the labor code). This code coherently regulates socialist labor law relations, is divided into clear and intelligible sections, and thus makes it possible for working people to breathe life into the letter of the law. Consequently it helps even more effectively to realize socialist legality in the field of labor law and raise confidence in the law among working people and enterprises.

In matters of clarity and intelligibility also we see evidence of the superiority of our socialist law compared to FRG law. In the latter country there is as yet no uniform labor code although the DGB called for its creation as early as its 1949 constituent congress and in its basic program of 1963. This failure makes even harder the enforcement of the—in any case few—rights of FRG working people in the field of labor law.
Democratic cooperation by the working people reflects, among other aspects, a high level of public confidence in the law. It excludes a state of affairs which does not permit anyone without specialized legal knowledge to inform himself about relevant rights and duties. On the contrary, it requires legal regulations to be clear and intelligible, because this is the prerequisite for working people to be able to exercise an effective influence on the strict observation of socialist legality. At the same time we largely avoid the danger that the working people—-from lack of knowledge of legal regulations—-act in a manner detrimental to them. That also applies to the observance of citizens rights by the work of state organs. The danger that state organs may infringe upon the rights of citizens exists especially when legal regulations are unduly complex and unintelligible, and when a plethora of legal regulations is in effect for the particular area of regulation. Clear, intelligible, standardized and practical legal regulations permit the citizen quickly and independently to recognize any infringements of his rights and to call on the assistance of the appropriate organs for their restoration and maintenance.

III

In the developed socialist society man's education in socialist legal consciousness and advanced legal culture increasingly become firm elements in party and state leadership, because their standards crucially determine the status of public confidence in the law and the consolidation of socialist legality. Legal propaganda is an integrating element of an advanced legal culture and education in socialist legal consciousness. It must therefore be further expanded as part of politico-ideological work. At the same time the assurance of public confidence in the law means that state and economy functionaries, in cooperation and interrelation with the social organizations, must comprehensively enforce the protection of citizens rights. This is done on the one hand by the further improvement of material, political and legal guarantees for the protection and realization of citizens rights as well as by the efforts of all state managers to achieve order, discipline and security in their management sphere, and on the other hand by the consistent punishment of attacks on the socialist order, the socialist and personal property of citizens, the lives and health of the citizens in accordance with the laws.

The assurance of public confidence in the law requires all state and economy functionaries to behave frankly and politely toward citizens. It is flouted by formalism in state management and a bureaucratic approach to the accomplishment of assignments. As V.I. Lenin explained, such an approach may be "formally correct but in fact shows derision."

The conscientious and prompt processing of all petitions and applications from citizens is an essential element of the protection of citizens rights by state management. This vitally determines the confidence of citizens in their socialist state and provides the ultimate reflection of the assurance and observance of citizens rights in their state.
Coupled with the assurance of public confidence in the law are great requirements on legislation as an important element in state management. That is demonstrated especially in the legislative policy formulated at the Eighth and Ninth SED Congresses, which directs attention to the planned, scientific, practical, clear and democratic organization of legal regulations.

The constant rise in public confidence in the law also touches on the legislative work of central and local state organs. "We can lend emphasis and moral authority to the claim for absolute legality only by constantly working on the improvement of the law consonant with the current maturity of the socialist society, by overcoming any conflicts which might arise, and by eliminating obsolescent laws."31

We must make sure at all times that all legal regulations conform to the constitution and other laws; in fact it is vital strictly to observe democratic centralism in the legislative process, in order uniformly to be able to carry out socialist state policies (taking into account local peculiarities) and thereby uniformly ensure public confidence in the law. Indivisibly coupled with this requirement is the need for adopting the necessary resolutions as early as possible.

This implies greater requirements on the long-range preparation of central legal regulations as well as on the decisionmaking process in local people's representations and their councils. These two aspects are indivisible. By applying basic principles to ensure the harmonious political, economic, cultural and social development in the regions, in good time and coordinated with the development of sectors and sections, we can avoid requiring the local people's representations and their organs repeatedly to decide the same issues and subsequently to cancel, amend and supplement prior resolutions (article 5 [4] GoeV [Law on Local People's Representations]). In accordance with the socialist constitution it is necessary at all levels strictly to observe the legislative procedure, organized in various legal regulations, from the preparatory stage up to and including the publication of mandatory decisions. This includes, for example, the duty of superior organs to involve the subordinate people's representations and their councils in the preparation of such decisions which touch upon the material, social and cultural needs of their region (article 1 [6] of the Law on the Council of Ministers of the GDR as well as articles 5[5], 9 [1] and 11 [2] of the GoeV.

We must make sure at central and local level that new legal regulations are harmoniously integrated in the existing laws. In this spirit local representations and their councils must at all times include as an indivisible element in their decisionmaking and in connection with the enactment of new regulations, the running cancellation of obsolescent provisions and the revision of provisions still in effect. Here we should consider the enactment of a central legal regulation which—based on the constitution—must include the fundamental issues of legislative procedure for all legislative
organs as well as the preparation of the draft and its classification in the effective legislative system. This would help further improve the juridical guarantees of the legislative procedure in the interest of the steady rise in public confidence in the law.

FOOTNOTES


6. K. Sorgenicht, as before, p 127.

7. "SED Program" as before, p 53.


9. GBL I, p 461.


14. See H. Tisch, as before, p 385.


16. See S. Supranowitz, as before, p 95.


18. GBL I, pp 93 ff.


22. GBL I 1977, pp 98 f.

23. See K. Sorgenicht, as before, pp 127 f.


26. See F. Kunz/G. Schuessler, as before, p 238.


29. See "SED Central Committee Report," as before, pp 112 f.

31. F. Ebert, "The Basic Attitudes of the SED Revealed by the Ninth Party Congress Regarding the Further Development of the State, the Law and Democracy in the GDR," NEUE JUSTIZ 1976, p 574.
BRIEFS

DELEGATION TO POPE'S FUNERAL--[ADN Dispatch from Rome: "GDR State Delegation to Funeral Rites in Rome"] A GDR state delegation arrived in Rome on Tuesday [3 October] to attend the funeral rites for Pope John Paul I. The delegation is led by Gerald Goetting, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council. It also comprises Hans Seigewasser, state secretary for church affairs, and Dr Hans Voss, GDR Ambassador to Italy. By a decision of the Cardinals' collegium the mourning ceremonies will begin with a funeral service in St Peters Square this Wednesday. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Oct 78 p 2 AU] 2300

RECOGNITION OF TUVALU'S INDEPENDENCE--Berlin--The GDR has recognized Tuvalu as an independent state. This announcement is contained in a telegram of congratulations addressed by the chairman of the GDR State Council, Erich Honecker, to the governor general of Tuvalu, Penitala Piatau Teo. The former British colony achieved independence today. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German l844 GMT 1 Oct 78 ID]

APPEARANCE OF NAZI SYMBOLS--The concern expressed at the East Berlin synod of the GDR Protestant Church League about neo-Nazi tendencies among GDR youth is reinforced, according to Heinz Galinski, chairman of the Jewish community in [West] Berlin, by information which has reached him regarding anti-Jewish incidents. In an article for the ALLGEMEINE JUEDISCHE WOCHENZEITUNG, Galinski writes that in March 1978, for example, tombstones had been smeared with swastikas at the Jewish cemetery on Schoenhauser Allee, East Berlin. Elsewhere, National Socialist symbols repeatedly appeared on walls of East Berlin houses. On 20 April 1978, according to Galinski, tenth-grade pupils in a school located in Rostock Bezirk celebrated Adolf Hitler's birthday. [Text] [Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 5 Oct 78 p 2]
[Text] The 1978-79 school year is a very important year. It will initiate considerable changes in the national education system, including changes in its organizational structure and in the selection of educational materials. From now on we may speak about compulsory 10-year universal schooling in our country. For first-grade students this new school year is the year of the reformed, liberal education school. A new program is being introduced to schools. It has been approved by decision of the Ministry of Education and reviewed by the Planning Group for Preschool Upbringing and Elementary Instruction. We are interviewing Dr Ryszard Wieckowski, the chairman of the Planning Group, about realization of this program.

[Question] Professor, the program of elementary instruction which is being introduced to the first grades this year and which will gradually be introduced to other grades is ambitious. However, will it not turn out to be too idealistic when it encounters the conditions of our schools (we have 20,000 of them)? In other words, is it going to be realistic?

[Answer] I will answer with this question. In deciding on the extensive reform of our school system, should we adapt its program premises to existing educational-instructional reality and to inadequate conditions in many places, or should we go further, reach higher and go ahead? In our opinion, we should overtake reality. New proposals should not be adapted to existing conditions. This would mean regression. On the contrary, conditions have to be adapted to new requirements. Educational practice should gradually improve in order to meet these premises and requirements. To some extent, this is the stimulatory function of the new program. We have formulated
this ambitious program in order to overcome existing practice. The organizational-program reform for grades 1 through 3 is a complete reform; we hope that it will bring about considerable effects; that it will be a factor which will insure that a child becomes successful in his further actions. From a psychological point of view, the first contact of the child with school is very important since it is an emotional contact which influences his further education.

[Question] You have used the term "a complete reform." What does it mean?

[Answer] The reform of the first grade, which is the starting point for elementary instructional reform, is a complete reform because for 25 years nobody has touched the educational-instructional methods of teaching for grades 1 to 3. They were last evaluated in 1950. The reform of 1963 concerned grade 4 and up. Therefore, the present reform concerns two matters: 1) the contents of instruction will be expanded as compared to the existing program which was infantile and simply was not suited to the child's abilities; 2) changes in the style of instruction will be introduced. One has to say that the reform carried out at the present time in Poland is one of the most pioneering, not only in countries of the socialist community, but also in the world.

[Question] This new program is not being introduced "blindly." It passed through trial testing. What are the results of this testing?

[Answer] The program of elementary instruction was tested in the past 2 years in 19 schools encompassing various groups. Although these schools were not sufficiently equipped, the program premises were realized 70 to 90 percent. Thus, one may talk about the validity of these premises.

[Question] A good teacher is the main factor determining how successful the new reform of our school system and of elementary and systematic instruction is going to be. To a large extent, full and proper realization of this new program will depend upon his teaching abilities, quality and knowledge. A more ambitious program requires a better teacher. How has the department prepared educators to this new start?

[Answer] We have introduced various forms of improving teachers. The basic method is self-learning organized in all school districts in the entire country. In the past year, it was carried on systematically. Meetings and lessons were arranged with the teachers during which the program was analyzed in detail. Moreover, there were television and radio programs in this area; special materials were published in the framework "Education and Instruction"; seminars were organized in various school districts. In addition to these methods of preparing the teaching cadres for new tasks in first grades, a new specialty in elementary instruction was introduced in teachers' schools of higher learning and in some universities. Moreover, all educational magazines (at least five) have been publishing for a long time the interpretation of elementary instruction.
What else? Up to now there existed a bulletin for Polish language teachers, grade 1 through 4, published by ZNP (Polish Teachers Association). It was transformed into a new periodical entitled "Elementary Instruction" dealing with detailed methodical proposals. It does not stop here. In the framework of this periodical, a methodical and multisubject guide is being prepared for publication. It will include the instructional-teaching plans for the entire year in all these subjects with particular consideration to proposals concerning the first period of the new program realization.

[Question] Let us talk now about textbooks. As compared to existing practice, they are supposed to be an absolute novelty.

[Answer] Up to now, beginning elementary instruction was limited to a basic A, B, C book and an exercise notebook for Polish language, and a textbook and an exercise notebook for math. But nobody has heard of teaching guides for teachers. In order to talk about a successful realization of the reform, the new program requires a different approach which includes textbooks for both teacher and student, and also, teaching aids with which schools should be equipped. In addition to publications intended for teachers as aids in performing tasks, a complete novelty are textbooks for such subjects as physical education and music. A notebook-textbook entitled "Exercise with Us" by Andrzej Lidki and the elementary music textbook have appeared on the bookshelves. Introduction of new subjects to the first grade has obviously required preparation of new books. An exercise notebook for students entitled "With Us" was prepared in the social and natural sciences. A handbook for teachers was also prepared to help them in choosing appropriate technical tasks for children in accordance with the program. There are also in preparation methodical guides for Polish language and for groups concerned with social and natural sciences. Two basic Polish-language textbooks are being introduced; the well known Falski textbook which has been revised and the Przylubski textbook along with an entire set of exercise notebooks.

[Question] Will all of those textbooks reach the schools on time?

[Answer] Absolutely all. There is only one problem; namely the periodical "Elementary Instruction" about which I have already talked. It constitutes the basic methodical aid for teachers introducing the new program to the first grades. However, only 16,000 copies were printed and we need 30,000 copies if we assume that each school should have one. We are trying to increase the number of copies to be printed, and we are hoping to succeed. It is a very important matter because this publication contains immensely rich material prepared by educators who have already tested the new program. Thus, this material based on their experience and observations contains some instructions already tested which are possible to be realized. The contents of this publication derive mostly from past experience.

[Question] What obstacles, in your opinion, might confront the full realization of the new elementary instruction program? I am asking this question
because knowing this program I am not inclined to believe that everything can be transferred from theory to practice.

[Answer] These obstacles might arise from some deficiencies in instructional abilities of teachers and from some shortages in teaching-aid equipment. They might simply not reach their destination or there might simply be a lack of resources to purchase them. The Ministry prepared a list of essential teaching aid equipment for elementary instruction. Every school should have this equipment regardless of whether it is a highly organized school or a small branch school with combined grades which, unfortunately, is still going to operate. It is hard to predict what obstacles might arise during the realization of this program. In any case, all of us involved in this matter have done the maximum.

[Question] Precisely these difficulties you just talked about might occur, particularly in the poorer and more neglected schools located in inadequate buildings with insufficient space. We have many such schools in Poland.

[Answer] It is true that there are schools which have, shall I say, rich patrons who supply them with various resources for so-called educational activities, and there are schools less invested. At this time, it has been decided that financial resources for the purchase of school equipment will be particularly concentrated in the first grades. They were given to school superintendents who are best acquainted with the financial situation of schools in their districts, and they will direct the money to schools which have shortages and not to those schools which are already well equipped. It is important to equalize disproportions. We are aware that it is not going to be ideal. However, we, as well as people from outside educational circles, are convinced that the reform will be successful. And we will gradually remove these disproportions.

I must say that I never observed so much interest in the reform and its results by authorities and various institutions. Everyone is anxious for it to succeed. There are many conferences during which it is stressed that not only the teacher but the entire school is responsible for introducing the program to first grades.

[Question] I see another difficulty in the full realization of the program; namely, shortcomings of preschool education which, after all, is supposed to be the basis of elementary instruction.

[Answer] Yes, we evaluated the level of achievement in children entering the first grade this year who will learn in accordance with the reformed program. Depending on the evaluation, there will be either a continuation of the kindergarten program from which children acquired expected skills, knowledge and habits or a preparation of special equalizing instructions. The new plan of elementary instruction anticipates that 2 to 3 hours of specialized instruction a week will be given to children who, for various reasons, are behind the average postulated level of achievement.
[Question] What kind of help do creators of the national educational reform expect from society?

[Answer] They expect society to create a good climate and friendly atmosphere around the reform which is instituted for the child's benefit. It is important to insure the most favorable conditions possible for development of the young Pole starting school for the first time. Therefore, it is necessary for parents to be warm-hearted and to cooperate closely with the school. It is also necessary that institutions associated with schools support and aid them. Creating a good atmosphere would be a factor stimulating and assisting this work; for the reform concept and the premises of the elementary instruction program have been positively evaluated and have received high marks from all groups in the national discussion. The reform was recognized as ambitious, innovative and ahead of its time. Therefore, it is desirable that all these valid premises be fully realized for the child's benefit because this will facilitate his further progress in the upper grades of the systematic instruction.
ORDINANCE PUBLISHED CONCERNING STATUS OF GMINA MANAGER


CSO: 2600
STATUS OF LITERARY-HISTORICAL RESEARCH DISCUSSED

Introduction of Problems

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 8 Jul 78 p 3

The stage reached by historical-literary research today and by the reappraisals made by modern literary criticism require a rediscussion from the level of a new scientific height of the way in which Romanian culture and literature and its most important traditions are brought back into circulation by the elements which are intended to put this wish into practice. Starting with this issue, LUCEAFARUL will publish a series of discussions (surveys, roundtables and so forth) on this subject in which specialists of proven competence will be requested to participate. This investigation, entitled "The Hidden Faces of Literary History," which poses five questions to those concerned will be followed by two roundtables—one in Iasi and one in Timisoara—to which the journal's invited guests are Prof Constantin Ciopraga, Liviu Leonte, Mihai Dragan, I. Constantinescu, Al. Calinescu, Prof Eugen Todoran, Ion Maxim, Cornel, Ungureanu and historian I. D. Suciu.

1. How do you evaluate the current stage of the appearance of critical editions from Romanian writers?

2. What do you feel would be the priority directions for utilizing the as yet unpublished stock of manuscripts faster?

3. What is being undertaken to utilize the archives of Romanian writers of the 20th century?

4. What is being undertaken to preserve the manuscripts and to place them at the public's disposal?

5. What is the situation of the stocks of books, periodicals and manuscripts in large libraries?
The fate of a culture clearly depends on the fate of certain institutions. In Romanian national culture, the Library of the Romanian Academy, established at the same time as the Romanian Academy, up until today has remained our national forum in cultural matters. For more than a century, the Library of the Romanian Academy has been involved in all the culture of these parts. Through the endeavors of generations of scholars, from the founders up to those who made it the first institution of books and culture between the two world wars, from the generation of Iorga and Bianu, it has been the national treasury of national culture, language, history and art. Its great founders and servants stand with the country's great personalities. The academy library is the keeper of the proof of us as a nation. Here we find basic historical documents, unique language manuscripts, the holy wealth of Eminescu's manuscripts, and stamps which can compete with similar collections of the great numismatic houses of the national libraries in Vienna, Paris, Munich and so forth. The Library of the Romanian Academy is the collection which certifies our national culture. To refer to the academy library is the same as referring to our very culture. It has reached a point where today it is seen abroad as our library of correspondence and prestige with the national libraries throughout the world.

The history of the Library of the Romanian Academy is involved in the entire process of the development of our national culture. Everything which has been written and thought in the area of the assertion of the national language, literature, art and history basically is founded on its documentary treasury. Without the academy library it would not have been possible for any of the major works of our culture to be written—from Hasdeu, Gaster, Maiorescu, Densusianu, Iorga, Parvan, Cartojan, Calinescu and Giurescu. Without this sole base for our culture, Iorga could not have written "The History of the Romanians," Densusianu could not have composed "The History of the Romanian Language," Cartojan would not have been able to write "The History of Old Romanian Literature" and "Popular Books," and Calinescu would not have had the working library for "The Life and Works of Eminescu" and "The History of Romanian Literature from Its Origins to the Present."

All the scholars, scientists, men of culture and researchers from Romania and abroad found within the Library of the Romanian Academy the indispensable place of intellectual activity and the collection of national documentation. On the basis of it it was possible to draw up the bibliography of old and modern
Romanian writing, the thesaurus-dictionaries of the Romanian language, the editions of historical documents, literary documents and so forth. It is the reference library in Romanian culture and for this culture. For these reasons any administrative attempt to underestimate the national role of the Library of the Romanian Academy in our culture, tolerantly giving it secondary importance, neglecting its qualities and ignoring its place in the national culture, would damage the prestige and ability to assert our genius through culture, history, language and literature. A treasury has its integral value; it cannot be chopped up according to administrative criteria and divided according to temporary orders. How can anyone think that this national good unique in itself could be divided, sending a historical collection to the State Archives, the plastics collection probably to the Gallery of Art, the stamp collection to ... And there remain the collections of literary manuscripts and incunabulum. So it is not possible to understand why the Library of the Romanian Academy for years has no longer been able to directly acquire collections of historical and literary manuscripts. What is happening to our library, our treasury and national archive? Years ago I wrote an article in SAPTAMINA about this very situation, after which I heard only criticism, but nothing was started. On the contrary! The academy library has continued to have the right to be the legal deposit, which I called for then, which is absolutely indispensable to completely establish the national collection of printed works of modern times. So it was possible for us to have everything printed in the Romania of other times. But what do we leave to the others following after us? Incomplete, used or lost collections of books, newspapers and magazines after 1944. The academy library does not have the right to priority acquisition; rather, it passively accepts what is sent to it from another library; as library personnel tell us, it receives what is left available there. The conclusion is alarming. An absolute record of Romanian printed matter of today does not exist.

Another aspect is that of preserving and protecting the old collections of books and, in particular, periodicals from wear and tear. Hundreds of them already are in a diplorable state. Collections which are unique for our culture have become impossible to consult due to deterioration of the material. Collections of newspapers and magazines torn into shreds. The great literary magazines and newspapers of the workers movement kept only as inventory. There is no technical apparatus to photocopy and save them. Due to the lack of funds, microfilming can only cover a minimum of urgency and, in addition, the action is only partial since the original still is worn. The world has done real miracles in saving old worn magazines and books, facsimiles, rotaprinting and so forth keeping the quality of the original.
Another upsetting aspect is that the collection of manuscripts fails to become enriched. In our tradition, the Library of the Romanian Academy has preserved, acquired or received as donations the major collection of old Romanian manuscripts, incunabula, our first printed matter, the treasury of books of the Romanian territory throughout the centuries and the literary collections of manuscripts of modern literature. It is normal that this institution cannot acquire everything. No matter how well stocked a library may be, it has no way of including everything. Such acts of centralization are not proper for any culture which respects itself. However there is a dramatic distance between following a tradition, continuing to receive the collections of the great creators of this century in order to preserve continuity and between no longer having the right to receive them. What would have been left of the Maiorescu collection if the Romanian Academy had not had this right in 1904? How we would have condemned the irresponsibility of letting the literary manuscripts of the time fall in anyone’s hands. But, look, the academy library no longer can fulfill the mission it has had since its inception, no longer acquiring or receiving manuscripts, either historical or literary. Thus, it does not have the right to have after the manuscripts of our classics, the manuscripts of Blaga, Arghezi and Barbu in one place with our writings of the last centuries.

A strange procedure, when there are funds and understanding for other institutions. Especially understanding. I think it is an unnatural idea that the academy library is buried in the past, taking from it the right it has had since its birth to represent the national treasury of the books and words written in our country. I am not discussing the right of other forums to acquire manuscripts, documents on the national history and culture, but it is inconceivable in a context of the full assertion of the creative capacity of our people that our first institution of this type to be deprived of its statutory right, I should say historical right. There should be as many institutions as possible for a major culture and they become just as many forms for demonstrating and moving forward the spirit of a national culture. However, with a single condition: that promoting the young does not damage or overshadow the prestige of what has been inherited. In culture the phenomenon of continuity is just as vital as for the history of a people.

The Library of the Romanian Academy must be protected by respecting its past. Its future depends on us. The Library of the Romanian Academy has preserved for us these collections of major historical documents in years in which I doubt it would have had the same guarantee in other parts. The prestige and dignity of our present culture demand a return to and respect for the status of the collection and national forum of culture of the Library of the Romanian Academy.
No Encouragement Given to Young Researchers

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 8 Jul 78 p 3

Article by Al. Sandulescu

1. I recently gave my opinion about the critical editions regarding the '40 era, even in this journal. They exist as a living reality of our historical-literary research and some are being done and even are very progressive. In continuing, I should mention the editions of Ion Slavici, Ion Creanga, Al. Macedonski, Delevrancea, Duiliu Zamfirescu, Liviu Rebreanu, G. Bacovia, with the latter being complete editions reproducing a faithful, complete text. The situation of the Eminescu academic edition is starting to become encouraging; after long years of stagnation, Volume VII has appeared and it seems that the coming volumes are in an advanced enough phase of preparation for printing. In general, as has been said, it still is slow going (let us recall the editions of Grigore Alexandrescu and I. L. Caragiale which were stopped—the first at Volume I 21 years ago and the second, at Volume IV 13 years ago) and the texts are not always without fault. True, volumes of works were printed recently which can be considered as reference works ("The Discourses" of M. Kogalniceanu, "The Poems" of V. Alecsandri), however the school manuals analyze Eminescu's "Doina" without very well-known poetry being included in any of the editions of the last 30 years. Correspondences (the main source of information on the writer's life and work and very often events of the era) are published in an exaggeratingly selective way (see I. Heliade-Radulescu and Delevrancea) or with cuts (the above as well as the volume of "Correspondence" of Iulia Hasdeu-B. P. Hasdeu). Critical editions (as well as the summary volumes of documents which appeared in recent years) do not always represent the working tools which we need. I feel our ideal should be eliminating the old, incomplete, faulty and unscientific editions from use and saving the reader and the specialist from going to periodicals (often destroyed and practically inaccessible) or to manuscripts anymore. Despite all the achievements which are sometimes excellent in this direction, there still is much to be done. The main gap is bibliography and informative activity which still is not systemized enough and also is going at a snail's pace. A bibliography of Romanian literature, one of periodicals (started sometime) and of modern Romanian writers—these are the big subjects for collective research.

2. The collections of unpublished manuscripts are found in the big libraries and museums in Bucharest and in the country, in the State Archives and in private collections. A utilization of them is being carried out in the volumes of correspondences and memoirs (which appear in particular in the Minerva Publishing House and Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania) and in the magazine MANUSCRITUM, with the
results sometimes being spectacular (see Maiorescu’s "The Letter Writer" or the very recent volume of "Titu Maiorescu and the First Generation of Maiorescus—Letters"). Here, too, we encounter a number of difficulties. There are no centralized catalogs of the manuscripts of a writer, at least in the public archives, without even mentioning that they are not printed as was the custom at one time (example: "The Catalog of Ion Ghica’s Letters").

There are some libraries or museums which delay making certain unpublished documents available for various reasons but really so that someone working there can have priority in publishing "the unpublished." Such a situation occurred some years ago with me at the Museum of Literature of Moldova in Iasi.

But, in the end, with passion and tenacity such difficulties can be overcome. What I feel is more alarming is the lowering of interest for publishing work and the more and more visible lack of cadres, primarily young cadres. The average age in the philology faculties and research institutes is rising rapidly toward 40, the ones who do write are doing current literary criticism or overall works, monographs and literary history; very few are still going to the archives. In order to go there the young people must be taught and encouraged in an institutional framework. Their work, and not only theirs, should be rewarded and respected. Pretty soon we no longer will have paleographers, specialists in deciphering and reading texts, since the few graduates of classical languages, for example, have been used for years in areas other than the one for which they were trained and which would really need them. The literary press should give more attention to the critical editions and unpublished documents precisely to dispel the preconceived idea that such a concern is peripheral and minor. All the great literary historians and critics began and often continued their whole life by researching the archives and bringing out the basic texts of Romanian literature and culture. N. Iorga, G. Ibraileanu, Paul Zarifopol, G. Calinescu, Perpessicius, Tudor Vianu, Vladimir Streinu, Serban Cio- culescu tell us a lot from this viewpoint, also.

3. In the area of 20th-century writers, the excavation projects, which are hard enough, are even less advanced—a fact which is somehow explicable. Gala Galaction’s "Journal" is in the second volume (and, unfortunately, is "padded" ), the letters received by N. Iorga and G. Ibraileanu have been published as well as Liviu Rebreanu’s "Creative Notebooks," the letters of Tudor Vianu, Camil Petrescu’s journal and Anton Holban’s pseudo journal (actually letters). The magazine MANUSCRIPTUM is carrying out very interesting activity in this direction. Until the analysis of critical editions, we should undertake the publication in separate volumes of the letters and creative notebooks of M. Sado- veanu (a ginning exists here, too), the vast correspondence
sent and received and the journal of Liviu Rebreanu, the letters of Mateiu Caragiale, Tudor Arghezi, Ion Barbu, Camil Petrescu, Lucian Blaga, Ion Pillat and many others. I think that the Minerva Publishing House collections are very adequate. Just so we have manuscripts at our disposal (some still are private property) and they should be commented on by competent people so that uncut texts can appear. Our generation is obligated to publish the valuable unpublished works in as short a time as possible so that the case of “Gypsyiad” is not repeated; the final form of it had to wait more than a century to be printed and thus could not go into the stream of universal values at the time it was created.

The record for the archives of 20th century writers is even more approximate than for previous eras. I think it is necessary, and here I am trying also to answer question 4, to draw up and print some catalogs by specialties of manuscripts of the Romanian libraries and archives. Let’s say I had to edit the correspondence of a writer like B. P. Hasdeu or Duiliu Zamfirescu; I would not be required to travel to Iasi, Cluj-Napoca, Galati, Craiova or archive centers which are smaller ones merely on the simple supposition that something could be found there, too.

Better microfilming of the deteriorated periodicals of the Library of the Romanian Academy is desired and better use of appropriate projection apparatuses. The fact that there are enough films which are nearly undecipherable is another reason which discourages the young researcher. Some 20-30 years ago it was a pleasure to thumb through the collection of a publication at the academy library; now, due to deterioration of the apparatus of modest value, it really is torture. There is a very acute need for copying machines which would be available to the researchers and would spare them copying hundreds and thousands of pages by hand like the manuscript writers. It would be yet another way to stimulate the rate of preparation and appearance of critical editions.

No Inventories of Manuscripts

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 8 Jul 78 p 3

Article by Aurel Martin

First, an explanation: The number of critical editions which have appeared in our years is impressive. Speaking objectively, complete or selected works of nearly all the basic Romanian writers have begun to be published. The problem is the rate at which they are being printed. The pauses between volumes. The fact that, still those serving it have to solve an entire series of matters at a scientific level: establishing the final text and variations, investigating response to it in the era and posthumously, and so forth. This means time, energy,
professional and emotional selflessness, the existence of as ex-
haustive a bibliography as possible and the counting of periodi-
cals and researching of archives. The editorial interest given
to the classics of the past centuries is added to the interest
shown in the exemplary authors between the two world wars. Among
others, I would cite the totally remarkable edition of Liviu Re-
breanu's "Works" under the care of Niculae Gheran, adding that
critical editions of the "Works" of Lucian Blaga, Ion Pillat,
Tudor Arghezi and Mihail Sadoveanu are in the course of prepara-
tion, with the purpose being to achieve the much dreamed of and
absolutely necessary "corpus" of Romanian literature.

2, 3. In the last 8 years at the Minerva Publishing House alone
nearly 30 volumes were published comprising the literary docu-
ments coming from private archives, state archives or the treas-
ury of some libraries. Many utilize extremely interesting pages
for the social, intellectual and emotional biography of the Ro-
anian writers of our century. The critical editions also are
the product of investigations in the archives. The proof is the
"addenda." Unfortunately we still do not have published inven-
tories of the manuscripts in various places. The academy libra-
ry, the Central State Library, the Museum of Romanian Literature,
the university and county libraries, the memorial houses, in my
opinion, should greet the researchers' enormous thirst for in-
formation (I also add the State Archives). As an editor, I feel
obligated to congratulate those, the true scholars, who dedicate
themselves to the work of discovering and identifying the unpub-
lished works. Without forgetting those who preserve the manu-
script collection they maintain and make it available to the lit-
erary historians. Both generously supply the publishing houses.
And, among them, the readers' hunger for information. You ask
about the "priority directions." They exist once the texts en-
trusted to the printer actually have major informational impor-
tance. However, the problem is much more complex than it seems
at first. Because certain volumes have a unique subject. In
others it is a matter of a multitude of subjects. In some, the
reader is required to follow a fate, in others—an era. I think
it is not the "directions" which are priority but rather the
quality (and maybe the quantity) of the information recovered.

4, 5. I cannot give an answer to these questions.
The logical execution of a policy of accepting new members has been and remains one of the continuing tasks of the LCY. However, along with the policy of accepting new members, one of the reasons for the decline in the number of farmers in the LCY is the process of expulsion, of voluntary departure, and of removal (canceling) from the registration of LCY membership. This process is carried out in the basic organizations of the LCY in local rural communities, along with the substance of labor and existing democratic relations in the process of decision-making.

Acceptance policy

Along with subjective weaknesses which derive from the social composition of basic LCY organizations in local rural communities, an erroneous direction in conducting the personnel policy is still characterized by unsatisfactorily defined attitudes concerning which basic social forces in rural areas should be the bearers of the socialist self-managing transformation there. In this complex of questions, of special significance is defining a policy concerning which characteristics (economic, moral, political, and other) a farmer should possess and what should be his social behavior (self-managing and political) so that he can fulfill the conditions for acceptance into the LCY.

An analysis of the proportion of farmers in the total number of people accepted into the LCY shows that the number of farmers between the 10th and 11th congresses of the LCY, that is, between 1969 and 1974, increased slightly, but in the past few years there has been a steady increase.

Some research shows that basic LCY organizations in local rural communities devoted great attention to the acceptance of new members, although 8 percent of LCY rural organizations have not accepted a single new member in the past 3 years.
The proportion of farmers in the total number of those accepted into the LCY displays regional differences by republics and provinces. For years the LC of Croatia, Slovenia, and Vojvodina were below the Yugoslav average in terms of the proportion of farmers in the total number of people accepted into the LCY. In 1977 the LC of Macedonia was in the same situation.

In our research we paid particular attention to an analysis of the acceptance of farmers in basic organizations in local rural communities. Research with polls shows that, in spite of the efforts of a majority of LCY organizations in local rural communities, there are very few farmers among newly accepted members. In addition, about 35 percent of the basic LCY organizations in local rural communities have not taken in a single farmer as a new member in the past 3 years.

Reputation of the LC in Rural Areas Continually Growing

Reasons for the unsatisfactory acceptance of farmers into the LCY should also be sought in the lack of interest among the farmers themselves in joining the LCY. For this reason, in our research we asked farmers to list the reasons for such a small number of farmers in the LCY, to evaluate whether, in their opinion, the reputation of the LCY in recent times has declined or improved, and to what extent farmers are interested in being accepted into the LCY.

The responses of about 1,700 farmers can be categorized in several groups of reasons.

The first group consists of those reasons which are connected with the insufficient involvement of basic LCY organizations in local communities in the accepting of new farmer-members (this according to about 20.6 percent of those polled).

The second group consists of those reasons which are connected with lack of interest on the part of farmers for acceptance into the LCY, whether because they are too busy and do not have time (11.7 percent), or because they themselves do not wish to enter the ranks of the LCY (13.8 percent). This once again confirms that the reason for the small number of farmers in the LCY should also be sought, according to those polled, in the lack of interest in entering the ranks of the LCY on the part of the farmers themselves. Of course, deeper research would show where the real causes of farmer disinterest in acceptance into the LCY lie, since farmers are very active in the political and self-managing life of the village.

However, also very interesting are the responses of farmers to the question: has the reputation of the LCY declined or improved in recent times? More than 71 percent of the respondents think that the reputation of the LCY is improving; 16.4 percent stress that its reputation has remained unchanged, while only 10.8 percent say that it is declining. This means that the
reputation of the LCY in rural areas is in constant ascendance. So this is one more opportunity for basic LCY organizations in local communities to take advantage of a very positive political climate in rural areas and to become more involved in expanding its membership to include farmers, youth, and women.

Causes for Expulsion from the LCY

In the past 10 years, especially since 1974, that is, since the 10th Congress of the LCY, the number of members expelled from the LCY is constantly decreasing. While in 1969 nearly 12,000 members were expelled from the LCY, in 1977 the number of expulsions from the LCY was one-third that number. At the same time the number of farmers expelled from the LCY is declining even faster. While in 1969 nearly 1,600 farmers were expelled from the LCY, in 1977 this number was reduced to 450 or nearly one-fourth that number. In the course of the last 25 years (from 1953 to 1978) 433,775 members have been expelled from the LCY. Of the total number of expulsions, farmers make up 32 percent or 139,114.

Our research with polls shows that in almost 64 percent of the basic LCY organizations in local rural communities there were no instances of expulsion, while in another 35 percent up to five members were expelled, and in about 1 percent six or more members were expelled. The most expulsions occurred in basic LCY organizations in local communities in Macedonia (around 80 percent), while the least occurred in Vojvodina (38 percent).

On the other hand, in 80 percent of the basic LCY organizations in local rural communities not one farmer was expelled, while in the other 20 percent at most five farmers were expelled. This shows that farmers have been significantly less frequently expelled from the LCY in the past 3 years, in relation to other social categories encompassed by basic LCY organizations in local rural communities.

Because of the increase in the proportion of farmers in the total number of expulsions from the LCY in the past several years, researchers were confronted with the task of studying the causes for the expulsion of farmers from the LCY, considering the fact that they only symbolically participate in the social composition of the LCY membership and because the proportion of farmers in the total number of those accepted into the LCY is growing very slowly. Research with polls conducted in basic LCY rural organizations during 1977 shows the following: if we disregard for the time being the group of "other reasons" (39.7 percent) which were utilized by basic LCY organizations in local rural communities during the expulsion of farmers, there exist two large groups of reasons for their expulsion. One group consists of the forms of destruction of the moral aspect of a communist (33.3 percent), while the other group consists of the most variegated types of resistance to important actions taken by the basic LCY organizations in rural areas (18.8 percent). In addition to this is the small number of
farmers expelled from the LCY because of resistance to association and other forms of social aggregation of agriculture (4.1 percent).

Through the last 10 years, especially since 1974, that is, since the 10th Congress of the LCY, the number of members who voluntarily leave the LCY is constantly declining. While in 1969 more than 10,000 members voluntarily left the LCY, in 1977 their number was reduced to less than 2,000 members—i.e., one-fifth of the 1969 figure. In the same period reviewed the number of farmers who left the ranks of the LCY also declined. While in 1969 about 700 farmers voluntarily left the LCY, in 1977 that number diminished to about 160, or less than one-fourth. From 1969 to 1978, 116,577 members voluntarily left the LCY. Of that number, 8,327 or 7.1 percent were farmers.

Acceptance of Farmers into the LCY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Members accepted in the LCY</th>
<th>Farmers accepted out of the total number of those accepted</th>
<th>Proportion of accepted farmers to farmer-members of the LCY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>49,537</td>
<td>6,010</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>152,373</td>
<td>6,371</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>156,650</td>
<td>7,213</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>178,897</td>
<td>9,829</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>193,487</td>
<td>11,124</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expulsion of Farmers from the LCY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Expelled from LCY</th>
<th>Expelled farmers in proportion to the total number of expelled members</th>
<th>Farmers expelled from the LCY in proportion to the number of farmer-members of the LCY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>11,995</td>
<td>1,579</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>5,879</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>5,850</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>4,974</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>3,895</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>