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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

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## EAST EUROPE

### CONTENTS

#### POLITICAL

##### ALBANIA

- Efforts To Achieve Unified, Nonreligious Schools  
(Ilir Kanini; MESUESI, 21 Jul 87) ..... 1

##### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Drop in Population Figures Predicted  
(RUDE PRAVO, 14 Jul 87) ..... 3

- Water Pollution Not Yet Alleviated  
(Michael Barchanek Interview; RUDE PRAVO, 14 Jul 87) ..... 4

##### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Honecker Speech Opens Sports Festival  
(Erich Honecker; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 28 Jul 87) ..... 7

- Summaries of Major EINHEIT Articles, July 1987  
(Helmut Koziol, Lothar Bayer; EINHEIT, No 7, Jul 87) ... 11

- Interrelated SED Social, Economic Policies Explicated  
(Helmut Koziol, Lothar Bayer; EINHEIT, No 7, Jul 87) ... 14

- Statistics, Characteristics of Political Bodies Noted  
(Carola Wuttke; EINHEIT, No 7, Jul 87) ..... 25

## HUNGARY

Roundtable Provides Marxist Analysis of Political Pluralism (Attila Agh, et al.; PARTELET, No 6, 1987) .....	32
---	----

## ROMANIA

Roundtable on Organization, Operation of Political System (Ovidiu Trasnea, et al.; ERA SOCIALISTA, various dates) .	49
Defense, Interior Ministries Writers Literary Circle Meets (ROMANIA LITERARA, No 32, 6 Aug 87) .....	83

## ECONOMIC

### ALBANIA

Faulty Weather Forecasting Service Damages Economy (Mersin Shqypji; ZERI I POPULLIT, 3 Jul 87) .....	84
---	----

### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Top Production Achievements Exemplified, Characterized (Helmut Hackenberg; EINHEIT, No 7, Jul 87) .....	86
Combines' Essential Role Discussed (Wolfgang Biermann; EINHEIT, No 7, Jul 87) .....	90

### POLAND

Sejm Supports Bill To Regulate Foreign Borrowing (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 18-19 Jul 87) .....	95
Twelve Hypotheses on Failure of Economic Reforms (Janusz Ostaszewski; ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, No 27, 5 Jul 87).	97
Minister Reports on Status of Transportation Sector (Janusz Kaminski Interview; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 21-22 Jul 87)	99
Poll Gauges Attitudes To Reform (TRYBUNA LUDU, various dates) .....	103
Who Feels Threatened	103
Do Leaders Support Reform	103
Briefs USSR Supplies Textile Industry	105

## SOCIAL

### POLAND

Socioeconomic Profile of Working Woman in Poland (Elzbieta Krzyzanowska; WIADOMOSCI STATYSTYCZNE, 4 Aug 87)	106
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## EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE UNIFIED, NONRELIGIOUS SCHOOLS

Tirana MESUESI in Albanian 21 Jul 87 p 3

[Article by Ilir Kanini:" "On the Occasion of the 65th Anniversary of the Educational Congress of Tirana -- For A Unified, Lay National School"]

[Excerpts] The struggle for a national, lay school occupied an important place in the democratic-bourgeois movement of 1920-1924. It was included in the efforts which progressive forces were making for the general democratization of the life of the country. During this period, education and the schools were faced with many difficulties -- not only because it was necessary to create almost everything from scratch but also because of the increasing obstacles set up by the feudal and clerical reactionaries.

Prior to 1922 our national education had made some steps forward. Educational directorates in Korce, Gjirokaster and Shkoder were reorganized and inspectorates were set up in some other centers of the prefectures. The General Inspectorate and Higher Educational Council were set up. Thus, the drawing up of legislation, regulations, and the preparation of school textbooks and programs began, the Elbasan Normal School was reopened and measures were taken for the training of teachers. Nevertheless, an unsolved problem was the unification of the school system and its laicization. This issue was discussed at the Lushnje Educational Congress in 1920 but no conclusion was reached. Therefore, progressive forces came out strongly in favor of nationalization of the schools belonging to the clergy putting pressure on the state authorities. On 7 July 1922, the Council of Ministers proclaimed the closing of the private schools (a decision which actually was not implemented). However, the progressive democrats tried to go even further and to create a new school, one which was more progressive from the viewpoint of its programs and methods. This could be achieved by convoking a new educational congress, which they urged the government to do. And they succeeded.

The Congress was held in Tirana from 22 July to 3 August 1922. About 40 people participated, including some of the most experienced teachers in the country, such as Aleksander Xhuvani, Jani Minga, Sali Ceka, Simon Shuteriqi, Ahmet Gashi, Thoma Papapano, Ilia Sheperi, and Osman Myderizi, all partisans of the lay school, timeless militants for our national education. The first blow dealt to the clergy was the fact that the



representatives of their schools were not invited to the Congress, schools which, as a high prelate of the church said, with pride, "had hold of the leaders of the country". The discussions of the delegates and the decisions which were taken gave other, stronger blows and made the clergy rise up in an immediate counterattack.

There were four important problems which were brought up at the Congress: the nationalization of the schools belonging to the clergy (this was discussed but no decision was made), the implementation of compulsory elementary education, the approval of the education system and program. Although the matter of religious education in the schools was not brought up, these and other decisions which were made created an opportunity for strengthening the school, for its unification, democratization and laicization. The main place in the schools was no longer occupied by classes in religion (in grades 4, 5, and 7 it was reduced 50 percent), but by the subject of morality and civics, agriculture and work in the garden, crafts, etc. The pupils learned about applied mathematics and algebra, biology, geography and physics, at an elementary level. The decision to teach Albanian history is an important one which will have an influence on the civic education of the pupils. In the instructions on crafts, which were attacked very much by the clergy, the students learned how to work with paper, cardboard, clay, and sand. The girls learned how to sew and embroider.

While the teachers and the democratic forces in the entire country received the decisions of the Congress with enthusiasm, the clergy, especially the Catholic clergy, began a furious campaign against it. In Shkoder, there were meetings of priests, speeches were given and caustic articles were written against the Educational Congress of Tirana and against the lay school. The reactionary clergyman Gjergj Fishta, in particular, was very active. Protests were also made in the government. As a result, the complete publication of the school program in the periodical ARSIMTARI (The Teacher) was suspended, and they were able to get a delegate of their own, but they were never able to extinguish the echo which this Congress had among the people. It is significant that, in contrast with the propaganda of the clergy, the people of Shkoder, where the clergy had taken the strongest positions, supported the opening of the boarding school, "Malet tona" (Our Mountains), and the secondary school where students lived and studied together, regardless of their religion.

It is significant that the democratization and laicization of the schools could never be achieved under conditions when the feudals and the bourgeoisie were in control. This important step took place only after the establishment of the people's power and the entry of Albanian on the brilliant path of socialism.

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CSO: 2100/62

## DROP IN POPULATION FIGURES PREDICTED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Jul 87 p 2

[Text] During the Eighth 5-Year Plan the birthrate will continue to fall. In our country the birthrate is strongly dependent on the number of women in the 20 to 25 age group, which will continue to decline. A rather more significant increase in the birthrate is expected in the middle of the 1990's, when the large numbers of those born in the mid-1970's will reach the age of highest fertility. Even in the future, the proportion of the determining age groups in the Czechoslovak population will keep changing considerably within short time periods of 10 to 15 years. By the year 2000 there will be a marked aging of the entire population. The proportion of children younger than 15 years will decline from the current 24 percent to 20 percent, while the proportion of citizens of the productive age will increase from 57 percent to almost 61 percent. The proportion of citizens of retirement age will remain constant. Already in the next 20 years there will obviously be a rather fundamental turn-around in the structure of the Czechoslovak population. The numbers of citizens of retirement age will slightly exceed the numbers of the child component of the population, and at the same time the average age of citizens of the productive age will keep increasing.

From the point of view of the proportion of citizens of the productive age within the total population, the natural population growth of Czechoslovakia up to the year 2020 appears to be favorable. However, the aging of the population after that year will continue. It will create a different situation for future socioeconomic development, which has to be given serious consideration even now.

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## WATER POLLUTION NOT YET ALLEVIATED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Jul 87 p 2

[Interview with Eng Michael Barchanek, chief spokesman, CSR State Water Management Inspection, by Jaroslav Michalek; date and place not given]

[Text] An adequate quantity of clean water is one of the essential prerequisites of the development of society. It is for that reason, therefore, that we are paying ever greater attention to the search for new sources of water and to the improvement of its purity. Inconsistent with this societywide effort is the irresponsible attitude of some people toward handling substances that are detrimental to water. The seriousness of accidental water pollution was stressed even by the Czechoslovak Government, which on Tuesday, 7 July, discussed a report on the situation in this area. Our talk with the chief spokesman for the CSR State Water Management Inspection, Eng Michael Barchanek, explains some of the aspects of the situation.

[Question] Serious accidents which occurred last year ought to be a warning. Did people who are responsible for storing and handling petroleum and other substances that are harmful to water learn from them?

[Answer] I would hardly say so. The still comfortless balance sheet of such accidents attests to that. By the end of June we recorded, and thus also investigated, 238 of them. That means, that as far as the number of these occurrences is concerned, the first half of this year was markedly worse than last year.

[Question] And what about their seriousness?

[Answer] The seriousness of accidents involving water polluting or dangerous substances is a rather broad concept. Not always is a seemingly very bad accident necessarily serious. If it is reported or discovered in time, if the source and amount of the substance which was spilled is known, it is usually possible to take prompt and effective steps so that the consequences need not be too serious. What is worse is when someone spills something and then tries to conceal it, and the accident is discovered only when the damage is done, which then is difficult to remedy.

[Question] Have there been such cases lately?

[Answer] Just recently in May, we looked into seven accidents where the culprits could not be found despite all the efforts of our regional inspectors. For example, on 5 May a suspicious substance was found in the water reservoir Laz. We were not successful in determining exactly what it was--there is only a suspicion that it is a special graphite lubricant. The culprit was also not found. Fortunately, there was not too much of it.

[Question] Are adequate steps taken to apprehend the culprits of perhaps even the small accidents?

[Answer] We never close a case without doing all we can to discover the cause and thus also the culprit. However, there are cases when even after using all our methods and resources, we come to an impasse. When someone spills something and then leaves and there are no witnesses, then it is absolutely hopeless. Particularly when such a deed is discovered late. Sometimes, however, we have to count among those unknown culprits the so-called natural accidents as well. Specifically this means that in winter acid substances from collisions seep into the snow--this tends to be a common occurrence in northern Bohemia, or acid substances of natural character from the peat-bogs in southern Bohemia--and following a thaw they then find their way into a stream or even a subterranean sources.

[Question] During the winter spills of petroleum substances were prevalent; what was of most concern in the spring?

[Answer] All kinds of things, obviously not excluding petroleum substances. I would like to say, though, that not only decidedly noxious substances are necessarily always involved. For example, in Olomouc "only" sewage caused a considerable pollution of the river Morava. The inverted siphon in the canalization became clogged and for tens of hours not only the usual 40 percent of partially treated waste water flowed into the river, but practically all the sewage from the city as well.

[Question] Did you register some cases which were decidedly caused by people's sloppiness and irresponsibility?

[Answer] We could characterize most of the accidents that way. For example, in Prague mazut was detected in the central sewage treatment plant, brought by the canalization waste water. Going then against the current of the sewer it was discovered that the mazut came from the heating plant in Michl. There they admitted--only after they were found guilty--that years ago they "economized" on servicing the equipment for cleaning up oily water. It was "serviced" only by a float switch which went out of commission and the whole equipment was filled with mazut. Or in Sigma. There, the control detected poor handling of the chlorohydrocarbons. The plant was given a penalty and an order to have a hydrogeological test made, because there was the danger of polluting groundwater. The probe indicated that that suspicion was justified, as the hydrogeological test actually discovered an accident. Understandably, it means unpleasant prosecution for the appropriate responsible staff.

[Question] Is this an isolated instance of a "hidden" accident?

[Answer] Not at all. Just in May a hydrogeological test uncovered three accidents involving substances harmful to groundwater. Their danger lies, for one thing, in the fact that they are mostly discovered too late, and that it is then difficult to say what actually damaged the source of water.

[Question] So far, you have not mentioned agricultural workers. Can it be that they have reformed?

[Answer] Agricultural enterprises understandably have been responsible for quite a few instances of accidental water pollution. Even such a cooperative as the Unified Agricultural Cooperative Slusovice, where many things are managed better than elsewhere. For example, at the Hrobice farm waste water from bioproduction, where they produce insecticides, spilled. Not only did no one report this accident, but such production was not even permitted from the water management point of view. And this year the danger is greater than before that there could be spill of silage juices. When there is a lot of rainfall, the green vegetation flourishes and the weather does not allow the silage mater to wilt in the fields. And if the agricultural workers then bring it on their shoes to the troughs, it is only a small step to an accident. I point out this danger, therefore, in time. After all, our job is not just to suggest penalties for the guilty ones. Even so, there is more than enough of them as it is.

[Interviewer] Thank you for talking with us.

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HONECKER SPEECH OPENS SPORTS FESTIVAL

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jul 87 p 3

[Article reporting text of speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, delivered 27 Jul 87 in Leipzig: "Here, Sports in the Spirit of the Olympic Idea Serve Mankind's Well-being and Peace"]

[Text] Dear athletes, dear people of Leipzig, and honored foreign guests!

At this festive opening of the Eighth Gymnastics and Sports Festival and the 11th Children's and Youth Spartacus Festival at Leipzig's tradition-rich Karl-Marx-Platz, it is an honorable task for me to convey to you, attendants, guests and hosts, the most cordial regards from the SED Central Committee and the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the GDR. Together with these regards we also express our respect for all who through their diverse achievements prepared the Leipzig gymnastics and sports festival. For that the millions of citizens in our country and all the territorial festival and Spartacus committees be thanked with all our heart at this hour.

The sports associations, teams and athletic groups, the towns and villages, the enterprises and institutions, the military units, and the schools and universities have long been looking forward to the eventful hours of the Leipzig contests and encounters. With rich ideas many people in our country have been drawn into the festival and Spartacus teams of the DTSB of the GDR and been induced to engage in sports.

The GDR a True Home of the People

In reviewing the time since the Seventh National Gymnastics and Sports Festival 4 years ago, we can affirm with pride: Our GDR has blossomed further thanks to the creativeness of all the people. Socialist democracy has spread more broadly. Through joint efforts, our life became richer and more beautiful. Our economic efficiency has grown steadily. In town and countryside, our integrated economic and social policies bear fruit everywhere. Many citizens in our country were able to move into new apartments. Many young people are taught in newly built schools or are pursuing their leisure time activities

in new gyms and swimming pools. One can sense in every family that our party is successfully implementing its policy for the well-being of the people. We have every good reason to say we are making fine headway in our workers and farmers state, the GDR, the state of youth and of sports.

At its founding we pledged to reconstruct and guard this state as a genuine people's home. We have kept this promise. Today the GDR is the socialist fatherland for all of us. With pride we notice everywhere the young generation's allegiance, in love and trust, to this fatherland through its deeds of labor and through its dedication to learning, to the reliable protection of socialism, and to sports.

#### The 11th Party Congress Resolutions Are a Sure Compass

The 11th SED Congress resolutions are a sure compass for resolutely carrying on our course. This course is borne by working people initiative and pledged to their happiness. We are pursuing it on the unshakeable foundation of trust between the party and the people. As reliable allies, the USSR, Poland, the CSSR and the other socialist states are standing firmly by our side. We have found our place forever within this alliance of free peoples and are, sure of the future, advancing in it toward the new millenium. More persuasively than ever it is being demonstrated 70 years after the Great Socialist October Revolution that on German soil also socialism is carrying on its triumphant march. History is on our side, the side of socialism and peace.

It attests to the sense of responsibility among our athletes that they are dedicating themselves to it on their jobs and in the sports arenas. The results can also be sensed everywhere in the field of physical culture and sports. The network of sport clubs became still denser. In many residential areas, enterprises, and spas, opportunities to engage in sports have been broadened for everyone. Thousands of coaches and more than 260,000 volunteer trainers are making their indispensable contribution to our successful sports development. More than 3.6 million men, women, and children and youths are affiliated today in our country's socialist sports organization, the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation (DTSB).

#### Broad Mass Sports and Promotion of All Talents

Be it at ordinary athletic matches or in the competitions for the Leipzig festival, in systematically enforcing the joint sports program of the DTSB, FDGB and FDJ, at kreis Spartacus matches or in the sport journalists' initiatives--it is being confirmed everywhere that physical culture and sports have become a source of the joie de vivre in our country that is being used more and more deliberately. More than ever it is now part of our life to take pleasure in one's own physical activity and to strengthen one's health and foster one's well-being through regular sports. That is reflected also by the attendance of circa 4 million citizens in the elimination contests for the Eighth Gymnastics and Sports Festival. Our national physical culture and sports festival has been prepared as a people's sports festival in the true sense of the word.

Physical culture and sports occupy a prominent spot in the SED Program. We are as much concerned with the broad spread of mass sports, mainly among the children and youths, and with developing leisure time and recreational sports as with the special promotion of our people's athletic talents. That conforms with the nature of socialism. It offers all equal chances and the best ones the opportunity to turn their talent through assiduity and tenacity into top achievements. In sports too each top achievement is the result of one's own diligence and of all sorts of collective efforts. It is a tribute to man's capacity, strength of will, and healthy self-generated activity.

Among us sports serve none but man's well-being. From that responsibility they spread naturally to combine with our grand common goal to contribute actively to the preservation of peace. Millions of athletes, be they world champions or weekend runners, competitive or leisure-time athletes, have made this their own concern for personal reasons or out of social responsibility. They are training for peaceful sports matches with one another and with the world's best.

GDR athletes, wherever they appear they are messengers for our policy of peace, cooperation, and international understanding. They are an active part of the worldwide Olympic movement. I feel a need to confirm here, in the presence of the president of the International Olympic Committee, Mr Juan Antonio Samaranch, that we shall continue to do all we can in support of the people-integrating Olympic idea. The GDR will always hold high and defend the principles of the Olympic charter.

The five interconnecting Olympic rings are a symbol of hope to us for international cooperation based on reason and a sense of responsibility. At the sports and peace festival we are initiating today, we reiterate: As we shall dedicate ourselves completely to that never again war will emanate from German soil, so we shall also continue to struggle for a safe future on the earth and a peaceful universe.

Nothing is more pressing today than freeing mankind from the nightmare of a nuclear inferno. Nothing is more compelling than finding and jointly moving along confidence-forming ways based on equality and equal security. Nothing is more necessary than getting started with nuclear disarmament.

#### The Crucial Test for Who Actually Is Seeking Disarmament

The active support for an accord on eliminating U.S. and USSR intermediate nuclear missiles in Europe without ifs and buts now marks the crucial test for who actually is seeking practical disarmament and who seeks to subvert it by phoney arguments. Mikhail Gorbachev is known to have announced the Soviet Union's willingness a few days ago to eliminate all medium-range and operational-tactical missiles in the Asian part of its country as well. In other words, the Soviet Union is willing to withdraw the question of maintaining the 100 nuclear warheads on medium-range missiles posed for debate at the Geneva negotiations, provided of course that the United States will do the same. That would indeed be a way toward a global double-zero solution. It would indeed be a beginning of a way into a new Europe freed from nuclear weapons.



The peoples are entitled to a clear answer from their governments in favor of detente and on the proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact states at the Berlin summit on nuclear and conventional disarmament. When one wants to give the world of tomorrow a chance, one must make it possible for the world today to begin disarmament.

#### Full Endorsement of Gorbachev's Proposals

Through its new disarmament initiative, the USSR has provided a new and important impulse to the USSR-U.S. Geneva negotiations on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. Once again the world can see how constructively and with how much readiness for compromise the Warsaw Pact states are converting their peace and disarmament program into practical steps. They are resolutely pursuing the grand goal of liquidating all nuclear weapons in the world by the year 2000. At this mighty demonstration we confirm our full endorsement of Gorbachev's proposals, our unlimited yearning for a peaceful future for today's and future generations.

The athletes of all continents have taken their place too in the global peace movement. They do not want to lose their lives in a nuclear war; they want to contest in peaceful matches for victory in the fields of sports.

#### A Manifestation of the Joie de Vivre

This is the spirit that will imbue the Leipzig Sports and Spartacus Festival. This will attest to the athletic skill and political responsibility of our country's athletes. It will become a manifestation of joie de vivre and a unanimous allegiance to peace and one's own peace effort. This will be an accounting for how actively our athletes help implement the 11th party congress resolutions on the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, on the dividing line between socialism and capitalism. Of that we are certain.

In a few minutes, world champion Uwe Ampler, the peace campaign winner and an athlete of Leipzig, is going to light the flame of our national physical culture and sports festival. I wish all attendants, guests and hosts, eventful hours in our playing fields and arenas, in the streets and squares, everywhere in our hospitable city of Leipzig. Hereby I open the Eighth Gymnastics and Sports Festival and the 11th Children's and Youth Spartacus Festival of the GDR.

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SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, JULY 1987

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 42 No 7, Jul 87 (signed to press 10 Jun 87)  
pp 578, 671

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, and by Prof Dr Lothar Bayer, department head at the same institute; pp 600-609. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Efficient Socialist Planned Economy--Basis of Our Dynamic Social Development

Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist positions, on which the development and the steady perfecting of our socialist planned economy is based, it is being shown how, relying on high economic achievements, the social and humanistic character of socialism is increasingly being shaped. What are the priority tasks in rapidly applying the growth impulses emanating from the key technologies? What are the new steps now being taken in our economy to improve management, planning and effective accountancy?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Biermann, member of the SED Central Committee and general director of the VEB Carl Zeiss Combine, Jena; pp 610-613]

[Text] Combines as the Mainstay of Scientific-Technical Progress

Forming the modern productive forces in our combines, making their potentials take effect with the greatest efficiency, and taking sensitively account, along with it, of all requisite social concerns, makes new qualitative demands on complex management. What experiences were garnered by the Zeiss Combine becoming a high-tech center in our country? What are the management priorities?

[Summary of article by Dr Walter Siegert, state secretary in the Ministry for Finance; pp 614-618]

[Text] Cost Cutting--A Gain for Us All

Cost cutting is a crucial source for increasing the national income and the socially distributable surplus product. All the work, from production to sales, must therefore be made cost-conscious. How do we then make headway throughout the economy, and on what must political-ideological work logically be concentrated?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Lothar Hummel, department chief at the SED CC's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, and Prof Dr Hans Luft, deputy director of the Institute for Scientific Communism at the SED CC's Social Sciences Academy; pp 619-625]

[Text] Democracy in Our Everyday Economic Life

A characteristic trait and advantage of socialist democracy in comparison with any variety of bourgeois democracy is that it expresses itself actively also, and especially, in the main sphere of human activity directly. How is this advantage made real in life? About the nature and concrete development of democratic centralism. What demands result for the individual leaders in our economy from the Leninist principle, "Joint consultation--but personal liability?"

[Summary of article by Guenter Sieber, SED Central Committee member and department chief; pp 262-231]

[Text] Berlin Conference: for Peace and Disarmament

The most important tasks of our times--preventing a nuclear inferno, ending the arms race, and taking concrete disarmament steps--were the focal point of the conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Advisory Commission in May this year. At a time when a chance exists as it has not in decades for a turn to improvements in the international situation, socialism took a clear and unequivocal position through constructive propositions.

[Summary of Prof Dr Moritz Mebel, member of the SED Central Committee, director of the Urological Clinic and Polyclinic of Charite Hospital, Berlin, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the GDR section of IPPNW]

[Text] In Allegiance to the Humanistic Mission of the Physician

Between 29 May and 1 June 1987 there convened in Moscow the 7th congress of the IPPNW association [International Physicians for Preventing Nuclear War]. This article

reports on the development, activity, and topical tasks of this world movement and the national sections in the GDR belonging to it; it is informed with a medical ethos, to the effect that today it is incumbent on every physician to fight actively for preventing an atomic inferno.

[Summary of article by Dr Carola Wuttke, research assistant at the SED CC's Academy for Social Sciences; pp 638-642. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] On the Scope and Variety of Socialist Democracy in the GDR

How is socialist democracy meeting its test in the GDR? How does that express itself through the democratic participation of the citizens of all classes and strata irrespective of world-outlook and religious observance? How richly faceted is the field of action in democratic activity, are the forms and methods of shared work, planning, and governing?

[Summary of article of Prof Dr Ludwig Deiters, chairman of the society for monument preservation in the Cultural League of the GDR; pp 643-649]

[Text] Monuments--A Popular Part of Our Cultural Legacy

Directing attention to the variety of monuments which, as embodied testimonials for historic developments and events, set significant emphases for a cultured development of our environment, the meaning, principles, and results of monument preservation are shown to be an element of the main task. Out of the requirements for conserving, restoring, and embellishing monuments suggestions were provided on how this valuable cultural legacy could effectively be tapped for social use and the development of the socialist lifestyle.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Harald Neuberg, director of the Institute for the International Workers Movement at the SED CC's Social Sciences Academy; pp 650-654]

[Text] Antonio Gramsci--Revolutionary Labor Leader, Internationalist, and Theoretician

Antonio Gramsci--who died 50 years ago--was among the outstanding personalities of the Italian and international revolutionary workers movement, radiating effects to our very own days. What determined Gramsci's connection with Leninism and the October Revolution? Which strategic considerations marked the center of his efforts?

5885

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## INTERRELATED SED SOCIAL, ECONOMIC POLICIES EXPLICATED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 42 No 7, Jul 87 (signed to press 10 Jun 87)  
pp 600-609

[Article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, and by Prof Dr Lothar Bayer, department head at the same institute: "Efficient Socialist Planned Economy--Basis of Our Dynamic Social Development"]

[Text] "GDR reality today proves that the socialist planned economy serves the good of man and the strengthening of socialism. We are proud of what we have accomplished. At the same time we know," as Comrade Erich Honecker put it, "that the potentials inherent in the socialist social system are still greater."<sup>1</sup> In the qualitatively new phase in the shaping of the developed socialist society, introduced on the basis of the strategic decisions of the 11th SED Congress, it thus is mainly a matter of that through the socialist planned economy and the further development of the socialist production relations the new terms in the dynamics of the productive forces are fully met, whereby their development is encouraged and accelerated.

To us the socialist planned economy is the main means for shaping social development which--increasingly more evident since the early 1970's--proceeds under party leadership as a dynamic process. We resolutely abide by the realization that the shaping of the developed socialist society is not "aimed at creating particular circumstances and then is finished. Rather, by developed socialist society we mean a dynamically upward developing society."<sup>2</sup> The basis of social progress are the tremendous development of the productive forces and, hence, a socialist planned economy reacting to ripening questions, constantly engaged in improvements, and proceeding toward new paths. In the center of it all stands the task, relying on high economic achievements, to bring the social, humanistic character of socialism to full effect and make it ever more perceptible for every citizen. For this reason also the integrated economic and social policies conforming to the main task policy is the centerpiece of our party's social strategy and its chief battleground. Proceeding from there, the SED in developing the socialist planned economy, lets itself be guided by proven positions:

--The further shaping of the developed socialist society requires dynamic economic growth. That is necessary for securing and gradually elevating the

material and cultural standard of living as well as for modernizing and expanding the material-technical base, which always must go hand in hand with improving the working conditions, and for the reliable protection of our accomplishments.

--Economic growth requires a dynamic development of the productive forces. For that reason the economic strategy with its view to the year 2000 is aimed at implementing comprehensive intensification, for which mastering the key technologies has obtained a decisive importance. Altogether it is a matter of combining the advantages of socialism more effectively still with the scientific-technical revolution. Advances in that direction are constantly challenged by

- successfully fighting for international top positions and speeding up labor productivity development,
- cutting energy and material consumption, higher raw material refining, and improving product quality,
- making available more and new tasteful consumer goods in large numbers and at low cost for the population and for export,
- making available investments more effective, mainly through modernizing the fixed assets, and, to that end,
- quantitatively and qualitatively strengthening socialist rationalization and automation--mainly through in-house rationalization means production--and thus enhancing labor productivity, whereby altogether placing intensive expanded reproduction for the benefit of the people on permanent foundations.

--In close interaction with the productive forces, the socialist production relations are being further developed. In their process of perfection thus far, the formation of combines in the main material production sectors was of fundamental importance. With their enterprises they are the backbone of the socialist planned economy in our country and the mainstay of performance growth. They have proven themselves fully as the modern management form in socialist large-scale production under intensification conditions. In agriculture, where the LPG's form the basis of the reproduction process, the advantages of cooperative work are used and made ever more effective through various cooperative relations and the application of modern sciences.

--The basic principle for shaping our socialist planned economy is our democratic centralism, placed under constant development in accordance with concrete conditions. In this sense then it is a matter of making central state planning and management more expert while further expanding the working people's democratic participation. Among the main points in making management, planning, and effective accountancy more expert is the strengthening of state planning and balancing to ensure better still the increasing economic interlinkages and the proportionality in the development and balancing of the economic plans, expand long-term development and flexibility, consolidate the unity of material and financial planning, use more effectively the value categories for vastly improving the cost/benefit ratio, and perfect economic accountancy as based on the plan.

The combines' and enterprises' own responsibility and economic interest were further raised through constantly improving effective accountancy in connection with the plan. We want to bring it about that the change in the cost/benefit

ratio fully crystallizes in the economic status of the combines and enterprises and in the production collectives. Especially in the in-house production of means by the combines and enterprises we find a "fundamental way for reaching a better conformity between performance for society and fund allocations by society."<sup>3</sup> As society as a whole has to produce the means for implementing its goals, that generally applies equally to each economic unit.

--Deeper cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA countries is the firm foundation for bringing the goals of our socialist planned economy to realization. The dynamics of mutual relations are increasingly dependent on research and production cooperation, whereby a contribution is made to meeting the CEMA comprehensive program for scientific-technical progress.

--The socialist planned economy calls for a higher effectiveness of the subjective factor. Mobilizing the working people's creativeness in the socialist competition and in the performance comparison is among the indispensable and essential ingredients of the socialist planned economy. Particularly in the commitments, in the impatience shown by the work collectives in drawing up the plans and in meeting and exceeding them, it is shown that ever more vivid use is being made of socialist democracy and its far-reaching and socially deeply rooted possibilities.

The development of our planned economy in general and the efficacy bestowed on the subjective factor in particular raise a high and constantly renewed demand on our party's leadership role. That implies carrying on with the greatest attention all that which has stood up well for a long time in the political leadership over this process by the party within the scope of overall political organization. The performance comparison, the yardstick for optimum performance, and the public popularization of its results and experiences encourage entering on new paths and cultivating all that is useful. Party strength grows, precisely, out of such unified positions aimed at the all-round strengthening of our country and--together with the fraternal countries--serving the safeguarding of peace.

#### Successful Implementation of the Integrated Economic and Social Policy

Based on the social strategy that is being implemented since the 8th SED Congress with determination, and with regard to the changing internal and external conditions, the socialist planned economy achieved an economic growth that has also been recognized internationally. At M 252 billion last year, the produced national income climbed to 207 percent above 1970. The employment figure in producing sectors rose but slightly, so that in this period 90 percent of the national income growth, in 1986 already the entire growth, was attained through higher labor productivity. In the future as well will economic growth be attained mainly this way. Therefore the "joint directive" for preparing the 1988 national economic plan is headed by the task to boost labor productivity faster than net production and exceed the 5-year plan targets. Lenin's remark that ultimately the level of labor productivity decides the triumph of the new social order is more valid today than ever.

The economic boom since the early 1970's perceptibly crystallized in the material and cultural standard of living for all the people. It was used, as Erich Honecker remarked at the 11th FDGB Congress, "to develop a social policy in terms of socialism, unprecedented in the history of our people."<sup>4</sup> In 1986 nearly three times as many apartments were completed as in 1970, the take-home pay of the working people and the average old-age pensions more than doubled. Welfare benefits also rose from M 950 per head in 1971 to M 2,100 in 1986. The 1986-1990 5-year plan--in which concrete expression is given to resolutely carrying on this course--contemplates the completion of over one million apartments and an annual increase in the take-home pay for the population of 4 percent. The proposals submitted to the party and government leadership at the 11th FDGB Congress, to extend annual leave by one week, as of 1988, for working women of 55 and working men of 60, and on further pension hikes, also illuminate that high achievements will also make a big difference in the future in our social policy.

This all makes of course imperative that we carry on comprehensive intensification as charted in the economic strategy with a view to the year 2000, that in fact economic growth based on the socialist planned economy obtains a new quality. Expectations of creative labor are not being reduced thereby in any way. On the contrary. We must still more resolutely seek to make scientific-technical progress economically far more effective and, in important sectors, thrust into virgin territory. This is all the more necessary as we are highly being challenged in the worldwide conflict with imperialism. Standing up in this tough struggle is a great test of strength that calls for a combative stance by each manager, each work collective, each individual.

#### New Quality of Growth through Key Technologies

Undoubtedly, the crucial growth impulses in our economy stem from the broad and deep application of the key technologies in all our economic sectors. They have to be given the credit mainly for the higher yields of our efforts and for the improvement in working conditions.

Bringing out and using key technologies received mighty impulses in 1986 when the Soemmerda office machinery workers took the initiative to produce 10,000 PC-1715's above and beyond the plan. This fast rate in applying key technologies keeps going. In the first 5 months of this year, the production of monolithic integrated circuits (circuits the components of which and the connections belonging to them are brought about through a coordinated production process and on the same foundation) rose by 44 percent, that of computer printers by 93 percent, and that of computer storage units by 74 percent. Light cable production in the first 4 months this year grew by 169 percent over the output of the same period last year. The output of special equipment for making active components rose by 79 percent. More than 30 highly refined working materials were put into production. The working people at Robotron-Elektronik Dresden took on the commitment to produce this year an additional 10,000 job computers, at 16 bits (computer capacity largely depends on its processing range and speed, i.e., on the number of the smallest data, e.g. 8, 16, 32 bits, to be processed simultaneously), through which the prerequisites are to be created that at least 20,000 to 30,000 skilled workers



can use their abilities more productively and effectively in the economy. It shows we keep going systematically for high economic growth through the development and use of modern key technologies. As rate increases and time gain depend particularly on modern computer technology, starting up the production of the 32-bit computer in the Robotron Combine must be rated as a fact that expresses fast advances in implementing the key technologies.

At the same time it becomes important to push technological progress greatly ahead by rationalizing efforts in each enterprise, each production department and even in the so-called auxiliary or subsidiary processes. That can tap considerable reserves. Effects are the biggest--as shown by experiences in many pace-setting combines--when rationalization processes are linked with key technologies. That is one of the basic trends in structural improvement. Putting modern control devices on the working machinery available is typical of it. This combination between rationalization processes and key technologies is also the main way for basic assets reproduction which we have taken--together with a much higher time capacity utilization of our much greater fixed assets inventories. In 1986, the fixed assets in the producing sectors reached a total of M 872 billion. That means M 130,900 per capita in the producing sectors. To preserve the ratio between investments and means of consumption, enormous importance attaches to a higher exploitation of such funds--including a better shift-work capacity utilization.

An essential element of the new quality of economic growth is a high energy and materials economy, depending in particular on the working people's scientific-technical achievements and creative work. If one is talking of further economizing the application of key technologies, one is referring in particular to the effects in cutting production consumption, the raw materials and semifabricates as well as the energy sources in their material shape and as costs. Therefore it is of an importance of principle to make the most effective use over the economic range of the Zeiss workers' initiative, "Full production with less energy." Therefore one must also emphatically see to it that the effects of the key technologies show material-economic results. Newly developed machine building products that consume an average of 30 to 40 percent less of material, tailor-made materials and effective substitutions, by-product-poor or by-product-free procedures and technologies, regeneration methods and working-life extensions must result in significant savings.

Using the advantages of our socialist planned economy calls for a prudent management for these material processes. The main thing is to upgrade output in all combines and more efficient production. That puts a great responsibility on the general director. Through his license renewal for drawing up tasking workbooks for the development of new products and technologies he formulates the economic R&D requirements and sets the criterion for creative achievements. Ambitious tasking workbook targets and utilization concepts for license renewals are the basis for streamlining product and technology development, for having the new products embody a higher use-value and for their being produced with less energy and material expense, so that a profit is produced for the economy and for the combine. The economizing of the upgrading process in many combines decisively depends on their rapidly supplying the market with sufficient volumes of new products.

For using the key technologies in our planned economy with high effectiveness, state standards and enterprise norms for energy and material consumption have proven important instruments. Their main function is to bring scientific-technical achievements that are advantageous in their energy and materials economy more rapidly to bear on concrete products. That implies comparisons with top achievements of international format; for the norms and standards make sense only if they are constantly kept up on the latest technical-economic status and are rapidly entered into the draft plans and the balancing. Such changes in value must lead also to working capital standardizations, of course, for the conformity between material and financial planning is, in general, an irrevocable principle of our planned economy. Especially by introducing CAD/CAM systems, flexible production sectors, the chances for economizing on working capital are improving. It is extremely important to make use of them because a high inventory economy precluding excess supplies and ensuring suitable material flow is gaining ever increasing importance for efficiently structuring the fund cycles in the combines and enterprises.

Indispensable and ever more seriously important is resolutely ensuring the quality of the production process, which starts with the attitude toward quality production and leads via relevant quality safeguarding systems, the moral and material incentives for quality work all the way to an incorruptible final check. In "enterprises of excellent quality work" a zero-fault output is encouraged by a strict technological regimen relying on the highest possible accuracy for activities to be undertaken; computer-aided quality safeguards are being strengthened; still extant reject replacement and make-up work costs are painstakingly collected, analyzed, and publicly exploited.

Not last, the effects of using key technologies have to be reflected by an attractive volume of supplies in wanted quality products and by high product upgrading rates for consumer goods. In large numbers of pieces we must make new consumer goods oriented to the demands of the citizens and to international market requirements, for that kind of commodities we need to meet domestic needs and export lucratively. Precisely from the high degree of demand satisfaction for long-lasting consumer goods already achieved in our country higher demands arise for high-grade industrial commodities to satisfy future needs and thus make the performance principle fully effective.

Managing and organizing these processes in our economy implies of course rapid reactions to market requirements and, sometimes, flexible shifts in production lines. In the final analysis, only output according to demands can be an effective output. All the more important it therefore is to consider high quality and one that is proper as to demands even when the reproduction process begins. This means assigning more expert R&D personnel to consumer goods production, insisting on top qualities, ensuring production proper as to qualities and volumes in all the steps that lead to consumer goods production, and organizing high-level sales for such goods.

Basic Principle: Democratic Centralism

The outcome of economic growth and its high social efficacy and the fact that this growth in the 1980's was fully ensured by way of comprehensive intensification underscore the assessment of the 11th SED Congress that the GDR has a

well functioning socialist planned economy system among the fundamental criteria of which are flexibly reacting to new requirements and steady improvements in accordance with new demands. An ever better development of such capabilities is greatly tied up with the further development of the combines, by which we have created in our country the most effective form of organizing public property under the conditions of the organic connection of the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution. Thereby we have taken a bold step forward to demonstrate our being able to cope with the high and accelerating rate of productive forces development worldwide, indicated for the rest of the 1980's and the 1990's. Through the development of a relatively closed reproduction process in the combines--from branch-specific basic research through applied research and development, production to sales of products on foreign markets (including in-house rationalization means production, capacities for performance and quality-controlling ancillary supplies and the manufacture of high-grade consumer goods)--they have all it takes to produce more efficiently and successfully conduct the struggle for international top products in important sectors. The strong economic linkage of the combines' scientific-technical potentials with those of the Academies, universities and colleges and technical schools is of an importance of principle for it.

Within the scope of democratic centralism our combines have been assigned a high economic responsibility of their own. They can live up to that because--as it conforms to the logic inherent in the combine development in our socialist planned economy--the combine enterprises are economically and legally independent and are accounting for costs and benefits through effective accountancy. The higher combine responsibility compellingly demands developing the thinking in terms of costs and benefits in each combine enterprise, each department, each brigade, even on each job. All factors affecting this have to be examined carefully to make sure that from ensuring production proper as to demands to higher qualities everything is done to cut costs at a maximum, ensure profitable exports, and reap high benefits.

Bolstering the combines' own responsibilities like that is in the interest of making our economy more efficient and thus in no way contradicts central planning. Central planning, rather, is the precondition for increasingly harmonizing the combine's interest in higher efficiency with the social interest. Through the central state plan we are protecting the social interests, because on each level it sets the crucial criteria for economic conduct. Its tasks are law, obligatory down to the combine and its enterprises. Therefore, in the sense of the, to us, irrevocable principle of democratic centralism, the plan, combining the expertise of society and of the individual, remains the chief economic management instrument.

The "strictest unity of will" is needed to direct the "concerted efforts of hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands of people,"<sup>5</sup> was one of the basic ideas of Lenin's in all steps toward developing the socialist planned economy. In the unified and sound scientific plan, oriented to priorities, he found the main instrument for managing the economic and, connected with it, the whole social construction of socialism. Mainly in conjunction with the elaboration of the GOELRO plan and the short-range plans, Lenin developed decisive planning, accountancy, and control principles. The unity between

central planning and the working people's creativity, the scientific quality and complexity of planning, its balancing, its ability to cope with dynamic economic development at highest efficiency--all these are principles already postulated by Lenin which find our attention and creative application.

#### New Steps Toward Perfecting Management, Planning and Effective Accountancy

If new steps are now taken in our economy at rendering management, planning and economic accounting more expert, they are based on comprehensive measures introduced years ago. That includes, e.g., the application of the four main performance rating parameters--net production, net profit, products and services for the population, and export. One must also mention the effective handling of the economic balancing system, the consolidation of the unity of plan, balance, and contract, and the higher flexibility and reaction capability. The management, planning, and economic incentives in science and technology were reorganized; foreign trade activity has been more closely connected with the combines' reproduction process--while the state foreign trade monopoly was preserved. By improving industrial and agricultural prices, revaluating fixed assets, and by other stipulations, reliable value criteria were established. These and many other measures passed their fitness tests. Yet even here it needs to be observed that what has been attained is not yet all that can be attained.

The new steps now taken concern the consolidation of economic balancing as well as a higher economic responsibility for the combines through further developing the principle of in-house production of means. Increasing economic dynamics and more economic interlinkage make new qualitative demands on the chief method of planning in our economy, the balancing. The material and financial balances are the main instrument to determine and abide by the requisite economic proportions. By introducing computer-aided balancing in all producing sectors of the economy this year a qualitatively new step has been taken. Relying on experiences in the sectors of the metallurgical and the chemical industry, one has started to turn the balancing with the new opportunities of modern EDP techniques into a steady and everyday working tool. The idea is increasingly better to control the economic linkages--and this in the unity of use-value and value--as well as the dynamics of proportions, and to make economic planning more flexible and effective in that one can faster and more accurately react to changed conditions encountered during plan implementation. That refines and strengthens central state planning and heightens combine responsibility--in that one can carry out more effective production controls, more reliably compute the effects of balancing decisions, and master projects with variables at an extent impossible thus far.

The most important idea that is basic to the principle of in-house production of means for intensive expanded reproduction is that thereby the economic responsibility of the combines is raised further and the economic interests of the combines and their enterprises are more effectively linked with the social interests. Applied on the basis of the plan, this principle stimulates the effective production (and effective utilization) of the means required for intensive expanded reproduction and makes the size of the funds available for expanded reproduction dependent on their own results in boosting their

efficiency. The object is to reach a higher profit, or national income, and produce more goods for the population, the economy, and export.

From all this it is easy to see that economic accountancy is in for a new quality. That is, notably, shown in that costs and benefits can be computed still more accurately and that we must struggle harder still for cutting costs, especially for further cutting specific energy and material consumption. License renewals and tasking workbooks therefore are obtaining a higher place value, through which the primacy of economizing in scientific-technical work is gaining more validity by means of an effective application of the value parameters of costs, prices, proceeds, and profit.

The decisive factor in the in-house production of means is the repercussion the efficiency achieved has on the initial circumstances by which further to increase the efficiency. That calls for prescient thoughts about production upgrading through the use of key technologies and through exploiting all qualitative factors in the tough struggle for everyday plan fulfilment.

With the 1988 plan preparation the first steps were taken toward applying the in-house production of means. Thus all the industrial and construction combines and combine enterprises for plan year 1988 are forming an investment fund they themselves have to produce and use. To form these funds they are getting leads for the shares coming out of net profit and amortizations. Combines producing a higher profit than planned through making scientific-technical data economically effective and through other initiatives, will share directly in the use of such profit in order to further enhance the effectiveness of the reproduction process. If the planned targets fail to be reached, it has correspondingly negative effects on the economy of the combine. The point is to be made explicitly that financial processes are realized within the scope of material balances and that the unity of material and financial planning has to be ensured.

#### Everything for the Good of Man

While in our society the socialist planned economy is steadily being perfected to offer much space to the dynamics of the productive forces, we never lose sight of the fact that man is the chief productive force. At the development of his creative capabilities and activities all efforts are aimed, the conditions for it being incessantly improved. Under that aspect the socialist production relations are constantly being further developed, the performance principle functions as an indispensable principle in socialism, and social security becomes effective as the foundation of and a stimulus for higher achievements. This way it is then important more deeply still to tap the impulses characteristic of socialism, as expressed in democratic centralism, in comprehensively drawing the working people into plan preparation and implementation, in the creative mass initiatives, in short, in socialist democracy. As the "joint directive" puts it, through expert management activity and the leads for tasks for drawing up the 1988 plan down to the work collectives, brigades and--if possible--each individual laborer, all prerequisites are to be created so that each can do his best for strengthening the GDR in conformity with the slogan, "My job--my battle station for peace." That is precisely what distinguishes this directive for the 1988 plan discussion.

Every manager has to see to it that all working people take a position at the proper time on the state tasks in the comprehensive plan debate and can present their ideas, conclusions, and recommendations and that, altogether, all that is necessary and possible be done for giving life to the principle, "Share the work, the planning, the governing." Forms such as the innovator movement, the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow, socialist cooperative work altogether, and the work with youth research collectives are proven ways for directly involving the working people in plan preparation and implementation and in developing competition initiatives. This way man's role as producer connects with his function as socialist proprietor, whereby in both respects the degree of his influence increases through higher consciousness, initiative, and knowledge. It is important to have an effect especially on that through the political management of economic processes, which takes place through close cooperation between government functionaries, trade unions, and the youth association under party leadership. And we constantly have to pay the greatest attention to that working people fully identify with economic requirements above all when they are motivated for fulfilling them through ambitious assignments and pertinent material and moral recognition; when each step toward improving the productivity and the quality of labor is linked with improving their working and living conditions, so that they can experience and help shape the integrated economic and social policies on their jobs and in their territories.

Deliberate commitment, a high educational level, and the will to keep learning all through life are elements of our planned economy today gaining ever larger importance for its efficiency and flexibility. All the more we find ourselves induced to bring to full effect the great intellectual potential of our people, this inexhaustible social wealth. For that reason we provide so much care to promoting vocational qualifications for all working people that are imbued with humanistic spirit. The GDR's unified socialist educational system, one of our much noted historic accomplishments, has set the boundary-stones for it. It entails all vital phases and educational levels from preschool via polytechnical secondary school, vocational training, college and technical school studies, down to the many different forms of adult education. The training measures for polytechnical secondary schools and for vocational, college, and technical school training that have been issued in recent years actually aim at focusing educational goals and training contents and methods more still on the requirements for social development by the turn of the century while proceeding from the requirements and grown possibilities of our economy. Especially steady continuing education proves an indispensable requirement. The qualitatively changing productive forces--obviously this process comes with the introduction of CAD/CAM technology and the needed retraining for hundreds of thousands--as well as new questions in stably controlling automated production processes call for steady continuing education and training so as to fully master these processes.

When new techniques and technologies take effect, the demands for high mental discipline, accurate working, and solid methodological-analytic thinking objectively increase greatly. For one thing, the bases for decision-making are being objectivated, and then also, the consequences of individual actions, as of errors as well, increase. Skill demands for certain employment groups

are changing enormously. One has to react to job changes and necessary re-training with empathy.

The ways and means by which these processes are coped with in our socialist planned economy, for the men and with the men, and how the humanistic character is made to prevail more and more, day after day, on each job, therein is found the efficiency of our socialist planned economy. It makes clear the working people are masters of the house. Relying on that, we are "firmly resolved to use all social and economic opportunities on the basis of our socialist planned economy for making this grand intellectual potential more yet than previously efficacious for economic performance development as for high social results."<sup>6</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Parteiorganisationen bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des XI. Parteitages, Aus dem Referat auf der Beratung des Sekretariats des ZK der SED mit den 1. Sekretären der Kreisleitungen" [The Tasks of the Party Organizations in the Continued Implementation of the 11th Party Congress Resolutions--From the Speech at the SED Central Committee Secretariat Conference with the Kreis First Secretaries], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1987, p 25.
2. Guenter Mittag, "Kurs der Hauptaufgabe prägt Arbeit der Partei und Handeln der Massen" [Main Task Course Marks Party Work and Mass Action], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1987, p 20.
3. "Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From Comrade Erich Honecker's Concluding Speech at the Third SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, p 103.
4. "Erich Honecker, in the GDR the Working People and Their Trade Unions Are the Masters of the House," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24 April 1987, p 3.
5. V. I. Lenin, "The Next Tasks of Soviet Power," "Werke" [Works], Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 259.
6. "Guenter Mittag, Forward With Success on the 11th Party Congress Course," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 15 May 1987, p 3.

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## STATISTICS, CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL BODIES NOTED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 42 No 7, Jul 87 (signed to press 10 Jun 87)  
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[Article by Dr Carola Wuttke, research assistant at the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences: "On the Scope and Variety of Socialist Democracy in the GDR"]

[Text] The shaping of the developed socialist society in our country is a process of penetrating changes in politics and in the economy, in the social domain and in intellectual-cultural life. It is aimed at bringing to realization at a constantly higher level the meaning of socialism of doing everything for the good of the people, and "on a high level, according to plan develop all advantages and impulses, all sides and domains of public life, the productive forces and production relations, the social and political relations, science and education, socialist ideology and culture, the totality of working and living conditions and our national defense."<sup>1</sup>

The fashioning of this program, so rich in results, under SED leadership corroborates Lenin's realization that the construction of socialist society can "be realized with success only through the independent historic creativeness of the majority of the population, mainly the majority of the working people."<sup>2</sup> Thus Comrade Erich Honecker, at the most recent SED Central Committee secretariat conference with the kreis first secretaries, underscored: "The prerequisites for the new phase of our development we entered through the 11th party congress resolutions could be created only by the people's masses fully making their own and actively implementing our course of integrated economic and social policies."<sup>3</sup> Our vital socialist democracy offers each citizen, irrespective of his social origin, world-outlook or religious persuasion, wide open space for a democratic codetermination and coshaping of social and political life. And this opportunity is being resorted to actively and increasingly.

Under SED leadership, four parties friendly to it and 80 social organizations, which furthermore still have some 120 different associations, societies, commissions and other bodies, are at work here. The membership of the parties and mass organizations--taking off all double memberships--comes to circa 11.6 million. One out of every three citizens in our country at this time exercises a voluntary political or social function.



These facts alone attest to the scope and variety of our socialist democracy, to the high degree of social organization the working people have reached. Through actively exercising their constitutional right to democratic co-determination and social co-shaping they are implementing their interests and are making an effective contribution to the resolving of public affairs.

A political system has evolved in our country which, on the proven basis of the principles of democratic centralism, offers broad elbow room to exercising diverse social interests and promotes the extensive involvement of the citizens in preparing, carrying out, and supervising political and social decisions in all spheres and on all levels of socialist society. Decisive weight attaches in this system under Marxist-Leninist party leadership to the elected political power organs, the people's representations. In the 7,810 people's representations there are at work right now 268,502 deputies and successor candidates, accountable to their voters. That includes 500 deputies of the People's Chamber--the supreme political power organ and the sole constitutional and legislative organ in the GDR. The deputies of the People's Chamber, notably through the activities in the 15 commissions, exercise their responsibility for thoroughly probing the draft laws and supervising the administration of law. They closely work together with the National Front commissions, the social organizations, and state organs and call on expert citizens for permanent or temporary assistance. Thereby a great number of citizens always take part in deliberating on action principles and regulations mandatory for all the people.

Part of our country's constitutional reality is that according to Article 65 of the GDR Constitution fundamental draft laws prior to ratification are submitted for discussion to the population, the results of such people's debates being taken into account for the final version. The draft for the labor code, e.g., was debated by 5.8 million working people, 39,533 amendment or supplementary proposals were brought in and led to 90 substantive and 144 editorial changes. The draft of the youth law, in the outcome of broad public discussions prior to the deliberations and ratification in the People's Chamber, led to 200 substantive amendments. And in the revision of the law on the local people's representations in the GDR, ratified in 1985, working people from all classes and strata took part by making 3,235 supplementary and amendment suggestions.

The local people's representations, the elected organs of state power in the bezirks, kreises, cities, city-districts, and communities, "decide on their own responsibility in conformity with the Constitution, the laws, and other legal regulations about all matters concerning their territory and its citizens"<sup>4</sup> and ensure the citizens' participation in preparing, carrying out, and supervising their decisions. The deputies work closely together with the citizens and their social organizations and with the National Front commissions. Especially through the work of the standing commissions and their activists, whose role was further expanded in the revised law on the local people's representations, the deputies of all elected power organs draw additional citizens directly into preparing and finding decisions on matters of housing policy and housing administration, commerce and provisioning, education, culture and so forth. For instance, 130 deputies of the Haldensleben kreis assembly alone are assisted in the work of their 14 standing

commissions and their three activists groups by another 130 citizens--mostly specialists in various fields. In all the 61 people's representations in this kreis, a total of 404 standing commissions with their activists are functioning in which, along with the deputies, 330 citizens are volunteering.

Mandatories for the deputies of all the people's representations are the parties and most significant mass organizations in our country which, under SED leadership, fused in the Democratic Bloc and are forming the nucleus of the National Front of the GDR. All deputies and successor candidates have been running for office on a joint ballot of the National Front of the GDR and gained the confidence of their constituencies. The mandatory parties and mass organizations are:

the SED, the conscious and organized vanguard of the workers class and the working people with 2,324,386 members and candidates, of whom 66,587 work as SED deputies;

the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany, which mainly unites in its ranks the class of the cooperative farmers, has 115,000 members, and is represented by 16,084 deputies in the political power organs;

the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, in which more than 133,000 Christian citizens of the GDR are organized and with 12,970 deputies working under its mandate;

the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, which has mainly craftsmen and tradesmen, members of the intelligentsia and employees among its membership of 104,000, with 8,407 deputies;

the National Democratic Party of Germany, also mainly made up of craftsmen and tradesmen, members of the intelligentsia and employees, with nearly 110,000 members and 8,027 deputies;

the Free German Trade Union Federation which, as the most comprehensive class and mass organization of the workers class, has more than 9.5 million members, of whom 30,651 are FDGB deputies;

the Democratic Women's League of Germany, which combines some 1.5 million women of all classes and strata, 73 percent of whom are unaffiliated; the DFD has 20,523 deputies working on all echelons in the people's representations;

the Free German Youth which, as our country's socialist youth organization, has circa 2.3 million members and, at present, 21,985 deputies;

the Cultural League of the GDR which, with a membership of 264,000, is the mass organization for the culturally engaged and those interested in intellectual-cultural life in the villages and towns, with 2,742 deputies;

the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association, to the 580,000 members of which 81 percent of all cooperative farmers and gardeners belong, with 12,913 deputies, since June 1986 also represented in the People's Chamber and the bezirk assemblies;

on the kreis, city, and communal level there are furthermore the consumer cooperatives of the GDR functioning as mandatories; they have at present 4,560,000 members of whom 5,853 are working as deputies.

All these deputies are working on behalf and on orders of their constituents and introduce propositions and bills for decision making, after having been considered in the parties or organizations, at the sessions of the people's representations.

The deputies are closely linked in several respects with the voters and their social organizations, mainly through their activities in the election district and the constant contacts in their work collectives. Regular election district conferences, deputies' office hours, their appearances in trade union meetings, their taking part in conferences of the residential area commissions of the National Front have proven useful forms for picking up the citizens' concerns, recommendations, and suggestions and assist in having them taken care of by the deputies.

In the combines and enterprises as in the cities and communities many social organizations are at work (e.g. the Chamber of Technology, agro-science societies, the German Gymnastics and Sports Association, the Cultural League of the GDR, artists associations) which represent specific interests of the citizens and channel them into political and social decision-making processes.

The trade unions, the most comprehensive class and mass organization of the workers class, command extremely diversified and far-reaching forms of democratic co-determination. Decisive for representing the interests of the working people are the efforts of those more than 2.55 million unionists who work as trustees, industrial safety functionaries, social welfare officials, culture and sports organizers, workers' control agents, or in other functions. In the trade unions' innovator activists groups, the women and youth commissions, the permanent production consultation groups, or the vacation and kitchen commissions, another 250,000 members are directly responsible for production efficiency, for improving working and living conditions, or for health care for the workers.

The trade unions bring much influence to bear, among other things through the conflicts commissions, on the respect for law and order. Approximately 250,000 working people are doing volunteer work on the 27,831 conflicts commissions in the enterprises and institutions. These social courts made 110,000 decisions in labor litigation cases in the last two years, 92 percent of which were final.

Important and proven forms of the democratic co-determination of the working people in the enterprises borne by the trade unions are the plan discussions and the deliberations on enterprise collective contracts. Decisive impulses derive from such consultations for setting down planning tasks and their targeted surpassing while further improving the working and living conditions.

In 1985, in the discussions on the 1986 national economic plan, the working people submitted a total of 735,000 proposals and suggestions; for the 1987 plan it came even to 777,241 recommendations.

In the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine, e.g., the plan discussion for the next year of planning is introduced by the trade union executive as early as in March and closely tied to the discussion of the enterprise collective contract. Knowing about the social concerns and concrete requirements and the broad involvement of the working people in considering and resolving the planning tasks have proven an indispensable prerequisite in the combine for the assured plan fulfilment and over-fulfilment for the last 15 years.

That, in particular, also includes the experiences in carrying out the Schwedt Initiative, "Fewer produce more," which brought it about since 1978 that in the parent enterprise alone a total of 3,200 manpower could be shifted to taking on new work assignments.

As the GDR's socialist engineering organization, the Chamber of Technology is making an important contribution to hastening scientific-technical progress. Its circa 280,000 members, organized in 3,600 enterprise sections, by dealing with KDT [Chamber of Technology] projects on developing top achievements, especially in the field of the key technologies and the training of personnel in inventors schools, are taking part, ever more successfully, in the contest with time. In Gera Bezirk, e.g., 159 enterprise sections are functioning like that; in 1987 they were dealing with 220 KDT projects.

In the National Front of the GDR, members of all classes and strata work confidently together for the preservation of peace and the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. In the National Front, under SED leadership, the parties friendly to the working class party and such organizations and associations for common causes have united as the FDGB, the FDJ and the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization, the DFD, the Cultural League, the People's Solidarity, Domowina--the Sorbian League of Lusatia--the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association, the Society for Sport and Technology, Urania, the Association of Allotments Gardeners and Small Stock Breeders, the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation, the German Red Cross, the Chamber of Technology, the League of Graphic Artists in Germany, the League of Architects, and others.

In the 19,300 National Front commissions, more than 400,000 citizens work closely together with the people's representations, the enterprises and facilities, craftsmen and tradesmen, church officials and Christian circles. The main business of the commissions is to engage the citizens in confident political conversations, inform them about communal policy tasks, elicit their ideas and suggestions about it, and encourage their willingness for democratic participation. More than a million citizens, many unaffiliated ones among them, are members of such bodies as housing commissions, construction activists groups, social commissions, or housing community leaderships.

In the traditional civic initiative, "Prettier towns and communities--join in!" the number of citizens actively taking part in shaping their living conditions and tapping local reserves for the economy grew considerably. The best results thus far were produced in 1986. The citizens, for housing space value maintenance, e.g., came up with an achievement of their own at a clip of M 8.5 billion.

In nearly all fields of communal policy, social bodies and forces are at work in the territories that take an active influence on the shaping of public life. There are volunteer construction advisers, commercial advisers, activists for student meals, club counselors in youth clubs or leisure-time centers, youth aid commissions, and parents' advisory councils and activist groups. To ensure order, safety, and cleanliness in towns and communities there are members of the volunteer fire department, volunteer helpers of the People's Police, FDJ public order groups, ABI inspectorate commissions,

arbitration commissions, restaurant advisory councils, customer councils, local hygienic activists, and members of the society for nature and the environment as well as for monument maintenance at work. In Berlin, e.g., 7,200 citizens are doing committed volunteer work in some 900 traffic safety activists groups.

Of considerable importance in this context also is the work of some 50,000 members of the society for nature and the environment, which belongs to the Cultural League, that took part in preparation for the 11th SED Congress, through more than 20,000 projects, in the initiative, "Well tended landscape--well tended environment." They resolved many landscaping assignments in their leisure-time.

In the field of social welfare there are more than 2 million members and volunteer associates of the People's Solidarity who have earned high honors. In more than 14,000 local groups they provide social and cultural care for veterans and pensioners and take an active part in municipal and communal public life. For instance, the 17,000 pensioners residing in the northeast city-district of Leipzig are taken care of by 8,900 members of the People's Solidarity and 670 people's helpers. There are 328 senior citizens who are taken care of by domestic management every day, and 380 pensioners are getting their dinner sent to them. That too attests very concretely to the care for the well-being of men that expresses the profoundly humanistic nature of our social order.

At the same time, the efforts of a great number of social organizations and bodies, among which are the German-Soviet Friendship Society with its 6 million members, the clubs of the intelligentsia, the artists associations, Urania, or the agro-science society, suggest the grown political-moral unity of the people and the variety of interests of our country's citizens. Promoting such variety, the ever more comprehensive exercise and development of these interests in conformity with overall social requirements is the basic concern of SED policy in being oriented to the further spread and perfecting of socialist democracy. For in that "lies great strength, lies the lever for further social progress in our country,"<sup>5</sup> reflecting the democratic character of real socialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 19.
2. V. I. Lenin, "The Next Tasks of Soviet Power," "Werke" [Works], Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 231.
3. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Parteiorganisationen bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des XI. Parteitag der SED, Aus dem Referat auf der Beratung des Sekretariats des ZK der SED mit den 1. Sekretären der Kreisleitungen" [The Party Organization Tasks in the Further Implementation of the 11th SED Congress Resolutions--From the Speech at the SED Central Committee Secretariat Conference with the Kreis First Secretaries], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1987, p 21.

4. "Law on the Local People's Representations in the GDR, 4 July 1985,"  
"Gesetzblatt der DDR" [legal gazette], Part I, No 18, 1985, p 214.

5. Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 22.

5885

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## ROUNDTABLE PROVIDES MARXIST ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PLURALISM

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 6, 1987 pp 49-62

[Roundtable discussion with Attila Agh, chief scientific associate, MSZMP Institute on Party History; Jozsef Bayer, group leader, MSZMP Social Science Institute; Imre Forgacs, correspondent, TARSADALMI SZEMLE; Julianna Ori, docent, Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences; Peter Schmidt, professor, Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences; Sandor Lakos, editor-in-chief, PARTELET, moderator: "About Bourgeois Political Pluralism"]

[Text] In these days the subject of bourgeois political systems frequently becomes part of ideological debates. The lesson to be learned from these exchanges is that much illusion clouds various opinions, and that communications are inaccurate due to lack of information. Perhaps the greatest obstacle to clear vision is that there are some who accept the theses of bourgeois pluralist theory as facts, and equate pluralist ideology with the practice of present-day bourgeois systems. Our editorial offices called for a roundtable discussion in order to help clarify misunderstandings, to call attention to the essential issues that attend bourgeois political pluralism, and to contribute to an evaluation of bourgeois political pluralism from a realistic, Marxist point of view.

### The Meaning of Pluralism

[Lakos] In its simplest meaning the term "pluralism" represents variety, things that are stratified. Once we begin to discuss political pluralism, however, the concept instantly becomes complicated. This is so because the perception and practice of pluralism has undergone a number of changes in the course of history, and has changed significantly during the past decades. In Hungary, and I believe not only in Hungary, the concept of political pluralism acquired a certain meaning in the minds of many, by which it is synonymous with the concept of multi-party political system. I am certain that we will discuss this issue later. We may state at the outset: these perceptions are

superficial; they do not reflect historic and social reality. In order to discuss this issue for its merits we must clarify more accurately just what "political pluralism" is all about.

[Agh] From a theoretical viewpoint, pluralism is a political structure in which an arbitrarily large number of political groups enjoys an absolute competitive position under identical conditions. Obviously some other definitions are possible, but any definition must contain the three fundamental criteria: the existence of a large number of political groups, their equal chance to prevail, and their absolute competitive position.

[Bayer] This definition indeed provides some important criteria, nevertheless one point requires correction. Advocates of pluralist theories emphasize that pluralism does not mean a fully equal chance to prevail, it only means political equality, and equality in the eyes of the law. This is so, because in a competition conducted under identical legal and political conditions the extent to which various groups are able to organize varies. This variation occurs because in addition to the identical legal and political conditions, some other conditions remain unequal. The variation in organizational sophistication bears a strong influence on their chance to prevail and on their position of power, e.g. in bargaining processes with other groups.

[Schmidt] This aspect of the definition contains some more uncertainties. What does the expression "equal political chance" mean? This is incomprehensible and uncontrollable. Equality is specific and enforceable only in the legal sense, and in the political sense only to the extent that the chances to prevail are supported by legal safeguards. But as we know, the actual political chances do not depend solely on the opportunities specified by law. They also depend on a number of other factors, such as the feasibility and condition of obtaining finances and to organize.

[Ori] Let us not forget that political groups deemed to be dangerous cannot compete in elections under bourgeois pluralist systems. It is quite clear that an open question remains: who decides which group presents how much danger.

[Bayer] According to pluralist theories only those are excluded from the political struggle who would undermine the pluralist system itself. Nevertheless it is characteristic that the limitation or exclusion does not always affect extreme right-wing parties, while it frequently affects the political left.

[Ori] It is no coincidence that in both pluralist theory and practice they are trying to "resolve" this contradiction--so they say--or try to make it disappear, because this contradiction harms the "popularity" of pluralism.

[Schmidt] For this reason, in contrast to the disputed thesis of "equal chance," the statement by which a "large number" of political groups may compete in a pluralist system assumes special significance. It is a "large number" of groups, not "all" groups.



[Lakos] Could we then interpret the foregoing by saying that all interest and political groups do not enjoy absolute freedom under a pluralist system. Just as in any other social system their freedom is limited from certain points of view?

[Agh] I would like to make myself clear: I tried to provide a theoretical definition only. How much of the theory can be or is being realized in practice is a different question.

[Forgacs] According to pluralist theory there could exist a political institutional system that places a barrier in the way of the accumulation of one-sided political advantages and disadvantages. Such accumulations are a result of the diversified base upon which power rests: wealth, social prestige, official position in public or private organizational life, voting strength, and several other factors. According to its advocates, the essence of pluralism is that none of the competing groups enjoys exceptional advantages, and that a number of competing groups have an opportunity to influence political decisions. Pluralist theory emphasizes that an essential condition of pluralism is the existence of a variety and diversity of interest groups, as well as the open expression of the interests represented. This is the pre-condition for the organizational pluralism of political interests.

[Lakos] So far as I am concerned, the mechanism by which political interests emerge and become institutionalized is most interesting. In other words we are talking about a transition from interests to politics. Apparently there must be some kind of a threshold. Even if interests clash before we reach that threshold, we cannot apply the term "political conflict", not to mention "political organization". This then rules out political pluralism. This is the condition which at most may be characterized by the term "a pluralism of interests". On the other hand, beyond that limit the interests manifest themselves; they become politically institutionalized, and the phenomenon of political pluralism emerges.

[Forgacs] This moment is highlighted in pluralist theory. The moment when the limit is crossed. The theory specifically stresses the fact that under conditions of pluralism no societal interest is denied the opportunity of becoming politically institutionalized and of articulating a political viewpoint--in other words, of becoming more than a mere community or group of economic interests. According to the theory the opportunity for political institutionalization is the decisive moment in the process of pluralism.

[Agh] In my judgment both the question and the answer are theoretically appropriate, except that both reflect mostly European perceptions and conditions. American conditions are different in many respects. By virtue of historical tradition, European politics and polity have been linked to strongly centralized state structures and were rather distinctly removed from society. European bourgeois democracy actually decentralized previously centralized politics. As a result mid-level society became the sphere in which more mature, more concentrated political action takes place. In contrast, within the North American bourgeois democracies polity appears already at the lowest level. Virtually all basic organization of interests immediately assumes a political dimension. European interest groups must work

their way up to the level of party politics in order to be recognized as an interest group. In the United States this recognition is given already in the instant these groups organize.

[Bayer] Nevertheless it equally applies to both Europe and the United States that interest groups become political groups when they express and define their position vis-a-vis the public authority, and if they endeavour to influence legislation and regulations pursuant to their own interests. It is at this point that the pluralism of interest groups assumes a political quality. Otherwise you have no more than a pluralism of associations.

[Forgacs] I do not see a difference in principle within these two systems. True, the organization of interests appears at the lowest levels in the United States, but their constitutional structure too is different from those in Europe. It is the difference in the constitutional structure that enables a shortcut which in turn permits a direct "transition" from the organization of interests to political action.

[Lakos] To avoid confusion, and also because we live in Europe, I suggest that from here on we think primarily in terms of European conditions, nevertheless taking into consideration the American features also. I think that this is even more necessary, because it would be useful to discuss the relationship between pluralism and multi-party systems--a subject we have not touched upon before. As we have stated, this issue emerges more clearly in Europe. What is the relationship between pluralism on the one hand, and multi-party systems on the other? What are the similarities and what are the differences?

[Forgacs] The linking of pluralism to the concept of multi-party systems is a post-1945 phenomenon. Early 19th Century bourgeois pluralism emerged to counter the feudal-absolutist exercise of power. The diversity of interest groups in society and the pluralistic nature of political organization were to be contrasted to that feudal-absolutist exercise of power. Nineteenth Century pluralism did not attribute a particular significance to political parties. It was only after 1945 that bourgeois political theory began to emphasize that a pluralist system cannot be perceived without a multi-party system.

[Bayer] Actually, post-1945 pluralism was a reaction to the totalist exercise of political power. Reviewing the antecedents it becomes clear that both 19th Century and early 20th Century pluralist endeavours had progressive features. They preserved something of what Marx had recognized: pluralistic endeavours afford a respectable opportunity for the organized enforcement of the interests of those who own no property and who suffer a deprivation of rights. Political parties and party systems in their present meaning emerged during the imperialist era--a period of repeated and deepening economic crises. The organization of parties within the workers movement is closely linked to the task of becoming conscious of, and participating in the antagonism between social classes. Gramsci, for instance, expresses this clearly when he says that in the final analysis each class has its own political party, even if on occasion a given social class is represented by several political groupings. In times of economic crises the opposing classes

endeavour to focus their political strengths so that they emerge from the crisis victoriously. The resurrection and redefinition of pluralism in the post-1945 era is a product of completely different circumstances. That product was not "made" to fit a period of economic crisis. To the contrary, it was designed for use under consolidated circumstances. Its fundamental purpose created a mold out of the political arena into which pluralist parliamentary party systems fit, to forestall and to discharge political tensions. This pluralist parliamentary party system stood in contrast to political parties that organized along the lines of social classes based on the idea of antagonism between social classes.

[Forgacs] Multi-party systems still exist, but the function of parties has substantially transformed since World War II. The multi-party system itself has changed. Especially since the mid-seventies we could see that the two-party political rotation economy--a simplified form of pluralism that has evolved in the meantime--did not offer any substantially diverse alternatives either. As part of their adaptation policies, the once substantially diverse political parties--diverse both in character and in program--today follow the same, conservative recipe, by which the burden of the economic crisis is shifted onto the disadvantaged strata everywhere. Simultaneously other political interest groups outside of the party system emerged and acquired a greater role. In the United States, for instance, business interests sponsor organizational forms that are independent from the parties. These groups further weaken the already weak framework of political parties.

[Agh] While in Hungary pluralism is frequently viewed as being synonymous with the concept of multi-party system, in Western Europe the situation is exactly the opposite. Because of crises within the parties they emphasize that pluralism represents more, and is broader than the multi-party system. This means that even if the difference between political parties would fade, there would remain some functioning political organizations which would offer an alternative and a consensus to society. There appeared a movement, the "greens", which clearly defined its anti-political-party stance, because, as they said, the traditional parties were no longer suitable for the expression of interests and did not offer a substantial choice. The United States is an even better example to demonstrate this change. The shift toward the right within the political spectrum during the past two decades did not take place within the parties. It took place within some neo-conservative political groupings which were organized locally, nevertheless were able to influence political life as a whole.

[Ori] The way I see it, the political balance established by pluralist practice in the earlier, consolidation period is disintegrating in today's crisis situation. Interest groups continue to organize on the one hand, while in today's bourgeois systems interest groups that are far stronger and more concentrated than before emerge and endeavour to exert a greater influence on government. The traditional parties, party coalitions continue to function, but the multi-party framework is inadequate for the "management" of the crisis and for the resolution of today's problems. This is why new frameworks, nouveau forms evolve.

[Lakos] The above discussion unequivocally demonstrates that during a certain period of time multi-party political systems were the dominant form of pluralism. But by no means did the multi-party system necessarily evolve out of pluralism. This is manifested by the fact that neither in the early period, nor under today's circumstances can we talk about a multi-party system. I too attribute importance to the statement by which pluralism means more and is a broader concept than a multi-party system. Beyond the definition of the concept, the most important issue pertains to the fact that pluralism faces a particularly great trial by virtue of the crisis process that had its beginnings in the mid-seventies. As the roundtable participants pointed out, changes are taking place within bourgeois political systems and their practices. How does pluralist theory view these changes? Is it only the multi-party system that is struggling with a crisis, or is it pluralism itself? Without drawing rigid lines between science, scientific theory and ideology, one may ask: does pluralism continue to provide a viable, useful political theory that can be applied, or has it become only an ideology, or perhaps mere propaganda to promote the popularity of bourgeois democracy?

#### Political Theory and/or Ideology

[Schmidt] The pluralist trend may have had an effect on political processes, nevertheless, irrespective of whether we are talking about a theory or an ideology, pluralism endeavoured to explain and to interpret in some way the real processes. In other words: pluralism did not and could not change practice itself. Bourgeois political systems were, and continue to be fundamentally molded by historic and societal processes. Centralization or decentralization, as well as other actions that modify the political institutional system are the results of specific economic, social, and political conditions.

[Agh] It is nevertheless appropriate to draw distinctions between pluralist theory, ideology and propaganda. In the aftermath of World War II, pluralism began its path along the lines of the American exception, and had a profound ideological influence on Western Europe. For a long time this influence was virtually unbroken; nevertheless, in the mid-sixties--at a rather early stage--some very serious professional criticisms concerning American pluralism appeared in European periodicals. As highly developed European political science gradually recovered in the aftermath of World War II, it first felt strange about the American trend, then began to increasingly follow its own path and to think in terms of its own theories. To a large extent these thoughts served as a foundation for the political concept of the corporate state. This provides an alternative to traditional pluralist perception in times of crisis. But in America also critical voices gained strength. A kind of criticism used primarily by elitists against pluralism showed that contrary to pluralist theses, the chances by which various interest groups prevail are not only unequal, they also accumulate and concentrate advantages at the highest levels of society--within the elite.

[Bayer] The American political system could never be fully explained exclusively through the pluralist theory. Most certainly, they are applying a number of pluralist principles, reality, however, is different in many respects. The bourgeois critique of pluralism shows essential differences

with respect to at least two points. In part there is a large degree of inequity regarding the ability to provide effective interest representation. This inequity favors business interests. In part the pluralist mechanism for the reconciliation of interests has not decreased social inequalities, instead it increased them.

[Forgacs] In my judgment the Hungarian view of bourgeois democracies is in a delayed phase compared to processes that are taking place in the western world. The critique of pluralist theory in bourgeois political literature is already viewed as commonplace, and the neo-conservative wave also modified the pluralist assumptions. In its essence, classic pluralist theory views the free movement of counter-balancing forces as the essence of the political system. The so-called corporatist trend which is coming to the forefront in these days, heralds a more harmonized, more comfortable reconciliation of interests. It endeavours to place reconciliation among interest groups into a legal framework which can be brought in harmony with governmental processes.

[Agh] Put bluntly, we could say that within bourgeois political science and in the eyes of Western scientific public opinion pluralism became a thing of the past already ten years ago. Its scientific weight hardly amounts to anything. Of equal rank, if not of greater influence is the corporatist view. The role of pluralist ideology, and mainly its sanctioning function, however, survived. The exclusive justification, viability and "superiority" of Western political systems is still supported by pluralist ideals.

[Schmidt] The criticism of American pluralism, the departure from the American way can also be significantly explained by the fact that European development followed a path different from the one followed by the United States. For centuries, constitutionality has been the hallmark of the European state. American pluralism, which came about under a different perception of the state, became part of a "foreign body" in Europe. Accordingly, this is not merely a critique of American pluralism which says that American pluralism is not responsive to reality and lacks scientific content. Nor is it merely a critique of the fact that pluralism is a thing of the past. It also demonstrates the fact that within the body of bourgeois political science European tradition has acquired a greater role. It is an endeavour to demonstrate that Europe must do what is responsive to European conditions and needs.

[Lakos] The bourgeois critique of pluralism and the emergence of the corporatist trend suggest that the institutional framework created under the pluralist perception is inappropriate, or not sufficiently appropriate for the resolution of today's bourgeois social problems, and for the undisturbed functioning of the bourgeois political system. It does not provide a proper direction for the pluralist perception, as that was defined in earlier days. Post-World War II political developments, however, left some rather strong impressions on bourgeois systems. As stated before, pluralism itself has not disappeared, it only transformed and changed, and as a political philosophy continues to exert an unchanged influence. How could we draw up a realistic balance sheet? Are there some pluralist achievements and values which enriched and enhanced bourgeois political theory and political practice? If so, what are they?

[Ori] This question is important. As Marxists we cannot, and do not think only in terms by which bourgeois systems can at best make "changes" only, and that only socialist systems can "develop". We cannot and do not exclude the possibility that bourgeois political systems too can produce more developed solutions, moreover some results that are valuable from the viewpoint of universal human development. So far we heard mostly about the part of pluralist theory has come true. We now must consider what may be viewed as positive and proved to be successful. First, I would like to emphasize that it is a historically positive fact and value that bourgeois pluralism presented a unique, democratic alternative to Fascism which emerged under capitalist conditions. Pluralist systems provided a place for the political emergence of a variety of interest groups, thereby simultaneously broadening the mass basis and exercise of power. This solution appeared to be contrary to the monopolistic governing system of a narrow group.

[Agh] In evaluating pluralism it is fundamental to consider that after World War II, pluralism became a reality in North America, in Western Europe and in a few more capitalist countries. It thereby created a capitalist class rule which can revert to the monopolistic exercise of power only as a last resort. Within bourgeois societies it was possible to formulate a political system which functions in a flexible manner because it utilizes multiple transmissions and flexible mechanisms. That political system is capable of providing the capitalist class an opportunity to sort out in advance the issues that enter the political arena, and to re-politicize and de-politicize various "cases" according to its own interests. A functioning mechanism has been created which is capable of "removing" from the political arena the large, adversarial problems that exist between capitalists and workers--the problems that would lead to conflict. At the same time, it is also capable of "entering" cases into the political arena, cases which serve as distractions from the political struggle, and maintain those struggles at tolerable levels. A number of examples demonstrate this process. If, for instance, in France something seriously endangers the security of the "welfare state", there instantly emerges a political group which "enters" the problem of ethnic minorities or issues pertaining to foreign workers. These political issues are presented as central to the life of society. Experience shows that through this de-politicizing process more votes can be obtained in France than with a left-wing stance concerned with class struggle. The system continues to function because there is no deep crisis, and compromises between interests can be made. But this could be stated in the reverse also. This graded and differentiated political system itself also plays an important role in preventing major crises.

[Lakos] By evaluating pluralism we have discovered an interesting relationship between the pluralist system and its own social fiber. This is a fundamental question in Marxist theory and in the Marxist critique of pluralism. As a starting point perhaps we should find out how pluralist theory perceives society, how the societal image is reflected in pluralism. At what points do these substantially differ from ours?

[Bayer] As stated before, pluralism conceals class antagonism and class power. Actually this is the real purpose of pluralism, this is the most important function of pluralist theory and of the pluralist system. Pluralism

is supposed to discharge and to prevent the clashing of social classes, and it does so in the form of group conflicts. It is true, however, that group conflicts, the centerpiece of pluralist theory, are also real expressions of class conflicts, as long as there is no crisis situation--as long as the "class compromise" of the welfare state prevails. In this sense, pluralism is an expression of real class movements. Without this there would be no way to modify the system only to the extent that major clashes are avoided. This, of course, does not change the fact that the image of society reflected in political pluralism is limited, and that it is false in the final analysis.

[Forgacs] I believe that Marxist critique can hardly dispute the fact that as an alternative to the dictatorial exercise of power, the activities of interest groups and institutions play a significant role in the pluralist system. Marxist critique primarily judges the fact that there are rather large differences between the established theoretical and ideological requirements on the one hand, and the actual movements of the bourgeois society on the other. Accordingly, Marxist critique is more normative than descriptive.

[Ori] With respect to their importance, bourgeois political pluralism wastes a number of societal levels. Most characteristic is the analysis of, and weight attributed to the sphere of power and government, which differs from the Marxist view. Pluralist theory presents this issue as if the struggle and consensus of interest groups would be accompanied by actual shared power and with the possession of power on the basis of compromises. Marxism does not view this as a realistic possibility and states that the organization of pluralist political interests does not affect bourgeois class rule itself, it extends only so far as the exercise of power is concerned.

[Bayer] Related to this is another, one of the most debated issues: the evaluation of the role of the capitalist state. Pluralist theory envisions a politically neutral state; according to the theory the various interest groups struggle to influence this neutral power, and try to acquire various governmental positions. An examination of capitalist economic and social processes suggests, however, that since the 1950's capitalist reproduction assumes and actually invokes state intervention. The capitalist class itself is divided, the general capitalist interest itself cannot prevail without active intervention by the state. This is especially true since the 1970's, under difficult conditions caused by the economic crises. Even the global economic position of capitalist national economies became shaky at that time. At present the chief motivator for adaptation is strong governmental policy, one that shows independence. One wonders what strength and influence there is among the political interest groups struggling with each other, as compared to governmental power. The power of these interest groups can hardly be sufficient to substantively limit or control the functioning of state mechanisms. If we could not see this, we would not be able to understand that in Italy, for instance, where cabinet crises follow one after another, the political system never flounders. There are fundamental differences in viewpoint concerning this issue between the left-wing forces in Western European countries and, let's put it this way: the right-wing politicians of pluralism. Because contrary to what the latter group says, the state is not neutral in this "ballgame".

[Lakos] How do the masses view the role of the state, and the relationship between the various groups and the state? This is an important practical political concern, because it is through the promise of a future ability to influence state policies that votes are delivered and legitimacy is provided for the bourgeois political system.

[Forgacs] A significant ideological and political gain can be made particularly in the United States by advocating "anti-government" philosophies, aimed at limiting governmental intervention with respect to social welfare assistance. It is no coincidence that the dominant neo-conservative philosophy criticizes any involvement by government in economic matters. In reality, however, one finds that the actual role of the government is not decreasing--only the objectives of intervention change, as for instance in the area of economics. In the "free", unbridled political organization of interests too we find that financial power is assuming an increasing role. It is characteristic that today some interest groups are unable to organize themselves, and are unable to become political forces in hopes of success, because that would require tremendous amounts of capital. The needed mass communication capacity, and an apparatus by which various candidates can be supported or defeated, is very expensive. To top it off, the great variety one finds in the organizational structure of interest groups does not change the character of the modern capitalist state. The modern capitalist state has a tremendous integrating power by virtue of its own organizational strength and the refined techniques of its ideological apparatus. Analyses made by bourgeois professionals also show that the struggle between interest groups is aimed at acquiring an opportunity to influence power, and at the distribution of governmental positions.

[Bayer] Indeed, it is through this kind of analysis that one understands what the corporate state really is, and what kinds of changes had taken place in pluralist practice. The increased role of the state and the defined scope of state policies serves as a coercive factor beyond a certain point toward the achievement of a consensus. Reconciliation of interests is frequently stimulated and even organized by the state. This corporatist reconciliation takes place in a way that the process lends itself for the influencing of public opinion, and for the sanctioning of the system. From time to time negotiations are interrupted, then resumed again in a different form, various "difficulties" emerge but in the end a "hard-fought" compromise is reached.

[Lakos] The changes you just mentioned also affect the legislatures. Bourgeois legislatures too are experiencing crisis, because politics--the shift of the point of gravity in politics, the reduced role of political parties--can be felt primarily in legislatures in the course of the legislative struggle. What do these changes mean from the viewpoint of traditional legislative functions?

[Bayer] Bourgeois legislatures will continue to be the important forums where political alternatives emerge, but legislative functions are indeed going through a change. I believe that during the past 15-20 years the sanctioning function of bourgeois legislatures has gained overwhelming significance.



[Schmidt] With respect to this issue too we must consider the European traits. One cannot fully disregard the role of the state in Europe. Therefore the role of parliaments cannot be fully minimized without running into some significant problems. European political organizational processes point in the direction of the constitutional state, in other words, in a direction in which parliament enjoys a primary role. This concept is deeply ingrained in European political thought and conditions. It is possible that the abyss between real processes on the one hand, and party politics and parliamentary politics on the other, will continue to widen. This, however, would tend to lead in the direction of a reduction of the power of parliaments, rather than toward a reorganization of the traditional parliamentary system or the role of parliaments. A minimization of the role of European parliaments would always create a void and would stimulate a search for new parliamentary solutions.

[Bayer] Beside the strengthened autonomy of the state we must take note of another significant change. To the degree that political development removes the state from under the influence of political groups, the state renders itself subject to the influence of economic groups. In the event that capitalist interests are being violated, capitalists can effectively retort the state, moreover they can sabotage investments and can threaten to withdraw capital, thus maintaining state actions within defined limits. The functioning of the state is intertwined with capitalist reproduction to an extent that by now the struggle for the possession of government jobs also constitutes a struggle for capitalist control. Without succeeding in the acquisition of control one could not perceive how certain positions of power could be established and enforced.

#### The Pluralism of Crisis: Values and Illusions

[Lakos] In its original form pluralism represents the bourgeois trend under consolidated conditions, devoid of crisis. Our conversation reveals, however, that in today's economic crisis environment a number of pluralist features survive, despite changes and modifications in bourgeois political systems. Corporatism itself is a kind of "tamed" pluralism, or at the minimum it is a pluralist technique to bring about societal consensus and to preserve the legitimacy of bourgeois systems. In reality, what is the pluralist system capable of accomplishing? Would it be true that the still surviving pluralist structures that continue to function in a manner unchanged, have only a subordinate role in today's bourgeois systems, and their maintenance is only an illusory formality? Or are there certain elements in pluralism which withstood economic and social pressures and thus did not lose their weight and value? Finally, it would be interesting to know what lessons we could learn from adjustments made within the bourgeois political systems in order to cope with the economic crisis environment, and from the successful or unsuccessful reactions of the pluralist system.

[Agh] Today's economic crisis is very deep and very comprehensive. Altogether we are experiencing a global crisis. For this reason too it would be worthwhile to examine which elements of pluralism did the crisis retard, and which ones it enhanced. In brief, one may state that the ideals of equal opportunity and equality in general have been significantly retarded, and

competition has gained strength. Nevertheless we find that pluralism essentially proved itself to be capable of discharging and accomodating crises under emergency conditions. Why is that so? Mainly because pluralism enabled the development of alternatives, the accumulation of political forces that gather around the various alternatives, the organization of representative forums, and quick reactions in the structural and accomodation process. These factors substantially enhanced the possibility of ameliorating conflicts. There was no insurmountable obstacle in the way of economic structural transformation. By the 1980's the economic transformation was substantially complete, and so was the renewed social consensus, even though that consensus has weakened because it suffered "wounds".

[Ori] A number of signs indicate however, that we must exercise caution in making this statement, even if we qualify the statement. In a number of capitalist countries unemployment prompted sharp debate and unrest. There is no agreement regarding the implementation of anti-inflationary policies, and the proportionate distribution of the burden to be created by these policies. Not to mention the fact that some sharp conflicts also emerged, as for instance in the case of the striking miners in England. More than one example shows that in resolving their problems capitalist nations set aside pluralism and do not endeavour to achieve a consensus.

[Forgacs] I agree with the statement that even though there are tensions and conflicts, a consensus has been achieved concerning basic matters. I dispute, however, the extent of the role played by the political system in bringing about successful adaptation of developed capitalist economies. Notably, in the 1970's there came about a global monetary interdependence compared to which the significance of the search for political alternatives in individual countries became sharply reduced. The international monetary interdependence was a result of the oil explosion and the related accelerated flow of international lending capital. The success of consensus building in the most developed countries can largely be attributed to the fact that a significant part of developed capitalist nations was able to transfer the burdens created by its own accomodation policies onto the shoulders of the peripheral nations. The structural adaptation of otherwise strongly capitalized nations thus became an easier task, and their economic policies turned out to be more successful. This, in spite of the fact that these countries too experienced tensions, such as societal rearrangements and conflicts that accompany economic structural change. Simultaneously, however, the situation of the other side--of the peripheral nations, became more difficult, and this was accompanied by increased political tension. These tensions could not be reduced by the mere use of institutional means. Adaptation by the countries in between was successful mainly as a result of their material economies, and to a lesser extent of conscious and effective political management. The so-called Reagan economic policy which is the subject of increasing criticism by experts, also achieved some spectacular results in spite of its budgetary, foreign trade and other deficits. These results could be accomplished because by virtue of its international monetary hegemony the United States was able to regroup several hundred-billion dollars of supplemental capital supportive of the American economy. To a large degree this regrouping was to the detriment of debtor nations.

[Lakos] The issue revolves not only around the individual weights of economic and political factors, but also around the relationship between the two kinds of factors. Is it the political factors in bourgeois systems that enabled economic adaptation and recovery, or is it in the reverse: did the "further developed" bourgeois pluralist system remain viable as a result of successful economic adaptation? Obviously we must take into consideration the oft-mentioned capability of pluralism to produce alternatives. This capability is significant not only from the viewpoint of influencing public opinion. It can also play a role in the framework of decision-making. Do we see such factors at work?

[Schmidt] I believe that we can state that crisis processes cannot be fully explained purely by the existence of certain features of political systems, or by the existence or non-existence of pluralism. On the other hand it is true that the transformation processes of today's world place certain regions into adverse positions of dependency, irrespective of the individual countries' domestic political conditions. In terms of the relationship between global processes and national factors, however, I would place the emphasis in a way different from how it was stated. If we are talking about global processes, the related experience belongs to the societies of individual nations. To what extent these societies are capable of alleviating and tolerating the related disadvantages, depends in the final analysis on the political system that is in place. Even in the most successful countries one cannot perceive a reduction in tensions that accompany adaptation, unless society actually recognizes and digests its internal contradictions. In other words, in analyzing crises it would be an over-simplification to place the blame for all consequences on the international sphere, and view internal political factors as negligible.

[Forgacs] International capital flow since the 1970's has so greatly influenced the regional, area-wide and in the final analysis, local conditions of economic development--I should say development in general--that the one who is unable to actively and consciously play this "game" is doomed to be disadvantaged and will unavoidably fall behind. The role of the political sphere is to be assessed in a similar manner. The extent to which political decision-making recognizes the need to act, and the combination of the kinds of societal advantages and disadvantages political decision-makers endeavour to produce, does make a difference in economic crisis situations. All this represents a global challenge to the entire world, and this places a demand of increasing urgency upon us. Hungary too should modernize its societal profile, the image of its political system, and its way of thinking. In many respects, the latter corresponds with the thinking of earlier years.

[Bayer] So far as I am concerned, this debate was very educational, because it called attention to the difficulties of judging the efficacy of a political system if one stays within the realm of politics only. Obviously, there are other relationships also, such as those in the field of economics, sociology, and psychology. Any political system can best be compared with itself in one of its earlier or subsequent stages. But such comparisons are not simple either. Even the most multi-disciplined evaluation can contain errors, not to mention distortions and superficial comparisons.

[Lakos] What you have said gains added significance if we consider that our politically astute public also formulates opinions, compares and draws conclusions. Our public pays particular attention to the economic and social life, and the political solutions of those countries which are more successful in adapting to the global economic crisis.

[Ori] We frequently make the mistake--irrespective of whether this is spoken or unspoken--that we compare ourselves with various countries that are completely different from us, and are of a different size. The most developed capitalist nations were most successful in the adaptation process, but their experiences are hardly applicable to Hungary.

[Schmidt] As long as we brought up the subject of comparisons, let us state openly: no system, no model can be simply transplanted or adopted from another country. We must not believe that the political pluralism of any given country can be applied in Hungary, just because that political system accomplished a favorable economic change in another country. Such perceptions are naivetes totally devoid of reality. Certain processes are at work in Hungarian society. These processes must be analyzed and their contradictions must be resolved by ourselves. Quite naturally, some other countries have problems similar to ours. It is worthwhile to examine those countries closely, and if possible, to learn from their experiences.

[Agh] Some specific international examples maybe worthy of being qualified as examples or as special cases, nevertheless we can no longer ignore the universal, and especially the European processes. The opening that took place in the Soviet Union also has tremendous significance: a giant nation became a more integral part of the world. In Hungary too people learn about things that happen elsewhere, and these happenings become part of their expectations. It is not only our ideology that turns into "material forces" (in the sense as we use that term,) in Hungary the influences from around the world turn into material forces--expectations, demands and driving forces. Hungarians are particularly aware of damages caused by copying others. We always paid dearly for copying others. Copying makes no sense whether it is done in terms of an economic model, or a political model. On the other hand, so far as Hungary is concerned, we cannot afford the luxury of not learning from European achievements as a whole, and not to consider those achievements in the framework of a continuous learning process.

[Schmidt] From this viewpoint we must also consider the fact that even though pluralism emerged during the bourgeois period of universal human development, it is a product of European social development and holds some Pan-European values. We did not equate the modern pluralist ideology of American origin with the theory of pluralism. Pluralist theory evolved together with the 19th Century bourgeois transformation, and also became a part of European social development.

[Agh] We cannot dispute, however, that pluralist systems and ideologies are linked to ages and to social forms, nevertheless the social techniques produced by European development are relatively independent. Some of these techniques may be utilized in their adapted forms.

[Bayer] I have no illusions concerning transferability. No political system can be viewed independent from its economic base and social order, it cannot be simply transferred from one country to another, devoid of its fiber and of its specific form. On the other hand it is interesting that in bourgeois societies pluralism is viewed as the means by which social stability is being achieved, and it seems that in our thinking we view it as the opposite. From Hungary's viewpoint it would be useful and educational to study and to subject to critical analyses those techniques which pertain to the emergence and handling of spontaneous organizational processes in society, and of the activities related to the articulation of political interests. Mechanisms by which alternatives are being developed, techniques of conflict management and dispute resolution, consensual processes and political techniques deserve special attention. In Hungary today the concept of public interest is frequently subject to a one-sided limitation in which public interest is perceived as community interest, or as whatever the authorities think it is. We feel strange about actions that take into consideration the diversity of interests within society, and about techniques that deal with that diversity. After all, public interest emerges as a result of clashing and reconciled community interests. We need to change our perceptions in this respect.

[Ori] I agree that we must open ourselves to the world and to Europe. We must learn, if needed, about political techniques that were successfully applied elsewhere. But I doubt that the experiences gained in the framework of pluralism are applicable to unresolved issues of our socialist democracy. In these days we are witnessing new forms and organizational solutions in the framework of democracy. Some organizations cannot find themselves, (even though we would like them to find themselves,) it is not clear to them what they should be doing as a result of a logjam and overlap of democratic functions. In our given situation we should be thinking about how we could provide content to, and how we could enhance the forms that already took shape, so that interests actually manifest themselves within the existing framework. There remains an open question even if we find a better solution. Why do interest groups have to struggle and clash? Considering present conditions, could our country, our economy offer a "plus" of such magnitude that would make it worthwhile to "elevate" conflicts of interest to a higher plateau? Our financial condition limits our choices, including the choice of alternatives we may consider. And we also have important socio-political principles and objectives. We could not, for example, accept the idea of unemployment together with structural transformation. And we cannot accept an alternative in which society would pay the price for economic growth. Perhaps it would be useful to define more accurately the areas in which it makes sense to pursue increased activities, where it is desirable that people participate more directly in dealing with their own affairs and with public affairs. Such definition should be in harmony with our objectives and tasks.

[Agh] But to a large degree we have been under pressure because for an extended period of time we did not have a detailed, viable alternative. We do not make decisions regarding the urgent issues of adaptation. No longer can this be delayed. And irrespective of what we decide, society must face the consequences, therefore it would be good if society could participate in making these decisions.

[Forgacs] Decisions are so difficult to make because we must make choices not only concerning development, but also concerning counter-development. In this respect it is indeed necessary to resolve these issues with the involvement of those who are affected by the unavoidable conflicts of interest, and we should try to resolve these conflicts by applying the "political techniques" of a democracy. The Western European and American bourgeois political systems were ruthless when it came to resolving crises--to shifting the burden created by adaptation to the employees. At that point they clearly removed themselves from the conciliatory, consensus-building policies of the earlier, more consolidated period. We must pursue a path in the opposite direction.

[Schmidt] I believe that there is yet a deeper problem at the basis of this debate. We have not yet found a system capable of managing conflicts of interest based on public property. Eastern European development essentially excluded pluralism from society--perhaps this was necessary during a certain period. By now we have reached a point where interests can emerge in a more or less differentiated form, but we do not know how to deal with them.

[Bayer] Just how real this problem is can be seen from the fact that socialist-pluralist trends have emerged within the body of political thought. Their fundamental thesis is that it is socialist society that has a greater opportunity to make diverse and dynamic political interests prevail, because under socialist conditions the uneven political and economic weight of capital is not inhibitive. They state that the model of a self-governing socialist society is far more pluralistic than any of the presently functioning most pluralistic capitalist political systems.

[Ori] My view is unchanged. Before anything else, we must find our own solutions, and we need not turn to techniques used by others. Our development does not hinge on whether or not we adopt pluralist techniques. It depends on whether we can act efficiently and effectively by using our own tools, whether we are capable of consistently implementing the perceptions and plans we have jointly developed.

[Lakos] We all agree that we should learn from others, nevertheless we should seek and follow our own answers. The debate provided a graded, clarified view of pluralism--we learned that pluralism is the product of historic development and we know what kinds of tools, methods and political values it produced. We found out which processes and solutions used by bourgeois societies are worth studying and subjecting to critical analyses. There is nothing extraordinary about paying attention to the experiences of capitalist nations, including political experiences, and it is not unusual for us to learn lessons from those experiences.

Our debate shed light on the fact that the bourgeois system and its practices are not synonymous with the tenets of pluralist theory, and that during the past decade, practice has become particularly far removed from theory. The practice labeled as "pluralist" today contains countless manipulative elements, semblances as well as political and ideological "traps". All these serve the purpose of influencing public opinion, and of rendering the bourgeois political system--the embodiment of capitalist class rule--acceptable to the masses. This is one reason why they pay so much attention to the

gigantic apparatus of the mass media which continuously announces, propagates and popularizes the "viable pluralism" of bourgeois systems, as if that would be the exclusive and consistently prevailing principle of the bourgeois system. Meanwhile the capitalist state organization functions deliberately, and easily casts aside the principles of pluralism as long as the enforcement of monopolistic economic interests so demands, and as long as traditional "techniques" cannot be applied.

We cannot deny that bourgeois propaganda about pluralism has influenced part of our public opinion. This influence does not enhance our orientation in the world, and does not enhance the objective and critical study of pluralism. Instead, very frequently, it nurtures misconceptions and creates illusions. Views which suggest that we adopt the kind of pluralism practiced by bourgeois political systems are irresponsible. These do not provide actual footholds for the resolution of our own tasks.

I believe that our debate was particularly informative and useful from this point of view, and helped clarify the attendant issues. We objectively examined the concept of pluralism itself as a political principle, and expanded to confront the principle with actual bourgeois practice. The debate also demonstrated recent contradictory trends, the true role of capitalist state organization, and the refined methods by which bourgeois class interests prevail. At the same time we learned that in dealing with the issues of our own system and with the development of socialist democracy, and in searching for effective political methods and solutions which may contribute to the faster development of our economy and society, we must be more thoroughly prepared with respect to theories, and must demonstrate more political sensitivity and consistency.

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## ROUNDTABLE ON ORGANIZATION, OPERATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 7, 10 Apr; No 8, 25 Apr; No 9, 10 May 87

/Discussion by Univ Prof Dr Ovidiu Trasnea, Univ Reader Dr Manea Babut, Dr Aristide Cioba, Univ Prof Dr Aurelian Cosmatchi, Univ Lecturer Dumitru Iacob, Univ Prof Dr Ladislau Lorincz, Univ Reader Dr Maria Nastase Georgescu, Univ Lecturer Dr Constantin Nica, Univ Prof Dr Vasile Nichita, Univ Lecturer Dan Mircea Popescu, Univ Lecturer Dr Ioan Vida and Univ Lecturer Dr Ion Zara/

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/Text/ Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We have created a broad and well-known democratic system. We can say that we have a wonderful structure for the participation of all social categories and the entire Romanian people in social management. We must improve and develop this system because we are building socialism with the people and for the people."

The political system has a highly important place in the series of component structures of Romanian socialist society and plays an essential part in organization and management of the social system as a whole. As a superstructural element of society, the political system is characteristic of the economic and social structures and their stage of development, changing its nature, form and functions with the changes in the other areas of society while also serving as the chief collective agent of social reform according to a revolutionary program drafted and implemented under the leadership of the RCP, the vital center of the nation.

Thanks to a broad and radically innovative theoretical and practical-political procedure conducted by the party with Nicolae Ceausescu's telling contribution, in the years since the Ninth Party Congress a unique democratic political system was created and improved, in close connection with the requirements for building the fully developed socialist society, that is fundamentally different from the one instituted in the first years of socialism. In the present stage, characterized by emphasis upon the qualitative-intensive factors for socioeconomic development, it is urgently necessary to improve all social-political organization and management, which is implemented through the political system, through each of its component structures, and especially through the leading political force of the entire revolutionary process, namely the RCP. In referring to the



critical importance of organizational and managerial problems to the success of the aims and decisions of the 13th Party Congress, Nicolae Ceausescu concluded that there is a certain lag in this field behind the development of the material base of society, science and technology in general. His speech at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 24-25 March 1987, particularly rich in ideas and conclusions about the general effort to implement the aims of the current five-year plan, also strikingly brings out the need of firm measures to improve the system for managing all socioeconomic activity and of further strengthening and securing the efficiency of such components with essential roles in the Romanian political system as the RCP, the whole series of workers revolutionary democratic bodies, self-management and economic-financial self-administration. In the light of these opinions and guidelines of exceptional theoretical and practical-political value and the fact that the new bodies for democratic management have been in operation for more than 15 years, the plenum resolved to make an analysis, a balance sheet of the results so far, and to determine measures on that basis for consistent application of self-management and self-administration to all fields and for the further development and efficiency of the existing system of democratic bodies. All this makes new demands on the system for social management, for the chief purpose of increasing its functions and the efficiency of the general function the political system performs by making full use of its organizational structure and the fundamental principles on which it operates.

In view of these opinions and principles of great theoretical and practical timeliness and relevance and the party's rich and valuable original experience in the organization and operation of the Romanian political system, ERA SOCIALISTA arranged the following discussion, intended to bring out the main features of that experience, the qualitative changes in the role of the political institutions, the nature and some of the major aims of improvement in the political system, and the tasks and requirements set in the party documents and in the party secretary general's speeches and explanations concerning radical improvement of the organizational and managerial work done by the component bodies of the political system and the greater responsibilities of the administrative personnel and bodies. We are publishing the first part of the discussion in this issue.

OVIDIU TRASNEA: Treatment of the problems of improved organization and operation of Romanian socialist society's political system is of vital theoretical and practical-political importance, which in fact follows from the RCP's principle of continuity and enhancement of the revolutionary process and from the sense in which those trends, which are also requirements for the political management of society, are to be understood. Since the improvement process is not spontaneous or haphazard and is itself subject to the universal principle of contradiction, naturally the policy of improving the political system and the social system as a whole must be based on the active, dialectical unity of revolutionary theory and practice if the improvement process is to be regularly directed toward real progress and growing satisfaction of the real needs of society's socioeconomic, political and cultural development.

The RCP regards socialist society, as well as its economic, political, social and cultural subsystems, as a living, changing and always improvable body, like life itself. On the basis of the idea that socialism is primarily a set of values, and that it is the task of the political leaders to provide each stage with the right strategy for their gradual implementation and their application to social and human relations, the party secretary general developed a coherent and

harmonious innovating conception of the ways of enhancing the revolutionary process and of the relationships between the ends and the means of that process, between the objectives and the practical means of accomplishing them, and between the values and the institutional system that is expected to implement them and also to support them, that is to facilitate and encourage their implementation throughout society and to base all social relations on the solid foundation of the principles and values of socialist ethics and justice, revolutionary humanism and true democratism. Enhancement of the revolutionary process requires an ongoing reappraisal of the past stage and a clarification of the new developmental requirements in view of the historical nature of the social law itself and, at the same time, for a sound preparation of the measures for further improvement of the social and political systems and their mechanisms.

As the historic course taken by socialist Romania ever since the Ninth RCP Congress fully proves, this improvement is a distinctive feature of construction of the new society that has been requiring an effective effort toward receptiveness and creativity, two of the guiding ideas of that congress, which is entered in gold letters in Romanian history. Receptiveness means careful study and thorough knowledge of the national conditions, regular consultation of the workers, constant maintenance of the dialogue with the people, and solution of the problems of social progress in close collaboration with the masses by appealing to their thinking. Creativity means an ability to fully understand the social conditions and their specific-historical problems as well as their uniqueness, which cannot be equated with other, already-known situations. On the basis of the nature and significance of every historical situation, creativeness calls for the best resolutions and new solutions that can make the given situation a desirable one through appropriate courses of action -- not arbitrarily to be sure, but in conformity with the interpreted historical law. It also means receptiveness to the future and to the original and unprecedented, as well as courage and far-sightedness, both in interpreting the problems and in devising solutions to them. And that requires constant and unrestricted promotion of the revolutionary spirit and an active, creative discussion involving the entire people.

Viewed analytically, improved organization and operation of the political system of society is an objective requirement reflecting the general laws of the new kind of society and those of the new kind of political system instituted in the socialist revolutionary process. On the general level, this clarifies the operation of some endogenous factors, especially the socioeconomic reforms, that is those made in the level and nature of the production forces, in the production relations and all their components, and in the other social relations, as well as those in the social and occupational structure of the population and in the level of the citizens' cultural-intellectual development. Of course it is a question partly of the stage already reached and, in view of the continuity of the revolutionary process, partly of the new objectives to be accomplished in bringing Romania up to new heights of material and cultural civilization. And in the same connection, consideration must be given to the demands of the socialist political system's internal development as a historically new kind of political system and to those of accentuated democratic development not only of political activity but also of social activity as a whole. The conclusion drawn by Nicolae Ceausescu at the Third Workers Congress is significant in this respect, to the effect that further development of the production forces, consolidation of socialist ownership of the production means, the changes in the nation's social structure, and development of science, education and culture

"necessitate new and democratic forms of management, in which the masses and the people will have the final say." Nor can the demands made by the operation of the exogenous factors, that is by the current structure and developmental trends of the international system, be overlooked except on pain of theoretically and practically wrong policies, since it is well known that the role of the international factors has increased considerably in our period, which has been described as a period of interdependences, among other things.

While this sums up the need of further improvement in the political system as a whole and in its components as well, the question that immediately concerns us is how that need is being met. Of course I think we should stipulate from the start that the improvement process is governed by the conflict between the new and the old, by the play of internal and international contradictions, and by understanding of the requirements and characteristics of the true revolutionary spirit in the sense in which Nicolae Ceausescu defined it when he said, "The struggle for the new is a revolutionary struggle."

The political system is being improved on several levels, which are naturally in a constant dialectical interaction as they stimulate each other insofar as they are consistently implemented and bring about the constant rise to higher stages.

The first level is the axiological foundation. Of course the content of the values peculiar to Romanian society and its political system, as well as the accumulation of material and cultural means of implementing them in daily life and in the actual operation of the political system throughout its regulatory, organizational-mobilizing and institutional components (that is its instruments), evolve as the revolutionary process is enhanced. In this respect it is a matter of bringing out the particular dialectics of enrichment of the values, including both their real and ideal aspects alike, whereby the ways in which the prospective socialist development toward communism is planned are progressively improved. And in this respect too further improvement of the principles governing the operation of the Romanian political system is vitally important, especially the axiological principles such as the complete and unique sovereignty of the people's power, socialist planning, socialist democratism closely united with revolutionary humanism, socialist ethics and justice, legality, social responsibility and discipline, the dialectical correlation of freedom with equality not only in politics but in all social activities, etc. Meanwhile the structural-functional principles are also vital, being inspired at least in part by the foregoing axiological principles but also in view of the part played by the political and its trends in the course of building the fully developed socialist society and the gradual advance toward communism. To be sure such principles as democratic centralism, collective management and labor, workers self-management, unified scientific and democratic management and, of course, development of party leadership (structural-functional principles) are inspired in large part by the foregoing axiological principles, but they also pertain to the nature of the political in the course of building the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism.

The regulatory level is no less important, that is more and more rational regulation of productive activity by political and legal standards and strictly on the basis of knowledge of the real requirements of the social laws, and also of activity to implement the new technical-scientific revolution in industry, agriculture and all socioeconomic sectors, organization of labor, and the principles

and actual application of standardization and remuneration of labor for greater social effectiveness, but also a more pronounced socioeconomic equity and especially a further improvement in the economic-financial mechanism as an effective and operational basis for workers self-management and self-administration. It is also important to further expand and consolidate all-around social equality, on the basis of both socioeconomic development and correction of factors that have proved obstructive in the past, and egalitarianism, in the spirit of socialist justice and remuneration according to the actual results of work. Meanwhile the role of law and socialist legality is growing as a means of institutional improvement and civic education and also as an instrument to prevent impairment of the true socialist, revolutionary-humanist character of the whole process of improving the political system and all social and human relations by applying the fundamental principles of socialism.

Of course the institutional-organizational level is the one in which improvement has been made most directly, and also as a result of the above-mentioned factors. The theoretical and practical consistency should be noted here with which the RCP and its leadership have rejected any absolutist or perfunctory approach in interpreting the institutional-organizational components of the political system. Realizing that the institutional and organizational forms are not elements in themselves but are instrumental and therefore cannot be regarded as immutable and accordingly independent of the actual requirements of technical-economic, social and human development, they postulated and implemented an ongoing, flexible and increasingly suitable and accurate adjustment of those institutional-organizational elements to the requirements for enhancing the revolutionary process. That active dialectic of improvement was implemented completely, comprehensively and in various ways. The changes in the Romanian socialist political system, reflecting the requirements for further improvement of the whole social structure, were and are being made both by founding institutions and/or organizations and by assigning the already existing bodies new functions reflecting the continuing enrichment of the forms and contents of the social-political activities, and also by changing the ways some existing functions are performed for purposes of their broader and more intensive development in full accord with the principles of socialist democratism and revolutionary humanism.

What requires special emphasis is the appearance of forms quite unprecedented in the political history not only of socialism but also of humanity, and they cannot be understood from the standpoint of any political categories considered "classic." This is normal because in any radically innovating revolutionary process, which is renovated itself in the course of its development so that it can meet the demands of rapid all-around progress, it is inevitable and accordingly quite natural for new elements, forms and methods to spring up that do not entirely conform to the previous typological systems and are unprecedented, enhancing the structure of the political system qualitatively and tending to further improve the performances in the direction of the main strategic objectives and in the spirit of the values that guide it. We must mention here the appearance of some new bodies such, for example, as the ambivalent party and state organs and the national forums of direct democracy, operating as elective deliberative bodies meeting periodically, such as the workers congresses in various fields of socioeconomic activity and the forms ever more closely combining public with state activity and representative democracy, thoroughly reinvigorated in its forms and content, with direct democracy; expansion of workers self-management and especially of the basic axis of Romania's democratic development, workers

self-management and improvement of the economic-financial mechanism on which workers self-management is based, and increasingly close combination in ever new and original forms (leading to a delimitation and even to an operational division) of the party organs with those of the socialist state, of the public organizations, and of the workers self-management bodies.

Of course the fact is well known and appreciated that the RCP and its secretary general have provided new, innovating and original solutions to the very complicated problems of the internal evolution of the various components of the political system (the RCP and the socialist state especially) and of the dialectical correlations among them, which take on new characteristics from one stage to the next, and also to those in connection with the role of each one of these essential components of the political system in Romanian socialist society and in the steadily improving organization and operation of the whole social structure. The main and basic purpose of these improvements is to bring about an increasingly extensive and effective worker participation in the decision-making process so that there will be an increasingly adequate representation of the social and group interests in the political process and a more effective participation through further development of workers competent and responsible self-management on all levels and in all areas of society.

Another major aim of improving the Romanian political system involves the RCP's solution to a vital worldwide problem originating in the rapid development of the technical-scientific revolution, namely that of the relationship between scientific rationalization of decision-making and development of the democratic structures. It is well known that the technocratic doctrines of the elitist kind proclaim the ultimate "depoliticization" of management and the "inevitable death of democracy" through the institution of a system that could be only another kind of authoritarian, thoroughly antidemocratic government. Rejecting the idea of a fatal and irreparable conflict between scientizing the decision-making process and democratic development, but also opposing the spontaneous interpretation of automatic assertion of the superiority of socialism in this field, the RCP devised the original solution, formulated in the party secretary general's works, of generalized institutionalizing, on all levels and in all fields, of the principle of collective management capable of meeting the requirement of scientizing the decision-making process and all social management by means of democratic structures, mechanisms and methods that can combine the expertise of the specialists with the experience and energy of the masses.

While the RCP opposed, as we were saying, any tendencies to make fetishes of the institutional forms created at any particular point or stage by indicating and fulfilling the need of their continuing improvement, by the same token we must point out its effort, as the political leader of society and the center of the political system, to secure the implementation of socialism's true values in the political institutions' way of life, procedures and political approach. In fact that is also one of the major aims of improving the political system for the future, namely to secure the complete unity of the true values and principles of socialism with the daily operation of all the political institutions and with the working methods used in all political, administrative and public activities. This means converting the values of socialist political culture to real standards for the performance of the responsible persons on various levels of the political system, because in the absence of any such regular correspondence or any

appropriate working approach, the intended purpose of improving the structures would be subject to impairment by perfunctory treatment and accordingly to axiological and political ineffectiveness. Therefore we can say that making the socialist values and standards effective by incorporating them in actual political relations and by consistent pursuit of the people's real interests is a developmental trend of the Romanian political system.

This also involves the equally consistent promotion of the revolutionary spirit, as a distinctive characteristic of Romanian political culture, in the views and activities of the party and state organs, the workers self-management and public bodies, and all citizens. It is particularly important for us to note Nicolae Ceausescu's conceptual contributions in his expressive definition and precise accentuation of the content of the concept of a revolutionary in the present stage of Romania's development. He says, "Now we need a new kind of revolutionary with a high awareness in all fields, professional, technical, scientific and cultural, and in interpreting the laws of nature and the laws of social development. It is only with such revolutionaries that we can secure progress and attainment of the new aims of the revolution."

This raises, in other words, the question of improving the subject of the revolutionary process, namely the new man, and especially the revolutionary cadres, in the sense (specified again by the party secretary general) of considering the whole content of the Romanian concept of socialist awareness, combining professional-technical proficiency and general cultural level with the Marxist conception of the world and life and with socialist political, civic and ethical awareness in the light of true revolutionary humanism and in the active, reforming revolutionary spirit. Therefore strengthening theoretical-ideological and political-educational work is one of the indispensable improvements in the Romanian political system, in order to raise the levels of culture, professional competence and socialist awareness in all its parts and aspects and to make it and increasingly active force for stimulating and rationalizing the operation of Romanian society.

Of course these introductory considerations cannot be concluded without mentioning that improvement of the political system as well as that of the social system as a whole is inseparable from the objective necessity of accentuating the role of the subjective factor in the present stage of Romanian socialist society's harmonious and uniform development. That requires as a sine qua non further improvement of the leading political factor, the RCP as the vital center of the nation, and its more and more complete integration in socialist society. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Drawing all the conclusions from its long activity, we must work with every determination for the further consolidation of the party, its unity and its organizing and ideological power and for the continuing development of its political leadership in all activities. We must make every effort to preserve the revolutionary spirit so that the party will always stay young and receptive to all that is new! Let us enrich revolutionary theory and practice with all the conclusions from the previous long struggle and with the experience and general conclusions of the communist and workers movement, and let us always allow for the new situations that arise in Romanian socialist society and in the world in general!"

## The Creative Approach to Romanian Society's Development

ARISTIDE CIOBA: Improved organization and operation of Romanian society's political system is one of the party's planned objectives as an inseparable part of the broader process of improving and developing socialism to meet the particular requirements of its present stage, that of building the fully developed socialist society. While constantly working for clarification of the objective trends of social development and application of the principles of scientific socialism to Romania's specific-historical conditions, the party planned and implemented the tasks to gain further knowledge of the operating mechanisms of those laws and to generalize the acquired experience in an inseparable unity with the effort to develop and apply a series of political-organizational measures, principles and forms to correlate general social development as closely as possible with the system for organizing and managing it. Consistent promotion of this fundamental policy has enabled the RCP to readily perceive the dysfunctions and contradictions arising in one field or another, to take effective action to adjust the institutional system and the administrative methods to the objective requirements, and to institutionalize democratic principles and bodies that will harmonize uniform management with the workers collectives' initiative and responsibility.

The facts that the strategy for organizing and improving the political system was devised before the changes that had to be made in the content and functions of its component institutions and structures, and that the party did not wait for the problems to pile up but has succeeded, in the last 22 years especially, in finding the right solutions and promptly eliminating all that no longer suited the existing conditions, not under pressure of any crises but in a normal way by consistently promoting the new, emphatically demonstrate the correctness of the party's policy and its theoretical and practical ability to exercise its social leadership successfully as well as the viability of the regular principle of party management of the whole undertaking of socialist construction.

It is also characteristic of Romanian political theory and practice that on the basis of the experience acquired both by Romanian socialist society and by socialism in general, the party consistently stresses the objective necessity of solving the complicated problems of all areas of socialist construction on the principles of scientific socialism, which are not considered immutable but in a state of constant change and enrichment in the course of socialist construction and the peoples' revolutionary effort. The structures of the present unique political system, which reflects workers revolutionary democracy and secures uniform social organization and development under the party's political leadership, could have been designed only on that basis.

Of course it goes without saying that the organizational ways and means of management, however good, cannot automatically solve the specific practical problems. As the party secretary general has repeatedly pointed out, the subjective elements are vital in this respect, being expected to set the whole institutional mechanism in motion, to activate the bodies that compose it, and to secure the normal operation of the political system in accordance with the functions assigned to its components and with its role in overall social management. For it is equally well known that in the structure of the whole social system the political system performs the regulating role of managing all society by using ways and means characteristic of the functions performed by its various components in the division of labor of social organization and management.



But while a wealth of experience has been acquired in improving the organizational structures, the organizational-institutional framework and the principles guiding its operation and the relations among its components, which experience incorporates Nicolae Ceausescu's creative original contribution, when it comes to use of the potential of the political system and each of its components for performing their role in social-political management and organizing activity centrally and in all the socioeconomic sectors there are still some shortcomings interfering with implementation of the plans and programs for socioeconomic development. In the light of this view of the demands on the subjective element, with all its implications for organizing the activity and degree of training and awareness of the managers and the workers in general, for implementing the programs etc., the RCP leadership has called attention to a certain lag in the proper organization and management of the activity and the performance of each individual organizational component's own functions and accordingly those of the political system as a whole. The problem of improving practical, organizational administrative activity is accordingly the most urgent task in connection with the operation of the Romanian political system. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "Let us develop the democratic forms intensively but, more important, let us secure the efficiency of the democratic bodies we have created. We have a good system, but now we must make all these bodies operate as well as possible." In his speech at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in March 1987, the party secretary general also brought out the need of compiling a balance sheet of the results logged so far in this regard and, by drawing the necessary conclusions, taking appropriate measures on that basis to consistently apply the principles of workers self-management to all fields and to keep improving the existing democratic structure.

That requires improved management and planning of activity in all sectors, development of uniform management of all society, consolidation of socialist ownership and socialist production relations as foundations of the political system and decisive factors for national progress, and better exercise of party leadership. Each of these requirements clearly applies to the personal element and is interrelated with the action and interaction of the people in workers collectives, organizations and management organs. Their implementation accordingly requires greater responsibility in all management organs; combination of collective responsibility with personal responsibility of every collective and managing element for the field in which they work; good organization and operation of the collective management organs and those of the state and the party organizations; display of communist revolutionary spirit not in declarations or theory but in actions and in best fulfillment of the entrusted responsibilities; implementation of the legal provisions and party and state decisions on rotation of party and state personnel and on promotion in management functions by the criteria of professional and political competence; basing all activity on the latest advances of science, including the social sciences, and analysis and interpretation of the facts in the light of the party's general conception of the world and society, permitting the right approach to problems of development, of society's advance to new and higher levels, and of material and cultural progress.

The main purposes of these demands the party is making on the political system as a whole are improvement of its performance, full use of the existing organizational-institutional structure, and the greater efficiency of the general management function performed by the system in the overall dialectics of Romanian socialist society. These demands by no means invalidate but, on the contrary,



supplement the measures and aims to improve the Romanian political system that have been adopted and consistently pursued in the last two decades, and they are intended to carry on the vast effort to theoretically synthesize and institutionalize the political-organizational structure in which the design and form of the present Romanian political system are implemented.

AURELIAN COSMATSCHI: I think we must point out that the nature of the social determinism of societies of the socialist kind lends the political system a decisive role in the self-regulation of all social activity and of the social system as a whole. Hence the particular importance of determining the structures and functions of that system and using its levers for purposeful, scientific social management. The existence of exploiting classes in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism inevitably lent a heterogeneous, contradictory character to the political system of society, and even after Romanian society's political relations became homogeneous socialist relations they had to be intensified and improved to meet the requirements and conditions of the new stages of socialist construction. Major changes were made in the structures, composition, functions and procedures of the socialist political institutions.

MANEA BABUT: Indeed the present structures of the political system (which is fully integrated in Romanian socialist society, provides for its uniform and efficient management through the joint action of the elements that characterize the system, and advances it on the course of communist development) manifest the results of a process wherein the points of continuity and discontinuity followed each other in an inseparable dialectical unity.

Planned and constructed by the RCP, the political system created after the victory of the socialist revolution was not a metaphysical denial of the past but incorporated in its structures and principles the traditions of the antifascist struggle for national independence, as well as the democratic gains from the previous stage of the revolutionary process. It rejected bourgeois parliamentarism but not universal suffrage or the principle of representation. Upon abolishing the repressive bodies of the exploiting classes, the new political authority restructured its chief instrument itself, namely the state, and established new bodies capable not only of repressing the resistance of the counterrevolutionary forces and antisocial acts but primarily of helping to accomplish the far-reaching tasks of building the new society. The ideological, political and organizational unification of the working class on the principles of scientific socialism and the founding of its single party were characteristic of the new political system in Romania. Moreover by creating and generalizing socialist production relations the new political authority acquired a permanent economic basis and succeeded in laying the foundations of socialism in a short historical period and in lending a new content to political relations that became the socialist unity of the entire people under the leadership of the working class.

The Ninth RCP Congress, which was a point of historic importance to the party and the entire Romanian people, inaugurated a new period of radical and beneficial improvements in the national system of political management. While pursuing, on Nicolae Ceausescu's initiative and with his telling contribution, the policy of determined elimination of dogmatism and routine and of firm opposition to all distortions and abuses, and relating its theoretical procedure to the changing facts of social-historical experience and to recent advances of man's knowledge,

the party critically examined its own experience and took firm measures in the following years to keep improving the whole political system so that it could best perform its constantly growing role.

CONSTANTIN NICA: I consider it important for us to point out in the course of our discussion that the main features of the political system as well as its form itself reflect the content and degree of development of the socioeconomic structures in a given stage, the ways the social organization and management functions are conceived and assumed, and the relationships among the political institutions performing those functions. In close connection with the revolutionary reforms made in all socioeconomic activities in Romania radical changes were also made in the nature of the various institutional components of the political system that changed its characteristics and functions and required a whole series of measures to improve its organization and management. By in-depth analysis of Romanian society's developmental stage from the positions of scientific socialism, the party secretary general very clearly demonstrated that the principles and structures of organization and management established in the first period of socialist construction no longer suited the new circumstances and society's growing need to control and direct increasingly complicated social processes. New structures and institutions were accordingly created and integrated in the overall operation of the political system.

The far-reaching and dynamic processes generated by society's entry into a new stage wherein the systemic, balanced character of its all-around development has been accentuated have further developed and improved the party's role and its function as the vital center of the whole social system and consolidated the inseparable unity of the party with the people. Moreover the masses' expanded political participation has made it more and more possible for the Romanian political system to fully meet the increasingly complicated demands of development in keeping with the direction of the socioeconomic and cultural-intellectual changes.

Along with the historic landmark of the Ninth Party Congress, the political system is making a growing contribution to implementation of the strategy for Romania's all-around harmonious development. Its functions of organization, management and development of the masses' socialist awareness are being expanded, and it is performing its functions with their considerable help. In the spirit of humanism and the values of socialist democracy the entire people are being involved in decision-making on all management levels and all civil rights are definitely guaranteed and fully implemented. Further democratizing of the social organization and management system is taking effect as a regular trend of socialist construction in Romania. Firmly convinced that socialism and democracy are inseparable and that they cannot be built according to any models but only in keeping with the actual situations in each country, the party has been making a painstaking theoretical, organizational and political effort, distinguished by its originality and revolutionary boldness, to improve the forms and mechanisms of management and to found new democratic bodies securing the participation of all workers and the people in social management, which is the only way successful socialist construction is possible. Accordingly the functions and methods of the structures of authority are now based upon the standards and procedures characteristic of the new kind of democracy, namely the principle of collective labor and management, regular political participation of the masses, and the initiative and responsibility of the workers collectives in making and implementing the decisions.

IOAN VIDA: The fact is also significant in this respect that the leading political force of society, the RCP, has become a strong mass party closely integrated in the structures and sectors of society, drawing its strength and stimulating the nation's creative powers from direct contact with the workers and the people. This makes it, in a legitimate way, the vital center of the Romanian socialist nation and of society as a whole. No less important is the fact that the socialist state, once a dictatorship of the proletariat and an instrument in the hands of the working class to overcome the resistance of the classes ousted from power, has become a workers revolutionary democracy and a true supreme representative of the owners, producers and beneficiaries of the entire national wealth. And also in the last 20 years we have seen the conversion of the mass and public organizations from "driving belts" between the political decision-making centers and the people to political representatives of the interests of its members, some of whom participate directly in government activity. The founding of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, reflecting the unity of Romanian society's social and political forces as a politically representative body, is another one of the innovations in the Romanian political system made since the Ninth RCP Congress.

Integration of the workers collectives among the components of the Romanian political system is another indication of the latter's originality. The political inclinations of the workers collectives, in a society that is being constructed with the people and for the people, have a broad field for expression in the workers self-management organs instituted in all socialist units in the last 15 years. On the institutional level, the new national forums of socialist democracy supplement the series of organizational forms for securing workers' participation in socioeconomic management by virtue of their broad powers for making political decisions and for controlling implementation of the aims of national socioeconomic development as well as the new way of structuring relations between the state organs and those of workers self-management.

Application of this democratic system and its improvement according to the new demands of social development are the work of the RCP and the results of its performance as the leading political force and of its creative application of the basic principles of scientific socialism to Romania's specific-historical characteristics. By generalizing its own experience theoretically and by carefully studying worldwide experience in socialist construction, the party has learned valuable lessons and discriminately retained all that serves the Romanian people's interests, short of copying or imitating the methods and procedures adopted or planned in any given country.

DAN MIRCEA POPESCU: In connection with the foregoing I would also point out that the Romanian political system promotes its own set of values. Its viability is in great part due to the identity of those values and the values, aspirations and interests that characterize Romanian society as a whole. Moreover continuing improvement of the political system and its structures and its transition from one stage to the next and from one quality to another are emerging as objective necessities, reflecting the new conditions and requirements of the revolutionary process. It is accordingly quite natural for the structures of the Romanian political system to undergo constant qualitative changes. The fact is significant here that alongside the traditional institutional-organizational structures new institutions and organizations of which we have spoken here have gradually arisen and begun to operate within the Romanian political system, already existing bodies have acquired some new functions and new ways of performing others, and

their content has been enriched by adjustment to the changing socioeconomic and political conditions. Meanwhile the evolution of the political system has followed a course increasingly close involvement of representative democracy with direct democracy. All these factors have revolutionized the Romanian political system and changed it qualitatively.

MANEA BABUT: To be sure a system of social management is now operative in Romania that embodies in its organizational principles, in its institutional structure, and in its characteristic legal, political and moral values the results of a radically innovating procedure. This system is based on the principles of democratic centralism, collective labor and management, and workers self-management and self-administration and is subject to a process of constant improvement. It combines methods of representative participation with those of direct participation in a structural unity without precedent in the political systems before socialism, so that workers participation in social management will become more and more active, effective and efficient.

Analysis of the problems of improving the Romanian political system that have been creatively treated and solved by the RCP brings out some characteristic features of that system. It is characterized primarily by its homogeneity and structural-operational unity, brought about both by the socialist social and production relations and by the single authority. This indicates that the chief characteristics of the Romanian political system are its profound democratism and humanism and the fact that the people have become the subject of social management. Each component element of the system in its present stage is using its own methods and performing particular functions among all its general tasks. The existing political system facilitates increasingly good cooperation among its component elements and complete integration of the party and state in society. So far from being considered perfect, the system is constantly enhancing its capacity for self-improvement in keeping with the changing social conditions and the new data of revolutionary experience.

The party's political theory and practice are characterized by interpretation of workers revolutionary democracy as the chief factor for successful socialist and communist construction. Therefore Nicolae Ceausescu keeps stressing the need for the party and state to work for further enhancement of the active role of democracy so that it will actually become a decisive motive force for all-around national progress and will be reflected in an exemplary, efficient and responsible activity on the part of all Romanian citizens.

/No 8, 25 Apr 87 pp 40-44/

Under the conditions of Romanian socialist society, the political system is in a process of maturing and continual structural and operational adjustment to the dynamic changes made by implementation of the aims of the Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for the Advance Toward Communism. It reflects the party's creative and consistent application of the fundamental principle of the revolutionary theory, namely that socialism is being built with and for the people. The constant effort of the RCP and its secretary general to improve the political system accordingly follows from the nature of the new order not only as a social structure capable of securing intensive development of the production forces and raising the workers' material and cultural living standard but also as the first social system with the historic mission of bringing the masses up to the level of self-determination.

In view of the RCP's broad, valuable and unprecedented experience in organizing and improving the political system, emphatically evidenced in the years since the Ninth Party Congress especially, and the current demands upon the whole series of bodies making up Romania's unique democratic system, and in the light of the guidelines and objectives formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu in order to improve the management of all sectors of society as well as the performance and efficiency of the political system as such, ERA SOCIALISTA arranged the following discussion by university teachers and other specialists in the field. The first part of the discussion, published in No 7, 1987, took up some characteristic aspects of the RCP's coherent scientific view of the political system and the ways of improving it, the roles of the internal and external factors in that process, the dialectical interaction among the various levels on which the political system is improved, the role of the subjective factors in securing the performance of the organizational structures in keeping with their functions in overall social management, and the evolution of the institutional structure and of the principles upon which the Romanian political system is based. We are publishing the second part of the discussion in this issue.

#### The Party as the Vital Center of Society. Party-State Relationships

AURELIAN COSMATSCHI: The party's role as the leading force of all society is one of the main features of the organization and operation of the Romanian political system. The party is the vital center of the political system and the initiator and motive force of all the measures on which its organization and improvement are based, in accordance with the strategic aim of building the fully developed socialist society.

The party's leadership is based on the social determinism of the socialist system and the close correlation between the objective and subjective factors in building the new order. As a revolutionary party and a true representative of the interests of the working class and the entire people, which has taken the whole responsibility for socialist and communist construction on Romanian soil, the RCP cannot allow the activities of the various sectors to be performed automatically, at the whim of chance. No kind of argument can justify leaving matters to chance and abandoning purposeful, uniform social management. The party has the high mission entrusted it by the people to work like any government party for implementation of its program in all fields and for coordination of activities in all sectors in order to carry out that program reflecting the interests and will of the entire nation. Accordingly the party is becoming more and more actively involved in political management of all sectors while securing the efficiency of the political system.

CONSTANTIN NICA: The objective trend toward development of the party's role is borne out, moreover, by the entire experience of socialist construction in Romania and also in other countries engaged in building the new order. If the superstructural factor, the vital center of which is the leading political force, were to confine itself to theoretical and practical procedures devised at a given point despite the requirements of progress in Romania's present stage, society would encounter great difficulties, other than those inherent in this vast and complicated process, with effects difficult to evaluate. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We think that in Romania in the stage of building the fully developed socialist society and advancing toward communism, the party's role as the leading political force is emerging more and more emphatically. In view of this historical

necessity, the party is identifying itself more and more with the aspirations and concerns of the masses and of society as a whole."

By consistently pursuing this scientifically planned policy, the RCP has been succeeding in honorably performing its role as the leading political force of the whole revolutionary process and in invariably overcoming the difficulties naturally facing it in any stage of socialist construction by providing the right solutions to the increasingly far-reaching problems constantly generated by a wide-scale unprecedented undertaking like socialist and communist construction. It has accordingly gained the entire people's unanimous confidence and it enjoys an enormous prestige in all social categories, being present in all socioeconomic sectors and units through its members and the organizations and organs that compose it, and having a vast political-organizational capacity, as it was appraised in the documents approved by the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in March 1987. These are all factors that strengthen its leadership decidedly.

AURELIAN COSMATCHI: Certainly every activity and every institutional component of the social management system have well-defined roles and responsibilities within the socialist division of labor. An increasingly important part in this respect is played by the socialist state, the new democratic bodies, the collective managements in enterprises and institutions and other socioeconomic units, but above all these the party as the leading political force bears the responsibility for the way each sector performs its functions and activity.

In view of this major responsibility, flowing from the fact of the RCP's exercise of its political leadership, the party secretary general also pointed out that the defects that still persist in various sector in the organization and management of the implementation of the aims of socioeconomic development are accordingly due to shortcomings in the work of the party organs and organizations and the way they are exercising their leadership. Since under the present circumstances the critical problem lies in complete and exemplary implementation of the programs for socioeconomic development in all fields, calling for greater responsibility on the part of the whole political system, the necessity of measures to improve and develop the responsibility of the party organs and to strengthen the control they exercise, and especially to enhance their organizational ability to unite all workers' efforts to implement the aims and tasks set by the 13th RCP Congress, including the efficient operation of the democratic bodies, is proving to be particularly urgent.

As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in March 1987, the following essential levers are vital to enhancement and use of the RCP's organizing power and accordingly to performance of the roles of the party organs and organizations in keeping with the present demands upon the political factor and upon managerial and organizational work in every socioeconomic activity, namely consistent application of the regulations governing party activity which permit extensive internal party democracy and mobilization of party members' entire potential for collective thinking and revolutionary action; periodic retraining and rotation of party personnel in various sectors; continuing improvement of the professional, scientific, ideological and political training of communists and party activists; and improvement of the working methods and approach of the party organs and organizations.

CONSTANTIN NICA: Of course the general development of the Romanian political system and the constant improvement of its structure and performance are inseparable from the radical changes in the party in the course of performing its legitimate role as the leading political force of all society. In formulating the view that socialist construction is a long and comprehensive process, Nicolae Ceausescu demonstrated that the RCP is not an immutable entity but a dynamic reality and a historically determined category and accordingly a political institution whose functions and forms of organization and activity are continually improved in keeping with the changes taking place in society as a whole. This programmatic principle is based on the premise that the party reflects the social conditions of existence in each historical stage. The party keeps improving its political-ideological and organizational work, shows constant concern for improvement of its members' political and professional training and for continuing reinforcement of its ranks, and relies more and more upon the people's wisdom and experience. In that way the party keeps enhancing its ability to lead society while undergoing radical qualitative changes itself at the same time.

Because of the changes made in its structure, image and functions in the last few decades, the party today is no longer an avantgarde party in the original sense of the word accepted decades ago. In the light of these changes Nicolae Ceausescu defines the party as the vital center of the nation and the motive and leading force of society and of the whole Romanian social system. This new approach does away with any interpretation of the party's role as that of a "commanding authority" or a "general staff" and is quite in keeping with the view of the party as a political body that is broadly democratic by its very nature and a consistent promoter of a profound democratism throughout society and mobilizes the entire people for purposeful activity, while at the same time devising policies to further improve Romanian socialist society.

If the party's role and functions in the present and future stages are to be developed, certainly its functions as the leading force must be performed as fully as possible within society and its institutions and must be based upon stimulation of the masses' energies and initiative. Therefore the party's exercise of its political leadership and its confirmation as the vital center of all society are in close dialectical agreement with the development of socialist democracy. Socialism can be built only as a purposeful undertaking of the masses and the entire people requiring their participation in social management. Moreover democracy does not develop automatically or by itself. Institution and consistent implementation of socialist democracy's principles and standards require a political policy and a clear idea of democratic development. It is accordingly a fact, very cogent in its significance, that the RCP and its secretary general started a unique, uniform and comprehensive system of socialist democracy in Romania that provides for effective participation of the people and the masses in social management.

MARIA NASTASE GEORGESCU: The fact that the party is not a mere passive receptacle of social changes but is becoming more and more definitely an active and purposeful leader of all social development and the initiating and organizing force for construction of the new order is significant for its continuous adjustment to the specific features and requirements of each stage of socialist construction. Exercise of its leadership on a progressively higher level is both a first requisite and a major aim of improved organization and operation of the political system, constantly enhancing its ability to perform its essential functions in



regulating the activity of the social body as a whole. There is accordingly a close correlation and an objective interaction between the innovations in the party's evolution as an active political body and the ways and means of performing its role, on the one hand, and the form of the political system in any given stage of socialist construction and the general direction of its activity on the other.

CONSTANTIN NICA: Improvement of the ways and means of management involves optimal operation of internal party democracy, of criticism and self-criticism, and of democratic centralism, an effective display of revolutionary spirit, and combination of uniform social management with the initiative and experience of the masses. Constant improvement of the party's working methods and approach and progressive rationalization of the organizational structure to meet the demands of the constantly changing conditions help to accelerate development, while disregard of them, complacency and lags in organization and management would have some bad effects sooner or later. In the light of this viewpoint, scientifically formulated by the party secretary general, extensive measures were taken after the Ninth RCP Congress to improve organization, management and operational control, and purposeful, efficient regulation of the Romanian social system was reinforced.

Meanwhile, as it was also pointed out at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in March 1987, thorough knowledge and consistent application of party decisions and laws of the land are first requirements for efficient management in all fields, for the workers' more purposeful participation in social management, and for development of workers revolutionary democracy. The practice the party instituted 20 years ago of submitting draft laws and decisions in all bodies making up the Romanian political system to broad public discussion is expected to serve those purposes more and more. The method of extensive democratic discussion of the laws of the land and the major decisions in the party and in other bodies and organizations and study of them in depth after they are approved is also one of the ways in which the party provides for the communists' and the entire people's proper understanding of the approved guidelines and directives and of the regulations in force, and it is indispensable to commitment of all forces to the specific effort to implement them.

The whole process of building the fully developed socialist society, the growing functions of the workers democratic state, the greater role and importance of the working class, and the development of the workers' revolutionary awareness require further consolidation of the ties between the party and the people and close integration of the party in all activities. This objective trend is accompanied by expansion of the party's functions in devising and implementing the strategy for social development, which secures coverage of all social activities by direct party leadership, increasingly active involvement of the party in the mechanisms and processes of socialist construction, and consolidation of the party's ties with the political, governmental and nongovernmental institutions on both the ideological and ideological levels. This is accomplished in practice partly by effective participation of the party organs and communists in performing the assigned tasks and partly by increasingly close involvement of party activities with those of the state and of the mass and public organizations within the general system of workers revolutionary democracy, and also by instituting management organs with new functions and a new composite nature and by the important part played by multiple functions in the work of party and state bodies, state and public bodies, etc.



DUMITRU IACOB: In the period following the Ninth RCP Congress, the party made a permanent effort of its in-depth analysis of ways of improving cooperation between the party and the state, thereby facilitating expression of the originality of Romanian political thought and practice. That effort is in order and particularly necessary now that the party's leadership is growing and strengthening, the party is functioning as the vital center of society, state democratism is being enhanced, and the Romanian socialist state is emerging as one of workers revolutionary democracy. The experience acquired in this field is of profound significance both for the performance of the Romanian political system and for the experience of the workers international movement and the struggle for socialism in the present period. It brings out the need of both delimitations and a precise scientific formulation of cooperation between the party and the state.

The RCP is acting entirely in accord with the legal standards and the laws of the state, which laws were initiated by the party and became the entire people's laws by virtue of their approval by the democratic representative organs of the state. Meanwhile the RCP and the socialist state are functioning as the chief factors for correlation and management of all processes of economic and social-political development. By closely correlating their activities in the course of democratic social management, educating the masses, and fostering the revolutionary spirit, the socialist state and the RCP exchange some basic political capacities by a process of mutual transfer, so to speak. In this way the party keeps strengthening its ties with the people through the state's development as the institutionalized reflection of the will of the masses, while the state acquires more and more of the political capacities and effectiveness of workers revolutionary democratism through its productive collaboration with the party. This is illustrated by the deployment of self-management in the activity of the people's councils (regional implementation of self-management), by the improved work of the bodies with twofold affiliation (party and state), etc. Therefore by constantly increasing its capacity for democratic management of socialist society the RCP naturally draws the state bodies into the field of force of self-management and enhancement of workers revolutionary democracy.

AURELIAN COSMATSCHI: Theoretical clarification and optimal integration in practice of the dialectical relationships between the party and the state are indeed major aims of improved organization and operation of the Romanian political system. There are a multitude of dialectical relationships between the RCP and the socialist state that are based on the party's role as vital center of all society and the state's role as organizer of all socioeconomic activity. The RCP and the socialist state are the two basic institutions of the Romanian political system. Increasingly intensive promotion of the state's role in uniform management of all socioeconomic activity is directly dependent upon increasingly effective exercise of the RCP's leadership in society as a whole. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "As a government party, the RCP cannot be above or apart from the administrative bodies of society but must be integrated in their activity and function as the organizer and motivator of all activity."

The party's leadership in Romanian socialist society does not replace the state organs or diminish their activity and responsibility to the laws and the people. Both the party and the state have their own organizational structures and perform their social functions by their own ways and means, but they also supplement each other in the framework of uniform social management. The state is

vitaly important in the process of implementing party policy because of its many resources and possibilities. It is the only institution with the attributes of public power, which includes a very wide range of resources to accomplish its objectives, from legislative authority to means of education, persuasion and ultimately material coercion.

The party is vitally interested in the proper operation of the state because the better it functions the more completely does the party exercise its political leadership. Moreover the exercise of the party's political leadership enhances the state's efficiency and its ability to perform its social-political role. The fact that both the party and the state reflect the will of the working class and the people is the basis of their united action. The party's leadership in all fields is further strengthened by the complete integration of the communists and the party organs and organizations in the activities of the state organs and of the new democratic bodies.

The principle that the party organs are not to replace the state organs, workers councils or mass organizations in any respect is vital to the improved operation of the Romanian political system, since it is their duty to secure the efficiency of those bodies. The party members in them and in all activities are responsible to the party organs for their activity and that of the bodies they belong to.

The state and its highest legislative and executive organs are the supreme power in Romanian socialist society, and the laws and the decisions made by the state organs according to law are binding on all Romanian citizens. Called upon to implement the party's domestic and foreign policy consistently, the state and its organs are responsible to the people and their representatives for their entire activity, for observance and firm application of the laws and socialist legality, and for defense of socialist ownership and national sovereignty and independence. This approach to the state's problems agrees with the RCP's view that in socialism the state is the political organization of the entire people, the supreme representative of the owners and producers, and the organizer of the common activity of all society. Hence the need of constant efforts toward the efficiency and greater responsibility of all state bodies and all workers on the state staff in exemplary fulfillment of the assigned tasks. Of course the greater role of the state is not to be seen as an accentuation of its administrative aspects or as a statizing of the social aspects but as a process of intensifying its creative role in uniform, scientific and democratic organization and management of society as a whole on the basis of the Unified National Plan and in keeping with the requirements of social progress.

#### Improvement of the State's Activity and Its Greater Role in Social Management

ION ZARA: The reason for understanding the nature of the state and the need of improving its functions in keeping with the social-political and economic aims of a stage in social development is both theoretical and practical-political. Since the workers revolutionary democratic state is integrated in all sectors of Romanian society, improvement of its structure and performance is an essential feature of social-political activity and a major concern of both the workers and the management organs. This concern is regularly and strikingly reflected in the activity of the RCP and its secretary general, as indicated by such party reference documents as the Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist

Society and for the Advance Toward Communism. Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 and the party secretary general's Report to the 13th Party Congress contain whole sections on the theory and practice of state activity. In the latter and in its whole practical effort to carry out the approved program policies the RCP makes real contributions to the contemporary ideological discussions of the state's problems and its course of action in the present historical stage.

It is significant that today, when there is talk in some countries of "the state crisis," the RCP developed the vital principle at its 13th Congress that "The aims of the next five-year plan and Romania's long-range development up to the year 2000 require as an objective necessity the more intensive development of the state's role in planning, organization and uniform management of all socioeconomic activity on the basis of the Unified National Plan." It is accordingly and quite rightly concluded that difficulties in social development and defects in state activity cannot be overcome and the aims of intensive qualitative development cannot be accomplished by diminishing the role of the socialist state or by transferring its functions to other bodies but, on the contrary, by intensive improvement of the state organs' activity and by strengthening uniform social management, while developing the initiative and participation of the masses and the people in democratic management of all socioeconomic activity.

The objective necessity of improving and augmenting the state's role follows from the need of uniform and harmonious development of society as a whole and from the great scope of the current tasks. Marx observed and said that "intervention of the centralizing authority" is required when the elementary necessity arises of making rational use in common of some resources. That objective necessity of organizing public affairs gave rise to the state's economic function, which takes on a quite new and revolutionary significance in socialism.

In making new and valuable contributions to clarify the relationship between the party and the state, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the party's mission to keep working for improvement and growth of the role of the state and all the democratic bodies. He also stressed the state's great responsibility as the owners' and producers' supreme representative, as the organizer of the entire people's activity in common, and as the general administrator of the national wealth.

MANEA BABUT: The socialist state's capacity as supreme representative of the owners, producers and beneficiaries brings out the nature of the state power, in the present stage of Romania's development, as a body serving the nation's general interests both at home and abroad. In that capacity, it is the task of the state and its bodies to secure the balanced, proportional and effective development of the national economy, to develop the production forces throughout the country in rational proportions among the various sectors (especially between industry and agriculture) and among the sectors and subsectors of activity, and to integrate the national economic complex efficiently in the international division of labor. The 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan, the main objective of which is Romania's transition to a medium developed country, calls for a greater enhancement of the Romanian state's functions, especially the economic one, because of the highly important aims we intend to accomplish, namely more intensive development of industry, agriculture and the other economic sectors, expansion of the energy and raw materials base, considerably more intensive use of raw materials, materials,

fuels and electric power, technical and qualitative improvement of products, reduction of production inputs and outlays, the most productive use of investment funds, more pronounced growth of labor productivity, expansion of exports and reduction of imports, steady growth of economic effectiveness, consolidation of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration, bringing the whole economy up to the level of the most advanced gains of contemporary science and technology, and attainment of a new quality of life and work for the entire people.

In implementing uniform management of all activities, the socialist state employs an instrument indispensable to the performance of its functions, namely the Unified National Plan for Socioeconomic Development, with the aid of which it evaluates, plans and mobilizes the material and manpower resources for social development. Combining the standards of scientific management with those of democratic and uniform management of society, the Unified National Plan is expected by the party to serve as a dynamic instrument to stimulate the creative initiative of all the state bodies and workers collectives and to make efficient use of the resources that society has at each point in its evolution both for its continuous development and for the general improvement of the people's material and cultural living standard. In stressing the particular importance of improving the methods of managing and planning socioeconomic activity and the objective necessity of the planning principle in socialist construction, Nicolae Ceausescu concluded that "Romanian socialist society can never dispense with the Unified National Plan. Any other approach to the problems would mean giving way to petit-bourgeois anarchy and chaos, and doing grave harm to socialist and communist construction." Moreover past experience in socialism entirely bears out this conclusion.

The views of the RCP and its secretary general as to the regular necessity of enhancing the socialist state's role throughout socialist and communist construction are meeting with a particularly wide response because a number of unscientific theories are circulating abroad about limiting or even repudiating the state's role in socioeconomic management and reducing the role of planned management. Experience reveals the lack of scientific foundation and the profound error of and harm in such theories. It goes without saying that in view of intensive and increasingly comprehensive socioeconomic development and accentuated international interdependence, the Romanian socialist nation's vital interests inevitably require not reduction but further development of the state's role in uniform social management.

Development of the socialist state's role also reflects the greater participation of the masses in social management and the state's increasing identification with the entire people's aspirations. Accordingly the growth of the state's role and the development of socialist democracy are interdependent aspects of one and the same process.

ION ZARA: Providing the legal and institutional structure essential to economic and cultural-scientific activity is a major component of state procedure. Among the measures taken in Romania that reflect further improvement of state activity are those that legalized the principle of the regional-administrative units' self-financing, those that strengthened the personal material responsibility of the members of the economic units' collective management organs, the new regulations on remuneration on the overall and direct contract systems, etc. The

application of these measures calls for use of economic and financial levers to make every economic unit and every locality a veritable stronghold of material and cultural progress and socialist civilization. When the state is managing the national wealth and the public funds, it is normal for the responsibility of the collective management organs, especially material responsibility, to be not only specified but also quite definitely assumed. The measures adopted to that end are intended to eliminate any possible waste of the people's material and financial resources and to heighten the responsibility of those entrusted with their use. This guarantees that all the national wealth that is managed by the various state organs will be efficiently used to develop Romanian society and to raise the people's living standard. And this guarantee is also supported by the control operations. Workers and citizens control over the state organs' activity is an essential and increasingly effective component of the Romanian socialist democratic system.

As for the state's future as the organizer and manager of all socioeconomic activity, the RCP as we know formulated the principle that the functions of purposeful organization and management of activity in socialist society will never disappear. This principle agrees with the Marxist view of the twofold nature of administrative work, the disappearance of the exploitation and oppression of workers peculiar to the capitalist state and the permanence of administrative functions based on the nature of any society. The qualifications stated in Nicolae Ceausescu's Report to the 13th RCP Congress are valuable both because they go far to clarify a fundamental political and philosophical problem and because they make it possible to improve social management and organization and the state's activity as well.

CONSTANTIN NICA: I should like to bring up another aspect of improvement of the state's role in the Romanian political system that is quite revelant here, namely the interdependence between growth of the state's role and development of democracy, and the harmonious combination of uniform management via the state on the basis of socialist ownership and centralized planning with mass participation in management and the extensive initiative of the new democratic bodies. The uniform dialectical process of developing the state's role and functions while enhancing workers democracy is characterized now by several major trends.

In the first place developing the state's functions involves all of the three aspects that determine its nature in an inseparable unity, namely its democratic, revolutionary and working-class character, and it accordingly involves the whole system of the state's organs and the main directions of state activity. Therefore the highest organs of state power keep intensifying their regulatory activity and their efforts to base relations in Romanian society more and more squarely upon the legal regulations, thus enhancing the rule of law in all socioeconomic and state activity. This intensive regulatory activity is an important and also indispensable means of organizing, managing and improving any social situation, and it is also a necessary means of consistently promoting the principles of equality, equity and revolutionary socialist humanism and of harmonizing general with personal interests and national with local interests.

Thanks to the legislative measures on organization and operation of the local state organs, the latter have been given extensive opportunities to display initiative, to consolidate their ties with the masses, and to involve the masses in adequate ways in the solution of local socioeconomic problems.

In the years following the Ninth RCP Congress special emphasis was placed on improved organization and operation of the central and local state organs. Actually there is no central or local state organ in Romania today whose organizational structures, procedure and functions are not regulated in a new way, in the sense of strengthening them with the best and most active elements of the working class and instituting a working approach based on really democratic relations between the public authority and the citizen.

Democratism in the formation of the organs representing the state administration and in the performance of their functions is enhanced by the introduction of the system of nominating several candidates in the same electoral district, by the consolidation of ties between deputies and voters, and by the increased number of deputies from the ranks of the working class, peasantry, other social categories, and workers in directly productive sectors creating material values and goods. The principle of impeachment should also be mentioned here, when it is found that for various reasons any of those elected are not performing satisfactorily, as well as the obligation of the state organs to submit periodic reports on their activities, etc.

IOAN VIDA: In connection with the foregoing other qualifications can also be made that bring out the radical democratic reforms in the Romanian socialist state. We should mention here that the present organizational structure for the workers' participation in management of the socioeconomic processes and control over the activities of the various categories of state organs provides for further development of the state's role as organizer of the people's common activity in full accord with the workers' interests.

The introduction of the referendum in the series of methods of consulting the workers is a great help in strengthening the democratic structure for the workers' direct participation in social and state management and accordingly for improving the state's activity. The Grand National Assembly has accordingly decreed consultation of the people by referendum upon particularly important measures concerning the nation's highest interests.

Thanks to the popular, working-class origins of the revolutionary spirit that inspires all social management, the Romanian political system in its present stage of development is a system of the people's power and a true system of socialist democracy whose form and functions are necessarily based upon the actual socioeconomic situation in socialist Romania and the strategic objectives of building the fully developed socialist society and of Romania's advance toward communism.

DUMITRU IACOB: Romania's experience clearly indicates that workers self-management, characteristic of Romania's strategy for building fully developed socialism, is gaining ground as the party functions as the leading political force of society and the harmoniously operational and intrinsically democratic relationship among the party, the state and the workers revolutionary democratic bodies is consolidated. In fact scientific social management on the principle of democratic centralism is being accomplished more and more through the combination of uniform management with enhanced democracy and with mass participation in socioeconomic management.

The workers democratic bodies and those for self-management serve to mobilize the masses of workers for practical implementation of the courses of social

development set by the party and democratically expressed in the state's decisions with the force of law, thus accomplishing the higher and profoundly democratic purpose of uniform management of socialist society. The new and revolutionary democratic bodies unite the masses enthusiasm and energies and provide for discussion of the problems of socialist construction and for effective worker participation in management of all activities and in implementing the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies.

The Romanian system of socialist democracy, notable for its originality and uniform in the operational coherence of its components, accordingly shows a close combination of those features, dialectically accomplished as the distinct form emerges of each individual body, the RCP, the socialist state, and the workers democratic bodies.

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In ERA SOCIALIST Nos 7 and 8, 1987 we published the first two parts of the present discussion, which took up some characteristic aspects of the party's and its secretary general's scientific, innovative view of the political system and the ways of improving it, the evolution of the institutional structure and principles basic to the Romanian political system, and the role of the subjective elements in securing the performance of its structures in conformity with its functions in social management. Major aspects of the qualitative changes made in promotion of the party's role as the vital center of all society and of the state's role in uniform socioeconomic management and in the dialectical relationships between the party and the state were also discussed.

The third part of the discussion, which we are publishing in this issue, examines the problems of other main ways of improving the political system such as consolidation of workers self-management, thorough personnel training, and promotion of the revolutionary spirit throughout Romanian socialist society.

#### Consolidation of Self-Management and of Workers Revolutionary Democracy

VASILE NICHITA: In the Romanian social management system, consolidation of workers self-management and of economic-financial self-administration is one of the basic requirements for achieving the new quality in socioeconomic management and making all structures and segments of workers revolutionary democracy more efficient. Self-management is not consolidated or developed automatically or in isolation but in close correlation with development of party leadership and under its political leadership. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Self-management and self-administration mean greater responsibility for every collective and group in any sector in good management, development and accomplishment of the assigned objectives, but they are responsible for that to the state, the people and the party, which is responsible for the way each sector performs."

The fact should also be mentioned here that the development of self-management in no way detracts from the state's functions in uniform, planned socioeconomic management. It eliminates any tendency to break up socialist ownership or to isolate the workers collectives and self-management organs from the general efforts and aims of society or from the provisions of the Unified National Plan for Socioeconomic Development. The new economic-financial mechanism, which accompanies and lends definite substance to self-management, meets by its principles



and procedures the requirements for improving socialist democracy and the efficiency of social management, while involving the masses effectively in the tasks of socialist construction. It also meets the requirements of the objective laws because it is designed and structured in accordance with the strategic objectives of the present stage of Romanian society's development. Therefore, as we could have learned from experience and as the party secretary general has repeatedly pointed out, any violation of the requirements of the economic mechanism or any failures to apply the principles of self-management and self-administration in the operation of the workers democratic bodies may have bad social and economic effects impairing not only the best management and responsibility of socialist ownership but also the entire development of society.

Accordingly the best performance of the collective management bodies in enterprises and institutions and their greater efforts to consistently apply the new economic-financial mechanism and the principles of self-management and self-administration are vital to the normal course of the activity and to efficient management of socialist ownership. In the present stage understanding of this requirement by all management organs in ministries, centrals and enterprises and adoption of the necessary measures to meet the standards of the new economic-financial mechanism without fail are indispensable to the improvement of organization and management in keeping with the development of the production forces and the material resources of Romanian society. It is in these directions that the workers as owners, producers and beneficiaries must take the responsibility for the party's assignments in order to demonstrate, primarily by the facts and actual results, the essential role of mass participation in management as an inseparable part of the revolutionary process of building the fully developed socialist society.

The self-management bodies have all the necessary resources for an effective effort in this direction. The measures to improve the economic-financial mechanism in recent years and the improved legislation regulating remuneration on the overall and direct contract systems, making workers' incomes more dependent on the work performed, can better appeal to the sense of responsibility of the collective management organs and of every worker and encourage their participation in solution of the problems that determine exemplary fulfillment of the plan tasks.

Improved performance of the collective management organs and especially of the workers general assemblies is becoming more and more important in this respect. As the highest forums of enterprise management, the assemblies must perform their legally constituted functions and enhance their role in management of all activities. By virtue of their functions, they must control and analyze in depth the activity of the management councils and take steps to improve the composition of the workers councils by replacing members who are not performing the assigned tasks satisfactorily. Those functions of the workers general assemblies must be more consistently performed in order to strengthen discipline and responsibility and to permit exemplary fulfillment of the plans and programs for socioeconomic development.

The fact that the RCP considers mass participation in management of all activities critical to socialist and communist construction clearly indicates the theoretical and practical importance of further development of workers revolutionary democracy. Therefore the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in March 1987 decided to make an in-depth analysis of the experience acquired in the activity of



the workers democratic bodies and the new forms of management in the 15 years since they were founded, in full agreement with the party secretary general's conclusions and for purposes of determining the right measures to make better use of the existing organizational structure, to generalize the good points and eliminate any defects that still persist, and to apply self-management and self-administration consistently to all fields. And as Nicolae Ceausescu said, that problem will be central to the preparations for the next National Party Conference alongside fulfillment of the plan and the developmental programs for this year and improvement of party work and social management.

ION ZARA: It is unquestionably one of the most important points in improvement of social management to consistently apply the new economic-financial mechanism, which is intended to encourage intensive development and efficiency and to discourage, by economic means, tendencies to make superficial use of and even to waste material and manpower resources. Insufficient effort has been made in this field to apply the standards of this mechanism consistently. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the Third Workers Congress, both the economic mechanism and the people applying it are lagging behind the requirements of socioeconomic development. Tardiness and delay in applying a mechanism suited to intensive development have encouraged practices in some units that are contrary to the new mechanism and self-administration and conducive not to internal effort or production but to inactivity, such as the tendency to raise prices with no economic justification or to cover outlays not out of the unit's own funds or incomes obtained or its own collections but out of bank loans, credits etc. It is accordingly necessary to heighten the responsibility of all managers in units for the solution of all problems on a new basis, so that every enterprise will do a socially useful job of high quality, market it as soon as possible, collect for it and resume the reproduction process with its own resources.

Meanwhile if self-management and self-administration are to be strengthened, the industrial centrals must properly perform their legally assigned functions of efficient management of all activities on economic principles. New measures were accordingly adopted recently enabling the centrals to perform their role and to take the entire responsibility for fulfillment of all plan indicators, which they will receive directly from the central planning bodies and not through the intermediary of the coordinating ministries as before. This eliminates any tendencies toward petty bureaucratic supervision of the centrals by the competent ministries and also facilitates emphasis upon guidance, control and technical aid of the economic units under the ministries in the latter's activity.

The regulations on scientific standardization and organization of labor, better product quality, greater material responsibility for managers, and application of the system for organizing and remunerating for labor on the overall and direct contract systems are integrated in the overall mechanism for socioeconomic management with the requirements for transition to a new quality of work and life in Romanian society.

MARIA NASTASE GEORGESCU: Workers self-management is a political arrangement as well as an economic one. It is based on public ownership of the production means and socialist ownership is not only an economic arrangement but accordingly also a political one with political functions, and it creates a field of operation for political functions.

The nature of socialist production relations calls for enhanced democracy as an essential for development of their functions. In its turn workers self-management improves upon ownership relations, their socialist character, and their effectiveness, enabling socialist ownership to demonstrate its superiority more and more emphatically.

Workers self-management is becoming an essential lever of the Romanian political system. The self-management bodies are one of its original features that sharply distinguishes it from the institutional structure of the capitalist political system. Of course most of the self-management bodies' activity takes place in the economic units, as an integrated, uniform whole on the local and national levels. The National Workers Council is accordingly a political organ with particular functions such as the right to legislative initiative, to control over the application and observance of party decisions, laws and other regulatory enactments, and to discussion of the government reports on fulfillment of the Unified National Plan for Socioeconomic Development.

DUMITRU IACOB: Romanian revolutionary political theory and practice and the RCP's creative experience bring out the practical-operational value of the strategy of shifting to a new and higher quality in all social activity and developing socialist democracy. On the basis of the inherent correlation between socialism and democracy and the participative-creative nature of the intrinsic processes of socialist democracy on both the political-structural and the social-functional levels of Romanian socialist society, workers revolutionary democracy is becoming a quality of the new order. On the basis and on the strength of revolutionary democracy, the functional-qualitative vitality of Romanian society is gradually becoming complete. The qualitatively new revolutionary democracy is assuming its historic task of creating the necessary climate and uniting all the social forces in order to promote the new throughout society.

Completely incorporating the laws of democracy, socialism in the stage of its all-around development is converting the principle of transition to a new and higher quality from a general desideratum to an operational requirement that is feasible as a practical possibility and urgent as a regular necessity. Without being the result of any chance developments or of the release of any "automatic" mechanisms but being very clearly integrated in the further improvement of all Romanian society, the new democratic quality based on the internal logic of socialist democratism is reflected in the present stage in the process of implementing workers self-management, being actually created by the action of the purposeful elements in society and of the RCP especially. Accordingly, while true and complete democracy lends the people's existence a quality new in history and socialism a new quality, self-management lends democracy a new quality, a higher quality in its social management procedures. As Nicolae Ceausescu says about this, "The new quality in social management requires further development of the role of the working class through further participation of its representatives in all state bodies and its direct participation in good management of the economic units and of the nation as a whole. We must see that the working class actually carries out its mission as the leading political force by making it possible for this concept of the Marxist classics to be implemented not only in programs and decisions but also in practice, by the working class' direct assumption of its historic role in socialist society through direct participation in management."

Actually, in developing processes begun years ago and designing a uniform scientific strategy in its program documents and in Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works, the RCP has outlined the nature and aims of the formation of workers self-management while coordinating and stimulating its maturing and improvement and spurring the development of the workers-participative democratic bodies' capacity to promote the new and the revolutionary spirit in socioeconomic activity.

DAN MIRCEA POPESCU: In the present stage the sustained efforts of all workers and the entire people are required in order to build a highly efficient, productive and competitive economy. Meanwhile the implications of management are increasing in number. On the one hand management directs the material and manpower resources toward accelerated progress on all levels and forestalls lags in any field and contradictions in the course of the social processes, and on the other hand it makes political action more effective. All this calls for further improvement of organization, management and planning of socioeconomic development.

In the last 22 years, as we know, the RCP has been meeting that requirement by instituting the principle of collective labor and management, so that worker participation became the only way of implementing management in Romania and management with and for the people became the chief factor for social progress and all-around development of the social body as a whole.

The uniform and comprehensive system of workers revolutionary democracy is the material reflection of this higher form of organization and management. This system, which includes the party, state, public organizations, subject congresses and conferences, widely representative national forums, and workers self-management institutions, provides for the direct and regular participation of the working class and all workers in management of the socioeconomic and regional-administrative units and of society as a whole. This original and unique organizational structure supplements management via the state organs and helps to advance the economic and political interests of all social and occupational categories.

The workers democratic institutions have broad deliberative powers, express the will and interests of the workers as owners, producers and beneficiaries of all national wealth, and encourage all workers' purposeful activity. Accordingly the efforts to create material and cultural values are more and more closely involved with management and responsibility for husbandry of the national wealth. In this way the workers self-management bodies and those of economic self-administration enable the workers to better develop their capacity as owners and to take direct responsibility for the defense and development of socialist ownership, the foundation of national progress and prosperity.

VASILE NICHITA: Development of workers revolutionary democracy, direct and responsible mass participation in management of all activities, and unfailing application of self-management and self-administration are major aims of further improvement of the democratic system created in Romania as well as inseparable parts and objective necessities of construction of the fully developed socialist society.

The democratic system of Romanian society's operation and management, wherein workers self-management reflects some new principles and institutions that arose in the dialectical and dynamic process of its development, harmonizes direct with representative democracy, which is widely practiced in the formation and operation of the state organs on both the central and local levels.

A vital part in the party's political strategy of strengthening and improving democracy and self-management is played by harmonious correlation of the work of the socialist state's organs with that of the new workers democratic bodies on the basis of democratic centralism and of ever closer combination of uniform management of all sectors with the broad initiative of the masses and the workers councils and general assemblies. Close interaction between state and party or public activity, combining the uniform management of the whole country, consistently based on profoundly democratic principles and practices and on the Unified National Plan, with widespread display of initiative and responsibility on the part of the workers collectives and self-management bodies, is an original and unprecedented solution both in theory and from the standpoint of direct practical experience, and it has profound immediate and long-range implications for consolidation of workers revolutionary democracy and the people's full commitment to building the new order.

MARIA NASTASE GEORGESCU: The profoundly democratic character of the Romanian political system is also indicated by the regular and productive dialogue between the managers and the masses, which is due not to any haphazard or sporadic initiatives but is a main feature of the social relations and political system in Romania.

Moreover, organization of a regular dialogue with specialists and workers in various activities is one of the characteristic manifestations of the RCP's political leadership. Nicolae Ceausescu's working visits to socioeconomic units, counties and localities and his meetings with workers and the people have been particularly important in this respect in the last 20 years, reflecting as they do the new, revolutionary spirit of management and of socialist construction together with and for the people.

Since there is no objective reason in socialism for any clash between the managers and the masses, a clash caused by exploitation and oppression, decision-making is no longer the outcome of any social or political class confrontations. In capitalist society the major decisions ultimately reflect class confrontations causing the governing circles to take steps to limit participation of the masses and the workers in management, so that the dialogue takes place within the limits permitted by the ruling groups and only insofar as it does not affect their interests or the nature of the system based on private ownership of the production means.

In this light the superiority of socialist democracy is even clearer. As Nicolae Ceausescu said about it, "We do not deny or underrate other democratic systems, but we are against absolutizing capitalist democracy or accepting it or other systems as a model. The democratic bodies we have created provide for participation of the entire people and all social categories, who have the same interests and pursue the same political and socioeconomic ends, in the management of Romania."

The RCP regards the dialogue with the masses as a means of strengthening uniform social management and securing the success of the general political policy of building the new order. Worker participation in the various aspects of management rationalizes the relationship between their interests and the strategic aims set in each developmental stage. Of course determination of the best measures does not exclude confrontation of opinions while the decisions are being made. The party secretary general says, "Formation of a unified view absolutely

requires a regular conflict among differing theories and ideas about better organization of the production forces, social relations and activity of the masses. Of course it will be a conflict based upon uniform production relations and also upon development of science, culture and man's knowledge, which will keep opening up more and more new ways of improving social existence and relations." Accordingly the managers' regular dialogue with the masses and workers calls for the latter's purposeful and responsible involvement in making choices and setting priorities according to the given conditions, thus securing the entire people's agreement on the aims of the party strategy as well as their active and knowledgeable participation in implementing that strategy."

The dialogue and all workers' effective participation in management will be further extended as their levels of culture, competence and political awareness rise.

LADISLAU LORINCZ: The revolutionary reforms of the present stage of Romania's development depend both upon the workers themselves, their level of training and the quality of the managers' performance and upon improvement of the organizational-institutional structure and principles and methods of management and adoption of suitable plans and programs.

ARISTIDE CIOABA: In the RCP's view there is an interaction among all aspects of the revolutionary process of building the new order. The strategy for building the fully developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism clearly reflects this interdependence among all areas of society. The aims of Romania's rise to a higher stage of development cannot succeed unless they are accompanied by comprehensive personnel training and constant improvement of all workers' general culture and professional and technical-scientific knowledge. That is indispensable to the new technical-scientific revolution and the new agrarian revolution as controlling factors for intensive development and transition to a new quality of the people's life and work. And the party secretary general is taking account of this when he points out that the goals set by the 13th RCP Congress and the unending continuation of the revolutionary process of Romania's advance to new peaks of progress requires a true revolution in people's thought and action and in forming the new man with a high revolutionary awareness as well as intensive promotion of the revolutionary spirit. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "We always need revolutionaries with more and more new disciplines upon whom we make more and more new demands, some incomparably greater than in the past!"

LADISLAU LORINCZ: As a matter of fact the RCP is emphasizing matters of thorough professional and political training and promotion of the revolutionary spirit throughout the activity of managers, workers, party and state organs, and all the democratic bodies. That primarily requires training of militant revolutionaries who will master the scientific advances in all fields, who will combine a high level of professional, technical and economic training with the spirit of dedication, sacrifice and effort to do away with all that is outmoded and to promote the new in all activities, and who will make an active contribution to the efficient operation of the party and state bodies and self-management organs and to the performance of all their functions, thus securing the intensive, harmonious development of society as a whole in keeping with the high aims of socialism.

This includes the RCP's constant effort toward improvement of its working methods and approach, knowledge and fully consistent application of party decisions and

laws of the land, assignment of forces and personnel according to the requirements of each activity, greater responsibility and close combination of collective with individual responsibility in the activities of all workers collectives. All this is in view of the essential fact that the organizational forms themselves that were created and invested with broad functions in the political system for social organization and management cannot function without properly trained people or without methods suited to the aims of the party policy.

#### Thorough Personnel Training. Promotion of the Revolutionary Spirit

ION ZARA: Thorough study and understanding of socioeconomic phenomena and of the action of the dialectical laws in social development are among the manifestations of the revolutionary spirit in the managers' activity, in order to give scientific answers to the problems presented by experience and social evolution and to guide the workers' creative efforts correctly.

Management is a highly responsible field of social activity, requiring people with a high sense of responsibility. The party documents require every activist to show militance, responsibility at work, and firmness and to work with a revolutionary spirit, always placing the interests of the party, the people, the socialist cause, the nation's continued prosperity and its sovereignty and independence above all else.

Promotion of the new has been and still is the most favorable objective for the revolutionary spirit. A managerial position does not mean using it for personal interest but authorizes a person to solve collective problems and to see to the advancement of society's general interests. Managerial work requires skill, enthusiasm and consistency. The RCP regards the revolutionary spirit of the modern manager as a result and a harmonious synthesis of professional training, scientific competence and a militant spirit for purposes of promotion and application of the new and better solution of the problems of revolutionary theory and practice. The revolutionary spirit in promoting the new also calls for critical and self-critical analysis both of negative situations and of the existing results. A manager is a militant revolutionary if he takes a firm stand against defects and shortcomings and in favor of strengthened order and discipline in the activity of every collective and worker, and so is an activist if he shows no signs of complacency and makes a sustained effort to eliminate the defects and improve the work in all sectors.

Meanwhile realistic, clear and effective decisions, proper planning of work, control of plan fulfillment, and perfect order are essential to a suitable working climate, peak results, and optimal performance of the bodies and structures making up the political system. The total commitment of the managers and party and state activists to the requirements of their positions, while working in close unity with the entire people to carry out the revolutionary tasks facing Romanian society in the present stage, are real manifestations of their revolutionary spirit, responsibility and competence. Through their knowledge of the conditions and by working with skill and dedication to devise and implement party policy while militating for promotion of the new and all that is useful, the managers serve as revolutionaries helping to assert the party as the motive force of the great revolutionary reforms and the vital center of society.

LADISLAU LORINCZ: Reinforcement of the system of social responsibilities of the administrative bodies and managers and workers collectives is a vital consideration that the party secretary general has been constantly emphasizing throughout his theoretical and practical effort to improve the political organization of society. In general the workers' increased social responsibility reaches its full stature in developing and improving workers revolutionary democracy and in applying and generalizing the principles of workers self-management. Continuation of the revolutionary process and Romania's transition to a new and higher stage of development call for greater responsibility in all its manifestations, moral political and legal. Moreover greater social responsibility is closely related to improvement and intensification of socialist democracy.

In the broad democratic structure peculiar to Romanian society, free assertion of the workers' initiative and their constructive critical spirit are harmoniously combined with every citizen's greater responsibility for the general interests and social progress. In the present stage characterized by accentuated intensive development in all social activities, responsibility and especially political responsibility must not only be strengthened but also shaped according to the new conditions and requirements.

Greater responsibility of the managements of the socialist and economic units for the results of their activities has been increasingly emphasized in the last 20 years. The approved political and legal standards have established responsibility for performance of the state organs' functions, and the provision is well known concerning impeachment of those elected or appointed to various political or economic positions if they do not carry out their assignments properly. As we know, we have legal provisions authorizing the workers general assemblies in enterprises to move for impeachment of managers in their units who make no sustained effort to implement the laws of the land or the decisions of the party and the self-management organs. Citizens may also move in the regional councils of the FDUS [Socialist Unity and Democracy Front] for impeachment of deputies for unsatisfactory performance in the local or central state organs.

In the present intensive economy emphasizing efficiency, such shortcomings in the performance of managers in the economy or state administration as ignorance, irresponsibility, indifference or failure to make timely decisions, which usually result in damage or nonfulfillment of approved plans and programs. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the plenums of the RCP Central Committee in December 1986 and March 1987, there are still activists and managers in various fields who spend valuable time compiling reports explaining why they could not fulfill the plan or their obligations in some field instead of paying due attention to the approved programs and measures, accurate organization of their activity, and greater responsibility in performance of the assignments. But explanations are not needed to overcome the deficiency, but efficient action and revolutionary zeal in solving the problems and in sound labor organization, because as the party secretary general said, "There is no problem that we cannot solve when everyone acts responsibly, with revolutionary enthusiasm and with determination to honor his responsibilities entrusted by the party and the people and to make an active contribution to socialist Romania's general development."

Greater responsibility, especially political responsibility, helps to correlate the quality of management more and more closely with the results obtained. Accordingly a manager's political and professional prestige gains real objective support according to the results of the activity performed.



ION ZARA: The question of responsibility also has another and a highly important aspect, namely the party and state organs' responsibility for the way they perform their tasks entrusted them by the people. This matter, repeatedly emphasized by Nicolae Ceausescu, primarily calls for better use of the levers for the masses' democratic control over the government and the state organs' activity, so that no body can in any way evade the workers' control or its responsibility to the people for the activity it performs. Moreover the system of Romanian socialist democracy has a series of ways and means whereby the masses exercise regular control over the state's activity and all socioeconomic activity and also participate in social management. We need mention here only a few of those, such as citizens' control over the performance of the deputies and executive organs of the people's councils through the reports they are required to submit periodically to the citizens' assemblies; the workers' public control organized under the auspices of the FDUS, the largest standing political body; discussion in the workers revolutionary democratic forums of the activity of the government and other institutions of the central state administration; the control exercised by the workers general assemblies in the economic units over the entire activity of those units, etc.

The RCP feels that it is the essence of the central state organs' responsibility to the people under the present circumstances to increase their efforts toward better organized implementation of the plans and programs and to check and control the regular accomplishment of the objectives in all sectors in order to promote the Unified National Plan as an active instrument for encouraging the creative initiative of all state organs and all workers collectives on behalf of better use of Romanian society's resources for socioeconomic development and general improvement of the people's living standard.

ARISTIDE CIOBA: The RCP's view of the role and responsibilities of personnel in building the new order combines in a single whole the high moral-political and professional qualities and the traits that should characterize the party and state activists and militant revolutionaries with the preparation and implementation of a coherent and comprehensive policy on selection, training and advancement of the personnel essential to all socioeconomic activities. The party's management of this field, which is critical to the proper operation of the whole social body, is not only a legitimate attribute based on its role as the vital center of Romanian socialist society but also an objective necessity in view of the requirement for harmonious all-around development of this society on the basis of a uniform program that can be implemented only by the sustained efforts of the workers and managers in all sectors. The party's uniform planning and implementation of the whole personnel policy accordingly reflects its continuing effort both to recruit the labor force essential to the national economy and to select and train personnel and promote them to management positions in the party and state organs and organizations and in the mass and public organizations, and to consistently apply the legal principles and standards for the social composition of the management personnel and organs in keeping with the class structure of society and the requirements for enhancing workers revolutionary democracy.

As indicated in the documents approved by the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in March 1987, the implementation of the party's personnel policy has been continually improved in accordance with the goals set by the 13th RCP Congress and under Nicolae Ceausescu's direct supervision and guidance. Consequently



the RCP now has a useful detachment of managers in the party, state and public organizations and in the socioeconomic units with a good professional and political training and experience in organizing and managing the activity. But in view of the requirements formulated by the party secretary general, new and sustained efforts are need to improve personnel training and to consistently apply the party policy in this field. We must bear in mind that the results obtained by the Romanian people incorporate both the creative efforts of the workers and the important contributions of the personnel in responsible positions and the party and state activists, just as the failures and shortfalls in any sector are largely due to defects that still occur in the organizational and administrative work of some personnel.

With due attention to the questions of improved management and organization of the whole activity and optimal operation of the Romanian political system, Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly pointed out the need of the most responsible effort to advance personnel with sound professional, technical and scientific training a high patriotic and revolutionary awareness, and an advanced outlook on the world and life. Only by meeting those essential requirements can managers accomplish the tasks entrusted them by the party and the people to boldly promote the new and the revolutionary spirit in all social activities, in keeping with the current requirements.

The same purpose of improving management and comprehensive personnel training is served by consistent application of the principle of rotating personnel. It is well known that in general contemporary socioeconomic development demands well-trained people who can perform complex and varied tasks and readily shift from one activity to another, which is being done more and more frequently in all social activities. These requirements are especially necessary in economic and social-political management in Romanian society. For this very purpose the party secretary general points out that "We must consistently apply the state's provisions and the nation's laws concerning rotation of personnel. We must realize that this is a necessity for comprehensive personnel training itself so that they can work in any activity where the party and the state require it."

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CSO: 2700/228

## DEFENSE, INTERIOR MINISTRIES WRITERS LITERARY CIRCLE MEETS

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian No 32, 6 Aug 87 p 2

[Excerpts] In an atmosphere of vibrant patriotism, the literary circle of professional military writers of the National Defense Ministry and the Ministry of the Interior met on Saturday, 1 August, of this year at the Central House of the Army. The gathering is one of many convened throughout the country in anticipation of the Third Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture.

Participating in the inaugural session were Dumitru Radu Popescu, president of the Writers Union of the Romanian Socialist Republic, representatives of the Higher Political Council of the Army, of the Political Council of the Interior Ministry, members of the Writers Union, and founding members of the literary circle.

Through its activities, the literary circle undertakes to promote the policy of our party in the fields of literature and art, and to stimulate original, patriotic and humanist works embodying the communist ideals on life and work; to cultivate through literature and art the love of country, of party and of our people, as well as love toward the general secretary of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the founder of modern Romania.

During the first plenary session, the literary circle elected a bureau composed of the following: Radu Theodoru, secretary of the circle; Olimpian Ungherea and Gheorghe Vaduva, adjunct secretaries; Haralamb Zinca, prose section chief; Nicolae Boghian, poetry section chief; Tudor Negoita, theater and film section chief; Constantin Voivozeanu, journalism section chief; Nicolae Dan Fruntelata and Ion Arama, members.

The following spoke during the proceedings: Dumitru Radu Popescu, Stelian Dragne, Constantin Petcu, Radu Teodoru, Ion Jianu, Ion Potopin, Eugen Teodoru, Haralamb Zinca, Ion Gh. Pana, Constantin Avram, Geo Calugaru, Traian Reu, and Mihai Rasica. The following poets read from their works: Constantin Atomii, George Florin Cozma, Constantin Voivozeanu, Vasile Preda, and Corin Bianu.

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## FAULTY WEATHER FORECASTING SERVICE DAMAGES ECONOMY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 Jul 87 p 3

[Article by Mersin Shqypi: "Monitoring the Execution of Decisions and Tasks -- For the Reorganization of the Weather Service in Albania"]

(Excerpts) At the present time hydrometeorological surveys and studies on land and sea are carried out by institutions such as the Hydrometeorological Institute of the Academy of Sciences, the Meteorological Institute of the Air Force, the Hydrographic Service of the Naval Fleet, etc. There have been great achievements in this sector just as in every other sector of our economy and science. A complex system of hydrometeorological stations covers the territory of the republic and, for all the industrial and agricultural projects which have been built, the Hydrometeorological Institute of the Academy of Sciences has given its assistance and scientific opinions. The quality of weather forecasting for the short term and for 10-day periods, by the Air Force Meteorological Service, has improved. The safe travel of ships within the territorial waters of the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania has been assured by the Hydrographic Service of the Naval Fleet. But the present stage of our development demands more from these sectors. We think that there are problems both in regard to the organizational structure and in regard to a better cooperation of the hydrometeorological services in our country. What is happening?

At the 7th plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, in September 1983, it was reported that there are some buildings on the coast which the sea is destroying, as a result of lack of studies. What was done after this problem was reported? Nothing. Everyone thinks: "it is not my job to undertake such studies". The question arises: who should carry out these studies, should a special institute be set up for the geomorphological study of the coastal zone? No, there is no need for this. The feeling of responsibility and cooperation of the existing institutions should be increased. Hydrometeorological studies are essential for our economy and defense, not only for studying the geomorphology of the lower coastal zone. We think that the time has come to include other information in weather forecasts, such as: the thickness of layers of snow or ice, whether or not roads are blocked, whether electrical and telephone lines are affected, whether rivers are overflowing and to what extent, forecasts of ocean storms, weather forecasts for different sea areas, etc.

There have been occasions when our economy has been damaged by the lack of these studies and forecasts. But the economy should not be made to suffer because of our shortcomings in cooperation and collaboration and because of duplication in our work. In the entire territory of the Republic the Hydrometeorological Institute and the meteorological service have observation stations with 1-3 persons each. Why aren't these stations combined and strengthened, transforming them into 24-hour units, with their observations being utilized by the two institutions, since they are not far from each other? Recently (and we do not know why), the Hydrometeorological Institute has given up sea studies, despite the fact that there are hydrometeorological stations for sea observations in every port; on the other hand, the hydrographic service is setting up additional hydrometeorological stations for sea studies and a hydrological nucleus. The hydrographic studies, especially the sea bathymetry, will be executed by the hydrographic service of the Naval Fleet, while a small hydrographic nucleus, with motorboats and hydrographic equipment (!) will be in the Hydrometeorological Institute. The Central Weather Bureau in Tirana, which is not under the jurisdiction of the Hydrometeorological Institute, forecasts the weather while the Institute has modern apparatus for preparing 5-day weather charts (!). We could give other examples but the main point is that these things are detrimental to the economy.

In order to eliminate these subjective negative factors, the Council of Ministers, in Decision No 1185/1, of 12 May 1984, orders the Ministry of People's Defense and the Academy of Sciences to carry out a study for the reorganization of the weather service in Albania. Two working groups were set up -- one from the Ministry of People's Defense and one from the Academy of Sciences. They met a few times and prepared reports and draft resolutions. The result? There was no reorganization.

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## TOP PRODUCTION ACHIEVEMENTS EXEMPLIFIED, CHARACTERIZED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 42 No 7, Jul 87 (signed to press 10 Jun 87)  
pp 590-592

[Article by Helmut Hackenberg, social scientist and second secretary of the SED Leipzig bezirk leadership: "Top Performances!"]

[Text] "We must keep pace with the growing dynamics of productive forces and gain an advantage in important points in the race against time. That is the way to continue a strong increase in production while lowering production consumption; in short, to achieve high economic and social results." (Footnote 1) (Erich Honecker, Die Aufgaben der Parteiorganisationen bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des XI. Parteitages der SED [The Tasks of Party Organizations in the Continued Implementation of the Resolutions of the 11th SED Party Congress], from the paper at the meeting of the SED Central Committee secretariat with the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships, Dietz Verlag, East Berlin 1987, p 29) In this manner, at the meeting of the SED Central Committee secretariat with the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships at the beginning of February of this year, Comrade Erich Honecker again emphasized the importance of top achievements in science and technology and their broad application in production.

This concerns a new quality of economic growth, characterized above all by the accelerated introduction and effective use of key technologies. The combines in the Leipzig bezirk also are fighting ever more successfully today for significant rate increases in work productivity, a higher renewal rate of production, good product quality, as well as a lowering of production consumption and costs, and efficient energy use.

The performance development of the Meuselwitz machine factory "John Schehr," kreis Altenburg, an enterprise of the machine tool combine "Fritz Heckert," is exemplary. The flexible machine system 2000 was created according to the latest scientific-technical findings. Its effects are great: during a 20.3 hour use per calendar day, work productivity was raised by almost 600 percent, and 33 workers were gained for other jobs. Flow times for large cast pieces dropped from 70 days to 5 days, and the time of mechanical processing was lowered by more than 40 percent. Heavy physical labor was reduced, and better working conditions were created overall. These are only a few of the

parameters, but they demonstrate impressively the pace needed in the struggle for top achievements in greater breadth and to which the secretariat of the Leipzig bezirk management constantly devotes its leadership activity.

What is of the essence? For a party organization directly concerned with the implementation of key technologies, it is important that from the very outset, a large circle of comrades is well-informed about the concern and also the technical-economic parameters of the new technologies. This knowledge--including awareness of the decisive changes brought about by new technologies in the work process and even in the work and life rhythm--is imperative for performing highly effective political-ideological work, the core of party work.

Adjusting to these new requirements in ideological work demands a deep understanding of the overall policy of our Party, of basic political and economic interconnections, as well as the ensuing personal responsibility of every individual at his place of work for the strengthening of socialism and securing of peace. All this, and the convincing explanation of economic strategy and the resultant actual demands on the workers, are decisive and stimulating factors for top achievements. To make them even more effective is the concern not only of membership assemblies and seminars in the Party's teaching year, but also that of meetings of trade union groups, of schools performing socialist work, of meetings of the Youth Association and the FDJ study year, the speaking activity of the enterprises' lecturing section, the work of plant newspapers, and the activity of sections of the Chamber of Technology. Of special importance also is the daily conversation of communists in the work collectives, which further reinforces strong political convictions and molds the right attitude toward science and technology. It brings about the active collaboration of all social forces, stimulates initiative, and politically organizes computable results.

It is also significant because, in solving demanding scientific-technical and economic tasks, there is always virgin territory to be covered, obstacles to be overcome, and some setbacks to be dealt with. But the collectives appreciate, particularly in such situations, feeling the constant support of the Party, trade union and state leadership and being braced by them in mastering difficult problems. This point was stressed by Comrade Guenter Weinelt, manager for BMSR/electronics in the Boesdorf steel and cast iron works when he said: "My Party leadership inspired me greatly. It always backs us up when something new must be mastered. This also gives one courage to take healthy risks."

Such support is given in many ways. For example, in the Regis combine for brown coal installations, the Torgau sheet glass combine and other enterprises, it has been helpful to have advice and support from experienced comrades of the Party leadership or state managers, respectively, for these collectives and to receive direct help through their sponsorship. This holds true especially for fostering collective collaboration between production and scientific-technical areas which must be characterized by the mutual willingness to learn from one another, to utilize the best experience, assess one's own performance critically, and to contribute all knowledge and know-how to the joint work. In this manner, ever better conditions are created for the new stage of organic

linkage between science and production in combines and enterprises, including the bezirk-managed industry, under the leadership of Party organizations.

All these experiences point out that the trust shown to collectives and the understanding of problems to be mastered has a stimulating effect on attaining top achievements. For instance, some 400 researchers and developers in the main factory of the Leipzig polygraph combine "Werner Lamberz" submitted interesting and worthwhile proposals on 226 different subjects. Every proffered suggestion is dealt with precisely. And there is discussion with those cadres whose proposals cannot be implemented. This creates an atmosphere of competitive striving for the best solutions. The work climate is characterized by creative restlessness bringing forth numerous impulses for new and pioneering ideas, fostering the will to achieve, and supporting the decisive concern, namely, to utilize more comprehensively the great intellectual potential for the performance development of every enterprise.

It is imperative that collectives working on important projects of scientific-technical progress be at the center of enterprise activity and in the limelight of the enterprise's publicity work, and get to feel the interest of co-workers in their work. It stimulates, fosters optimism and self-confidence, and awakens creative forces. Such was the experience of the Party organization in the Leipzig lathe factory during the creation of a flexible processing section requiring little service.

It also became evident that, to the extent that this project took concrete form with the active participation of the workers, not only did interest in and enthusiasm for this new project grow, but also those people became convinced who initially were of the opinion that the goals were set too high, the time for implementation was too short, and the technical and organizational foundations were lacking. When it became more and more evident that a sophisticated production area came into being bringing about high economic effects and improved working and living conditions, even those who had hesitated at first invested all their strength in the project. Many qualified themselves, acquired new knowledge and took on new tasks. Here, also, it was confirmed: "Not reserve in goal-setting, but demanding tasks difficult to solve bring the most daring and progressive forces to the fore. Their activity progresses because they develop a creative and impatient attitude toward their own reserves and make overall social interests the basis of their decisions." (Footnote 2) (Ibid., p 96) It was also confirmed that work enjoyment, the experience of success and the noticeably useful effect of work contribute decisively to strengthening self-confidence and closeness to the enterprise.

Our experience shows overwhelmingly that the attainment of top achievements practically stands and falls with the managers. The cadres at the head of collectives bear the special responsibility of making collective relations performance-oriented, of giving individual members responsible tasks, and including everyone in the consulting and solution of problems. Always of great importance is the personal example of the manager in working for the joint project; his great specialized knowledge; his ability to work sensitively with people and to utilize their knowledge and experience, as well as listening to their concerns at all times.

To provide a creative climate in the collective places growing demands on managers and the activity of Party organizations, trade union collectives, and FDJ groups. It requires effectively convincing work as well as steadfastness in managerial decisions, criticism and self-criticism, knowledgeable assessment of achievements, appropriate recognition of accomplishments. It is decisive that managers convincingly carry out their political responsibility and motivate co-workers politically and morally to achieve high performance. It is a matter of challenging each person in such a way that he feels the importance of his own personal contribution. And knowing that one performs something that is important for socialism and thus for securing peace, frees new creative forces.

All our experience confirms that the greatest successes are achieved where concrete, task-related ideological work and expert managerial activity are tightly interlocked. And achieving the highest economic results as the foundation for further social progress--that continues to be the decisive link toward which we must orient the thinking and action of responsible managers, scientists, researchers and developers, technologists, master craftsmen and skilled laborers, innovators, and members of the youth researcher collectives. This will enable us to succeed in the task of letting the mainsprings of science flow ever more abundantly for our economic strength, social wealth and social progress.

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## COMBINES' ESSENTIAL ROLE DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 42 No 7, Jul 87 (signed to press 10 Jun 87)  
pp 610-613

[Article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Biermann, member of the SED Central Committee and director general of the VEB Carl Zeiss Jena combine: "Combines as the Principal Agencies of Scientific-Technical Progress"]

[Text] In the social development of the GDR, particularly since the 8th SED Party Congress, our Party and state leadership has attributed great importance to the ever better mastery of the interrelationship between productive forces and production conditions. It finds its convincing expression in the unity of economic and social policy, experienced and shared by all citizens of our country, solidly based on our socialist planned economy. This effective, dynamic and flexible system of socialist planned economy provides us with the decisive prerequisite for continued, successful implementation of our Party's economic strategy and purposeful continuation of the course of the main task.

The combines and their enterprises are the backbone of our socialist planned economy. As the most important performers of our national economy, they carry great responsibility for the effective molding of modern forms of management under conditions of intensification.

In implementing the measures for further perfecting management, planning and economic accounting established by the 11th SED Party Congress, it is a primary concern to link the central state management and planning ever more effectively to the creative activity of workers and the combines' self-reliant activity in order to achieve higher economic results and to ensure that work is directed at the common goal everywhere.

The crux and cornerstone of a combine's successful management is the economic effectiveness of science and technology, the complex mastery of innovative processes with greater time gain than previously. On the basis of the resolutions of the 11th SED Party Congress, the VEB Carl Zeiss Jena combine took measures aiming particularly at the rapid development and productive application of high-tech and key technologies and the necessary intensification of interlocking the scientific and production potentials of our country with

those of the USSR. Implementation of this complex of measures is at the center of our struggle for the required high performance development.

#### Necessary Priorities With Growing Complexity

Several fundamental tasks have proven to be the pivotal points of effective management in carrying out the decision to develop our combine into a center of high technology in the GDR. These tasks are closely interlinked and demand of the general director the inclusion in his decision-making area of interlocking, concurrent partial processes of a wide range.

To qualify the content of management and planning of the complex reproduction process, it was necessary to rethink some questions and to make the necessary decisions. Among them are primarily

- development of the combine's production profile,

- creating conditions for the necessary level and speed of renewal processes in the combine,

- effective organization of cooperation relations in the combine,

- complex performance evaluation of the combine enterprises and stimulation of work collectives toward high achievements in socialist competition.

In order not to lag behind from the outset in content and proportionality of the renewal process, it is vital to treat these questions of the combine's long-term development with a view to the requirements of the 1990's, and on the premise of international standards in science and technology estimated for that time. Any strategic work in the combine must be based on this thinking ahead in time. Management of such a process can only be the personal responsibility of the general director. So that he can carry out this task both with political responsibility and high technical competence, a standing "Profiling" work team was formed in our combine in which the most competent leadership cadres collaborate.

To work out the production profile of the entire combine and that of each combine enterprise which will meet our economic responsibility in the long term, requires a high degree of expertise of all managers included in the decision-making process. Only he who is capable of understanding complex connections, and can think beyond the narrow confines of his own field of responsibility for the good of the combine and the national economy, has a seat and voice in this body.

#### Tradition and Progress Lead to Modern Productive Forces

The development of the VEB Carl Zeiss Jena combine into a high-tech center means that over a relatively long period of time, high-tech products must be developed, produced and sold, in addition to the so-called traditional optical precision tools. Although the borders are fluid, and although micro-electronics are used ever more widely in traditional products, also, it is

still important to take into account the varying demands on the material-technical basis of production, and to do the necessary.

In his speech to the first secretaries of the kreis leaderships, Comrade Erich Honecker stated: "As planned, our forces are now concentrated on general mastery of the technology of highly integrated circuits in order to produce circuits with structural values of up to 1 micrometer. This, for instance, concerns 1-megabyte storage. The nature of the subject demands that we catch up to the estimated international standard in this core area of key technologies within a short time. This is of greatest significance for maintaining and expanding the position achieved in micro-electronics." (Footnote 1) (Erich Honecker, The Tasks of Party Organizations in the Further Implementation of the Resolutions of the 11th SED Party Congress, from the Paper at the Meeting of the SED Central Committee Secretariat with the First Secretaries of the Kreis Leaderships, Dietz Verlag, East Berlin 1987, pp 31-32)

This pivotal task of economic structural policy, for whose implementation our combine was charged with the major responsibility, required reorganization of forces and funds, and the use of all possibilities of concentration and specialization available to a modern combine. In all decisions on the combine's production profile, this central task with its broad economic effects must be given priority in order to carry it out without cutbacks within the planned time frame.

The development and application of high technologies makes it clear that the organization of the future production profile must go hand in hand with the planning and implementation of investments. A high-tech enterprise must possess the technical base and a qualification level of skilled workers and production engineers which, up to a few years ago and despite traditionally high production demands, we did not have and also did not need to such an extent.

The organizational measures incorporating the great potentials of micro-electronics and high-vacuum technology in the Zeiss combine, according to the resolutions of the 11th Party Congress, serve the goal of utilizing the advantages of concentration and specialization through a uniform management of the entire process from circuit design to process development, as well as development and production of special technological equipment to circuit production at a level of highest integration. In order to win the race against time with these modern high-tech projects causing high, one-time expenditures, research and development, technology, production and marketing of the products must be tightly geared to each other, i.e., they must be close in time. Since these projects must not only be accomplished in a shorter time, but also their complexity is increasing ever faster, the demands on uniform management and planning of such economic structural areas are growing at a great pace. This poses the task for the responsible managers and the work collectives in the entire breadth of the reproduction process to qualify themselves for a manner of thinking and acting encompassing comprehensive cooperation, and to overcome rapidly and completely any departmentalized thinking.

## Rapid Renewal--A Characteristic of Scientific-Technical Progress

What holds true for the high technology sector essentially must also be applied to all renewal processes. Once the production profile has been established, the next step is the creation of concrete conditions for the necessary level and pace of the renewal processes in the combine. This is a rather complex task whose solution demands above all the attainment of decisive effectiveness increases through an even better linking, actually integration, of science and production.

A modern combine with its own self-contained reproduction process has the best objective prerequisites for mastering the chain of transfer of new products and procedures in a practically "seamless" manner from preliminary research to sales and exports, and to practice everywhere work characterized by the common goal to be achieved. Only then are products with high use-value created which can be produced at lower cost in sufficient numbers and can be sold as exports with high foreign currency profits.

In past years, renewal processes have attained such a broad and deep effect that practically all work collectives in our combine are forced to measure their performance against the degree of mastery of all tasks connected with it. In our experience, in addition to technical tasks, this is a deeply ideological question, a question of training and cooperation in and between the combine enterprises, and also one of external cooperation between the combines of our national economy.

Measures for further perfecting management, planning and economic accounting, and the ensuing tasks for comprehensive application of the principle of self-financing of investments by the combines, which also apply to the combine enterprises, lead without a doubt to noticeable progress for this process of faster rethinking toward the requirements of effective product renewal. With the existence of a long-term strategic orientation for the combine and each of its enterprises, each combine enterprise, and the combine as a whole, must achieve a disposable net profit.

As a first analysis indicates, those enterprises cope best with the new requirements which in past years have pursued a progressive science policy, have accepted the challenge of using micro-electronics and computer technology, and have achieved a high renewal rate in the range of products. Such enterprises, like our Jena enterprise for optical precision instruments, are able to achieve a high disposable net profit even under the new conditions and to set aside the funds required for scientific-technical work and investment needs.

The organization of cooperation relations in the combine greatly influences the effectiveness of the combine's results and the quantity of the available end product. This task, like those described above, demonstrates how we manage to combine even more effectively the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution.

To a large extent, the functioning of the entire process and the attainable end product are decided by determining the production profile, the performance growth and investments per enterprise, as well as the proportioning of research and development potentials and production capacities for ancillary deliveries. Even the best research and production achievements are useful only if all necessary cooperation deliveries reach the final producer in good time and proper quality. Missing optical or electronic parts or other ancillary deliveries, on the other hand, have a negative multiplying effect and can lead to delays in deliveries for large, value-intensive installations.

But this is only the one, purely economic, side of the problem. Basically much more serious are the inevitable results, namely, disgruntled customers and also justifiedly disgruntled production collectives which performed their share of the work on time and still could not complete, adjust and deliver the product because of missing ancillary deliveries.

True competition for high goals in science, technology, production and sales of the merchandise has developed everywhere in our combine, and we place great emphasis on the requirement that all managers pay appropriate attention to its moral side and to corresponding performance stimulation, which becomes effective only in our socialist society. Our highly qualified skilled workers, who are experts in complicated technical processes, also are very knowledgeable about practical life and the quality of their managers. They are always ready for high and above-average performance where they sense the moral and material effect of socialist competition, and where achievement and recognition coincide best.

For this reason, complex performance assessment of the combine enterprises and stimulation of work collectives are just as much at the core of political and technical management as the development of demanding scientific-technical task settings for achieving top performances.

Every manager in the combine knows that he himself must first of all work hard and diligently in order to make knowledgeable decisions and to serve as a model for the collectives. Socialism is a performance society for the good of the people. The harvest we reap depends on the quality of work by each individual and on the utilized performance potential itself. Performance precedes success.

Therefore, strict work discipline and highest standards of quality are implemented as a unit in the combine. In our experience, only in this manner arises the living and inspiring pride of what we are achieving. This creates an enormous impetus, particularly on the road to the future of our socialist society in which, as never before, man stands at the center of action as a creative being.

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## SEJM SUPPORTS BILL TO REGULATE FOREIGN BORROWING

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18-19 Jul 87 p 5

[Text] (PAP) As we reported, the Commission for Constitutional Responsibility recently assessed the status of the implementation of the proposals formulated by its predecessor during the Eighth Term of Office. We should mention that in view of the matter then underway regarding persons from the former leadership of the government, the commission from the Eighth Term also made some comments of a very general nature concerning improvements in the structure and organization of state management.

The object was to improve the system for socioeconomic planning and the state's credit policy, particularly in connection with the need to regulate the procedures for obtaining foreign credits, adapt the organization of the government's work to the provisions of the constitution and strengthen the ministers' constitutional responsibility, eliminate the possibility of falsifying statistical data, and make it possible to honestly inform the Sejm and the public about the country's economic and financial status.

The result of this recent assessment is the opinion now issued by the Commission for Constitutional Responsibility during the Sejm's Ninth Term. The opinion states that during 1984-1986 some important changes for the better occurred in the functioning of state organs, in the openness of socioeconomic life, and in the methods of informing society. Planning is now conducted out in the open. Control over the execution of tasks stemming from this planning is also conducted openly. The Sejm now receives complete documentation pertaining to the state's socioeconomic and financial planning. This makes it possible for the Sejm to influence the direction and substance of these plans, and then control their fulfillment.

In much larger measure the Sejm was given control over foreign credits: the state's balance of payments statement and foreign payments turnover plan is submitted to the Sejm. Action has also been taken to improve the work of the government.

But the Commission for Constitutional Responsibility believes that some issues have not yet been settled or need to be improved. This pertains particularly to speedier work on the long-range socioeconomic plan and the need to change the procedure by which it is approved. The commission

continues to believe it advisable to legally regulate the borrowing of foreign credits and to increase the responsibility of clearly defined state organs for the status of the foreign debt.

The opinion states that the government's work organization is still not yet completely adapted to the principles of constitutional responsibility, and the draft law on the Council of Ministers, important to this, has yet yet been submitted to the Ninth Term Sejm. The commission believes that work on this law should be accelerated.

9295

CSO: 2600/729

## TWELVE HYPOTHESES ON FAILURE OF ECONOMIC REFORMS

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 27, 5 Jul 87 p 16

[Article by Janusz Ostaszewski: "Twelve Hypotheses"]

[Text] Why have our economic reforms failed? If we count correctly, it appears that our present reform, which is supposed to enter its second stage right now, is the fifth in a row. Its predecessors did not last to the end of the first stage. That is how it was in 1957--after October, in 1965, in 1969--when an attempt was made to apply incentives, in 1972--when the reform, now called the Large Economic Organization reform--failed, and that is how it was in 1975--when it was supposed to "improve." It has to be said that all reforms are not the same, that among those mentioned there were the large endeavors as well as those of not very high expectations. History has recorded all of them, historians are analyzing and studying them, and recently, sociologists, on the basis of scientific and journalistic analyses, are attempting to line up everything that was said on the subject of their failure. That is how the work of Mrs. Wieslawa Kozek of Warsaw University came about. In it she specifies 11 hypotheses for the failure of reform in Poland and formulates a 12th, which draws some general conclusions from earlier observations (STUDIA SOCIOLOGICZNE No 4, 1986).

The first of these hypotheses comes down to the statement that the failures of reform are the complex consequence of a strategy of economic development, called a strategy of imposed industrialization or developmental policy issued by a superior authority. It caused the establishment of a system of management which was able to stifle all spontaneous movements aimed towards change, and when it appeared that reform was intended, they favored the development of anti-reform measures. The consequence of this strategy is the crisis-producing structure of our economy, characterized by large and inequality-generating disproportions among particular branches.

The second hypothesis pertains to bureaucracy and bureaucratism, and certainly everything that stems from this is plain to see. The third has a certain connection with the first and concentrates on the role of small-scale production in the course of reform. Just as the first, it has a structural reference and refers to the lack of balance caused by the underdevelopment of this sector, which complicates the reform processes.



The fourth hypothesis is interesting. It says that conflicts have always arisen between the state's economic policy and the form of the management system, i.e., it seems to contradict the first. That which was desirable from the economic standpoint by economic organizations, was not good from the standpoint of the central developmental policy.

The fifth of the quoted hypotheses says that all past attempts at reform had to end in failure because they were plans which interfered with the processes connected with types of ownership rights. If reform does not disturb an arrangement which is not conducive to ingenuity and economic management, and does not radically change incentive systems and patterns of responsibility, it fails sooner or later. The Hungarians maintain that this hypothesis is one of the three unsolved problems which can hamper reform (in addition to motivation and movement of capital).

The sixth hypothesis concerns a model for the exercise of authority. Reform disturbs the interaction between the political and economic system and falls victim to the reaction to this disturbance. The next one, the eighth, speaks about the institutional aversion to all kinds of reform, including economic. The point is that reform is usually linked to a change in the hierarchy of authority. The following three are a hypothesis which links the failure of reform with a shortage of adequately skilled cadre, the ninth saying that the reforms could not succeed because they were begun during extremely difficult periods, bad from the economic standpoint, often after a severe crisis (a connection with the seventh hypothesis), the 10th concentrating on societal problems and social structure, and actually comes down to the fact that there is public resistance against breaking the rules of primitive egalitarianism. And finally, the 11th, is partly related to the 10th and expands the role of society in the reform processes, presenting several viewpoints connected with this role.

I am indebted to the author whose work I am describing, and I apologize to the readers. It is difficult, on three typescript pages, to relate everything contained in a large report. Therefore, I wrote this only because I believe that Mrs. Kozek's work deserves to be popularized. Especially today, when we are grappling with a discussion about the second stage of the present reform.

General conclusions--i.e., the author's 12th hypothesis. The hypotheses discussed can be explained with the help of the two original ones--she writes. One of them places emphasis on the peculiar functions of the state apparatus in relation to society and the economy, and the other concentrates on society's reaction to the way these functions are performed, and as a consequence, on the transformation of society, stemming from the process of mutual adaptation. The author sees an institutional need for the process of reform, which is defined as a concept of steady reproduction. The reproduction of reform is proof of the processes of adaptation of the state and society and the method by which they are mobilized. Reform, therefore, is constantly necessary, just as it is constantly rejected.

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## MINISTER REPORTS ON STATUS OF TRANSPORTATION SECTOR

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21-22 Jul 87 pp 1,3

[Interview with Janusz Kaminski, minister of transportation, by Henryk Chadzynski]

[Text] [Question] Mr Minister, why, when the economy is experiencing such serious difficulties, especially in investment, has it been possible to do more in transportation than in the preceding years? I am referring to electrification of the Polish State Railroads, modernization of the switching yards, and recently the resumption of highway construction. Is there a sudden abundance of money in the transportation ministry?

[Answer] Unfortunately, we never have enough money, and have much less than in the previous 5-year plans. But we have decided to use what we have in selected directions, directions which are decisive in the functioning of transportation, and to postpone fulfillment of other, equally urgent needs. The object was to change our approach and not attempt to do everything, everywhere, a little at a time, but to concentrate our efforts on that which is decisive. In the case of railroads, this is electrification, modernization of switching yards, and expansion of technical infrastructure. This is how we defined our ministry's investment policy to the year 1990, and set guidelines to the year 1995. This gave us a 10-year long-range program, and then all that remained was to break this program down into annual tasks and obtain funds.

[Question] To what degree were you able to independently regroup your material resources and how much of it was due to the fact that the Ministry of Transportation has its own executing potential which ensures the implementation of investment and the modernization program?

[Answer] This is an extremely important circumstance. We do most of the modernization and major construction work ourselves. We have construction enterprises and we have a large industry which must produce the necessary apparatus and equipment for construction and modernization. But it is not just a matter of accumulating the funds and using them wisely. It is also a matter of changing the entire philosophy of capital investment, which meant that many long-standing habits had to be broken, and changes had to be made in awareness, which, after all, is also very difficult.

[Question] The primary ways of accelerating transportation have been long regarded as important. There was always talk about the need to speed up electrification, about the infrastructure and the expansion and modernization of switching yards.

[Answer] Yes, but the approach now is different. This can best be illustrated using the switching yards as an example. After all, until recently, no one dreamed of the possibility of disconnecting such a large switching yard as Tarnowskie Gory in order to completely modernize it. In practice, it turned out that it was possible to arrange the hauling process in such a way as to be able to disconnect two large switchyards. And this enables us to modernize them in not 6 to 8 years, but in 1 year to 18 months.

[Question] For years it was felt that there are not enough of these yards and that they are not large enough. Now you intend to reduce their number. Why is this?

[Answer] This is dictated by economics. Reducing the number of switching yards by half, and that is what we intend to do, will make it possible to move freight faster, which will permit better use of rolling stock and also increase the traffic capacity of the entire railroad system. If, as in the past, each car, with its load, had to pass through an average of four switching yards, and even more, this meant that it had to stop and wait at each one. Eliminating the small, inefficient yards, and concentrating these operations on larger ones equipped with up-to-date equipment and facilities, together with proper organization, will make it possible to cut this figure in half. By eliminating the reasons for the slow traffic and waiting, we gain other advantages. The cars will be less subject to damage and the losses to the materials being hauled during switching operations will be smaller. Of course, this will be possible if the modernization program is consistently implemented in 10 years.

[Question] However, such modernization also requires the on-schedule implementation of large capital investment on an unprecedented scale.

[Answer] This also means breaking down specific technical barriers as well as the awareness barrier. Indeed, it was hard, until recently, to imagine work to be organized in such a way that at one place on Poland's railroad map an investment of 6 to 8 million zlotys would be implemented and that the facility would be completed on time and operations begun on the specified day without any delays.

The same applies to psychological barriers connected with the rate of electrification and the execution of tasks connected with this process in a way that is different from the traditional one. Now, during the course of 1 year, we are electrifying 600 km of line, which is twice what it was previously.

[Question] What determined the acceptance of such an electrification rate?

[Answer] This was not the result of a desire to be in vogue or beat any records--it was a matter of economic pressure. We have to scrap the old steam

locomotives, we are not producing modern, heavy diesel locomotives in our country, and furthermore, we do not have enough fuel for them. In view of that, what remains is electrification. But for it to bring the anticipated effects, changes in traction must be made on all the wireways. We have to realize that the haulage of one ton of freight by an electric locomotive requires five times less standard fuel than a diesel locomotive and 12 times less than a steam locomotive.

[Question] What part does the third direction, i.e., the expansion of the potential of our own technical facilities in the transportation ministry, play in making these modernization plans a reality?

[Answer] This is all interconnected. Generally, technical facilities are associated with rolling-stock repairs, track-maintenance machinery, signaling equipment, and traffic-control equipment. But in addition, under our conditions these facilities are also involved in the production of new relaying equipment, track-repair machinery, and new generations of this equipment had to be put into use which have not been produced in Poland in the past. These are examples, of course, because the range of equipment, machines or rolling stock is very wide.

[Question] We have been speaking thus far about the rails, but, after all, this movement forward also includes road transport.

[Answer] Indeed, during the period of the greatest economic crisis we found it necessary to reactivate the construction of highways and expressways. And again, not because the matter is very newsworthy, but for economic reasons. We made a cost-effectiveness analysis to show how much had to be spent on construction and maintenance and how much it would cost the country due to greater consumption of fuel on congested roads and the limited traffic capacity of the cities. It turned out construction of highways and expressways is the most economical way to go. Under our conditions, money spent on highway construction is recovered, on a national scale, in 3-5 years, thanks to the fuel saved. And after all, we must also consider the added advantage of lower use of rolling stock and reduced transportation time. And again the question, what is easier? If, each year, we build a few dozen kilometers of highways, in 10-15 years we will have a basic, high-speed transportation system in Poland. I am referring to a North-South road and a couple of East-West roads. These transportation roads will serve not only the needs of transit, but also as the country's primary traffic means. There is still the matter of vehicles. There are too many trucks in Poland, because on the whole, their use is not economical, with the exception of large, specialty hauling trucks. We are trying to settle these questions in a draft law on road transport which has been submitted. If we add just one more important factor to our technical and organizational measures, i.e., economic influence, then we will obtain for the economy what is most important, a reduction in transportation-intensiveness, meaning the number of haulages per unit of national income. A tariff policy will help here, so that transportation costs--actual costs without any subsidies--begin to be of greater significance in the producers' calculations and force them to operate more efficiently.

[Question] What measures do you believe to be most important for transportation in the future?

[Answer] For many years yet, railroad transportation will have priority because in our conditions it is the most economical. But it must be a new generation of railroad transportatin. It must provide for haulage of passengers for large distances in a way which is efficient and competitive with the automobile, and even the airplane. Already today, passengers prefer to go from Katowice to Warsaw by train and not plane, because if you consider the time it takes to get to and from the airport, the train trip is shorter. Hence, long-distance passenger movement under reasonable conditions, by express and high-speed trains. We cannot afford to modernize the entire railroad system and that is why we are concentrating our attention on the primary trunk lines. Those trunk lines which connect the main areas of the country and in which the major part of the freight traffic is concentrated. The problem of road structure has been solved, because we produce good tracks in Poland, the problem of rolling stock has also been settled and all that remains is to begin production on a large scale. But it would be hard to imagine that a country such as Poland, in which railroad transportation predominates, could, for the long term, become dependent on imported rolling stock. That is why, jointly with the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry, we have developed a program for the expansion in Poland of rolling stock production. There is no alternative to the program for expanding and modernizing this subsector.

[Question] You mentioned a new-generation railroad and spoke in general of a new-generation transportation capable of meeting the requirements of the 21st century. Do you see the future of such transportation clearly or is it fuzzy?

[Answer] We see the future development of transportation not only very precisely but it is also assessed and written into the program. We have prepared a document which specifies the direction that Polish transportation should go. We are taking practical measures to ensure that modernization will proceed as rapidly as possible on all of the more important lines. All we need is the endurance, consistency and persistence to make all of the favorable tendencies which appeared, as you yourself described, during a very difficult period of our economy, a reality. We must expect, therefore, that as the entire economy recovers its ability to develop, it will be easier to continue the metamorphosis in transportation.

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## POLL GAUGES ATTITUDES TO REFORM

## Who Feels Threatened

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jul 87 p 3

[Text] (PAP) "Who, in an enterprise, feels threatened by reform and on what is this fear based?" That was the question asked by the Public Opinion Research Center in a poll called "About the Second Stage of Economic Reform." Almost 40 percent of those polled answered that reform does not constitute a threat to anyone.

"Reform is a threat to those employees who do not do good work, lack discipline, and are not productive," said 15.8 percent of the respondents. It will force them to work harder--it was added.

"It is a threat to those in the administration of an enterprise who must be afraid that they will be transferred to other jobs, e.g., to production," said 12 percent of the respondents.

The enterprise management was named by 6.6 percent, and the technical cadre and supervision by 4.4 percent, saying that they must increase their work input in the factory or risk the loss of prestige positions.

## Do Leaders Support Reform

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jul 87 p 3

[Text] (PAP) "Do the country's leaders really want to conduct economic reform?" asked the Public Opinion Research Center in a poll called "About the Second Stage of Economic Reform."

"Definitely yes," replied every fifth (20.5 percent) employee in the public sector and almost every sixth (15.4 percent) person in the private sector.

"I would say yes," said 55.6 percent of those employed in socialized plants and 51.2 percent employed in the private economy.

In justifying their opinions, 13.7 percent of the respondents referred to the results already achieved, 10.9 percent declared their confidence in the

authorities and stressed the government's responsibility, 10.8 percent said that the authorities are concerned about society, and 9.4 percent said that the authorities are concerned about the state of the Polish economy.

Others said that they base their favorable opinions about the attitude of the authorities to reform on press reports (9.7 percent), or on their own belief that the authorities "have no alternative," that "this is the 'to be or not to be' of both the country and its leaders" (9.7 percent of such opinions).

Some respondents, in noting the intentions of the leaders to institute reform, pointed to the inadequate--in their opinion--results of reform, and to the wide gap between the assumptions and the results of economic reform (8.4 percent).

Next, expressing doubt as to the genuineness of the desire of the authorities to conduct reform, 9.3 percent indicated that the reform measures applied thus far have not been very effective, 1.5 percent mentioned the barriers existing in the leadership structure and in society, and an equal number said that reform consists merely of price increases.

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## BRIEFS

USSR SUPPLIES TEXTILE INDUSTRY--Lodz--We are all aware of the difficult supply situation in our textile industry. As so very often, this time too, help has come from the Soviet Union. In recent weeks TEXTILIMPEX signed a contract which provides that the ornamental-silk, wool, cotton and industrial fabric industries will receive raw materials valued at over 22 million rubles. In the first stage, Soviet industry supplied 5,400 tons of polyester, polyacrylonitrile, acetate rayon and dyed rayon fiber. However, the agreement signed during the "Interfashion '87 Fair" calls for 5,850 tons. Most of this is polyamide rayon and polyacrylonitrile fiber (2,000 tons each). The rest of it is raw acetate and triacetate rayon and polyester. This is a big raw-materials break for our industry--said the assistant director of TEXTILIMPEX, Jerzy Sobieraj--because if it were not for the Soviet Union, we would have to buy these materials for free foreign-exchange. The continuance of talks on additional deliveries outside of the annual plan is also very promising. These are valued at over 140 million rubles, of which 138 millions represent cotton--105,000 tons. We will pay for additional deliveries of Soviet raw materials with finished products. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jul 87 p 3] 9295

CSO: 2600/729



## SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILE OF WORKING WOMAN IN POLAND

Warsaw WIADOMOSCI STATYSTYCZNE in Polish 4 Aug 87 pp 14-17

[Article by Elzbieta Krzyzanowska, Department of Labor and Wages, GUS (Main Office of Statistics): "The Working Woman"]

[Text] The social position of woman determines the various roles she exercises. For many years the scope of these roles had been narrower than that exercised by males and explicitly different as well. These roles reduced chiefly to home and family affairs. Historical and cultural circumstances determined the strong position of woman within the family circle, because the family was, especially during the partitions of Poland, the sole national institution, the pillar of the spirit of patriotism, and hence woman's position as a wife and a mother was high. She enjoyed great authority among members of the household, but despite everything the authority of the male as the head of the family was dominant. The male was most often the sole provider of the family and hence also woman was economically dependent on him. As late as 50 years ago working women were chiefly solitary women, unmarried women, widows, and women under legal separation. Married women were not occupationally employed apart from exceptional situations such as those of female factory workers in major industrial centers or women working in the so-called free professions.

Only after World War II did the occupational activity of women in Poland, chiefly of married women, become a source and a manifestation of changes in the social standing of woman, of her entry into supralocal structures. Through her occupational activity, woman has joined the general social process of the production of material boons; her work has become a factor in the growth of national income, and the functioning of some subsectors of the national economy is now largely based on female labor. Through employment, woman has also become less dependent on the male. Within the family circle, woman's new role is also reflected in that she has become a co-provider of the family, making her own financial contribution to the household budget. Thus the specialized division of roles and "worlds" into male and female has been overcome.

## Proportions Between the Sexes

The population losses due to World War II caused women to account for more than one-half of the Polish population, a situation that continues to this day despite the gradual balancing of the proportions. For example, in 1945 the number of women exceeded that of men by more than 2 million (1), with 118 women to every 100 men in that year, 108 women in 1955, and since 1977 till the present, 105 women per 100 men. The surplus of women over men in 1985 amounted to about 900,000. The proportions between the sexes vary in different age groups. There are fewer young women than young men, and it is only in the age group of 39 and higher that women predominate numerically over men, with this predominance being particularly marked in the age group of upward of 60. (2) Properly speaking, the entire surplus of women is concentrated in cities, where there are 109 women to every 100 men, compared with only 101 in the countryside. In cities, women predominate in the 20-24 age group, which may lead to problems in finding husbands in urban environment. In the countryside, on the other hand, the converse is true, because there young men have problems finding marriageable women. The surplus of males (3) over females in the countryside persists in the age group of up to 44 years, and is particularly marked in the age group of 25-29 years, in which there are 123.7 males to every 100 females, and in the age group of 30-34 years, in which there are 119 males to every 100 females. This is an unfavorable trend, because the operation of private farms is based on the collective work of the entire family, and the shortage of young women causes problems to young men who want to establish a family, and hence also it causes problems in the proper conduct of farm operations. On the other hand, the surplus of women of age 45 and higher in the countryside also is causing problems on private farms, though of a different kind.

Analysis in breakdown by voivodships points to a varying distribution of the surplus of women over men. In 1985 this surplus reached its peak in the following voivodships: Lodz (115.2 women to every 100 men), Warsaw City (111.7), Torun (107.7), Krakow (107.5), and Poznan (107.4). Closest to an equilibrium between the sexes were the following voivodships: Ostroleka (110.3)[as published], Lomza (100.5), and Suwalki (100.6). In large cities this surplus was at its highest: Warsaw (113.6 women per 100 men), Lodz (117.6), Krakow (110.5), Wroclaw (110.2), and Poznan (112.7).

Women not only numerically predominate over men but also have a statistically longer lifespan. For female neonates in 1985 the average lifespan was 75 years and for male, 67 years. Moreover, women living in the countryside generally survive a year longer than women living in cities.

## Demographic-Social Characteristics of Women

Most Polish women have since 1965 been living in cities (61 percent at present). The process of the equalization of the numbers of women living in cities and in the countryside took a year less than the equalization of the numbers of rural and urban inhabitants in general. In 1950 there were 3.2 million more women living in the countryside than in the cities; in 1960, 425,000 more; and toward the end of 1965 the number of women living in cities already exceeded by 64,000 the number of women living in the countryside.

Polish women upward of 15 years of age are mainly married. In the countryside, married women account for 64.9 percent of this age group, and in the cities somewhat less, 62.9 percent. Compared with the countryside, unmarried women are more likely to be met in the cities, but there are more widows in the countryside. At present women get married at a somewhat later age than, say, 15 years ago. In 1985 the average age of women contracting matrimony was 22.6 years, compared with 21.6 years in 1970. Women living in the countryside continue to get married earlier (average age 21.6) than women in the cities (average age 23.1 years).

The educational level of Polish women is varied, although it should be borne in mind that opportunities for education became open to them only in the postwar years. In 1931 nearly every second woman 25 to 49 years old could not read and write. In 1985 about 56 percent of women had supraelementary education (compared with 60 percent of men). There are more males with basic vocational education and higher education than females, but there are more females with a broader range of secondary and postsecondary education.

The geographical mobility of women was and is greater than that of men. They accounted for a majority of persons changing their domicile during 1971-1985 and for more than one-half of the influx to the cities. For example, in 1985, the 651,000 persons changing their domicile included 331,000 women, and of the 199,000 women migrating to the cities 117,000 came from the countryside.

More than one-half of Polish women are in the 18-59 age group; every fourth woman is below 17 years of age; and the remainder are of post-able-bodied age (upward of 60 years). An overwhelming majority of women of able-bodied age (18-59 years) live in the cities.

#### Occupationally and Professionally Active Women

A majority of Polish women in the 18-59 age group are active occupationally and professionally. In 1985 this age group accounted for more than three-fourths of all women active occupationally and professionally. In addition, 0.6 women in the 15-17 age group and more than 21 percent women in the age group of upward of 60 were employed. This last group predominated in the countryside, where 39 percent of women upward of 60 years of age continued to work, whereas in the cities this proportion was only 8 percent. Analysis of the educational levels of occupationally and professionally employed women points to the predominance of two types of education: 36 percent of the women working in 1984 had basic and partial secondary education, and 33 percent secondary or postsecondary education, with the women working in cities, who besides account for a majority of working women, having a higher educational background than women working in the countryside.

A majority of Polish women (68 percent) work in the socialized sector -- in cities this proportion is 98 percent. The assumption of the new social role by women is taking place chiefly through the growth in the employment of women by the socialized sector. In 1947 approximately 900,000 women worked in this sector, whereas by 1985 this number had grown sixfold. Until 1956 there was an explicit demand for female labor. (3) The mass participation of women in occupational and professional work had been at the time a prerequisite for

reviving the nation's economy. Roughly in 1957 the labor market became saturated with female labor and the demand for it declined. During 1971-1975, the revival of economic activity created 21,500 new jobs for women, which resulted in a marked rise in their employment. Following 1975 there occurred stagnation in the employment of women by the socialized sector and the mean annual growth in that employment was minimal. During 1981-1984 there even occurred a decline in the number of working women compared with 1980. Only in 1985 did the number of women working in the socialized sector exceed the 1980 level. The employment of women by the socialized sector in the years 1950-1985 is illustrated in the table below.

Table. Average Annual Employment of Women

Years	Employment	Indicator (1950 = 100)
1951-1955	1,869,400	126.7
1956-1960	2,206,800	149.6
1961-1965	2,782,100	188.6
1966-1970	3,608,500	244.7
1971-1975	4,609,700	312.5
1975-1980	5,221,100	354.0
1981-1985	5,201,400	352.7

Source: The author's calculations based on "Rocznik Statystyczny Pracy" [Statistical Yearbook of Labor], Warsaw, 1987.

The fluctuations in female employment are linked to the availability of jobs for women. In 1981 the number of such available new jobs was 34,100 and in 1985, 64,900. On the other hand, the number of registered female jobseekers in 1985 was only 3,300, with as many as 48,000 factory job offers available to women willing to accept such jobs (only 1,600 willing women). The largest number of available jobs for women was in the Warsaw City and Katowice voivodships. The largest proportions of women worked in industry, trade, education, and upbringing. In such branches of the socialized sector as finance, insurance, trade, education, and upbringing, women accounted for more than three-fourths of total employment.

A large number of young women is working in the socialized sector. In 1985 every fifth female employee in industry, finance, and insurance, was below 24 years of age. On the other hand, a relatively high number of older women worked in culture and the arts -- about 12 percent were more than 50 years old (whereas the overall share of this age group in the total female employment in the socialized sector was 6.7 percent). Women account for a majority of white-collar employees. In 1983 more women than men were employed in all basic occupational groups requiring higher education, except in the group of industrial and agricultural engineers. They also accounted for more than one-half of employment in the following occupations and professions requiring secondary education: technicians-economists, medical technicians, nurses and allied professions, library, archival, and allied specialists, technicians in occupations linked to culture and the arts, teachers with secondary education, and clerical employees. It was only among industrial and agricultural technicians that women did not predominate numerically.

In 1983 nearly every fifth woman commuted to work, with about 40 percent of commuters consisting of women of age 20-29. Eighty-five percent commuted to urban jobs; they were chiefly female factory workers. By contrast, of the approximately 15 percent commuting to work in the countryside, most were employed in nonfactory jobs, with a majority, more than 70 percent, working in the nonsocialized sector, chiefly on private farms. Rural women traditionally are occupationally more active than women living in cities. Eighty-one percent of rural women worked. The women working on private farms devote on the average about 10 hours daily to nonhousehold labor. A study conducted in 1982 (4) indicates that they spend most time on field work (on the average 3.9 hours daily), followed by livestock tending (2.3 hours) and other farm labor (also about 2.3 hours daily). The concentration of work in the summer season causes their nonhousehold labor during that season to last about 12 hours daily. Women on private farms work chiefly as auxiliaries, but the number of women managing their own farms is rising. Currently about 30 percent of farms, especially the smaller ones, are managed by women. On farms of this type the time spent by women on nonhousehold work is even longer, averaging 11 hours daily, with more than 13 hours daily in the summer.

A study of female farm population conducted by the SGGW-AR [Central School of Agriculture--Agricultural Academy] in 1982 (5) indicates that every fourth woman was of post-able-bodied age, and that 41 percent were unmarried women, chiefly widows. A large proportion of female-owned farms -- 58 percent according to that study -- lacked their own tractive power. The number of workhorses per 100 female-owned farms was 39 and per 100 male-owned 87. Thus, farms managed by women were more dependent on outside services. On these farms, potato growing was more frequent and livestock raising focused chiefly on hogs.

A specific characteristic of working women is that they are concentrated within particular subsectors of the national economy, most often in subsectors other than the males. Their wages are, as a rule, lower than those of males.

Female workers are most often classified in lower wage categories. For example, among the fulltime employees of the socialized sector in 1985, 26 percent of women were paid monthly wages of from 16,000 to 20,000 zlotys (7). Higher wages were received only by every fifth woman (and every second male). In the top wage group, i.e., upward of 30,000 zlotys monthly, only 1.5 percent were women. An unexceptionable wage situation also prevails in such branches of the socialized sector as culture and art, public health, social services, trade, state administration -- there, fewer than 15 percent of female employees earned more than 20,000 zlotys monthly.

Women rarely hold executive posts, the more rarely the higher these posts are. In 1983 they accounted for 36 percent of managerial personnel. Quite often, even in plants with largely female employment, most managerial posts, especially the higher ones, remain held by males.

A study of the socio-occupational situation of women, conducted by the GUS in 1985 (6) indicates that women are not particularly interested in holding executive posts. Female executives generally had a long seniority record and belonged in so-called qualified cadres. As for the women not holding executive

jobs, the study showed that in three-fourths of cases they did not want such jobs. A majority of women -- 66 percent, mostly older women -- preferred wage increases to job advancement. Every sixth woman, however, wanted to combine promotion to a higher position with a higher pay; this chiefly concerned women with higher and secondary education. It appears that, being burdened by their manifold family duties, women will not prefer promotion to executive posts as a career goal unless the intra-family role system is appropriately reorganized and daycare and other related services are expanded.

### Occupational Role of Women and the Family

The position of woman as an employee is unclear. Public awareness of the relationship between woman's role as a worker and as a family member varies. The society's concept of this relationship is undoubtedly influenced by the views presented in various kinds of publications. J. Piotrowski in his book "Praca zawodowa kobiety a rodzina" [Woman's Occupational Role and the Family] distinguishes three periods of differing attitudes toward the roles exercised by women:

-- until 1954, when the importance of the working woman was stressed, this being related to the goal of maximizing employment;

-- between 1955 and 1957, when the family role of woman began to be stressed and her role as a worker minimized, owing to the saturation of the labor market by female labor;

-- since about 1958, when the trend has been to reconcile both positions without preferring either.

Actually, ever since child-rearing leaves and allowances were introduced, the importance of direct contact between mother and child during the latter's earliest stages of development has been emphasized. That is, preference is rather being given to periodic withdrawal of women from jobs. But anyway, in view of the shortage of nurseries and preschools, such periodic withdrawals from work often become a necessity.

The effects of changes in social policies on the attitudes of women are evident. At present, about 15 percent of the women employed by the socialized sector are on child-rearing leave. Studies point to a definite change in the models of conduct of mothers toward small children. Studies by the Institute of the Social Economy, SGPIs [Main School of Planning and Statistics] show that in the 1960's about 68 percent of women returned to work following their maternity leaves and in 1978, 37 percent, while following the revision of the regulations governing child-rearing leaves, in 1982 only 8 percent of women returned to work immediately after their maternity leaves (7). A majority of women prefer to remain unemployed for several years, relinquishing their earnings in favor of nurturing the proper development of the small child, regardless of whether they do or do not receive child-rearing allowances at that. For the number of women lacking the right to these allowances is growing. Thus, in 1985 only one-half of the women on child-rearing leave were eligible for these allowances. The reason lies in the mother's conviction that the good of the child requires that she stay at home and not resume working

for several years. At times, women quit their occupation or profession for good owing to chronic illness of the child or owing to lack of daycare opportunities. The women most often availing themselves of child-rearing leaves are those employed in industry, trade, public health, and social services, most often in the Katowice and Warsaw City voivodships.

#### Nonworking Women

Managing the household and rearing children (including use of child-rearing leaves) are the principal causes of the withdrawal of able-bodied women from work. In 1984 these causes accounted for more than one-half of nonworking women in the 18-59 age group, and for more than 80 percent of women 25 to 39 years old. A definite majority of nonworking women of able-bodied age live in cities (3,4). The geographical distribution of these women is nonuniform. The eight voivodships named below accounted in 1984 for nearly one-half of all nonworking women in this age group: Katowice, Warsaw City, Gdansk, Poznan, Bydgoszcz, Krakow, Lodz, and Wroclaw (8).

Nonworking women in most cases intend to work again sometime in the future. Only the pensioned women or those not working owing to poor health do not have such intentions. The findings of the aforementioned study of women in 1983 indicate that female students upward of 18 years old intend to work in the future with the object of securing their material independence. Nearly one-half want to work in a profession consonant with the direction of their studies. The remainder desire interesting or well-paid work. As for women 18-59 years old who are neither students nor employed, in nearly one-half of cases they also want to work sometime in the future. Their motive is chiefly the desire to improve family living standards (49 percent) or to provide the family with basic means of livelihood (40.6 percent). A majority of this group of women (65 percent) attach importance to well-paid jobs. Thus even a large proportion of currently nonworking women do not regard their unemployed status as permanent. To them, too, working in an occupation or profession does matter. Hence, occupational or professional work has become to woman an integral element of her life (despite eventual interruptions in employment).

#### Work Motivation Among Occupationally and Professionally Active Women

Over 25 years, more or less, the occupational motivations of women have changed markedly. A study conducted by the GUS in 1961 showed that about 81 percent of working women worked in order to help their families financially. And the question of whether women should work was answered negatively by 58 percent of the respondents, chiefly by female blue-collar workers. By contrast, studies of the Institute of the Social Economy in 1986 revealed that 78 percent of the respondents pointed to economic motivations for their work, with 22 percent pointing to nonmaterial motives. By 1978 only 55 percent of working women declared that they worked owing to material considerations, and 45 percent, owing to nonmaterial ones. In turn a study of the socio-occupational situation of women in 1983 showed that to women working outside private farms the most often cited motive for working was also the desire to provide the family with basic means of livelihood (46 percent), but the desire to attain material independence was also often cited (43.5 percent). Every fifth woman mentioned the possibility of broader interpersonal contacts as a

motive for working, and nearly as many answered that adults should be working. It was only among women with higher education that the most important reason for working was interest in one's job (43 percent), with the desire to provide the family with a livelihood being ranked second (41 percent).

By contrast, women working on farms mentioned marriage to a farmer as the principal reason for working, and on twin-occupation farms the reason given was often inheriting the farm. Women with higher educational background -- secondary or higher -- most often worked on farms because they had inherited them, while women with lower education worked on farms chiefly because they had married farmers. Every fifth woman working on a farm declared that she was impelled toward this kind of work by her desire to live in the countryside, but also every fifth woman declared that she was not trained for any other job. Women working on private farms declared that their work would be facilitated by an improved meshing of their farm duties with their household duties as well as by better supplies in rural stores (69 percent), better supplies of farm machinery and equipment (67 percent), and better supplies of special household fixtures and power appliances (55 percent).

#### Scope of Household Occupations, Time Budget, Valuation of the Work of Women

Woman's entry into the world of work, that is, her assumption of a new social role, has not been accompanied by a harmonious adjustment of the household roles of discrete family members. A married woman with children may hold a very demanding outside job but at the same time her family obligations are not relaxed. Thus, the new opportunities for occupational and professional advancement of women have merely broadened the scope of the roles they exercise. To be sure, the younger husbands of occupationally and professionally active women are more willing to help in household chores, but only to a limited extent. Most often, they share caring for children and the performance of arduous household chores. Often also, decisions on investments important to the family are taken jointly by husband and wife. In three-fourths of the families surveyed by the GUS the husbands and wives took joint decisions on important matters regardless of whether the wife was or was not working. However, a definite majority of household chores -- 70 to 90 percent -- was performed by women, whether they held outside jobs or not. All the married women polled declared that the principal household duties of women are: cooking, pressing, clothing repair, laundering, and dishwashing.

The daily time budget of women indicates (9) that occupational activity and commuting in 1974 took up more than 7 hours daily and household chores, more than 4 hours, whereas males set aside about 2 hours daily for household chores. Thus, the occupationally active woman performs all kinds of duties for more than 11 hours daily, and does so chiefly at the expense of shorter hours of sleep. Women with secondary education worked the largest number of hours daily in outside jobs. Household chores were performed the longest by women with elementary or basic vocational education.



Occupationally active women had about 40 percent less leisure time than men. The men spent their leisure time most often at home on reading newspapers and periodicals, watching television, listening to the radio, or doing hobbies. The women spent more of their leisure time on book-reading and attendance of social meetings or religious practices.

Viewing this problem from the standpoint of the state's economy, L. Szczerbinska (10) analyzed the work of women outside and in the household. This analysis showed that the economically most effective occupational activity is that of the highly qualified women, i.e., of various kinds of experts. On the other hand, given the present wage system, household services rendered by otherwise untrained women are of greater value than the income they receive from occupational activity. A comparison of the value of the household work done by occupationally active and inactive women shows that the household work of occupationally inactive women is worth more than the occupational activity of female blue-collar workers in construction, agriculture, forestry, and services.

The material presented above indicates that present-day Polish women, who account for a majority of the population, most often become occupationally active during their able-bodied age, chiefly in the socialized sector. Without the work of women, the economy, and especially certain of its branches, could not function. Unfortunately, in most cases, occupational activity does not exempt women from their traditional household duties but rather superposes additional occupational duties upon their family role. The underdevelopment of child-care and daycare services and institutions for small children does not make this problem any easier either. The integration of woman's family role with her occupational role requires changes in both the social infrastructure and the still rigid division of household roles among male and female, because the inclusion of women in the labor force has not as yet been accompanied by an egalitarianization of family life.

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