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EAST EUROPE REPORT

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ROMANIANS ATTEND CZECH MACHINE BUILDING FAIR

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 40, 3 Oct 86 p 30

[Article by Cristian Gorla: "Impact of Electronics on Machine Building Industry"]

[Text] The Brno International Machine Building Fair, one of the largest European shows of its kind, was held on 17-24 September of this year, in its 28th presentation. The fair once more offered an opportunity for a useful and fruitful exchange of scientific knowledge and technical experience, displaying on an area of more 120,000 square meters, the products of more than 2500 exhibitors from about 30 countries.

The host country for this year's show, Czechoslovakia, is in the first year of its eighth five-year plan, at the end of which its machine building and electronic industries will have undergone a meaningful development. The topic it has therefore selected for the show is "Applications of Electronics in the Machine Building Industry," to indicate that machine building has currently become the major user of advances in electronics, with applications in this field bringing decisive contributions to higher technical and economic performances, and to the specifications of various machines, tools, and installations. This topic was the focus not only of the actual show, but also of the constructive scientific and technical program organized for the occasion by the Czechoslovakian Society for Science and Technology, in Brno, through the Brno House for Technology. Among the more important events included in the program were the 28th International Conference of Technical Press Editors, which discussed problems in the development of command system components, and their application to the production of machines and equipment; the technical symposium of the international economic organization of CEMA member nations, INTERATOMENERGO, headquartered in Moscow, on the topic "Automated Control Systems, Special Valves, Means of Automation, Instruments and Sensors for Nuclear Power Plants"; as well as the professional day devoted to machine-tool problems. In addition to the major topic, the fair's scientific and technical program included among other things, a symposium on intensified utilization of secondary materials, the Seventh International Symposium on Refractory Materials, and so on.

The specialists present at the fair and the many visitors passing through its gates, had the opportunity to see Czechoslovakia's newest achievements in this field, with the host country's science and technology being notable through its broad and high level participation. The 25 Czechoslovakian foreign trade enterprises present at the show, exhibited over a total area of more than 43,000 sq-m, a diversified range of highly technical products which were very well received. STROJIMPORT, one of the largest Czechoslovakian foreign trade firms, presented among other things, the FSQ 80 CNC milling center, controlled by an NS 720 CNC system, usable for processing complex shapes; an LCS 400-1 laser cutting system produced by the Strojarne Piesok enterprise; and so on, all of them incorporating the newest achievements of technology in that field.

The products presented at the MARTIMEX stands covered a diversified range of fields, from cargo and specialized ships to forestry machines and equipment, for a total number of 160 exhibits, 45 of which were new. A good reception was given to the modular work station O1-10, produced by ZTS-Detva, usable for robotizing gas-protected electric arc welding; the O1-10 robot has five degrees of freedom, with an arm-carrying capacity of 10 kg. Lastly, along with the products of SKODAEXPORT (various power, hydraulic, nuclear, and metallurgical installations, as well as electric locomotives), STROJEXPORT (construction machinery and equipment, cranes, geophysical research instruments, and so on), and SIGMA (hydrotechnical installations), were also the products exhibited by the Czechoslovakian plant for abrasive materials. It is notable that artificial abrasive materials, in the form of silicon carbide and artificial corundum, have been manufactured since 1983 in Czechoslovakia, this being the leading producer country in the world.

A traditional participant at the Brno International Machine Construction Fair, Romania was represented in this 28th show by 17 specialized foreign trade enterprises, among which Masiniexportimport, Navimpex, Tehnoexportimport, Uzinexportimport, Industrialexportimport, Electronum, Auto-Dacia, Autoexportimport, and so on, which displayed over an area of about 1700 sq-m a representative range of products from our national industry. Among them were various types of textile machines produced by Unirea in Cluj and Metalotehnica in Tirgu Mures, machine-tools manufactured by enterprises of the specialized industrial central (SAL 10 horizontal automatic lathe, PHO-160 hydraulic press, FD 400 C gear-tooth cutting and slotting machine), electromechanical products as well as high and low voltage equipment, agricultural machinery (CP 12 combine, SPC sowers), ARO, Dacia 1410 TLX, and Oltcit all-terrain and city automobiles, and so on.

At the fair's opening, the Romanian pavilion was visited by Czechoslovakia's governmental party and state delegation led by Milos Jakes, member of the presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, who expressed great admiration for the quality and presentation of the display.

As part of the steadily growing favorable multilevel collaboration between Romania and Czechoslovakia, the Brno as well as the Bucharest international fairs open possibilities for better awareness of the results of scientific

and technological developments in our countries, and for a general improvement in economic potentials, directly easing greater mutual exchanges of goods, as well as expanding and raising Romanian-Czechoslovakian collaboration to new heights.

11,023

CSO: 2700/81

CARTOONS ON ECONOMIC HUMOR

On Bureaucracy

Prague DIKOBRAZ in Czech No 47, 1986 p 3

[Text]



Bubla - Pejmová

Key:

1. Are you sure you need it?
2. What will you do with it?
3. I bet you need it for moonlighting!
4. So, you need it for your job, eh?
5. Don't you dare take it home with you!
6. Well, can I finally be issued that screwdriver?

On Wage Incongruities

Prague DIKOBRAZ in Czech No 49, 1986 p 11

[Cartoon]



Jaroslav Pop

"You can expect an unpleasant surprise in the plant, your pay will be cut-- you are being promoted to a foreman."

On Lack of Seriousness in Plan Fulfillment

Prague RUDE PRAVO Supplement Halo Sobota in Czech 11 Oct 86 p 10

[Cartoon]



Kresba MILAN STANO

"In reply to your question why we failed to fulfill the plan, I'd like to respond by replaying the last year's tape..."

/8309

CSO: 2400/126

CAD TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPED FOR HOUSING CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

East Berlin ARCHITEKTUR DER DDR in German Vol 35, Nov 86 pp 657-62

[Article by Dipl.-Ing. Dieter Knop, architect, member of the League of German Architects of the GDR and the Chamber of Technology, and Dipl.-Ing. Hans-Karl Wieland, senior engineer and member of the Chamber of Technology, both of the Institute for Design and Standardization of the Construction Academy of the GDR: "Development of CAD Solutions for Housing Construction"]

[Text] The resolutions passed at the 11th SED Congress concerning the specific and accelerated application of computer-aided planning and design and production planning and implementation (CAD/CAM) have provided significant incentives for developing and introducing this key technology into design processes.

The consistent application of CAD/CAM systems will create the necessary prerequisites for achieving the elevated effectiveness-related goals established for the construction industry and its planning departments in particular. High-capacity microelectronic devices for interactive communications and for graphic data processing are increasingly becoming available to design engineers. These devices are to be included step-by-step in the development of comprehensive, computer-aided planning technologies.

Standardized Workplace-Specific Equipment

As standardized workplace-specific equipment, a construction industry CAD work station (1) of the following configuration is also used for planning purposes in housing construction:

- A 5120/30 ROBOTRON office computer with 64 kbytes of main storage and 48 kbytes of secondary storage, an 8-bit data bus, floppy disk drive, alphanumeric display, keyboard and printer.
- Remote connection between the office computer and an ESER computer with at least 1 Mbyte of main storage via a German Post Office dial-up line.
- Graphic input/output equipment as office computer peripherals:
 - o SD 1157/269 graphic printer
 - o DZT 90/120/RS plotter in A0 format or K 6418 flat-bed plotter in A3 format
 - o HDG 1 - K 6401 digitizer
 - o K 8917 terminal

- Programming
SCP (CP/M-compatible) operating system
Programming language, FORTRAN

Modular Design in Housing Construction

Due to increased construction at inner-city locations and in crowded newly built areas, the housing construction industry is faced with new requirements, such as:

- Adapting to existing buildings, limited spaces and topographical situations while at the same time striving to conserve materials and energy
- Consistent maintenance and remodeling of existing housing
- Economically feasible variability and architectonic product design
- Diversity in the utility structures in the ground floor areas.

In the future these requirements will only be able to be effectively realized through the use of CAD methods. This requires new modes of thought and new work methods on the part of design engineers and the introduction of more progressive design methods (2).

Product design as practiced to date in housing construction--adapting the building components and component designs developed to concrete on-site conditions--no longer entirely meets these requirements. Therefore, modular design was developed and introduced to the housing construction combines as a more flexible planning method (3). (See Fig. 2.)

Characteristic of this system is that sectional design elements are available in various aggregate combinations as multi-purpose, combinable and aggregate-forming design modules which are combined to form structurally functional assembled sections or buildings, thus fulfilling specific on-site conditions. In addition, in the process of product development, through "prefabrication" of the building as it were, the modules are prepared as variable, stackable, prefabricated, reusable elements for the subsections, sections and segments (see Fig. 3).

All information which describes the function, design and geometry of a module is as a rule compiled only once and stored in catalogs or in files for further processing (4).

The basic principle is to enter the information at the lowest aggregate level in order to ensure ready access to the information in using all of the possible combinations.

The modular levels are defined as follows:

- Subsections (living areas, utility area - stairwell)
- Sections (subsections adjoining the stairwell, such as basement section, ground floor section, standard floor section and top floor section)
- Segments (stacking the sections beginning with the basement section on up to the top floor section)

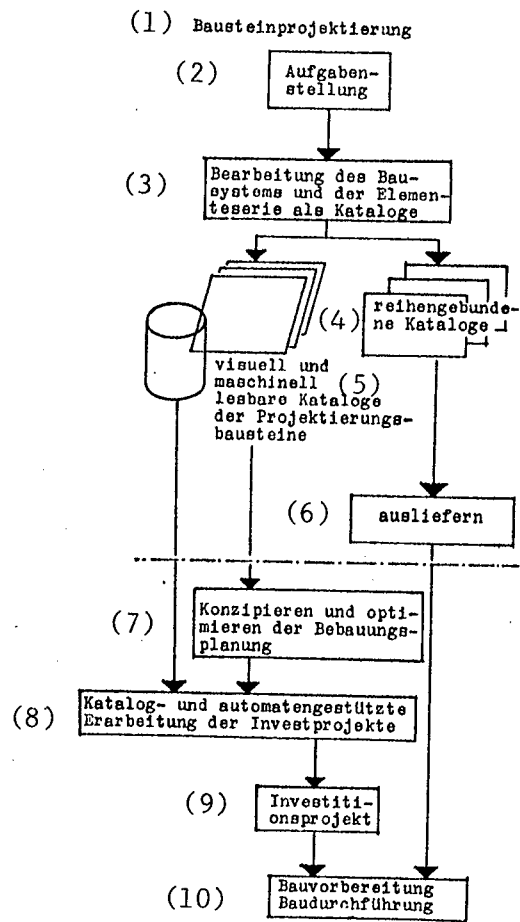


Fig. 2 Schematic Representation of Modular Design

Key:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Modular Design | 6. Delivery |
| 2. Task | 7. Formulate and optimize construction plans |
| 3. Processing the structural system and list of elements in catalog form | 8. Catalog- and computer-aided preparation of investment projects |
| 4. Series-bound catalogs | 9. Investment project |
| 5. Visual and machine-readable catalogs of design modules | 10. Preparation for construction Actual construction |

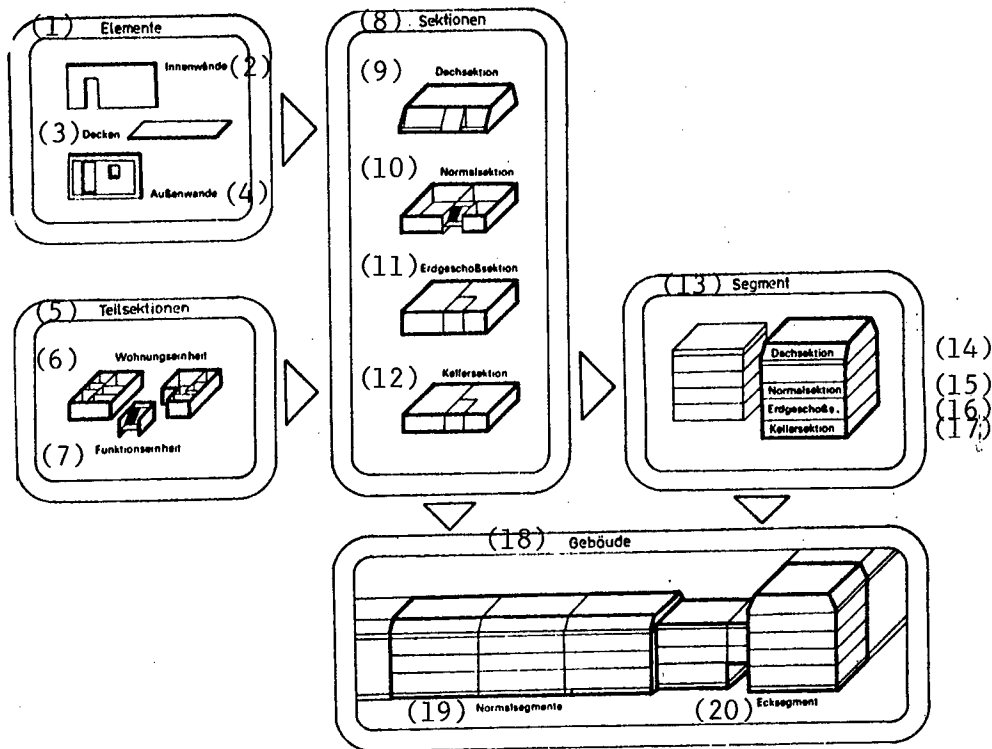


Fig. 3 Housing Construction Modules

Key:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Elements | 11. Ground floor section |
| 2. Interior wall panels | 12. Basement section |
| 3. Ceiling panels | 13. Segment |
| 4. Exterior wall panels | 14. Top floor section |
| 5. Subsections | 15. Standard upper floor section |
| 6. Living areas | 16. Ground floor section |
| 7. Utility area | 17. Basement section |
| 8. Sections | 18. Building |
| 9. Top floor section | 19. Standard segments |
| 10. Standard upper floor section | 20. Corner segment |

Aggregate levels were defined as follows:

- Section
- Segment
- Building

Based on this principle, design modules were developed for the carcass as well as for additional design elements such as finishing, heating, ventilation, plumbing, and electrical and communications systems.

Using conventional design methods or even a manual approach to combine the modules into building sections capable of being assembled would lead to a considerable increase in design costs. Therefore, the introduction of the modular design method is only effective in conjunction with the use of CAD technology. Only in this way can the increased design costs be offset or even substantially reduced.

Some objectives are:

- lowering the cost of technical production planning by 30 to 50 percent and
- reducing processing times for technical production planning by 30 to 40 percent (5).

Catalog- and Computer-Aided Design Technology Developments in Housing Construction To Date

Depending on the computer capacity available--the KRS 4200 and ESER computers--the development to date of catalog- and computer-aided design systems for housing construction using panels has basically gone in two directions. Two programming systems for designing the basic carcass, ROHPRO for the KRS 4200 and BAUROH for the ES 1022, were developed and widely used. Both systems are based on the basic methods already described.

ROHPRO's capabilities (developed by the housing construction combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt) include:

- Graphic design documents such as the following
 - erection outlines
 - general site plans for carcass
 - catalog of elements
 - catalog of reinforcement units
 - catalog of connecting elements(These documents are produced in conjunction with more progressive reproduction techniques.)
- Final lists, such as
 - element and assembly lists
 - assembly sequence lists
 - views of exterior walls
 - lists of required elements
 - material analyses
 - lists of needed materials
 - lists of connecting elements
 - lists of hardware
 - lists of parts for finishing work (6)

With the EDP project BAUROH (developed by the housing construction combine in Erfurt), both module development and generation of concrete site plans involve combining the modules (in stacks or tiers) along with site-specific modifications of module content (elements, connections, geometry, labeling, etc.) by employing modular design principles to lay out the housing carcass using the panel system. Subsections (individual apartments) were defined as the elementary carcass modules in which the information is stored as module data. The source of this module data is the geometric model of an elementary module represented by a wire-frame graphics construction of nodes and lines as the points and lines of reference for elements, connections and the assembly sequence. The data for surface areas and rooms is derived from this model.

Interactive drawings of site-specific buildings are made available to the design engineers for cataloging the elementary modules and assembly plans. The graphics are produced as an ESER graphics printout or as a drawing generated via plotter or drafting table.

The computer-generated results are as follows:

- geometry of carcass elements
- connecting materials
- module geometry, element arrangement, arrangement of element connections, assembly sequence and modular graphics for elementary modules
- module structure, list of elements and list of steels for aggregate modules
- module structure, modification of module data, list of elements, list of steels, assembly list for wall and ceiling panels, assembly plan for wall and ceiling panels for each floor in a given assembly section (7).

In addition, program packages for determining internal force with regard to wall structures (program system for cores and plates developed by the Construction Academy of the GDR, Institute for Design and Standardization), as well as programs for producing finishing lists and for calculating heating systems, are in widespread use.

For evaluation and selection purposes regarding product developments in housing construction during the housing design process, an interactive communications program module for the A 5120/30 office computer was developed by the Institute for Design and Standardization for determining functional and economic factors such as characteristic area figures, distribution codes and materials (8).

CAD Developments for Panel-System Housing Construction

CAD solutions are general computer-aided design technologies for interactive processing of the outline, the calculations and the design, and for evaluating products, determining requirements and costs in terms of product development, planning investments and planning for actual construction (2).

The need to increase labor productivity, flexibility and reaction time in terms of design, as well as the quality of the designs and the increasing availability of workplace-specific computer technology, has provided the incentive for housing design engineers to further develop design technologies involving the use of interactive, graphics-based methods (CAD). At the same

time essential design subprocesses such as optimization of functions and buildings and automating the production of drawings are included in a far-reaching general design process.

The "Concept for Development and Application of CAD in the Housing Construction Combines During the Period 1986 to 1990" agreed upon by the product group association for housing and social construction forms the basis for further development in this area (5).

CAD developments in housing construction are the result of joint efforts on the part of the housing construction combines, the VEB Center for Organization and Data Processing in Construction, Berlin, and the Institute for Design and Standardization in the following four areas:

- development of carcass elements
- development of modules
- design of living quarters and residential areas
- design of buildings

Data input and interactive communications are alphanumeric or graphic functions performed via a menu on the computer screen or digitizer.

In this way, solutions can be developed in step-by-step fashion, optimum variations can be determined by stopping to evaluate and compare, and the developments can be modified in accordance with concrete on-site conditions (9).

In design technology for residential areas, for example, the programming module is inserted for determining functional and economic factors. As a result of the individual interactive processing steps, files, report printouts, lists, texts and graphics are generated as design documentation. At the same time the results are placed in files such that they can be used to interface with additional or subsequent CAD processing stages.

Even initial, currently available incomplete solutions which are to be developed step by step permit interactive element drafting, element statistics and the development of ceiling installation plans, including output of the results in graphic form via a plotter.

Program developers for this system are the Aggregate Planning VEB at the "Wilhelm Pieck" state housing construction combine in Karl-Marx-Stadt and the design enterprise of the housing construction VEB in Erfurt.

Modular Design in the Remodeling and Reconstruction of Buildings

In addition to building new housing, construction in the inner-city also requires the remodeling and reconstruction of existing housing.

Inventory documents are frequently not available. They must first be produced by surveying the structure. The condition of the individual structural parts must be determined exactly. Still usable structural parts should be largely retained, repaired or recycled. In the case of remodeling, economic

requirements related to increasing labor productivity, reducing production consumption, shortening construction times and staying at or below prescribed financial and material cost figures should be met.

Measures involved in the remodeling, reconstruction and repair of buildings are currently planned, by and large, at the level of traditional individual designs. Independent designing and measuring of all individual building parts characterize this method. The subcontracted jobs (according to construction nomenclature) are the elementary units of design as well as of actual construction performance.

An objective determination of the structural parameters, particularly in occupied housing, is usually not feasible in this detail. It thus corresponds to the level of the subcontracted jobs only to an insufficient degree.

Higher aggregate, catalogued design modules (10) which combine several subcontracted jobs into so-called structural areas are more suitable as measurement and design tools. In these modules important information regarding selection, application and connection of the structural areas to one another, as well for the production of the design documents, is combined in an information pool which allows for various designs in sufficient detail. Design costs are substantially reduced. Structural area nomenclature (11) is required when preparing and cataloging these design modules. The information pool for structural parts must contain at least the information given in Table 2 [table not reproduced].

Price, performance, materials and working time consumption can be determined quickly and without great effort using the modules. Data and design details for drafting, statics, structural physics and construction technology in the form of aggregates are compactly combined, less copious than in the case of traditional design work and thus easier to grasp and use.

By using CAD work stations, office and personal computers can save even small design facilities in the kreis-controlled construction industry more than 30 percent in design costs. This allows design engineers to develop more variations than has been possible up to now, permitting knowledgeable decisions to be made concerning the need for minimizing expenses.

An initial basic inventory of structural parts was created for use in construction industry designs. On the basis of typical buildings from construction-date groups 2 and 3 (1870 to 1918), which will be given preference in terms of repair and remodeling up until 1990, on the average 15, sometimes up to 30, subcontracted jobs corresponding to the type and scope of various types of construction work have been combined to form structural areas based on the aspect of frequent repetition. Building industry data--prices to begin with--were obtained by forming aggregates in two stages (four-digit number and structural area) based on the subcontract job data. If necessary, the aggregate of subcontracted jobs can also be broken down again.

Development of CAD Solutions for Remodeling and Re-Equipping Housing

Points to be emphasized by CAD users are:

- Repair of roofs and facades
- Remodeling of apartments
- Reconstruction of complete buildings

The objective is to use computer-aided design technology throughout the entire process of technical planning. The first system developments are currently being tested and introduced by advanced construction and structural repair enterprises. At the same time the above-mentioned structural parts are also being used. With components which can be used independently, the modular system permits adaptation to existing organizational and functional structures. Defined interfaces for data transfer ensure coupling of the modules.

Usable modules (a) and modules in preparation (v) can be used in the following process steps:

- Take measurements of existing structural parameters (v)
- Determine structural condition of building parts and amount of repairs needed (v)
- Produce inventory drawings (a)
- Determine cost of repair (a)
- Work out various functional solutions (a)
- Describe implementation of the planned solution (a)
- Verify statics and strength calculations (v)
- Verify insulation, fire protection and noise barriers (v)
- Perform calculations and measurements on technical systems in the building, such as heating, plumbing and electrical systems (v)
- Determine work needed and price (a)
- Produce drawings showing steps to be implemented (a)
- Determine expenses such as working time and materials required (v)
- Verify the safety qualities of the design (v)

Design engineers are not yet used to working with CAD systems. It is essential that they be actively included in developing CAD solutions so that the time required for introducing them is substantially reduced. In this way any reservations can be dealt with at the introductory stage. Practical and user-friendly solutions are developed. In addition, it is necessary for both the managers of the design facilities and the design engineers and technical draftsmen to be qualified for their specific tasks. New forms of cooperation within the drafting collective and within the entire chain of cooperation involving technical planning are also necessary. At the same time far-reaching changes in design-related work methods in other technical areas and process steps, as shown by the examples given below, must be taken into account.

The use of mobile data acquisition technology for storing the measured values is to be strived for as early as when the structural measurements (12) are made. Time-consuming digitization at the CAD work station is then eliminated.

The electronic measurement protocol is immediately converted into coordinates for the building model. Measurement errors are corrected interactively. Dimensioning, labeling and finishing of the layout drawing of the existing building are carried out with the aid of the graphics program module (GPM). The objective is for the municipal housing administration or the building management enterprise to turn over the documents for the existing building to the construction enterprise in digital form. Mobile data acquisition technology should also be used in determining the structural condition of the buildings' parts. Together with a stored catalog containing damage criteria and characteristic factors for determining the amount of necessary repair work, this substantially reduces the expenditures required to date (13).

During the design phase the GPM's are used to update computer-aided production of the such graphic design documents as drafts, design drawings and detailed drawings. The drafting work is carried in interactive communication with the computer at the graphics terminal.

The first stage of development of the GPM is limited to a two-dimensional representation. The computer model of a drawing as displayed by the GPM comprises several drawing levels (overlays). Different variations of the drawing can thus be produced by superimposition of the overlays which is accomplished internally by the computer.

Using a light pen, cross-hairs and the keyboard, directions are given for performing diverse graphics functions, some of which are listed in Table 3 [table not reproduced].

Preparing the designs and documentation at the CAD work station provides the biggest changes in the way design engineers usually work. Dealing with various CAD work station equipment; diverse GPM functions for generating, processing, modifying and finishing drawings; functions for evaluating various solutions; and data files of stored graphic and alphanumeric information and cataloged incomplete solutions requires of designers that they become suitably qualified to use these progressive work methods.

A center for consultation under the auspices of the product group association for building repair and remodeling, which is being built at the construction combine VEB in Koepenick in conjunction with the Construction Academy of the GDR (14), is providing effective support to first-time user enterprises in solving the above-mentioned problems of startup planning, qualifications and introduction of the CAD solutions into the production process.

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12552

CSO: 2300/107

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY TO PRODUCE MICROELECTRONICS FOR OWN USE

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 126, 30 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by Guido Quaas, State Secretary, Ministry for Chemical Industry: "Why Should the Users Themselves Produce Microelectronics?"]

[Text] The chemical industry has the task of refining raw materials. Among the objectives are new materials such as structural plastics, new high-purity products for microelectronics, and high-performance ceramics, as well as increased application of biotechnology. To that end collectives are developing new technologies and processes; fixed assets are being modernized and generally automated. These tasks cannot be accomplished without widespread rapid application of microelectronics.

Based on the fact that the specific conditions of the chemical industry involve diverse and complex requirements for microelectronics, chemical combines are increasingly producing their own microelectronics. This is all the more necessary because no one understands the requirements for the microelectronics for their own production process as well as the users themselves. This system is the most efficient for the national economy. That explains the emphasis on the correlation of self production of microelectronics by the user and the renovation of production at the 11th SED Party Congress.

A center to assume the leadership role in the chemical industry for the production of the means of automation based on microelectronic components through research, model building, and electronics workshops, laboratories, and technical colleges was created at the Leipzig-Grimma Chemical Equipment Construction Combine VEB. The stimuli for the reinforcement and the publicizing of added microelectronics capabilities in the chemical industry originate with this institution. A further task of the leadership center consists of linking all new installations and reconstruction measures as well as technologies and processes from now on with the use of microelectronics, of shortening the time expended for process analysis, laboratory analysis, process development, planning, and design, and of rationalizing the operation of the installations.

Capabilities for the production of components and devices based on microelectronics compatible with standard equipment of the microelectronics

industry are gradually being expanded in the chemical combines. It is above all a question of further improving the conditions for automation of production installations as well as for the chemistry-specific use of industrial robots and their interconnection. For that purpose printed circuit boards and microelectronic components are being built in the sector. So we are utilizing rationally manufactured standard equipment from the electrical engineering and electronics sector connected to custom components and software made by the chemical combines themselves.

In order to accelerate the rate of development and application of microelectronics, the chemical combines are working closely on a contractual basis with institutions from the universities, the technical schools, and the GDR Academy of Sciences.

12666

CSO: 2300/94

MICROELECTRONICS PROMOTE QUALITY, FLEXIBILITY OF PRODUCTION

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 124, 24 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by Karl-Heinz Nadler, Deputy Director of the Office for Standardization, Measurements, and Product Testing: "Using the Power of Microelectronics for More Efficient Production"]

[Text] Key technologies increasingly determine the productive capabilities of our national economy. Their widespread application is closely linked to achieving thoroughgoing quality production corresponding to high international standards. The objective consists in reducing working time expenditure, material and energy consumption, and costs through the widespread introduction of microelectronics. It is a matter of more top quality performance from science and technology with high economic benefit. That is the only way to guarantee the necessary pace to meet world market requirements.

At the 1986 Leipzig Autumn Trade Fair, the working people of the Karl Zeiss Combine VEB of Jena very vividly emphasized that. Fully three of their exhibits won gold medals. Once again it paid off that in the combine the priorities of application of microelectronics, of modern data processing, and especially of computer assisted design and manufacture [CAD/CAM] are established on the foundation of single-minded strategic design work, and all forces are concentrated on top quality with each new product. Breaking into new scientific-technical territory, the Zeiss workers are tapping new reserves of efficiency which exceed previously common dimensions.

The example of computer assisted assembly of high performance photolithography products in the Karl Zeiss Combine VEB of Jena demonstrates what results are possible in that connection. Using microelectronics and CAD/CAM technology it was possible to realize distinctly higher efficiency and complete exploitation. The personal involvement of the general director contributed significantly to achieving the necessary lead in science and technology, of aligning the collective, and of orienting it toward top quality performance. The goals for all participants were an enormous challenge to courage in the face of risk, to discipline, and to passionate enthusiasm in order to help in the breakthrough of innovation. The high quality level attained so far in the combine--the majority of new developments carry the quality designation "Q"--is fundamentally borne by the more than 12,700 distinguished quality

workers and the more than 200 quality circles and is a good foundation for the achievement of future tasks.

Higher Benefits for Producers and Users

Considerable growth in productivity is possible when design, technology, and organization, including measurement, testing, and control technologies, are permeated by microelectronics. Making progress with the more comprehensive utilization of microelectronics in the national economy requires that users build or expand their own capacities for microelectronic components and controls as an integral part of their reproduction process as is being done in the Automation Equipment Construction Combine VEB of Textima and the "Werner Lamberz" Polygraph Combine in Leipzig. The "audatec" microcomputer control system of the Automation Equipment Construction Combine VEB, for example, makes possible international optimum value in reliability and considerable conservation of materials and working time. With this microelectronic process data processing system, additional key technologies such as CAD/CAM come into use in process automation. At the same time, the automation equipment requires only 40 percent of the space required by former equipment. Moreover, only one-third of the personnel formerly working on automation equipment now is needed to take care of operational and maintenance tasks.

The central issue is always to make the uncompromising comparison with the world standard beginning with the tasks of developing the specifications book all the way to the individual developmental stages and always to struggle for top quality performance. This requires timely cooperation between component developers, equipment manufacturers, and equipment users because that is the only way that high economic efficiency is possible within short time frames. That is how the basic factory of the Microelectronics Combine VEB, the Telecommunications VEB in Arnstadt, and the Regional Office of the German Postal and Telegraph Service in Erfurt proceeded in joint developmental work. In only 6 months they were able to bring a new carrier frequency converter into production. It is 30 percent smaller than its predecessor. Considerable working time savings and reductions in prime costs were achieved and extensive investments were rendered unnecessary by using microelectronics.

Effective Quality Control

Flawless production is very important in tapping additional reserves. Unerring gauges of this are complaint-free supplying of products and low costs for rejects, retouching, and warranty service, including high efficiency in materials and energy. Development and production of the PC 1715 personal computer in the "Ernst Thaelmann" Business Machines Plant VEB in Soemmerda underscores that. For this top quality microelectronics product 98-percent availability was achieved by major users, and international optimum reliability standards were demonstrated. In Soemmerda itself efficient production has been organized using modern technology.

In the Business Machines Plant evaluation of production occurs daily using computer assisted quality assurance, and necessary technological and organizational measures are established based on error analysis. The complaint-free delivery of 6,455 computers of the 10,000 additional PC 1715's

achieved through 30 September of this year speaks well for the exemplary work in the 40 quality circles as well. The on-site state quality inspections of the ASMW [Office for Standardization, Measurements, and Product Testing] help to accomplish zero-defect production and at the same time spread the best experience so that in 1986 even more top quality performance can be achieved.

12666

CSO: 2300/94

DEPARTMENT STORE WORKERS COMPENSATE FOR INFERIOR DELIVERIES

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 4 Nov 86 p 4

[Interview with managers of Leipzig's retail stores by LVZ reporters H. Enss and I. Gawryszak: "What Stands in the Way of Better Service?"; first paragraph is LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG Introduction]

[Text] Whether the inhabitant leaves your shop satisfied depends on the appropriate supply of goods and on the congeniality with which it is delivered to customers. Even though the merchants are in the limelight--for good shopping there are many partners behind the curtains.

Bodo Schwarz, Supermarket, Zwickauer Strasse 125: Relations with our partners are not such as we merchants would like. There is no route timetable for deliveries of goods. The only thing given is the day. This makes exact planning of labor more difficult. This is even worse for us because we are short on staff. Furthermore, it affects our offering of goods. After delivery meat and sausage goods must be weighed, sorted, processed, and prepared for sale. If the meat comes around 10:00 on Friday morning, it is on the shelf for sale by around 1:00 in the afternoon. If it is delivered at 5:00 pm, we cannot sell it until Monday. Why shouldn't an exact route schedule be possible? Whenever this question was brought up with wholesalers, they hid behind vehicle shortages and the like. In our markets, we merchants cannot hide from the customers. Transport technology also causes us a lot of trouble. It is very susceptible to disruption. And also repairs take too long.

Helga Bernstein, Supermarket, Riemannstrasse 1: Unfortunately, three or four colleagues have to spend a lot of time every day fixing damaged potato bags or cleaning leafy and green vegetables because we do not get the goods delivered in appropriate condition from Leipzig Fruit, Vegetable, and Potato Wholesale. Likewise, reticketing of--among other things--meat packages from the product wholesaler causes us a lot of trouble every day.

Much valuable time must also be spent resubmitting arbitrarily rejected claims for refunds from the wholesalers. We ask the Leipzig Refrigerated Goods Enterprise to look into better price marking for poultry.

Roswitha Mueller, Supermarket, Roedelstrasse 31: A few days ago construction work at our store was finished. In spite of noise, dust, and space constraints much was done to continue to serve our customers well. We wish we could find such commitment from many manufacturing enterprises. Small catsup bottles, for example, are delivered terribly dirty by Fruit, Vegetable, and Potato Wholesale. The same thing was true for rhubarb nectar bottles which were so dirty we had to wash off every single one of them. An additional problem is the quality of packaging for milk pouches and coffee cream packets. The pouches burst very readily. All of this requires extensive fixing. Time which we could use for better customer service is lost.

Petra Lautner, Shop, Friedrich-Ludwig-Jahn-Allee 40: Delays in product deliveries cause us a lot of trouble. I ordered 96 cases of beer for 15 October. The beer wasn't even delivered by Plant 1 of the Sachsenbraeu VEB until the afternoon of 17 October. Furthermore, there were only 24 cases. I would like to take this opportunity to thank our colleagues Goldschmidt and Hennig who brought beverages to our shop after their closing time. Nevertheless, this amount only lasted a short time. We had no beer to sell for 2 days.

12666

CSO: 2300/94

BRIEFS

DEFICIENT AGRICULTURAL INFRASTRUCTURE--Berlin, 28 Oct 86 (IWE)--The partially deficient infrastructure in the rural areas of the GDR is increasingly proving to be a limiting factor for performance and efficiency in agriculture. At a scientific colloquium of the SED Academy for Social Sciences it was pointed out that in one-third of the villages a "severe overburdening" of the technical infrastructure (electrical power network, water supply and treatment facilities, roads, and communications network) is to be noted. Planning work for infrastructural development in the rural regions is inadequate to meet requirements. "Economic potentials" are reportedly being "thrown away" because many measures do not correspond to the goal of maximum national economic efficiency. Because it is not currently possible to deal with basic expansion of the rural public infrastructure, the scientists challenged agriculture to conserve infrastructural capabilities through efficient technologies in water, energy, and transportation or, if need be, to construct their own infrastructure, for example, through the use of alternative energy sources. Above all, however, the expansion of the rural information and communications network is considered an "urgent need." [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 167, 28 Oct 86 p 2] 12666

CSO: 2300/94

FOOD INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURAL TRADE WITH USSR INCREASING

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Dec 86 p 5

[Unattributed PAP report: "Closer Ties -- Better Results"; passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /Polish-Soviet cooperation in agriculture and the food economy has entered a new stage. Trade turnover in food and agricultural products between Poland and the USSR will reach about 180 million rubles this year. It is set to grow by an additional 15 percent pursuant to the protocol on coordinating plans for the years 1986 through 1990./

The recently signed agreement between the governments of the PRP and the USSR provides for nearly twofold growth of deliveries of produce and processed fruit and vegetables to the USSR in the current 5-year period. This year, we delivered 9,000 tons of cauliflower and 3,500 tons of currant and strawberry concentrate to the Soviet market. Deliveries of apples to the USSR will come up to 200,000 tons this year. Expanding such exports opens up development prospects for our horticulture.

Imports from the USSR, e.g. tea, cheese and canned fish, will contribute to variety in our market.

This year, we will deliver agricultural implements worth 90 million rubles to the Soviet Union. Total value of our imports of agricultural implements from the USSR will come up to 110 million rubles. Progress in mechanization will also be facilitated by expanded cooperation, including deliveries of subassemblies for loaders and radiators for tractors and direct contacts established between "Ursus" and the Minsk Tractor Works. Recently, the "Pilmet" of Wroclaw signed a direct cooperation agreement with a Soviet producer of sprayers. In its turn, the Institute of Plant Cultivation and Acclimation in Radzikowo set up joint R&D teams with Soviet institutions, which handle, among other things, varieties of wheat and corn.

Expanding economic, scientific and technical contacts between the food economies of Poland and the USSR were reviewed on 3 December in the House of Polish-Soviet Friendship in Warsaw at a seminar of the TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship] aktiv working in rural communities. Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Koziol took part in the seminar.

POLICY REVERSAL ON FOOD INDUSTRY SUBSIDIES UNLIKELY

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Nov 86 pp 1,2

[Interview with Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and the Food Economy Edward Brzostowski, by Edmund Szot: "Keeping Up with the Harvest"]

[Text] We had yet another good year in agriculture. In light of this, are the hopes that the food supply will improve justified? Will the food industry be able to process the increased supply of agricultural raw materials? With these questions, a RZECZPOSPOLITA correspondent approached Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and the Food Economy Edward Brzostowski.

[Answer] The harvest this year was as good as in the previous years. There were lots of fruit and vegetables on the market, and at lower prices than a year ago. Supplies of dairy products and poultry were equally good. Free market sales of meat and processed meat were expanded.

Considerable growth of procurement of agricultural products occurred only in some commodity groups. We had sufficient reserve capacity in meat and poultry packing to handle increased deliveries of slaughter cattle. Only the bumper crop of apples somewhat exceeds the processing capacity, despite its considerable growth in the past years. We are still investing in apple processing.

Many new investment projects are underway in the frozen foods and oil industry. Production of margarine will grow as soon as next year. The assortment of gourmet margarine will also increase.

We know that the development of crop and food processing should precede the growth of agricultural production. Unfortunately, we are still only trying to keep pace with the growing procurement of agricultural raw materials, because of the current constraints on investment, and especially the restrictions on equipment imports.

[Question] The government has adopted a program of expanding and modernizing the food industry. How is this program being implemented? Will the tasks of these 5 years be carried out?

[Answer] Implementation of the program has not been completely satisfactory, despite new facilities being commissioned all the time. For example, the following were commissioned:

- 7 mills with a capacity of 300 tons of grain a day,
- a modern dairy combine in Tychy, with a processing capacity of 215 million liters of milk annually,
- new dairy plants in Paslek, Rzeszow, Wegrow and 10 modernized dairy plants, as well as 450 milk procurement stations,
- 40 bakeries with a total output of 270 tons of baked goods a day and numerous modernized bakeries,
- 4 large cake bakeries in large conurbations,
- numerous new production lines and processing facilities in other branches, including grain elevators, dryers, apple concentrate lines, baby foods etc.

Large mills, grain elevators, refrigerated warehouses, oil, meat-packing and dairy plants, bakeries etc. are under construction.

Investment targets of the past 5-year plan were met, despite construction delays for some major projects. We made up for that by expanding the scope of modernization undertaken by enterprises.

We intend to not only meet, but, under favorable circumstances, even exceed the target for the current 5-year period.

[Question] Suggestions that construction of major food industry enterprises be accompanied by setting up smaller facilities for food processing are common and perhaps correct. What are the reasons for the lack of meaningful progress in this matter?

[Answer] Certainly, we should have more small and medium-size enterprises. In the 1970s, the number of enterprises shrank by 13 percent, especially that of small bakeries and mills. Currently, distribution of processing capacity relative to raw material sources and consumption centers is better accommodated in the development program for food processing.

Development of small cooperative and private enterprises is being emphasized. In the years 1983 through 1985 alone, over 300 small bakeries, 25 small mills, about 120 fruit and vegetable-processing facilities and 228 meat-packing facilities began operations. Many small food-processing enterprises were modernized.

[Question] There are many complaints concerning the quality of baked goods, dairy products, and processed pork, though there are positive examples as well. For example, the Meat-packing Plant in Nisko turns out good products. But does it do anything for them? Why are the economic mechanisms, which would enforce high quality of processed foods, not working?

[Answer] The impact of the legal and economic system on product quality is based primarily on applying penalties for poor quality and is adequately punitive. However, this has not effected a major improvement in quality. Provisions for products awarded the mark of quality, for which contract and regulated prices apply, are an exception. This system does not work with official prices, and they account for 70 percent of the output in the food industry.

In my opinion, in order to achieve such an improvement, a provision should be made for increasing remuneration by virtue of improved quality. This can be ensured by reducing taxes on the increment of wages and also by enterprises allocating to the bonus fund the means obtained by virtue of high product quality.

[Question] Competition could do much for improving the quality of foodstuffs. What has been done to date and what will be done in the future to reduce the degree of monopolization in foodstuffs production?

[Answer] Along with the state, co-operative and non-socialized enterprises also contribute to it. As we see it, quality of raw materials, storage and production capacity, as well as supply of materials and packaging, are more of an influence on the quality of food than "the degree of monopolization in foodstuffs production." Cutting production processes short and using temporary warehouses does not promote better quality. Nor is it promoted by incomplete supply of containers and packaging materials and their unsatisfactory quality.

We will eliminate these factors to the point of achieving improved quality of foodstuffs. This will also be accomplished by developing foodstuffs production in small cooperative and private enterprises.

[Question] An appreciable segment of the food industry, especially its basic branches, are still subsidized. We already know quite a lot about the negative consequences of subsidizing various sectors of manufacturing. Does the ministry have a program for turning away from "the state coffers?" What is this program about?

[Answer] Subsidies for foodstuffs result from the government policy of keeping relatively low prices for food staples (meat and processed meat, grain products, vegetable fat, milk and dairy products, fish). As a matter of fact, these are subsidies for foodstuffs consumption. Measures aimed at reducing budgetary subsidies have been undertaken from the beginning of reform implementation. They were primarily intended to force an improvement in the efficiency of management and reduction in the cost of production. The results of these actions are relatively small compared to the scope of subsidization. For example, in the grain and milling industry eliminating subsidies would call for a 50-percent reduction in costs, which is unrealistic.

Enterprises of the food industry are not interested in receiving budgetary subsidies. However, abandoning them would require that a correct relationship be maintained between producer costs and retail prices of food. Generally, a solution to the problem of subsidizing foodstuffs lies beyond the sphere of their production, as it requires a major change in the price policy of the state. Complete elimination of food subsidies in the immediate future does not appear possible to me.

MINISTER REPORTS ON PRODUCTION IN METALLURGY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Nov 86 p 6

[Interview with Janusz Maciejewicz, minister of Metallurgy and Machine Industry, by Piotr Stefaniak]

[Text] Despite generally good work, the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry recorded some delays in performance of tasks at the beginning of the third quarter in certain subsectors. Is there still a danger that the plan will not be fulfilled? A PAP journalist asked this question of minister Janusz Maciejewicz.

[Answer] The conditions which caused the delays have not really changed. There is still a shortage of foreign-exchange funds for current purchases of materials and subassemblies from Western countries. For the same reason, deliveries of chemical materials are irregular. There is also a shortage of workers. Various measures are being taken by our ministry to mitigate the effects of these factors. This brought some results in September, in which there was a 7.1 percent growth in sold production.

Some arrears in production of certain products, such as zinc-plated sheet, automobiles, tractors and fluorescent lamps, have also been made up. Overall, however, assumptions of the central plan for production of several types of products are still threatened.

[Question] After 10 months, what do changes in quality and management efficiency look like?

[Answer] In general, good. Labor productivity rose 7 percent over that of last year. In the third quarter alone productivity growth was still higher, amounting to 8.4 percent. Also, the indicator reflecting remuneration of labor productivity growth by increase in average wages turned out to be satisfactory. The number of unworked hours dropped 4.3 percent. But not all enterprises achieved these good results. Economic ratios in about 160 of them are still faulty, although since June their number has dropped by 30. In comparison with last year, profitability of production slipped from 17.03 to 16.23 percent. This is mostly due to higher prices of raw and other materials, energy, hauling rates and additional charges which were not fully compensated by price increases on products produced in our ministry.

[Question] Do you represent, on behalf of the government, the interests of various subsector groups, or the interests of society as a whole? If the latter, are you adequately equipped with the mechanisms necessary to exert an influence on the work of the enterprises?

[Answer] I believe that a minister, as a member of the government, must also participate in ensuring that the economy is operating correctly by taking part in decisionmaking, but in accordance with the capabilities and needs of the branches of economy which he represents and with consideration to the interests of society as a whole. In my case, furthermore, the minister personifies the parent organ of the enterprises. This function consists primarily of supervision and control. I believe the minister has adequate mechanisms of influence. However, the second, basic task of minister of the branch ministry is much more important and difficult.

[Question] Your ministry is accused of doing some things which smack of an attempt at "manual control."

[Answer] Several times I have publicly denied such alleged attempts. On the contrary, we do everything to avoid it. However, there are plenty of occasions when this could be done. It is the enterprises which actually try to talk us into taking measures which are outside the system, for example, in the case of severance of coproduction ties. I have no authority to intervene in such matters, but if an important segment of production is being endangered we try to mediate between the producers responsible for implementation of the tasks.

9295

CSO: 2600/206

COMPUTER SOFTWARE FAIR OPENS IN KATOWICE

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 18 Nov 86 pp 1,5

[Article by (KK): "Computer Offers"]

[Text] Without proper software, even the best computer is but a useless heap of plastic, metal and silicon. Therefore, it is not surprising that various fairs at which computer programs are offered are increasingly popular among the enthusiasts of information processing. Only the people who are amateurs in the field can be satisfied by these fairs; professionals are still not getting enough. The National Software Fair "Softarg 86," opened yesterday in the OPT [Center for Technical Progress] in Katowice, is an attempt to meet the needs of enterprises and institutions. This largest computer event in the country met with great interest from both the companies developing so-called applied programs and potential customers. As the OPT director Jozef Zyla communicated, 111 participants presented their offers, or over 600 various programs, on a floor space of 2,000 square meters. Enterprises, institutions, state and cooperative organizations, 9 Polonia companies and 5 partnerships with Polish participation are among them.

Two foreign companies, MTE Olivetti of Italy and Anderle from Austria, also established their presence at the fair, which is so far national in nature. It is the desire of the sponsors, i.e. the Office of Scientific-Technical Progress and Implementation, the Association of Computer Equipment Producers "MERA," the Polish Computer Society and the OPT to make the fair international.

Therefore, the next fair will likely offer an even wider choice of programs for individual brands of computers. After all, it is a foregone conclusion that the gap between us and other states in computer use is still tremendous.

"Softarg 86" presents a great opportunity for all enterprises seriously interested in improving the efficiency of their operations. It turns out that an overwhelming majority of the 600 programs can be used immediately (they are described in a carefully produced 2-volume catalog of the event, available to anyone interested for 5,000 zlotys). Some of the programs have already proven themselves in practice.

It would be difficult to overestimate the role of such fairs, where every purchaser can not only familiarize himself with a given program, but also test it on RIAD, IBM, SM, IBM-PC and personal and office computers installed right here for his convenience.

There is no denying that information on the software available in our country is poor. This is why "Softarg 86" provides practically the only chance of determining what we currently have at our disposal inside the country.

The opening ceremony of the event was attended by, among others, Deputy Governor of Katowice Wladyslaw Mily and Deputy Chairman of the Polish Computer Society Andrzej Wisniewski. The words of deputy chairman of the Honorary Committee, full member of the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences], Prof Dr Engineer Stefan Wegrzyn sounded typical when he said that at present computer science is as important as the discovery of printing was in its time. After all, the time of recording, storing and retrieving information in written form is passing inexorably, because this is becoming less and less efficient. Computer science is not a matter of the future, but of the present. Soon, software fairs will play the role now played by book fairs.

The event at the OPT is not just a fair of already existing programs; this is also a meeting of people responsible for the condition and status of our computer market and its scientific and technical base. They are the ones taking part in events associated with the fair and attending seminars and lectures.

Film screenings and trips to, among others, two centers of the budding computer industry of Silesia, the Research and Production Center of Control Systems "Meraster," in Katowice, and Computer Equipment Enterprise "Mera-Elzab," in Zabrze, were organized for the participants of the conference.

The best of the programs presented at the exhibition will be awarded diplomas and medals, which will certainly contribute indirectly to widely publicizing their features.

The fair is also open to wide circles of computer enthusiasts daily between 14.00 and 17.00 (until 21 November). For example, the stand of the NOWATECH Enterprise for Modernizing Technological Processes is worth visiting. It offers "cross-breeding" "ZX Spectrum," perhaps the most popular personal computer in our country, that is to say, expanding its RAM operating capacity to 272 KB!

9761

CSO:2600/264

CAMPAIGN AGAINST ECONOMIC CRIMES IN PRIVATE SECTOR REVIEWED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Dec 86 pp 1,5

[Article by (wl): "Green Light for the Honest"; passages in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /There is hardly a city in Poland without at least one private craft, trade, or catering enterprise. They have become a permanent part of our life, filling the gaps in the operation of state economy./

However, the development opportunities offered for many years to private crafts, services, trade and Polonia companies (between 1981 and 1985, the number of private establishments increased from 330,000 to 400,000) are frequently used by people seeking to profiteer illegally in as short a time as possible. Struggle against such abuses damaging the interests of the society and the state is especially important now, in conjunction with the economic tasks set forth by the 3rd PZPR CC Plenum.

Therefore, it was not by accident that on Monday, 22 December, chairmen of provincial coordination teams for preventing violations of law in the non-socialized sector assembled in order to discuss the results of actions within the framework of "Operation Sector" and outline the tasks for 1987. The conference was chaired by Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, member of the PZPR CC Politburo, chairman of the Committee of the Council of Ministers for Observance of the Law, Public Order and Social Discipline. Representatives of ministries and offices cooperating in this operation and of enterprise workforces of Warsaw also took part in the conference.

/In total, about 450,000 audits were carried out from the beginning of "Operation Sector" in April 1984 until the end of November 1986. The audits revealed over 100,000 cases of violation of criminal and fiscal law. Charges were brought against 106,000 persons./ About 13,000 cases were referred to boards for misdemeanors. In the course of fiscal proceedings, fines and tax encumbrances totalling 3.5 billion zlotys were imposed. Over 3,700 recommendations to withdraw operating licenses were forwarded to local organs of state administration. Twenty-five hundred persons were arrested on criminal charges.

The most frequent irregularities include tax fraud, underreporting profits,

concealing the real remuneration of employees, illegal employment, excessive prices for products and services.

However, as Gen. Jerzy Cwiek, chairman of the Central Coordinating Team, stated, these results of "Operation Sector" do not satisfy us. The scope of wrongdoing is still great. Extortion of sums not due for construction work and services is commonplace. Also, owners of private enterprises give bribes quite frequently to secure an allocation of, or to purchase, sought-after materials, or to ensure endorsement of their prices. Illegal private manufacturing enterprises operating without reporting taxes are still springing up.

/"We want crafts and small manufacturing enterprises to develop dynamically, but on a healthy economic and ethical foundation. We want this sector to serve society rather than be identified with distortions of the socialist system"/--said Gen. Cwiek.

The discussion lasted for several hours. In its course members of provincial teams, having outlined the dangers and the results of activity in their area, pointed out problems calling for new organizational and legal arrangements. For example, there are no unified criteria for granting operating licenses, which often brings about private interests rather than the needs of the region shaping the specialization of small manufacturing. Provisions for a mandatory revocation of operating licenses should be expanded. Also, criminal penalties for the most significant misdemeanors and offenses should be made steeper. Control is often hampered by a lack of accounting for the purchase of materials and technical assets.

Participants of the conference listened very attentively to /Waclaw Maciolek/, a carpenter at the Mazowsze Construction Combine in Legionowo. He talked about the bitter feelings in his professional group towards people who are illegally amassing great fortunes in a short time. He also talked about disproportions in the wages of craftsmen employed in the state sector and those working privately. In his opinion, activities of the organs combatting these irregularities and abuses are receiving too little exposure.

In his closing statement, Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak remarked that the proceedings have shown, on the one hand, outstanding activity by the organs taking part in "Operation Sector," while on the other hand--the tremendous needs. Irregularities and abuses in the private sector are facilitated by the phenomena occurring in state enterprises and organs of state administration, which have become a deviation--low labor discipline, waste, mismanagement. If order prevailed in a socialized enterprise, said Gen. Kiszczak, it would be difficult for the private sector to pilfer materials. If the organs of state administration operated properly, there would be no cases of unjustifiably granting operating licenses. If all financial audit organs operated properly, abuses could be discovered sooner and their social and economic consequences would be smaller. In general, if both sides displayed more honesty, and the state organs--also more persistence, there would be no need for "Operation Sector." At present, it must be carried on. It will also emphasize finding out the reasons for excessive profiteering by some owners of private establishments.

/Gen. Kiszczak also said that, at the request of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, a special team is working on legal arrangements concerning matters raised by the participants in the conference./

COMPLAINTS ABOUT WORKER PARTNERSHIPS ADDRESSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Nov 86 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Zmuda: "Doubts and Facts"]

[Excerpts] The matter was described in detail, therefore we will only give a short summary of the rules. The worker partnerships sign an agreement with the management to do specified work, either production or services, on the second shift or on Saturdays. They do this work outside the normal working hours. Their earnings are not subject to countervailing tax and the factory does not make a social security contribution based on these earnings, and pays only tax. The earnings do not increase the base on which retirement and other benefits (vacation, seniority, anniversary awards, etc.) are calculated.

Accusations...

But for some time now there has been talk that the partnerships (praised up to now) are not good--because they exploit workers on their days off and after normal working hours, because the earnings are not counted for retirement, because the managements in this way "cheat" on overtime. It is also said that the partnerships are cliqueish, closed, that they do not let others in but that the "insiders" monopolize the additional, often high, earnings. And in some places it is said that the workers are forced to work in the partnerships...

In short, by our Polish system, i.e., the "wall-to-wall" method, we go from delight to doubts and even condemnation...

I must admit that these accusations surprise me greatly, because I studied these worker partnerships in more than one enterprise, talked to the participants, the managements and also with those at the top level who originated them. And I don't really know the reasons for these reservations, which sometimes even question the justifiability of the existence of the factory worker partnerships. The matter is even more important because some of the reservations are being expressed by union activists.

That is why I decided to write about the partnerships once more.

...and Statistics

Let us begin with facts because they are probably the most important. Engineer Kazimierz Szlezak from the Planning Commission, who has been involved with this from the very beginning, gave me the latest statistics--computer printouts from the Poznan Main Office of Statistics computer center for the first 6 months of this year.

It appears that during the first half of this year, about 10,000 worker partnerships worked in over 2,700 enterprises in the entire economy. They produced goods or services valued at approximately 45 billion zlotys. This is a good figure: one zloty of earnings in return for over 11 zlotys of production.

Let me add that efficiency for the first quarter was even greater because it was calculated at 1 to 20. Hence the conclusion that in the second quarter, unfortunately, efficiency was much below the average for the year. It is hard to determine whether this is the result of another way of computing value of production and services because in large-scale operations production value is figured only in comparison with wages.

In any case, the profitability of the worker partnerships is unequivocal, although it seems to me (and I wrote about this back in March) that the value of their production should be measured in terms of net production, after deducting cost of materials, because figures on worker partnership efficiency may turn out to be too high or too low.

In comparison with 1985 during which the factory worker partnerships worked in approximately 850 enterprises, their production was valued at over 31 billion zlotys, while their earnings were approximately 950 million zlotys. Thus, progress this year is has been great. It is estimated that this year the partnerships will give production valued at at least 80 billion zlotys.

Who Likes Them?

Industry has the most partnerships, with the machines, food and light industries in the lead. It is good that the workers work mostly in market enterprises. What is new is that partnerships have been organized in the housing and municipal economies. During the first 6 months of this year over 14,000 people worked there, producing goods and services valued at over 630 million zlotys. Worker partnerships are also beginning to appear more widely in transportation (over 22,000 people produced goods and services valued at 1.3 billion zlotys). Construction also had partnerships (18,500 people produced over 1.7 billion in zlotys). May I add that in the latter case the more the better in housing construction.

The design offices are also organizing their own worker partnerships: 1,600 people worked in them, obtaining orders and filling them outside normal working hours, for a value of 210 million zlotys.

We complain about services in communications--unmanned windows, lack of people on duty at different shifts in post offices, etc. But it appears that worker partnerships have not yet become popular with the communications and postal

personnel. There were worker partnerships in only five such enterprises and the value of their work amounted to scarcely 20 million zlotys. Not much is heard about worker partnerships in trade, and after all, wouldn't this be a good way to have shops open on Saturdays, or even Sundays? Throughout the entire world, trade works hardest on Saturdays, and here it is exactly the opposite.

Let me remind you that worker partnerships are most frequently set up for casual work, to do work that is above the requirements of the plan. They sometimes work several days, weeks, and rarely several months. And statistics include everyone, even the partnership working the shortest period of time. But the pay and the value of their production and services is measurable. And these figures are objective and speak for themselves.

Reasons "For"

It is time to discuss the doubts listed at the beginning of this article.

The voluntariness of work in the partnership is obvious--no one can be forced to work in them. On the other hand, the choosing, by the partnership of particular people, is quite natural, because after all, such a partnership will not choose a poor worker. Do the brigades, or partnerships, about whom so much is being said recently, choose differently? And specific wages are paid for a specific job in the partnership.

There is also the charge that people are overtiring themselves by working after hours. I believe that this a private matter of the worker himself. After all, peasant-workers also work two jobs. And what about those who work on part-time jobs in addition to their regular jobs (which we encourage)? We tolerate justified overtime hours, why then is work in partnerships suspect?

Including worker partnership earnings in the base for retirement is not in conformance with existing rules. Work in these partnerships is not based on continuity of employment. A specific agreement is entered into each time for each "job", and everything is made explicitly clear.

And finally the crowning accusation that work in partnerships is unnecessary because the normal production time in enterprises, from Monday to Friday, on the first shift, is not being utilized. But regulations clearly state, Kazimierz Szlezak says, that worker partnerships may do their work only after normal working hours--only when equipment and raw materials are not being utilized and there are orders to be filled.

And if there are some transgressions of these regulations, they should be dealt with by the party, union and self-management elements of that enterprise.

The rules are explicit and if they are sometimes bent that does not mean that we should immediately throw the baby out with the bath water and question the rightness of organizing factory worker partnerships.

In conclusion, I continue to believe that factory worker partnerships are a good initiative. Naturally, they are not and cannot be a universal cure for employment shortages and failure to utilize equipment. But experience has shown that they are an excellent auxiliary tool in our ongoing problems of satisfying the needs of our enterprises. Let us not make the mistake of going to extremes and let us not fall from euphoria into negation.

9295

CSO: 2600/206

BELCHATOW POWER PLANT PROGRESS, PROBLEMS REPORTED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Nov 86 p 6

[Text] Two days remain for the riggers of the No 9 power unit in the Balchatow Power Plant to start it up. The first synchronization of the turbine assembly with the power grid is planned for 15 November, and the unit is scheduled for normal operation in mid-December.

The power unit was built at a record rate. The critical time in the construction of a boiler is the pressure testing, while the critical time in the assembly of the entire unit is the start of the endurance trials of the water-steam system. The time elapsed between these operations attests to the speed with which the unit was erected. For the previous units, this period was over 100 days, and for No 9 it was only 81 days.

Next month the coal-feeding system for the No 9 boiler must still be installed, erection of the walls in that part of the building where the unit stands must be completed, and work on the foundations of the last two units must be finished.

The plan requires that all of the machines, i.e., 12 turbine assemblies, 360 MW each, are to be ready in 2 years. The Belchatow builders says that this target date is realistic, but only if the various materials and equipment, now unavailable, are delivered immediately. More and more frequently work comes to a stop because a few elements making up the huge power units are not unavailable.

Equipment-delivery problems were the subject of discussion recently by manufacturers from MEGAT and the contractors for the largest power project in Poland. Most of the basic and auxiliary machines and equipment for the power plant are produced by factories affiliated in the MEGAT Federation. These factories have many of their own problems, but thanks to their working together they have been able to fulfill their assigned deliveries to Belchatow almost on schedule. In the opinion of the contractors for the project, the MEGAT Federation is a reliable partner, although even they are sometimes accused of late deliveries.

The representatives of MEGAT do not deny this. They say only that everything depends on the willingness of the factories. The Federation is responsible

for assembling the equipment for which parts are produced throughout the entire country, including in enterprises of other sectors and ministries. The obtainment of metallurgical equipment is the largest problem. Thus, for example, the delays in deliveries of boiler piping hangers to Belchatow, without which the boiler cannot be assembled.

There are also considerable problems as a result of late decisions to purchase various parts from abroad. For example, it was not possible to make the high-pressure exchangers on time because there was a shortage of imported tubing. The construction of the large boilers is delayed for lack of imported welding electrodes and wire.

It is in the interest of the entire country to start up all of the units in Belchatow on schedule, because a study of power consumption in the economy shows that more and more power is constantly needed and only new turbogenerators will satisfy these "appetites." The contractors who are always racing with the deadlines understand this. And they expect that the suppliers from over 100 domestic factories will not disappoint them in the final stages of construction.

9295

CSO: 2600/206

SELECTED WARSAW FLEA MARKET PRICES REPORTED

Warsaw VEIO in Polish No 45, 9 Nov 86 p 8

[Text] If anyone hates to be alone he can become part of a crowd as large as any found in an overpopulated Asian city for only 50 zlotys. All he has to do is go the Warsaw Skra flea market on Sunday. Tens of thousands of people tramp through this not-very-big plot of land given over to buying and selling. Naturally, not all of them are buying, for the prices asked for the goods offered for sale have little relation to their value, but because of this, they accurately reflect the black-market rate of the dollar. Large sums of money are asked for new foreign items. Old, often well-worn, made-in-Poland clothing is priced the same as it was when purchased new. Why? Inflation, the dealers, experts in their own brand of economics, tell us. That is why a rather shabby rabbit-fur jacket cost 40,000 zlotys. A fake fur coat, pink and turquoise, was priced at 24,000 zlotys.

Cheapest of all was an forefather. A small photograph of a forefather (of thoughtful demeanor, straight nose, high forehead), measuring 6 by 9 centimeters, costs 100 zlotys. A family photo from the interwar period, the size of a postcard, was priced at 200 zlotys. "Isaura, the Slave," published as a book, could have been had for 500 zlotys, Irving's "The World According to Garp," 2,300 zlotys, and the Popular Universal Encyclopedia, 18,000 zlotys.

The youngest dealers, elementary-school boys, were selling mostly "Fantastic" and "Bajtko" (100 zlotys and 150 zlotys). One person was trading phonograph records, another was buying damaged musical instruments. Beautiful old things are a rarity at Skra. Here clothing dominates, and unfortunately, not in the best style. Items that one would really like to have can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The attraction was beautiful men's English shirts in black-gray shades (10,000 zlotys!). I saw no buyers. Also being sold was a gorgeous lady's leather jacket, black-gray-violet shadings, for 100,000 zlotys! The price of angora gloves was also shocking--7,000 zlotys. Gloves plus scarf, 13,000 zlotys, and scarf and cap, 20,000 zlotys. An attempt was being made to sell pants, which in any Warsaw boutique can be bought for 3,000-4,000 zlotys, at 11,000 zlotys. There were a lot of furs, not one of which was in style, a large number of sheepskin coats and other jackets, also out-of-style.

Below are prices of some of the goods--asking prices, of course.

Fur coat, made of Siberian wolf-skins.....	200,000	zl
Slightly worn caracul jacket.....	40,000	zl
Ladies sheepskin coat (small).....	85,000	zl
Hungarian sheepskin coat, small, short (new)	60,000	zl
Fox jacket, (very small, let out with suede).....	30,000	zl
Muskrat fur coat	170,000	zl
"Military" jacket, summer	14,000	zl
"Military" undershirt (very small).....	4,000	zl
Jeans.....	from 12,000 to	13,000 zl
Jeans jacket.....	27,000	zl
Pink tennis shoes	6,000	zl
Chinese sneakers	15,000	zl
Orange-flavored drink	700	zl
Coffee (kilogram).....	from 6,000 to	7,200 zl
Lemons (kilogram).....	700	zl
Infant's bottle (Chicco)	900	zl
Children's heavy-weight tights.....	from 800 to	1,800 zl
Doll, sings in German	10,000	zl
Huge teddybear (worn)	7,000	zl
Toy barber kit	4,000	zl
Child's winter shoes, Western	14,000	zl
Girl's lined polyester coat	14,000	zl
"Nivea" cream (the real thing)	450	zl
"Londa" hair coloring	300	zl
Ladies" pantyhose, service weight	1,000	zl
Pantyhose, sheer, silver-gold	1,500	zl
Ladies" sweater (large, fasionable, acrylic).....	6,000	zl
Men's sweaters.....	from 8,000 to	18,000 zl
Jacket, lined, three-quarters, reversible, very striking, ladies ...	58,000	zl
Undershirt, cotton, long-sleeved	4,500	zl
Telephone, with memory, hand-held	10,000	zl
Flatware, stainless steel, six-place setting	6,000	zl
Irons (made in USSR, FRG and GDR).....	from 3,000 to	8,000 zl
Freezer, 120 liter capacity, made in USSR	80,000	zl
Ice cream machine, made in USSR	5,000	zl
"Burda"	1,600	zl
"Playboy"	3,000	zl
Ashtray with "Johnnie Walker" label	2,500	zl

Most of the buyers were at the exit from the flea market, where women were standing with trays of pretzels. Ten of these snacks cost 60 zlotys.

9295

CSO: 2600/206

BRIEFS

TRADE WITH VIETNAM--On 21 November Jozef Koziol, deputy premier and co-chairman of the Polish-Vietnam Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, received the Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnamm Nguyen Trong Thuat. Current problems of trade cooperation and exchange between the two countries were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22-23 Nov 86 p 2] 9295

NEW COMPUTER STORE--A special computer store of the Central Scout Depot is opening today at 11 o'clock at Main Market 5. This shop will basically carry the products of Western companies "Timex" and "Spectravideo", specializing in personal computers and various accessories for them. I believe that devotees of such electronic gadgets do not need much asking to come and see this store. [Text] [Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 24 Nov 86 p 5] 9761

CSO:2600/264

ROMANIAN CLAIMS TO TRANSYLVANIA, MOLDAVIA REASSERTED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 Nov 86 pp 1, 5

[Article by Dr Nicolae Stoicescu: "The Age-Old Bases of the Unity of the Romanian People"]

[Text] The unity of the Romanians in past centuries, when they lived in different states, constitutes the central problem of national history.

The problem has been studied by many historians, geographers, linguists, ethnographers, etc., who have provided much convincing evidence that over the past centuries close ties naturally existed in all fields among the Romanians who lived on one side of the Carpathians or the other, ties based on their unity of descent and on the strong and ever vivid consciousness of this unity.

Our people exhibited all the elements of unity: geographic unity, economic unity, social and political unity, cultural unity, unity of language and customs, unity of belief, etc.; they--like other European peoples at that time--lacked only political state unity, achieved for a short time by Michael the Brave and then, by stages, in 1859 and 1918.

Let us briefly remind our readers of what these traits of unity were or what the bases of our unity as a people are.

The first should be considered the unity of the territory of ancient Dacia, a territory on which the Romanian people lived continuously; the geographic unity constituted for our people an extremely significant factor of cohesion. The geographic unity of Romania's territory is so obvious that, after 1918, when the single national state was formed, a foreign geographer acknowledged that Romania's political unity was a brilliant revenge by geography on history, a revenge by the natural conditions on the injustice and arbitrariness of the historical evolution that had compelled the Romanians to live in different states.

As long as Transylvania was missing from the unitary political composition of the Romanian territory, the latter had such an unnatural appearance that it could be compared to two arms extended in loving anticipation, or--as geographer Emil D. Martonne said--it was a country with an unsteady geographic balance.

The second trait of unity is the economic one, facilitated by the geographic framework and manifested in the heavy exchange of goods among the Romanian countries, an exchange generated by the complementary character of their economies. The Romanian countries formed, as N. Iorga declared, "a single country" from an economic viewpoint.

Transylvania's economic orientation toward the Romanian countries to the south and east of the Carpathians was so strong that in the second half of the last century a tariff war was necessary in order to change this traditional orientation and turn it toward Austro-Hungary.

"The cooperation among Walachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania and especially their economic interdependence had a decisive role in crystallizing the feelings of the common, Daco-Roman origin and of national unity, which Michael the Brave only expressed," President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed.

The unity of social and political life is another important aspect, although this unity was hindered by the Hungarian feudal kingdom's domination over Transylvania. The same social composition existed for a long time throughout Romanian territory. The peasants lived in free communities, which had the same organization in all three countries inhabited by Romanians, they being governed by village judges or princes, valley princes, more powerful ones over several groups of villages, and voivodes, from whom the rulers of the Romanian "countries" were recruited beginning in the 9th-10th centuries. Transylvania--also ruled by a voivode, like Walachia and Moldavia--was never integrated into the Hungarian kingdom but consolidated itself and was also regarded by others as a separate unit; hence it is that on all medieval maps Transylvania is depicted separately from Hungary. All the attempts of the Hungarian government to integrate it into the Hungarian kingdom were doomed to failure, with Transylvania preserving itself as a distinct physical and geographic unit and possessing broad autonomy; "Either as Dacia or as the province of Transylvania, it always had a history of its own," Hungarian geographer Jenő Chalnoky acknowledged with a sincerity that we cannot question.

As is very well known, the Romanian countries maintained close political and military relations, often helping each other in the face of common danger, especially in the glorious eras of Mircea the Great, Iancu of Hunedoara, Stephen the Great, and Michael the Brave, the ruler who managed to temporarily erase the boundaries between them and to unite them under his scepter.

These relations among the Romanian countries were so strong that a true interdependence had been reached among them, of which their rulers were perfectly aware. For instance, in 1432, Alexandru Aldea, the ruler of Walachia, wrote to the people of Brasov: "If this country were to perish, you will also perish" (of course, under Ottoman domination). Before uniting Transylvania with Walachia, Michael the Brave declared that the two countries "are so mutually dependent and linked together that if one falls, the other also falls, and if one survives, the other also survives."

In the 15th-18th centuries, among the inhabitants of the Romanian countries there was the consciousness that they formed a single country. For instance,

the Brasov representatives declared to Petru Rares, the ruler of Moldavia: "Our country and Your Majesty's country have always been one country."

The demographic movements, either with a periodic character, in the form of the moving of flocks by the Transylvania shepherds, or through the settling of inhabitants from Transylvania to the south and east of the Carpathians, were an extremely important factor that helped to maintain the unity of the Romanian people. The phenomenon was particularly strong in the 18th century, when the situation of the serfs in Transylvania worsened seriously and when a contemporary from Walachia exclaimed: "All Transylvania has come to us."

These heavy movements of population in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area had as a result better knowledge of the Romanian realities in various regions. The attainment of the union at a later time would not have been possible--Nicolae Iorga remarked--"if all these people had not been aware that there is no difference between one Romanian area and another Romanian area, that all Romanians live as a single people in a single country.... The union of the Romanian people means the return of the Romanian people to this one single form, which existed in the beginning."

An important factor of unity, strengthened by the above-mentioned demographic movements, was the Romanian language, regarded by experts as the most unitary language among those of Latin origin. The unity of the language spoken by the Romanian people was recognized not only by Romanians but also by foreigners. Thus, in 1599, the Walachian boyars wrote to those in Moldavia that they were all "of one language and of one law," and Dimitrie Cantemir asserted with arguments: "The inhabitants of Walachia and Transylvania have the same language as the Moldavians."

The unity of language provided cultural unity, manifested vigorously through the collaboration of the cultivated people in the three Romanian countries, through the circulation of the basic ideas of our culture, among which the common origin and the unity of descent had a primary role, and through the heavy circulation of books, particularly from Walachia and Moldavia to Transylvania, where books in the Romanian language were hardly printed especially after the forced union with Catholic Rome.

Finally, one of the most significant pieces of evidence of the unity of the Romanian people in past centuries is the way in which they referred to themselves or were known by foreigners at that time, when the latter referred to the Romanian people by the generic term Vlachs, that is, Romanians. The terminology used--the same for the whole area inhabited by Romanians and for all the Romanian people--expresses their unity in a way that cannot be more convincing.

After this brief enumeration of the evidence of the existence of the unity of the Romanian people in past centuries, a unity manifested on many planes, the question of whether the Romanians were conscious of the unity of descent can only receive an affirmative response. This consciousness has been manifested since the beginnings of our people through the way in which they have referred

to themselves: "Romanian" from "Romanus," they being the only people of Latin origin who declare their origin through their name.

The consciousness of the unity of descent and language of the Romanian people acted as a permanent factor in the formation of the idea of political unity, this consciousness being its main ideological support.

The glorious reign of Michael the Brave, he who attained the first political union of the three Romanian countries--Walachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia--"reconstituting the unitary political framework of the Romanian people in accordance with their real unity," as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu asserted, constitutes an important time in the development of the consciousness of the unity of descent.

As was already stated, after the defeat of the Ottomans and the securing of Walachia's independence, two plans of action--the Dacian and the Balkan--opened up before the great voivode, with the ruler being implored insistently by the inhabitants south of the Danube, who even promised him the throne of the Byzantine emperors. The great ruler did not let himself be lured by such temptations, but chose the Dacian plan, becoming "Restitutor Daciae" through the union of the three Romanian countries on the territory of ancient Dacia.

The selection of the plan was made by Michael the Brave precisely through the consciousness of the unity of descent, very strong at that time; it was expressed vigorously in the manifestations of Romanian solidarity with which the Unifier was received both in Transylvania and in Moldavia. Things are too well known to dwell on them again.

"History itself," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized, "confirmed the justness and objective necessity of the act performed by Michael the Brave through the later fulfillment of his ideal--an ideal of all Romanians--through the achievement of the single national state in the modern era."

After the vile murder of Michael the Brave, the great ruler became the symbol of the unity of descent of the Romanians, whom he had united for the first time under his scepter. After 1600--N. Iorga said--"no Romanian could again think of union without his colossal personality, without his broadsword or battleax raised to the sky of justice, without his air of pure and absolute tragic poetry."

The union achieved by Michael the Brave had a prominent role in more strongly developing the consciousness of the unity of descent; consequently, with good reason, it was said that after 1600 an especially important phenomenon occurred in the social consciousness, namely, the transformation of the consciousness of the unity of descent and of language of the Romanian people into a militant and active idea that was to dominate the activity of the chroniclers in the 17th century and at the start of the 18th century.

At that time, the consciousness of the unity of descent made great progress, it being generalized in all three countries inhabited by Romanians.

Great credit in consolidating and substantiating the consciousness of the unity of descent of the Romanians went to the Moldavian and Walachian chroniclers, who imparted a special intensity to the development of this consciousness, utilizing both the old local traditions and the writings of the foreign classicists, who firmly supported the common origin and the unity of descent of the Romanians. We will not repeat again here the truths uttered by Grigore Ureche and substantiated by Miron Costin, by High Steward Constantin Cantacuzino, or by Dimitrie Cantemir, since they remain ever vivid in the consciousness of all Romanians.

In their turn, utilizing the ideas of Dimitrie Cantemir, the leaders of the Transylvanian School strongly supported the common origin and the unity of the Romanian people, separated into various political formations, and turned these ideas into a weapon for the national emancipation of the oppressed Romanians in Transylvania.

In the 18th century and at the start of the next one, not only the Romanians but also the foreigners who came in contact with our people knew that they constituted a single nation, and they had learned this truth, of course, from the Romanians. For instance, in 1810, Ledoux, France's agent in Bucharest, stated that Moldavia and Walachia comprised "the same language, the same customs, the same religion, the same resources; everything is common to these two provinces."

With the start of the modern era, the consciousness of the unity of descent gradually became a national consciousness and was to strongly affect the attainment of national unity.

We must not ever forget that the Romanian nation was constituted into various provinces or state formations and that, once constituted, in the first half of the 19th century, it gradually formed, as a supreme necessity, its single state, achieved in the first stage in 1859 and then completed in 1918.

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CSO: 2700/88

CHNOUPEK ADDRESSES DIPLOMATIC CORPS

AU201012 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jan 87 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "For Peace and Friendship Among Nations; CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs B. Chnoupek's Meeting With Members of the Prague Diplomatic Corps"]

[Excerpts] Prague (CTK)--CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek's traditional meeting with members of the Prague diplomatic corps at the beginning of the year took place at the Cernin Palace in Prague on Wednesday [14 January].

In his opening remarks, Minister B. Chnoupek conveyed CSSR President Gustav Husak's cordial greetings and best wishes.

In another part of his speech, Bohuslav Chnoupek said that in 1987, too, Czechoslovakia will actively co-participate in the continuing peace offensive of the socialist states.

We will pay primary attention to a systematic development of relations with our closest ally and friend--the Soviet Union. In the spirit of the treaty of alliance of 1970 and on the basis of significant impetuses which emerged at the November talks between General Secretaries Gustav Husak and Mikhail Gorbachev, we intend to develop further the innovative forms of cooperation, particularly in the economic sphere, and even more closely proceed in the sphere of foreign policy. We are doing this in an exceptionally favorable atmosphere when, thanks to the consistent course of the democratization of the domestic as well as foreign policy, the prestige and the name of the Soviet Union enjoys such popularity among our people, that a historical parallel can hardly be found. At the same time we will be actively contributing to dynamically deepening the extensive and multilateral cooperation with the fraternal states of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

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CSO: 2400/122

MOZAMBIQUE'S MACHUNGO INTERVIEWED ON TASKS, TIES

AU121541 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Jan 86 pp 1, 5

[Text] Mario Fernandes da Graca Machungo, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) and premier of the People's Republic of Mozambique, gave RUDE PRAVO correspondent Josef Nyvlt an interview on topical tasks of his country and the FRELIMO party.

[Nyvlt] Comrade Premier, the Fourth FRELIMO Congress held in April 1983 determined a series of objectives and tasks which are still topical. Which of them do you consider today to be the most important ones and how can one measure success as regards their fulfillment?

[Machungo] Our present decisive task is the struggle against armed bandits. Our country urgently needs tranquility. Other tasks are the struggle against hunger and poverty, and an increase in agricultural production, because the country depends on agricultural production to fulfill 80 percent of its food needs and its exports. We are mobilizing the entire nation to overcome all economic shortcomings.

In the sphere of foreign policy we are deepening cooperation with all progressive forces which can support Mozambique's efforts for peace in our region. Together with other so-called front states, with the countries of the southern part of Africa, within the OAU, in the Nonaligned Movement, and in the United Nations, we are actively assisting in the search for a peaceful solution of the crisis situation in the southern part of our continent.

[Nyvlt] As you said, Mozambique is in a difficult economic situation. What concrete measures is your government adopting to overcome these problems, and how does the endeavor for national unity manifest itself in practice?

[Machungo] As you know, we have suffered a great loss--the tragic death of Comrade President Samora Machel--but the party and the government continue the policy which was started under his leadership. No task must be left by the wayside. In recent weeks elections were held for the new People's Assembly. Despite the difficulties which we experience--the interference from outside, the attempts by hostile forces to destabilize the country, terrorist actions, political murders, and so forth--we have succeeded, thanks to the efforts of party members, in holding elections at all levels in all our provinces.

We are also working on a plan of economic revival. A part of that program is the revival of agriculture, the activation of farmers for increasing agricultural production and thus also of the balance of payments, the amendment of the price system, the reorganization of the administrative system of state enterprises and cooperatives, better utilization of economic capacities--simply the mobilization of all means in order to be able to cope with the current economic difficulties as well as we can. At its upcoming sessions, the People's Assembly and the Central Committee of the party will analyze proposed measures in order to be able to introduce them into practice in the course of the current year.

[Nyvlt] Mozambique is the outpost of the so-called front states, which face the aggressiveness of the racist regime in the Republic of South Africa. You have already spoken about the cooperation of these countries. Could you describe in greater detail the consequences of the aggressive policy of the Republic of South Africa for your country's domestic and foreign policy?

[Machungo] Regarding the domestic policy--as Comrade President Joaquim Chissano stressed--the current situation requires that we increasingly strengthen the unity of the people of Mozambique from Rovuma to Maputo. This is the main prerequisite for our being able to oppose the destabilization actions and aggressions of the Republic of South Africa, which supports, funds, and arms the armed bandits to destroy and murder on our territory, to make a peaceful construction of the country impossible.

Our vital task is to unite all people regardless of their religion, race, and tribe. The requirement of unity is no less important in foreign policy. The unification of all progressive forces is involved, so that we can jointly strive for the neutralization of the aggressive militarist actions of the Republic of South Africa. We are looking for those who are on our side even in the Republic of South Africa itself: for people who believe in peace in the southern part of our continent.

[Nyvlt] Since the proclamation of the independence of the People's Republic of Mozambique in June 1975, your relations with the socialist countries have been systematically expanding and deepening. What is the current level of Mozambique's relations with Czechoslovakia and the other socialist states, and what are their prospects?

[Machungo] Our relations with the CSSR are very sincere and very friendly. For years now it has been possible to speak about a tradition of these relations, and this tradition is the basis for our further cooperation, which we are determined to elevate to an ever higher level. We very much value the assistance which the CSSR has been providing us to help us resolve complex problems. We assess very positively the work of the Czechoslovak comrades who are working in the sphere of health, in education, and in other fields in our country. Their honest and difficult work also shows that together we are creating ways for the development of fruitful cooperation.

The first session of the joint commission for the cooperation with the socialist states within the CEMA framework was held last year. We determined plans for multilateral cooperation with the CEMA countries, and the next session will assess how these plans are being implemented. Progress has been made in many respects, and were it not for the difficulties caused by the destabilization actions, we would have been much farther along as regards the realization of joint prospects. But even the current difficulties do not prevent us from searching for solutions to neutralize the hostile efforts, whose main objective is to make the progressive and peaceful development of the country and also our cooperation impossible.

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CSO: 2400/122

PAPER INTERVIEWS GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER FLORAKIS

AU160909 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Dec 86 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Kharilaos Florakis, general secretary of the Communist Party of Greece, by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Alois Volf: "The Sources of the Growth and the Authority of the Communist Party of Greece"--in Prague "at the end of his brief visit"; first paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Text] Prague (our correspondent)--At the end of his brief visit in Czechoslovakia, Kharilaos Florakis, general secretary of the Communist Party of Greece [KKE], gave an interview to RUDE PRAVO, in which he assessed his talks and expressed the KKE's stand on some topical problems.

[Volf] Comrade General Secretary, how do you assess relations and cooperation between the KKE and the CPCZ?

[Florakis] Relations between the two parties are exemplarily fraternal. They rest on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, equality, and international solidarity; they are developing and strengthening for the benefit of the nations of the two countries, for the benefit of progress and socialism. Their qualities were reaffirmed during my meeting with Comrade Vasil Bilak at the end of last week. I am also convinced that the protocol on cooperation for the next 2 years which we signed in the course of the meeting will contribute to their further development by expanding cooperation in new fields and by a broader and more frequent exchange of views and experience.

[Volf] The results of the local elections in Greece last October reaffirmed the KKE's popularity and authority in the country. By what experience have you enriched the party work during the election campaign?

[Florakis] As you certainly know, in the local elections our party was supporting the idea of establishing a coalition of the country's broadest leftist and other progressive forces on the basis of equality, working out joint programs for self-governing bodies, and pushing through candidates for mayors of villages, which would be acceptable to all forces associated in the coalition. This met with a broad response among popular masses, and is attested to by the very positive electoral results, which affirmed our party's enhanced authority.

They showed the potential which the leftist and progressive forces have at their disposal: Asserting themselves in a joint union as a decisive pole which will lead to the cohesion of the people and which will decisively influence the political situation to the benefit of a change which our country needs.

This is the main political lesson our party learned from the experience in the local elections. We will continue to deepen the cohesion of the leftist and all progressive forces in general until a great leftist coalition has been established, which would lead to a change having a prospect for Greece's socialist orientation. Our party concentrates its main effort in that direction at present.

[Volf] What are the chances to establish a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans?

[Florakis] You certainly know that our party supports transforming the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone. This would be a very positive step for the benefit of the strengthening of peace and security, and not only in that region. Understandably, on the road toward this positive development obstacles are being encountered: first--the unfavorable reaction of the imperialist countries, and second--the refusal or hesitation of the governments of some Balkan countries which claim that there is not a unanimous assent for nuclear-free Balkans.

However, we do not want to limit the efforts for nuclear-free Balkans to the government level only, to a positive or rejecting response of governments. We know that all Balkan nations are in favor of nuclear-free Balkans and can, by their struggle, decisively influence its realization.

The establishment of the nuclear-free zone in the Balkans could begin with the decision by two or three countries on the basis of a tripartite or bilateral agreement. The KKE fights for the removal of nuclear weapons from our country. The Government PASOK Party, too, has stated this repeatedly, but it has not realized that declaration to date.

[Volf] What could contribute to the improvement of the Greek-Turkish relations?

[Florakis] It is no secret that long-standing problems exist between Greece and Turkey. For example, the demarcation of the sovereign Greek zone in the Aegean Sea or the problem of the operational control of the air space in the Aegean Sea within the framework of NATO, under which Greek islands are located. Another one is the international problem of the Turkish military invasion and the occupation of a significant part of the territory of the independent and nonaligned Cypriot state. This is a problem to which Greece is particularly sensitive and has a special interest in resolving it. Eighty percent of the inhabitants of Cyprus are of Greek nationality.

However, I do not think that the Greek-Turkish problems could be or should be resolved by using force or by threatening to use force. On the contrary, they

should be resolved through peaceful negotiations outside the American-Atlantic framework, and on the basis of respecting the national independence and territorial integrity of each country and international law. Nevertheless, the relations between the two countries are being complicated, mainly by the fact that the U.S. Atlantic factor exploits the Greek-Turkish conflicts; it provokes and escalates tension and arms buildup on both sides of the Aegean Sea, nurtures the long-standing mistrust between the two nations with the objective to deepen the two countries' dependence on the United States.

Our party believes that an endeavor for the development of friendship between the two countries would significantly contribute to the normalization of relations on the basis of respecting their national independence and territorial integrity. Above all, Greece's leaving the NATO would be a significant step toward strengthening our country's national independence. This would, within the framework of a new foreign policy, contribute to ensuring peace and stability in the entire Aegean region.

[Volf] How do you assess Greece's status and prospects in the EEC?

[Florakis] The 6 past years since Greece has become a member of the EEC affirmed the correctness of our party's standpoint that joining the EEC--from the national and economic point of view--is unfavorable.

The opening of Greece's door to the EEC has caused that the domestic industrial and agricultural production is subjected to a strong competitive pressure; imports have exaggeratedly increased; unemployment is growing; and all associated phenomena of economic crisis and the structural problems of the Greek economy have become aggravated. Moreover, the EEC has become yet another instrument of foreign pressure aimed at introducing measures which undermine our national independence. However, we face even more gloomy prospects should Greece remain in the community and loyally follow the process of capitalist integration, for which the EEC strives.

The standpoint of our party is that it is necessary to adopt measures protecting our national economy with the prospect of freeing the country from the EEC union.

[Volf] I thank you for the interview.

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JOURNAL ON NEED TO DEVELOP MARXISM-LENINISM

AU221204 Prague NOVA MYSL No 1 (1987) in Czech and Slovak, signed to press
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[Article by Ladislav Hrzal, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and staff member of the CPCZ Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Prague, under the rubric "Ideo-Political Issues":
"Tasks of Developing Marxist-Leninist Philosophy"]

[Excerpts] People working in the field of social sciences, and also our philosophers, are currently facing the urgent question of how to develop the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism in a new, and above all creative, way.

Philosophy has been, and is, justly criticized particularly for being isolated from life and, to a certain extent, from social practice. This is not a new problem; in appraising the results in social sciences and in the development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the CPCZ has pointed out time and again the need to link philosophy more closely with life--and above all with the political practice of the Communist Party.

If science is to discover the unknown, it must necessarily search and take risks. New issues--and this also applies to the problems of Marxist-Leninist philosophy--can be resolved with the aid of hypotheses and creative discussions, by searching for and correcting possible errors, by verifying new knowledge in practice.

The right to err in developing a theory is generally recognized. If we ponder the problem of truth and error, the dispute about whether a Marxist-Leninist has the right to err seems to be academic, because the path toward knowledge is the path of the dialectics of truth and error. This common knowledge is fully expressed in Marxist-Leninist philosophy itself and in its history. The extent to which we can avoid errors and thus shorten the way to correct knowledge is naturally not a matter of indifference to us. Among other things, the elimination of superfluous errors is aided by creative discussions--but we still only have very few of them--and also by the development of criticism and self-criticism, by courage to acknowledge a mistake or error, and by the suppression of vanity.

Currently, when the issue of preserving peace is as paramount as that of ecology and a number of other issues that are emerging as the result of discoveries being made in individual sciences, the significance of Marxist-Leninist philosophy as a world outlook becomes particularly striking. If the primary task of all social sciences is to shape the spiritual traits of new man, then this applies above all to philosophy and to its aspects as a world outlook.

A constant creative intensification in research and study of natural laws governing society, all nature, and man's thinking, and the increasing creative contribution made by philosophy and other sciences in this respect are the prerequisite for us to successfully accomplish the task set for our society by the 17th congress: namely, to shape the communist world outlook and to be more convincing in influencing our citizens' way of thinking.

In order to apply the dialectical method under our conditions, it is above all necessary to analyze the facts soberly and let ourselves be guided by the objective logic of life and not by our subjective wishes or stereotypes or artificial notions. This is a field in which our book production and propaganda are lagging. This is not so much a question of quantity, as of quality--of an orientation toward the decisive issues, of courage and boldness in resolving both the new problems and the old and persistent ones in a new way and in keeping with the demands of our times. In publishing works on Marxist-Leninist philosophy we have obviously underrated the fact that while our young people are getting acquainted with the a,b,c of Marxism-Leninism, they do not have appropriate literature on it which would show them how to study the classics. Such literature should explain to young people the most important issues of Marxist-Leninist philosophy that are coming to the fore today in a popular, but not vulgar, form and in comprehensible, easy terms. It is a serious problem that we still have far too few works in which the authors attempt to resolve the newly emerging problems. The prevailing method is to repeat what is generally known; it lacks the courage to point out certain complications and "risk-frought" problems. In many instances the book reviewers base their approach far too much on loyalty to their colleague; nobody seems attracted by topics that are delicate, and nobody seems to feel the need for their solution.

V.I. Lenin proved both in theory and in practice that real creativity is not identical with a headlong flight from incontestable principles--it requires the ability to consider old issues in new ways if they emerge in new connections. This approach of Lenin's to Marx's doctrine continues to represent a living example of the creative development of Marxism; it is our reliable support both in the fight against revisionism, which curtails and liquidates Marxism's basic principles, and also in the fight against dogmatism, which limits itself to a soulless repetition of these principles under completely different conditions; in fact, it thus comes into conflict with the substance and methodological foundations of Marx's and Lenin's theory in the same way that revisionism does.

Dogmatism isolates the basic ideas of Marxism-Leninism from the specific contents, cutting off the specifically historical linkages from which they emerged and turning them into abstract formulae for specific new phenomena and new contents. Simultaneously dogmatism has to underscore certain aspects of the doctrine of Marxist-Leninist classics, while suppressing other aspects, if it wants the system of its formulae to form a logical chain which can be applied to the new phenomena of social development. Instead of studying living reality, it devotes itself to improving thought formulae in order to explain this reality.

In fact, in all its manifestations dogmatism demonstrates its theoretical indifference to real contemporary problems of the revolutionary workers movement. Dogmatic simplification and vulgarization of Marxist-Leninist theory is the consequence of insufficient and superficial knowledge of the substance of Marxism-Leninism. The vulgarizers and simplifiers are constantly quoting the laws of dialectics without knowing their substance. They ignore the fact that it is essential to conduct a specific analysis, and they strive to turn Marxism-Leninism into a kind of picklock or set of handy quotations. Here, too, we are faced with misinterpretation, with a false interpretation of Marxism. The materialist dialectical method is being replaced by a metaphysical one--theory is torn away from practice. Dogmatism is also bound to eclecticism. Whenever the method of dialectical and historical materialism has not been fully mastered, we see the tendency to camouflage this shortcoming by strong words. Without creativity and constant linkage with a specific historical situation, all theoretical activity can merely lead to dogmatism and plays into the hands of revisionist trends.

V.I. Lenin resolutely fought against approaching Marxism as a totally rigid, immutable doctrine. He was convinced that Marx's work merely laid the foundations of revolutionary scientific theory. He regarded the defense and creative development of Marx's doctrine as two-in-one and inseparable. He himself did not hesitate to correct or to complement his own views if practice showed that the problems were more complicated than they seemed to be. He also did not write eternally valid truths about socialism and the building of communism, but sought solutions to the issues that emerged from the political practice of the workers movement and from the practice of building the socialist society. He did not consider it creative to ignore the general, objective social laws or to deny scientific laws verified and affirmed by life. He rejected mechanical imitation and copying and criticized those who ignored the different, specifically historical conditions in individual countries, or who felt no respect for national or other peculiarities.

Our own front of social sciences has learnt from the experience of 1968; after overcoming revisionism, it achieved certain successes in the fight against dogmatism. The CPCZ Central Committee report on the fulfillment of conclusions adopted by the 16th party congress appraises certain positive results achieved in social sciences, and lists in this context certain successful trends of research on the philosophical-sociological front. These good results must be followed up. However, the call of the 17th CPCZ Congress

to raise demands expects us to analyze our weak points with greater frankness than we have done to date, and to give preference to this task. Some of the weak points concern the basic attitude to scientific work itself, and also to the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the course which scientific knowledge is to take. In fact, it is not merely a matter of defining the individual themes that are being elaborated satisfactorily, and of determining the thematic areas represented by the weak points.

The development of the socialist society fully confirms that the general contradiction [rozpor] between production forces and production relations in their specific and peculiar manifestation appears as the main contradiction in the socialist society and is the source and moving force of the society's development and self-propulsion. It is, however, a fact that the dogmatic approach was manifested in the area of these problems far more than anywhere else. Academic theoretizing, discussions about main and secondary contradictions, about internal and external contradictions, about the basic contradiction and so forth, without proper connection with life, all found their final expression in the fact that unity became absolutized. The artificial harmony thus fabricated led to the claim that both production forces and production relations develop in a rectilinear way, whereas social progress logically proceeds along an ascending line--as though Lenin's discovery that one must distinguish between antagonism and contradiction and that antagonism disappears under socialism (whereas contradiction remains) were not applicable.

The discussion on contradictions which recently developed in the USSR encountered only a small echo in our country. It seemed as though the article "Dialectics of Social Life" by Academician F. Fedoseyev, published in the periodical PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM No 9 (1981), and the articles in the PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES [VOPROSY FILOZOFII], which expressed many views in the discussion, did not concern our society at all. For instance, Academician Fedoseyev expressed the view that, from the methodological viewpoint, it would be a simplification to think that contradictions in a society that has embarked on the path of socialism are always and under any circumstances merely nonantagonistic. But historical experience proves that it cannot be excluded that nonantagonistic contradictions can turn into antagonistic ones in certain circumstances, given serious and long-lasting shortcomings in the management of social affairs. This cannot be excluded also because as long as capitalism exists, and thus also the basic contradiction of our epoch exists, the impact of antagonistic elements from the outside is a reality which must be taken into account. This naturally does not mean that contradictions of a capitalist society can be identified with socialism or mechanically transferred to it. The socialist revolution and its victory in our country meant a basic solution of antagonistic contradictions.

The qualitative difference between the capitalist society and socialism cannot be overlooked, in the same way that the existence of nonantagonistic contradictions typical of the socialist society cannot be denied. Actually, such approaches merely testify to a denial of dialectics; they supplant it by metaphysics, with its "either, or."

The practical role and main purpose of researching the place and role of contradiction in the enforcement of the laws that govern the economy will become a true contribution only if the dialectic interpretation of socialist development is augmented by an element of prediction.

Nonantagonistic contradictions and their expression in our society must be analyzed far more deeply than heretofore. Experience teaches us that it is not merely a matter of production relations lagging behind the development of production forces, and of the contradictions ensuing from this--it is also a matter of contradictions and lagging in the production forces themselves, in their individual components, and above all in the development of technology and science as a production force.

It is therefore the task of science and of scientists, which also means the task of philosophers, to be more active in getting to know the life of our society; to carry out scientific research and uncover the inner purpose and dialectical links between phenomena and things more boldly and courageously; to grasp in time the newly emerging trends and the birth of new aspects and new contradictions; and to analyze and propose methods for resolving issues. At the same time it must be no secret that "truth is a process." Nobody expects the philosophers to provide a solution that is valid "once and for all." The mission of science and of Marxist-Leninist philosophy is to predict and propose ways to resolve problems somewhat in advance; but this headstart must naturally not result in the isolation of theory from practice. On the contrary, it must show practice the way forward; provide it with the possibility of verifying various theoretical variants; and help it to select the best and most advantageous.

Not only may the variants differ, they may also be contradictory, because the motion of human knowledge always consists of a search for ways, of the clash between and overcoming of contradictions. This path in the development of theory was not, is not, adequately followed, although theory cannot be developed otherwise than in comradely discussions, in searching and verification. So far our discussions have been a monologue rather than a dialogue; the practice of a lack of contradiction continues to prevail, and is even transferred to propaganda. Life shows us the contradictions existing inside the production forces and production relations, and demands that we deepen the production methods and search for new forms of directing them, for a new approach to man while taking his possibilities into account and bearing in mind the barriers preventing him from accepting certain new things as his own.

It is exactly in the current complicated and demanding situation that the significance of a correct understanding of new issues is enhanced. Not only are new and as yet unresearched issues emerging at a time when new paths are being sought and opened in the development of Marxist-Leninist ideology, when old well-known and well-trodden territories are being left behind--even so-called old and already resolved problems appear in a new form. New aspects are regarded as from new viewpoints, and many things must be resolved anew, differently, in the way the principles of materialistical dialectics and our own experience commit us to do.

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'CONFRONTATION' AT WORLD SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS

AU202030 Prague NOVA MYSL No 1 (1987) in Czech and Slovak, signed to press
1 Dec 86 pp 145-149

[Article by Professor Engineer Frantisek Zich, candidate of sciences and prorektor of the CPCZ Central Committee's Advanced School of Politics in Prague, under the rubric "Information": "Reflections on the 11th World Sociological Congress"]

[Excerpts] The World Sociological Congress (the 11th in succession) which was held in August 1986 in New Delhi, India, was attended by more than 3,000 sociologists. It was organized by the World Sociological Association which currently rallies 89 national sociological societies.

The main topic of the congress was "Social Change--Problems and Prospects"; because of its topical nature it already attracted attention when the congress was being prepared. At the congress it was discussed in various contexts and from various viewpoints. The problems of social change demand a consistent grasp of the dialectics of the historical process. One cannot grasp the essential connections between social changes, their main and auxiliary sources, the laws governing them, or their consequences for other spheres of social life without making use of the method of dialectical materialism. This was also confirmed during the congress deliberations which, in fact, represented a confrontation between this method and the various variants of positivist and functionalist methodological concepts.

The delegates from socialist countries based their statements on a dialectical materialist analysis of the main social changes, spoke of the further development of these changes, and established prerequisites for a scientific prediction of social development. Specifically, the issue was the problem of changes in the sphere of social structure, the rapprochement of classes and social groups, but also the improved functioning of social institutions.

Many sociologists from the developing countries and many Western sociologists also used the method of dialectical materialism, or at least some of its elements, in their research work. This was primarily proved by papers dealing with the solution of blatant social problems in developing countries, or with issues of establishing conditions for a smooth social development in these countries. But some papers showed a certain inconsistency: The authors

overrated the possibilities of science and technology as the only and decisive factor capable of independently and almost automatically resolving the problems of hunger and obsolescence in the Third World. They asked neither about sociopolitical prerequisites for introducing technology, nor in fact about the international economic connections. Such an abstract understanding of science and technology naturally met with a critical echo.

In discussing the issues of scientific-technical progress as the instrument for solving social problems, Western sociologists mostly concentrated on knowledge about the negative impact of new technologies in living environments, or analyzed their impact on increasing unemployment. They assessed the ability of science and technology to resolve social issues far less optimistically than sociologists from the developing countries.

It is not inexpedient to conduct a polemic in this sphere. The endeavor to be objective prevails in the theoretical concepts of non-Marxist sociology. Almost no concept or view voiced at the congress was extremely reactionary. The method of dialectical materialism is promoted and applied by most non-Marxist sociologists, even though not always consistently. They represent a significant force in the social sciences. They are open to scientifically substantiated arguments about the class nature of the present world, and the knowledge of the development of Marxist sociology in the countries of real socialism provides them with inspiration, arguments, and proofs. To a certain degree, these sociologists also have an influence on overcoming views about the ideological neutrality of the social sciences; and on the other hand they support the idea of the inevitable class development of these sciences.

In the light of the knowledge acquired at the world congress of sociologists, we see that we must considerably improve our own work. Above all, sociological work must be oriented more consistently toward developing the Marxist sociological theory. Our efforts in this direction do not correspond to the needs of social practice and are rather abstract; the significance of this theory is often emphasized only verbally. The current phase of society's development is characterized by the efforts to implement the strategy of accelerating scientific-technical progress and economic and sociopolitical development; it calls for a concept of a functional contributory theory which would be applicable in practice. However, we do not produce many such attempts. In this respect the congress provided certain incentives, particularly for improving the activities of social institutions, for fighting bureaucracy, shaping effective mechanisms of social control, and so forth.

Apart from dealing with the aspect of contents, we must devote increased attention to preparing our sociologists for entering into scientific discussions. The prerequisite for this is not only a good knowledge of language but also of the method of dialectical materialism, and one's own experience in applying it to research tasks. An essential prerequisite is also a deep knowledge of our reality in the context of world development, the knowledge of the strategic line of building the developed socialist society, and the conviction that it is correct.

At first glance, world scientific congresses are a huge marketplace of diverse views, and the strongest voice makes itself heard. In reality the work and results of congress deliberations are far more complicated. The strength of an idea is not always manifested at once, immediately. Many new incentives emerge in the confrontation of different views only after the close of the congress. This one showed that reformism based on functionalist foundations still prevails in world sociology; at the same time it proved the steadily growing influence of the method of dialectical materialism; after all, non-Marxist sociologists convinced themselves in the various sessions that they cannot reach a well-substantiated answer to their problems without this method.

Likewise, the fact that the absolute majority of participants supported the peaceful forces in the world despite the differences in their views and basic standpoints can be considered a positive feature of the deliberations at the sociological congress. The majority also appreciated the peace-creating policy of the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union. Another positive fact is that a program was designed for further cooperation in developing this sphere of activity in the interests of peaceful development in the world and of contributing sociological knowledge to the solution of the world's current social problems.

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RADIO BROADCASTING PRACTICES NEED CHANGE

AU211107 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jan 87 p 5

[Interview with Karel Kvapil, deputy central director of Czechoslovak Radio and director of Czech Radio, by Vladimír Hrouda: "For a Greater Appeal to Listeners"--in Prague, date not given]

[Excerpt] [Hrouda] You have mentioned music. Music is a substantial part of a radio broadcast. At the 17th congress, one heard criticism regarding our popular music. What improvement do you want to achieve in that sphere?

[Kvapil] We could talk for hours about music, and about music in the radio in particular. First of all, it is necessary to say that the criticism which resounded at the congress, and a few weeks later at a seminar of ideological workers, was fully justified. The so-called pop music, together with country music and rock, has in recent years become business with a capital B, and follows by rules which absolutely do not correspond to the priorities of the socialist society's values. I will even admit to you that not so long ago a certain pop singer complained to me that since he has become a member of the CPCZ he has problems with making himself heard [s uplatnenim] on the radio. And that, unfortunately, is not the only case. I am far from saying that a party card should arrange preferential treatment for a person. But I say quite openly that I regard it as monstrous that on socialist radio a party card should be to a person's disadvantage. These practices must be energetically ended, even at the price of cadre changes. As a matter of fact, one must bring order into the entire sphere.

And we must begin with ourselves. In a situation when in the Czechoslovak Radio in Prague alone we have three musical sections, each one independent of the other, it is illusory to speak about a uniform music policy. At the same time it is necessary to see that administrative methods alone will not solve the problem. The current state of affairs is one thing, and the reasons which have caused it is another. It is easy to complain about the younger generation being crazy about pop or rock music. In the first place, it is necessary to offer the youngsters an alternative. And in that respect much has been neglected in music education at schools.

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PAPER CRITICIZES BANKNOTE RUMORS

AU091453 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jan 86 p 2

[Article by Lumir Hrudka in the "Note" column: "One Lady Has Said"]

[Text] A rumor is a report spread orally, a matter which has an advantage. No one actually knows, or admits, who the originator is. As a rule, truth or substantiation, do not matter at all. Someone lets a rumor into the world and then it livens and sustains itself among those who believe it. A reader from the Sokolov area writes us that "for some time now I have been hearing talk about our new Kcs1,000 banknote. And now, it is allegedly being withdrawn from circulation." And he reveals the alleged reason: Those who produced the banknote, otherwise a nice picture of Bedrich Smetana, have coded-in [zasifrovali] antisocialist symbols. See here: the wish was probably father to the thought.

You can turn the banknote around in various ways, you can fold it, you can bend it, you know how it is, but you will discover nothing. It is better to rely on the deposition of experts of the Czechoslovak State Bank in Prague. The new Kcs1,000 banknote is without fault, it has an excellent artistic standard and printing, and it remains a normal medium of payment. There are millions of them in circulation. There are no problems with it, citizens have got used to the new banknote and they use it normally. Perhaps one more thing should be mentioned: The new Kcs1,000 banknote was not born from one day to the next; its planning took several years, and members of an expert commission determined what it should look like from the very first draft designs. That is the way it is with all banknotes.

A rumor spreads and comes to life, sometimes in a curiously quick way, and the more this happens, the less we use our brains and judgment, a matter which is also the opinion of our reader. There are people who--trying to appear important--add something, perhaps that they have heard confidential information from a person in-the-know or highly placed. And in reality one lady has been saying this.

The nonsensicality of the rumor about the Kcs1,000 banknote is obvious. Perhaps we should just shrug it off. But, speaking candidly, are there not some people who sometimes also swallow other untruthful rumors and stories too easily?

/9599

CSO: 2400/122

CSSR JOURNALIST REFUTES 'RUMOR' ABOUT ARTICLE

AU201314 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 16 January 1987 on page 6 carries a 1,400-word article by its permanent Moscow correspondent V. Jancura entitled "Changes and Stability." Jancura reviews articles dealing mostly with economic and industrial topics which have appeared in the Soviet press over the past few months and have been filed by Soviet correspondents from the CSSR.

The article, Jancura says, was written as a response to questions he was asked during his recent visit in Bratislava "about a critical article on our 'domestic conditions' which allegedly was published in a Soviet newspaper" at the end of November or beginning of December last year.

"Surprisingly, even quite intelligent people," says Jancura "have 'swallowed' that rumor." Upon his return to Moscow, he goes on, he reread carefully "all the central Soviet papers of the past few months, but of course found nothing like that in them, "not even an intimation."

"That, however, does not mean that the Soviet press treats our contemporary social life as being completely without problems, or that it ignores its contradictions. For example, reports in NOVOYE VREMYA acquaint readers with our economic difficulties arising from the phenomena of extensive growth of production and the continuing trends toward mediocrity which have not been overcome," Jancua states.

In the closing part of his article he mentions a report by Prague staff journalist L. Kornilov published in IZVESTIYA on changes taking place in the CSSR capital, in which Kornilov--after chatting with inhabitants of Prague--"generalizes their opinion: 'The times today require that everyone acquire a new habit--combatting outdated habits which are beginning to be in the way of development. Otherwise stability could transform itself into rigidity.'"

/9599

CSO: 2400/122

BRIEFS

AIDS IN CSSR--According to medical sources, four cases of AIDS have been recorded thus far in Czechoslovakia. [Summary] [Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech No 48, 29 Nov 86 p 7 AU] /9599

AGRICULTURAL ACADEMY CHANGES--Prague (RO)--The 2-day 28th extraordinary session of the CSSR Agricultural Academy opened on 2 December in Prague and was attended by Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium candidate member and secretary, and by delegations of agricultural academies from the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, and Poland. The session elected, in keeping with its new statutes (valid as of 15 November), Karel Kudrna as chairman; Otto Jaroslav Vrtiak as first deputy chairman; Jiri Davidek as deputy chairman; Jaroslav Muzikant as scientific secretary; a 7-member Presidium; and chairmen and vicechairmen of 12 scientific sections. It also appointed 23 new members, 50 new corresponding members, and 8 new honorary members. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Dec 86 p 2 AU] /9599

DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT--(STK)--According to Vladimir Marik, CSSR deputy minister of labor and social affairs and secretary of the Government Population Commission, the current death rate of infants up to 1 year of age is 14 infants per 1,000 babies born alive and the death rate of newborn babies is 9.6 babies per 1,000. In 1985 225,000 babies were born alive in the CSSR. The number of marriages is decreasing and divorces increasing. The population is expected to slightly increase, mostly thanks to the Slovak SR. The average age of CSSR citizens is expected to increase, so that the number of retired citizens will be higher than that of children less than 15 years of age. The number of 3-6 year-old children in kindergartens amounts to 97 percent of all children in kindergartens. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Dec 86 p 2 AU] /9599

FOOD INDUSTRY'S PLAN UNFULFILLED--According to Emil Cakajda, CSSR first deputy minister of agriculture and food, the country's foodstuffs industry will fulfill this year's plan by 99.9 percent, with the resulting shortfall estimated at Kcs130 million. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Dec 86 p 2 AU] /9599

CPCZ MEMBERSHIP--The CPCZ has 1,682,872 members and candidate members at present. [Excerpt] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Dec 86 p 1 AU] /9599

DRINKING WATER DEFICIT--The East Slovak region currently has a deficit of 900 liters of drinking water per second, of which Kosice accounts for 300 liters. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Dec 86 p 2 AU] /9599

NEW CPSL CC MEMBERS--At its session in Bratislava on 10 December, the CPSL Central Committee elected as its new members Pavol Bahyl and Milan Rusnak, deputy premiers of the Slovak Socialist Republic, and Jozef Mravik, leading secretary of the Slovak Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society. Daniel Futej, candidate member of the CPSL Central Committee, was elected member of the CPSL Central Committee. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Dec 86 p 1 AU] /9599

CPSL OFFICIAL DIES--Professor Ivan Bajcura, doctor of sciences, member of the CPSL Central Committee and the East Slovakia CPSL Regional Committee, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the P. J. Safarik University in Presov, died "suddenly" on 13 December 1986 at the age of 55. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Dec 86 p 2 AU] /9599

ODRA POLLUTION DISCUSSED--An extraordinary meeting of a group of plenipotentiaries of the CSSR and the Polish governments for issues concerning the water economy sector was held in Ostrava on 13 December. On the agenda was the pollution of the Odra River by mazut and light heating oil in the past 5 weeks and the "mutual improvement of the information system in the event of unexpected events at border rivers." The experts discussed, among other things, the measures which the two sides implemented to eliminate the consequences of the "strong" pollution of Orda's water and banks. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Dec 86 p 1 AU] /9599

TELEPHONE INSTALLATION--The statewide consultation held by Jiri Jira, CSSR minister of communications, with directors of communications organizations in Zruc and Sazavou on 15 December revealed, among other things, that "the large number of pending applications for telephones remains a problem." There are 50,000 pending applications in Prague and 19,000 in Bratislava. It was noted at the meeting that some of the applications were made 10 and more years ago. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Dec 86 p 2 AU] /9599

PERUN LASER DEVELOPED--A "unique performance iodine pulse laser" [unikatni vykonovy pulsni jodovy laser] called PERUN, which was developed and put into operation by specialists of the Physics Institute attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, is an outstanding contribution of Czechoslovak physics to experiments in the basic research of controlled thermonuclear reaction. The laser is the "world's third most efficient" device. The PERUN system achieved "energy 80 J in a pulse shorter than one billionth of a second, which represents energy on the order of 100 GW." [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 86 p 1 AU] /9599

SENTENCES FOR TOXIC SUBSTANCES--A group of seven "culprits" aged 19-28 has been sentenced in Usti nad Labem to jail terms ranging between 12 and 30 months for the "illicit manufacture and possession of toxic substances and

poisons." The sentences are not in force yet. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 86 p 2 AU] /9599

WATER SHORTAGE IN SLOVAKIA--The levels of rivers, brooks, and water reservoirs throughout Slovakia attest that the shortage of water there is "critical." The situation in East Slovakia is "exceptionally unfavorable" because of the lack of rain this year. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Dec 86 p 1 AU] /9599

TEST RUN IN DUKOVANY--The test operation of the third block in the Dukovany nuclear power plant has begun. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Dec 86 p 1 AU] /9599

AUXILIARY POLICE GUARDS--In the CSSR there are currently more than 28,000 members of the Auxiliary Guards attached to the National Security Corps, organized into 3,466 units. The majority of these units--2,422 with more than 20,000 members--concentrate on safeguarding public order. A total of 397 units with 2,645 members devote themselves to the protection of the socialist economy, and 195 units with 2,254 members are assisting with road traffic controls. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Jan 87 p 2 AU] /9599

LOCOMOTIVES FOR USSR--A total of 429 diesel-electric locomotives of the CME-3 and CME-5 type made by the CKD Prague-Lokomtiva Sokolovo enterprise, valued at Kcs2.86 billion, were delivered to the USSR in 1986. [Summary] [Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 6 Jan 87 p 1 AU] /9599

FERTILIZER POISONS FISH--Some 90,000 liters of liquid fertilizer escaped from a frost-damaged metal tank of the Agrochemical Enterprise in Zavadka nad Hronom on 29 December 1986. Through sewers the poisonous substance reached the River Hron and killed fish along a stretch of about 20 km long. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jan 87 p 1 AU] /9599

BILAK HOLDS TALKS WITH WPC CHAIRMAN--Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has received Romesh Chandra, chairman of the World Peace Council, who has been on a short working visit to Czechoslovakia. Both officials reviewed topical tasks of the world peace and antiwar movement, stressing that the vital further activity of the World Peace Council is to mobilize the widest possible strata of the world public in support of specific steps to eliminate all mass-destruction weapons, to ban nuclear tests, and to struggle against plans to militarize space. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 17 Jan 87] /9599

CSO: 2400/122

SOCIOLOGIST ADVOCATES INTEREST ASSOCIATIONS TO EASE TENSIONS

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian No 11, 1986 pp 46-53

[Interview with Dr Zsuzsa Ferge, by Laszlo Rozsa of the NEPSZABADSAG staff:
"Should Everyone Fend for Himself at This Point?"]

[Text] [Question] You belong among the sociologists who believe that social solidarity is declining. How have you arrived at this conclusion?

[Answer] Perhaps declining is not quite the right word. I would prefer to say that the working-class movement's ideology placed great emphasis on social solidarity as a principle that guides the behavior of collectives, both small and large; in our present social practice, however, there is very little emphasis on it.

[Question] From what signs do you infer this?

[Answer] This manifests itself in many ways. When you say that social solidarity is declining, this already includes the new process under which the state at one time assumed in principle very many tasks, but has eventually recognized its inability to fulfill them, and is therefore shifting onto individuals the burden of many of the tasks it assumed in the past. I say that the state is shifting the burden, because its assumption by individuals is not a result of normal market conditions.

[Question] Specifically what do you have in mind?

[Answer] For example, today the state is building only a small proportion of the housing units. Individuals build or buy with their own resources the overwhelming majority of the housing units. Furthermore, individuals are assuming more and more of the costs of establishing the infrastructure that the dwellings require. In this sense, then, the individual is now being forced to fend for himself. And the general welfare, which is also an element of social solidarity, is being relegated to the background. The fact that today the individual is able to fend for himself is a good thing; but his being forced to do so is bad, in my opinion.

[Question] If I understand your introductory remarks correctly, you mention two separate things that deserve separate answers and explanations. First,

that at one time there was strong and profound solidarity within the working-class movement. Secondly, that modern man's solidarity with the state is declining because of the increasing burdens he is having to assume, and so is his solidarity with collectives in general.

[Answer] The second statement emerged here because you said that solidarity is weakening. And I contend that it has never been strong.

[Question] Or perhaps that it has not developed the way one would have expected in theory?

[Answer] Yes. Because there are trends pointing so strongly toward individualism that they further weaken what never has been very strong to begin with. But solidarity does indeed have different meanings. For example, we speak of society-wide solidarity, and also of group solidarity. With the latter in mind, I mentioned the earlier solidarity of the workers, when they collectively assumed one another's interests and turned as a movement against capital. This had very specific manifestations. For something, and against something. The struggle for social security more than a century ago was a manifestation of such solidarity.

[Question] I think we are again confusing the issue. The solidarity of the workers was the solidarity of politically oppressed and economically exploited people who joined forces as a movement. In East Europe, moreover, the working-class movements were often semilegal or completely outlawed. In other words, we are speaking of groups who were strongly oppressed and persecuted politically. Thus their solidarity incorporated already two factors: community of ideas, and community of struggle against the oppressors. These were very strong and positive interrelations. Perhaps you mean that we ought to have preserved more of this, or transformed it into society-wide solidarity. But can we speak at all of society-wide solidarity?

[Answer] When I speak of society-wide solidarity, what I have in mind is that if we want to build a society which accepts its members and recognizes them as citizens--be they healthy or sick, young or old, deserving or undeserving--simply by virtue of their birth, then this too is society-wide solidarity in a sense. For example, that even those who are not "good" members of this society may share to some extent in its wealth.

[Question] Then you regard socialism as a society that must solidarize all its members?

[Answer] Yes, of course. This society must create conditions such that the citizen's rights and obligations can be balanced. These conditions mean, for example, general employment for which the individual does not have to pay too high a price, does not have to work under unacceptably bad working conditions and perhaps for very low pay. Yet Hungary's health and death statistics also show that the situation in this respect is not entirely reassuring. All this is a contributing factor of the extent to which the citizen solidarizes with the state, with society.

[Question] This conception contains something impersonal in the relationship between the state and its citizen. Therefore I would like to revert, if I

may, to something we have already mentioned. To the fact that the people who participated at one time in the working-class movement or in the so-called heroic period after the liberation--both the rank and file, and the leaders--are nostalgic for the solidarity in which they then shared, and which allegedly has been liquidated. In other words, what is the source of this strong feeling of something lacking?

[Answer] We are again reverting to the fact that if there is solidarity in ideology but not in practice, then the problem lies in the power structure. For what does solidarity at the group level mean? It means that the group as such sets some goal for itself. The blue-collar workers, for example, wanted better living conditions, higher pay, and shorter working hours. They used collective means to fight for these goals, which might have been legal or illegal, depending on the relations of power. Such means included the right to strike, the less clearly regulated right to withhold performance, to stage demonstrations, etc. All these means bore also the external imprints of solidarity. If the individual worker had a grievance, if he was fired without cause, the collective would express its sympathy and stand up for him.

[Question] But that basic situation was one of capitalist oppression and exploitation. Power and the composition of society have changed. At the same time, present-day society has become extremely differentiated. In my opinion, the bases and motives of solidarity have necessarily changed and undergone transformation. But the problem is that here we have the decline to some extent, the waning of an important social ideal. Why?

[Answer] First of all, I would say that the policies of the 1950's liquidated very purposefully the bases of solidarity. The documents I uncovered in the course of my research on social policy indicate that at some plants the trade-union collectives were still very strong around 1948. Some of them, for example, felt it their duty to assist their poorer members, the ones who were finding it difficult to make ends meet. But when the trade unions were "nationalized," central guidelines were issued on providing assistance. From then on, the collectives were severely reprimanded if they departed from these guidelines and the three forms of assistance they provided. Which virtually ended the initiative of the local small collectives. At the same time, ideology--or more accurately, the attempts to ideologically justify the adopted measures--held that this society is already representing the overall interests of blue-collar workers; and that the state, too, is a workers' state; therefore there is no sense in exercising such rights as the right to strike, because only whatever is in the workers' interest happens anyhow. This conception, or the practice derived from it, liquidated also the small collectives' spontaneous activity. They lacked political opportunity and the necessary resources--both were now regulated centrally--to collectively improve their lot. As the research conducted by Csaba Mako and his group revealed, the withholding of performance remains the only available means. This is not a legal form, but it nonetheless exists.

[Question] After 1956, it appeared that formations had been created which could become the new bases of solidarity and of the small collectives' life. These formations were the socialist brigades at the plants. Their life started differently to some extent, and also the expectations attached to them were different.

[Answer] Here, I believe, we are again encountering numerous problems. One is that solidarity cannot be created from above; it has to be built from below. There was an attempt to convert from above the socialist brigades into a national movement, and the result was a national movement mandated from above.

[Question] I see nothing wrong in a movement's receiving assistance from above, provided it preserves the independence necessary for its action. Or perhaps you are thinking that the movement's autonomy and self-determination were curtailed?

[Answer] Indeed, something of this nature cannot develop properly without autonomy, self-determination and institutional underpinnings. But these must proceed hand in hand. What I want to say is that a collective's self-determination is a question of democracy. Which means that organization has to start from below. As Peter Schmidt, the political scientist, is in the habit of pointing out, effective assertion of interests in our country is feasible only through the state. Incidentally, this is not something peculiar to socialism, but more a question of the kind of legal system. Thus there are countries, such as France, where a law must be enacted to guarantee a decent minimum wage. And countries where representatives of the workers and those of the employers negotiate a contract setting the minimum wage. In Hungary, as I have mentioned, the road toward the assertion of interests leads through the state. But then it is necessary to establish also the legally guaranteed framework within which solidaristic collectives may exist, and the channels through which the interests formulated by these collectives can be transmitted to the state. In the absence of a system of political channels through which solidaristic interests can be asserted, illegal solidarities might arise, and these would certainly create tensions.

[Question] Or distorted solidarities. To what do you attribute, for example, the keyed-up and exaggerated expectations of a soccer victory, and the dramatic nature of the disappointment when the expectations fail to materialize?

[Answer] Great efforts are being made subconsciously or quasi-consciously, I believe, to depoliticize solidarities. Soccer solidarity is explicitly depoliticized solidarity. I think that there is a manipulated excitement about soccer. If we are unable to attain higher real wages and solve the housing situation, then let us become a "superpower" at least in soccer.

[Question] Since we are on this subject, we can hardly avoid a problem that could also be called national solidarity. Which, incidentally, has real and sound foundations; it also follows from national awareness, and we ought to welcome its growth. But the trouble is that a kind of offended national solidarity keeps breaking through it.

[Answer] I am a sociologist, not a political scientist. Hungarian national awareness, I believe, is fragile. Citizens, in my opinion, leave the country fairly readily. This in itself would not matter, because people have the right to choose their country. National awareness is being destroyed by what happened after the Treaty of Trianon, leaving behind problems that still

remain unsolved. It is very difficult to draw a dividing line between normal national awareness and chauvinistic national awareness. As a sociologist, I am interested in a problem that already concerns mainly domestic policy: in the fact that the minority questions, including the Gypsy question in particular, are destructive in our country. There has never developed in Hungary a civic awareness that accepts as citizens every citizen living here. Before the war, the Jews and Gypsies were the ones whom the country rejected as full-fledged citizens, by law and in terms of awareness as well. Today there is equality before the law in principle, but not in practice. The most important distinction is that there are Hungarians, and then there are Gypsies. Yet a significant proportion of the Gypsies have been living here for centuries.

[Question] The existence of Gypsies as an ethnic group is undeniable, and to deny it would be meaningless. We would be denying them their right to an identity, which would be falsification of another kind.

[Answer] Yes, but the question, in my opinion, is whether we are thinking in terms of "full-blooded" Hungarians or in terms of Hungarian citizens. It has been proven genetically that full-blooded Hungarians do not exist. There are several ethnic groups, and so-called separate cultures and subcultures. The customary contrasting of "Hungarian" with "Gypsy" is discrimination based on color, between first- and second-class citizens. If national awareness and civic awareness were brought to the same level, there would be less of such intolerance, and of the ease of finding scapegoats.

[Question] From what has been said so far, solidarities and desolidarization appear to exist on many different planes that intersect one another repeatedly within living society. Since our ability to explore more thoroughly all these planes is limited, let us return to our original question. As you have noted, there were concepts and great expectations of the welfare state in our country. In your opinion, however, the state--for a variety of reasons, but due mainly to the tight economic situation--has been unable to fulfill this role. Therefore the idea is receding, and living conditions are becoming individualized . . .

[Answer] Strategies for living . . .

[Question] Yes, that is more accurate. Individualization, then, is undermining the solidarities. But at the same time, as you yourself have noted, the social problems and the democratization taking place within society are stimulating a new type of solidarity--social solidarity.

[Answer] It is very doubtful whether everything that ought to surface will actually do so. What is beginning to unfold at present is the solidarities of small collectives. But here again we encounter both a positive and a negative tendency. The negative tendency is that the new group solidarities are often consequences of that shifting of the burden which I have mentioned. And the positive tendency is that there arises, at least at the level of families and local collectives, a demand to attempt to join forces. In addition--due partly to the broader political latitude, and partly because of the state's withdrawal--there are also movements and initiatives that indicate

mutual-aid or charitable solidarities. There are very few even of the mutual-aid solidarities, and far more are needed. These are something like the mutual-aid groups formed by persons who are handicapped in some respect; the crippled, for example. They are helping one another to face the problems they have in common, and to reduce their isolation. In the final outcome, they are helping one another to go on with their lives. Parallel with these groups, there are also movements--sponsored in part by individuals and in part by churches, mainly the Protestant churches and smaller denominations--for solidarity with the less fortunate. There already are fairly many initiatives of varying origin. A good example is the bureau established in the Florian Square underpass. This is the initiative of two young men who persuaded all the agencies, authorities and institutions in the 3d District [of Budapest] that something must be done for the young people who are left to fend for themselves and are drifting toward the fringes of society. Having obtained some money from various sources, and given a chance to try, these two young men have succeeded in recruiting very many well-intentioned people for their cause. For example, the civil engineer who designed the Florian Square underpass modified the plans to make room for such a bureau. And an interior decorator furnished the bureau, likewise free of charge. Admittedly, there was a long wait for official permission, but the initiative has been launched nevertheless. What usually happens to movements of this kind is that, as soon as they are formed, pressure begins to mount on them to amalgamate into some recognized, larger organization. Yet the point is specifically that such groups need to be independent, because otherwise they lose their momentum, and also their autonomy and identity, which is a condition of their existence as well as their appeal.

[Question] If you consider the practices in some of the Western countries, you have to admit that most of the recognized associations--the charities, for example--are entitled to some kind of subsidy from the state or city, depending on what is customary in the given country. In this sense, then, they too are "amalgamated" because the state or city providing the subsidy has some control over them.

[Answer] That is not the same thing. In my opinion, the obligation to account for a state subsidy cannot be interpreted as organizational "amalgamation," nor does it mean--or necessarily mean--bureaucratic supervision and tutelage. Indeed, a state subsidy would be extremely important in our country as well. Statutory regulation of a state subsidy is long overdue. Its fiscal impact, I believe, would also be tolerable. Because the social movements starting out with state subsidies could prevent many kinds of social ills, and then it would not be necessary to cope with the--perhaps greater--fiscal consequences of these ills.

But I would like to touch on another problem. Aspirations, provisions and attempted solutions that divide social groups and--although I do not question the subjective good intentions--even turn them against one another are contributing to the weakening of solidarities. When an organizational movement was launched against fraudulent sick-pay claims, for example, it affected not only the persons filing such claims but doctors as well, because inclusion of an "obligation to inform" already removed the doctor-patient relationship

from the realm of medical ethics and confidentiality in which medical decisions ought to remain.

These days the problem of overemployment and of using manpower efficiently is an entirely different topic. Granted that there is overemployment in our country, I still question the soundness of the regulation under which the wages saved by laying off workers are divided among the remaining workers. Such a regulation, in my opinion, is divisive and desolidarizing, especially when jobs are hard to find. I doubt that this is the road to efficient economic management.

[Question] On the other hand, you cannot deny that inefficient use of manpower is one of the banes of our economy. After all, most plants actually need fewer workers than their work force; and, more importantly, they need a different work force in terms of its structure of qualifications and skills. In the long run it is economic suicide to pay for uneconomical production and to perpetuate low productivity, while equalizing wages so that the pay for outstanding, useful, productive and creative work is the same as for poor workmanship and unnecessary labor.

[Answer] But why did this happen? Because the country chose the methods of extensive economic development to raise itself from mass poverty. Thus the creation of disguised unemployment, providing at least jobs for everyone, was entirely deliberate. A job entitles one to wages and social security. This was indeed the best way of extricating ourselves from mass poverty. But we should not have stopped when we scored our initial successes. It is certainly wasteful to give people jobs, without enough work of the kind that matches their qualifications. But I doubt that the conditions exist which would enable the laid-off worker to find suitable and fully effective new employment. I know that there are some opportunities for retraining. But this does not apply nationwide, and especially not in small settlements and in areas where there are very many unskilled workers. Jobs for such workers are permanently in jeopardy, and there is no safety net in place to protect them.

[Question] Even so, in my opinion, we should not oppose the efforts to use manpower efficiently. Here we are speaking of things that we have long kept postponing, and therefore they are now urgent. Every year of delay only multiplies our difficulties. Naturally, the desire to let suitable employment and welfare alternatives develop parallel with sensible economic measures, intensive economic growth and structural changes in the economy--in other words, parallel with the regrouping of manpower--is another matter. Perhaps we may regard the introduction of aid to find new employment as an initial step in this direction.

[Answer] I still do not regard as a suitable incentive, or as the only right applicable regulation, that workers have to be laid off so that effectiveness may improve and the remaining workers' wages may rise. This regulation merely suggests that the trouble lies in the many people our existing technologies require. Whereas our real lag is in machinery and equipment. That is what we should change, in my opinion. And if effectiveness really improves, then wages can be raised. If the enterprise is able to grow, then with better machinery and equipment it might not be necessary to lay off workers.

[Question] Your idea, I fear, is not feasible. You know very well that, in the present situation, the enterprises are unable to afford the investments which would enable them to economically retain their existing work force and thus maintain the present levels of employment. You too are aware that the state can no longer absorb the inefficiently operating enterprises' losses amounting to many billions. And that something must finally be done in this respect.

[Answer] Look, when there are more available jobs than jobseekers, nationally and in the individual districts as well, then it is possible to lay off workers in the certain knowledge that they will be able to find work. Even then, of course, solutions that aid the transition from one job to the other --e.g., aid for finding new employment, retraining, etc.--are still necessary. But when there are not enough jobs available nationally or in the individual districts, then all this means an improvement of effectiveness only at the enterprise level. There are no jobs for a proportion of the workers, and therefore the laid-off workers are unable to find work. Macroeconomic effectiveness remains unchanged in this case, but effectiveness at the level of society has worsened. Which means that these people are being swept to the sideline. This is why I believe that the improvement of effectiveness can best be based on technical and technological development.

[Question] But the demand for direct labor is declining specifically as a result of technical development. This is what is changing the manpower situation.

[Answer] Which I am not denying. All I am saying is that the wording of the requirement "If you lay off, then I raise wages" is wrong. Instead I would say: "If you improve effectiveness, then I raise wages." In other words, I am not emphasizing that one worker has to go, so another worker may earn more.

[Question] What you are saying is merely embellishment of the wording. The essence remains the same. If there is no economic pressure for work that is more productive and demanding, if having a job is of no special value because you cannot lose it and at most will exchange it for another job, then what will compel a person to try harder if otherwise he lacks sufficient motivation?

[Answer] Look, I already know of quite a few plant debates at which everyone agrees that 10 percent of the work force must go, and the money saved has to be divided among the remaining workers. But when it comes to deciding whether X or Y is the one to be laid off, it turns out that a solidarity is functioning nevertheless: there is agreement to lay off only if X or Y already has his next job lined up.

[Question] For the time being, however, there seems to be far more talk than action in this area, because hardly anything is being done.

[Answer] What is being done is happening in places about which we in Budapest, regrettably, know little. Fairly many enterprises in the provinces are laying off workers. You undoubtedly are right in that more ought to have been done than what has actually been done to improve effectiveness.

[Question] Perhaps you as a sociologist are concerned lest we resort to improvisations in the pressing situation at present, because we have not been able to consistently think through during the past 10 years what must be done with the workers who are becoming redundant, so that they may be gainfully employed in production elsewhere?

[Answer] Concern is not entirely without foundation that the social and economic alternative accompanying such measures is not entirely in place nationally, and that certain central suggestions specifically in this situation might be causing tension. But let us revert once again to the differentiation I mentioned earlier. If we interpret competition to mean that one can prosper only at someone else's expense--in other words, that one can have more only if another gets less--then competition is disruptive. I think that a willingness to work and good organizational conditions for working, rather than such differentiation, are a prerequisite for economic reform. The reform has now reached the point where central planning must not bind the enterprises, so that they may be more independent. However, autonomy has halted at the enterprise level, without filtering down any further. Yet there would be real change only if autonomy were to extend down to the individual. In other words, the management of the enterprise and the workers would discuss under what conditions they could work better. And then the workers might say that they want more wage differentiation. But they might also prefer to postpone greater differentials until more money is available for disbursement. A system becomes accepted and a consensus emerges when everyone takes part in discussing and monitoring the issues. When people experience that they have a say in public affairs, there will be not only economic reform but social reform as well, and the two reforms together will make for a better functioning society.

[Question] Is it not utopistic for a sociologist to say that "everyone takes part in discussing the issues"? After all, there always will be people who just are not interested, remain indifferent, or perhaps are unable to form an opinion. And then we also know that the collective does not necessarily choose always the most progressive and effective solution, especially when the issue in question has not been formulated clearly for the collective. For example, a collective might want to preserve wage equalization. Should we then accede to its wishes?

[Answer] We always express the essential by exaggerating it. This is something I have learned from Jozsef Lengyel. I am aware that not every group is capable of making the right decision, and that not everyone will be participating in the discussion even within the best of groups. But there is a very long process between "everybody" and "nobody." "Everybody" will never hold true, but we have to start the process. In short, here I have a process in mind.

[Question] If you were to say that the level of democracy depends on how many people participate in making and implementing the decisions, and on what access they have to the information necessary to make the decisions, then we would be closer to the essential.

[Answer] Yes, but this also includes what kind of organizations are formed. For example, what the trade unions are doing, what kind of appearance they present, and how they promote wide participation. There are very important links between the solidarities and democracy.

[Question] In short, we have come to the conclusion that not even democracy can flourish without the suitable development of the solidarities within it. But, to my knowledge, you have been investigating primarily small collectives. Let us examine their situation.

[Answer] On the one hand, there is the intention of letting such interests and needs surface. When things of this nature come up in a lecture, I sometimes ask my audience: How does a blind man know what time it is? The response is usually astonished silence, because people fail to think through that they have fellow men with such needs. But for needs of this kind to surface, the persons concerned must express them. In other words, persons in the same situation should form their own solidaristic association. The blind have had their own association for ages, although it too was long paralyzed by the fact everything had to start from above. The policy on associations is still of two minds. On the one hand, policy supports the existence of associations because their activity is necessary. On the other hand, it dislikes associations because they tend to question the absolute power of the central agencies and present demands. The formation of an association is still a very long fight. It took the crippled two years to form their association, and the association of retired persons has still not been formed.

[Question] One would think that the formation of such associations is indeed very sensible from the state's point of view, because they are able to solve independently, and often from their own resources, problems that otherwise would be burdening the state. Or at least they can contribute toward the solution of such problems. In the course of this, they also mobilize unexpected resources. Resources that perhaps even a rich country cannot dispense with.

[Answer] Yes. To the groups already mentioned we might add the divorced, the alcoholics, the young mothers expecting their first baby, etc. Since the existence of such small groups has no traditions in Hungary, the people are probably right who say that we ought to train experts in promoting and organizing collectives. I think that helping others requires also expertise, in addition to enthusiasm. There is a profession [abroad] known as social worker for community organization, and training for it is being offered at the college level. The closest profession to it in our country is perhaps the worker in popular education and culture, but it should be combined with the training of social workers. We have been aware of this for several years, but there is as yet no decision on providing such training. Incidentally, such training will not come cheap; it will have to be provided in secondary education and at the college level as well. For, without special training, it would be extremely dangerous to interfere in the life of a collective or family. In short, spontaneous self-organizations within society ought to be encouraged, rather than suppressed. Political scientists tell us that when the state and its political leadership assume responsibility for everything in a country, then the state is indeed held responsible for everything, and all dissatisfaction is directed against the political

leadership. When autonomies take over some of the responsibilities, everything is geared to run more smoothly. And this is what determines whether the political system is fragile or durable.

[Question] I think that, among other things, the absence of statutory regulation also plays a role in this. It is still unclear how such associations are to be formed, and how and by how much the state, council, etc. ought to subsidize them. Without limiting their independence, of course.

[Answer] Now that we are back to the question of the law, allow me to point out that all assistance in our country remains based on the 19th century principle of discretion. This applies to aiding both individuals and collectives. It is left to the discretion of the council official whether to give an individual assistance, and how much. This is charity, not an entitlement. And this is also how aid to organizations works. The conditions under which the organizations may claim subsidies are not specified.

[Question] Are there no initiatives within the legal fraternity?

[Answer] There are initiatives, but there is no consensus on this issue even within the legal fraternity. The government commissioned us to draft a long-range concept of social policy, for example. There were also lawyers working on this project. In agreement with them, we proposed as absolutely essential that assistance be made a social entitlement; to develop civic awareness, if for no other reason. A social entitlement can be enforced even by bringing a suit at law. Various misgivings and bad traditions have survived in conjunction with this. The bad tradition is that we have always been, and want to remain, paternalistic. We imagine that the official knows very well who deserves assistance, and how much. After all, people do differ. However, if an institution is good in principle, an unsuitable official causes less harm than when the institution is bad to begin with. Policy does not like such proposals because they would mandate provisions for needs whose satisfaction it could not afford. Today about 120,000 families in Hungary should be receiving assistance on the basis of their financial situation, but only 20,000 families are actually getting assistance. If assistance were a social entitlement, it would have to be extended to include also the 100,000 families who are not receiving assistance at present. Today the state simply does not have the money to do this. Incidentally, if it were up to me, I would raise family allowances rather than extend assistance; but there is no money for this, either. For I doubt that there is a good way of aiding people of work age. I think that the social-security system or the so-called universal systems have to be perfected in the long run. In any event, assistance will eventually have to become a social entitlement. But, as I have said, there are two obstacles to this. One is the curtailment of local public administration's authority. And the other obstacle is the high cost.

[Question] What you are saying sounds logical. But anything divorced from economic reality is merely pursuit of utopia. That is exactly what you deplored a while ago, when you were talking about the many things the state promised initially, but on which it subsequently has been unable to deliver. Anyhow, the fact remains that social tensions are building up as our economic situation worsens. The question now is: How do we respond to this buildup?

[Answer] The view is now spreading in Hungary that whoever is poor or has been displaced has only himself to blame, while anyone who is prospering may take credit for it himself. I find this view unsocial and reject it. On closer examination, "one's own fault" is often society's fault as well. And to this is added the effect of the recession: it usually pulls down further those in the lowest-income groups. They are the ones least able to fend for themselves, with the least opportunity to cushion themselves. That definite solidarity with them is lacking. One way this manifests itself is that more and more families are unable to pay their electricity bills when prices are rising. Yet if their power supply is cut off, the public guardianship authority comes and takes custody of the children. Such cases have already occurred. Thus we have here yet another problem to confront: to see to it that the burdens of recession are not borne by those least able to cushion themselves against it. It is even worse when the recession leads not only to financial ruin, but to actual punishment as well.

[Question] What do you mean?

[Answer] Corrective and educative hard labor has been introduced against those who are operating on the fringes of the law and are not supporting themselves by honest work. In practice this has become punishment mostly for those who are unable to find work and are the poorest. Because the real social parasites usually are able to present some proof of gainful employment.

[Question] There have always been several thousand fringe elements, if that is what you have in mind. The noncriminal vagabonds, the footloose, the addicted alcoholics, the mentally disturbed, etc.

[Answer] Yes, but they have not always been taken away from their families and their place of residence. There are fringe elements in every society. Society's tolerance determines what happens to them: whether society punishes or tolerates them, or perhaps tries repeatedly to rehabilitate them. In order to tolerate them, however, society must face the fact that there are homeless people (who need shelter), and there are also those who are unable to adjust to working regularly. Incidentally, there are studies showing that it took several generations to adjust to working in modern industry. Such adjustment is not easy for everyone, especially not for a person who grew up in a different environment. In the absence of a better solution, it is perhaps best if we accept that casual labor, street vending, etc.--where the clock does not control the pace of the individual's life--are also acceptable ways of life.

[Question] One last question. To what do you attribute the present resurgence of rudeness and aggressiveness?

[Answer] Many people have no prospects, no acceptable possible future. In other words, they do not have work that satisfies them, and to which they are attached. The uneven, nonsolidaristic distribution of this lack of expectations, of narrowing opportunities, affects youths the most severely. Very many people give up. Perhaps these tensions break out into aggressiveness.

[Question] Perhaps that too. But this behavior is superimposed on a lack of culture and tolerance. For various reasons, Hungarian society has rarely been tolerant.

[Answer] Occasionally the absence of tolerance is behavior suggested from above, against something disapproved of there. Of course, we find also within culture a rejection of everything different. And to this there is added one more thing about which we know very little at present: aggression within the family. Child abuse, battered wives, fighting couples. The foreign literature on this problem is extensive. We hardly know anything about how many children are being abused and wives battered. Fighting and aggression are spreading everywhere, even in the families of intellectuals. Evidently this is a manifestation of some kind of frustration, which includes the staggering mass of unsolved problems between the sexes. I have no prescription to cure or prevent these ills fairly quickly. All I can say is that the victims of aggression also need solidaristic collectives. For example, homes where the battered wives and their children could find refuge. Anyhow, I do not believe that a society--even assuming optimal conditions--can find a balm for all its social ills. But what a society is able to do in this respect--and this I wish to repeat once again--is not only a question of institutions, power and material resources. All this is very closely connected also with how the positive solidarities are developing.

1014
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COUNCIL OF STATE ON SELF-GOVERNMENT, PEOPLES COUNCILS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Nov 86 pp 1,5

[Text] The status of the realization of the law on the system of regional people's councils and self-government is one of the main points of the program for Sejm control during the present term. The Council of State has already sent its information to the deputies and the commissions have already begun to work on it. The subject will still be discussed this year at a plenum meeting of the chamber.

According to an evaluation by the Council of State, the second year of the present term of people's councils has seen clear progress in the realization of this law but the provisions of this law are not still being fully employed everywhere and to an equal extent. It was recommended that the councils become more active and industrious in utilizing legal resources and possibilities.

The Council of State has provided extensive information on regional self-government which, as we already know, is made up of the people's councils and local self-government. The introduction of regional self-government was a legislative first. The system is still being developed and its consolidation is a social process that has its own delays and shortcomings. The degree to which regional self-government is being established varies considerably from place to place.

Last year, self-government organs in cities and rural areas prepared 57,000 opinions and conducted nearly 58,000 investigations. However, some of the committees have been too little active in this respect. The new law has given local self-government the right to challenge decisions of government organs but it has so far been used with restraint.

One of the conclusions in the Council of State's information concerns the legal problem. It states that the existing law must be brought into full accordance with the new statute and the same applies to a series of other legislative and executive acts. It is proposed that comprehensive and long-

term be carried out under the patronage of the Council of Ministers and the proper organs of the Council of State.

The information conveyed to the Sejm was accompanied by another important document: a resolution by the Council of State on the realization of tasks outlined by the 10th PZPR Congress. It was stated that the Council of State will strive to fully and efficiently implement the legislative positions taken by the regional organs of representation and especially the principle that the people's councils are superior to regional government and other organs. We must still further streamline the system of regional planning and make the councils more independent in their financial management. It was recommended that the provincial councils take action to increase authority of the municipal, neighborhood and community councils. The importance of cooperation with public and union organizations, other forms of self-government and PRON was also mentioned.

The Council of State pointed out the need to increase the people's councils participation and responsibility for setting state policy. All superior and central state organs should utilize the initiatives and opinions of the people's councils to solve state problems and prepare legislation for new legal regulations.

12261
CSO: 2600/239

OMBUDSMAN ISSUE DEBATE, EXPECTATIONS CONTINUE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8-9 Nov 86 pp 1,8

[Text] The office of the Public Ombudsman will be a new institution in the Polish social structure. Many Poles are therefore wondering about its powers and responsibilities and how they can cooperate with the future ombudsman to help increase democracy in our country.

PAP [Polish Press Agency] journalists spoke with the representatives of many different communities and asked what hopes they attached to the creation of this institution. Here are some of the answers.

Robert Balbus, member of the Sejm Social and Economic Council, chairman of the Dolna Odra Electrical Power Plant Trade Union in Szczecin province: "Like many of my colleagues, I feel that the ombudsman support common sense, especially in situations of conflict. After all, it is often the case that some laws contradict each other as in the case of housing regulations. There are also instances in which even government officials tell us: 'You are right but my hands are tied by the regulations'. These are the cases in which the ombudsman must intervene in the name of the citizens' interests and social fairness".

Stanislaw Kurak, secretary of the Suwalki Provincial PRON Council: "Everyday, I meet people that are dragging their problems around from office to office and institution to institution. Often, the offices themselves are helpless, especially when they have to deal with a soulless administrative procedure. There are many such problems such as random cases and an entire complex of housing and local issues. Many housing cooperatives use their own systems for evaluating housing conditions and these are not always fair even if they do at least outwardly accord with the law. Since housing is an especially painful social problem, the ombudsman will have much to do in that area".

Henryk Ficek, governor of Rzeszow Province: "The existing laws completely protect the interests of every citizen. However, the key problem is how these laws are interpreted. The professional solidity, earnestness, knowledge of the law and social sensitivity officials is very important and whenever these

qualities are missing, conflicts occur. Citizens feel wronged and accuse the higher authorities of taking sides. We have seen examples of very subjective and even egotistical attitudes on both sides. This occurs less and less often but can still be found. Certain conflicts will always exist because some decisions will naturally be unpopular, even if they do follow the law. I myself feel that the civil rights spokesman should be presented with cases in which a citizen is convinced he is right and has been wronged and can prove that with the help of the spokesman. With certain specific problems, I see the need for greater support from the Consumers' Federation which has let many good demands become bogged down and pigeon-holed in various government offices. If things were to be done my way, the ombudsman would handle the problem of poor-quality flour that cannot be used to bake good bread".

Stefan Stepien, employee of the Swidnik Transportation Equipment Plant in Lublin Province and chairman of the plant's trade union: "Law is impersonal and therefore thoughtless at times. It would therefore be fairer to occasionally amend laws so that they better consider certain aspects of life. The ombudsman should be a person that not only possesses considerable legal knowledge, social experience and legal authority but should also be a moral and sensitive person. Only then will he be able to to intervene in the most difficult problems to mediate between the government and the public and between the law and people. The ombudsman should not replace any of the existing institutions of control".

Henryk Kluba, rector of the Lodz State Higher Screen and Stage School: "There are numberless problems that an ombudsman should handle. Many popular initiatives are being wasted because they run up against strange forms of inertia. I am glad that we can afford to introduce and broaden new forms of democracy and that this is the very direction being taken by the government and public. Of course, a form of democracy can become nothing more than just a form if it is not supported by some concrete action. This action depends not only on the ombudsman himself nor does democracy depend only on the number of institutions and democratic life styles. Everything depends on us and on what we make of democratic institutions".

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DELEGATES OFFER OPINIONS ON UPCOMING LABOR CODE DEBATES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 86 pp 1,2

[Article by Wanda Zagawa: "A Renewed Form of Collective Bargaining -- A Reporting Deputy Speaks to TRYBUNA LUDU -- Deputy's Opinion On the Government's Bill for Changes to the Labor Code"]

[Text] The labor code is a document that is a constitution of worker rights and responsibilities for 9.5 million professionally active Poles and has not kept pace with the changing social and economic situation. This fact has been pointed out numerous times in different places and opinions. A staff of specialists has been established to prepare the update of the labor code and the group includes theoreticians and practitioners from both the government and the union movement. Collective bargaining has undergone its first baptism of fire.

It was not and still is not an easy task to put labor laws into order, even within such a relatively narrow scope as collective bargaining and union agreements. The work to prepare the concepts for legal regulation of collective bargaining has lasted two years and the government's latest proposals have been received with various amounts of reservation by the trade unions. Many months of debate have resulted in a compromise, the government's bill for changes to the labor code and these changes chiefly concern collective bargaining and factory collective agreements. On Monday, two Sejm commissions, the Commission in Public Health Policy and Physical Education and the Commission on Legislative Work met in a common session chaired by Deputy Jerzy Jaskiernia and decided on the final form of the changes which they then submitted to Deputy Wiktor Pawlak as the reporting deputy.

In what form will the bill be presented during the next Sejm plenum and what changes will have been made? We wrote about this in a 7 October TRYBUNA LUDU article titled "In a melting pot of reasons and emotions" but will repeat the following portions:

-- In principle, the bill will preserve the present branch model for collective bargaining which has been established for the different branches of labor and for workers in various professions;

-- As before, collective bargaining would determine wage conditions as well as other benefits and the working conditions associated with the specific nature of a profession or form of employment;

-- For the place of employment, the organs concluding a collective agreement would be the appropriate minister (central bureau director) once the contents of the agreement had been worked out by minister- or director-appointed representatives of the company organs and representatives of the appropriate trade union. However, the signing of an agreement by the minister would require a positive recommendation from the organs of the company affected by that agreement;

-- For companies authorized to employ factory wage systems, the proposed collective bargaining would only form a framework. For an enterprise to enter into a collective arrangement, it must be able to guarantee that it has and can through its own actions generate enough capital to pay the minimum wages and benefits;

-- In accordance with their legal position, the trade unions would enter into collective bargaining as a party to both the bargaining and the factory agreement.

Abbreviated as it is, this is the essence of the changes to the law. On what aspects have the deputy discussions centered? A lively exchange of views was above all stimulated by the question of guarantees for minimum wages under a collective agreement. Who is to provide that guarantee, the government or the factory? The predominant view is that under the conditions of economic reform and business independence and self-financing, it is the company that must guarantee the agreement with the funds generated by its factory.

I asked Wiktor Pawlak who chaired the work of the subcommission reviewing the bill for a commentary on the course of work so far: "Spending 9 stormy discussions with trade union representatives to polish the bill for today's session on the bill, we were above all guided by the statements made by various deputies during the first reading of the document. The greatest difficulty from which we had to extricate ourselves was the relationship between collective bargaining, the national social and economic plan [NPSG] and the consequences of the NPSG policy. Most of all, I am referring to the second stage of economic reform".

-- Establishing the parties to a collective agreement in the state-owned economy or solving the dilemma of whether these parties are only supposed to be the minister and the national trade union organizations or whether it is necessary to consider the independence of businesses and to include within the law their opinions before a collective agreement is signed by the minister.

-- An answer to the question of who is to guarantee the minimum wage, the government or place of employment?

I feel that the bill, which will be submitted during the next Sejm plenum, seems to be a new model for collective bargaining both within a unified branch system and a two-stage system including the previously-signed wage agreements.

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YOUTH UNION SEEKS MORE MEMBERS, 'MORAL HEALTH'

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Jan Ordynski: "Social and Legal Services of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth at Work to Strengthen the Moral Health of Society -- Alarm and Concern For Every Young Member"]

[Text] (Own information) "Social and legal services of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] at work to strengthen the moral health of society and fight social pathology" was the slogan for the 7-9 November meeting in Wroclaw of an all-Poland conference for these specialized agencies of the youth organization.

The Wroclaw conference tried above all to determine the state of the social and legal movement and a program for its work with youth. It also considered how the ZSMP can assist the party and government in their program for national moral health and the experience of its 12,000 members (many of whom are highly-qualified specialists) is unusually rich. It was their initiative that led to the organization of the "Sundays With a Paragraph", "Young People's Court", therapeutic and educational camps for morally-endangered and ill-adjusted youth, social and legal knowledge Olympics, recruitment of young social educators and legal advisory clinics.

However, the discussions pointed out that it is necessary to find new ways of reaching out to youth, especially those susceptible to social pathology. More attention must also be devoted to the young inhabitants of worker's hotels and rural youth. Many speakers expressed alarm at the fact at increasing drunkenness, drug addiction and weakening family ties, all of which are having a negative moral effect on youth.

Politburo Member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla attended the conference and reminded the participants that the party had made this year a time to fight for the purity of social relations. The speaker stressed that the fight against the various forms of corruption in our life is part of the line of socialist renewal. Praising the present achievements of the ZSMP's

social and legal services, the Central Committee secretary indicated some new opportunities for action.

Justice Minister Lech Domeracki and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee on Observance of the Law, Public Order and Social Discipline Lucjan Czubinski also expressed praise for the work of the social and legal services of the ZSMP.

A correspondent for RZECZPOSPOLITA asked an old friend of the ZSMP, Professor Jerzy Bafia, for his opinion about the course of the conference:

"Our conference has taken place at a time in which the forces of youth are supposed to be used extensively in a fight for legal standards and the moral health of society. The services have accomplished much in this field because the problems of legal standards and the fight against social pathology were the very reason that the legal and social services were founded 30 years ago. Therefore, it was worth taking on problems that would later become important to society as a whole. As for my opinion as to the course of the conference, everyone spoke with a tone of alarm and concern for every young person and personality. Such concern is the great humanitarian mission of the people in these services. It is only a shame that there are too few people willing to confront another person and help him overcome his problems. However, that problem is also improving somewhat. At our conference, many new membership cards were given to young trustees".

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YOUTH AFFAIRS COUNCIL VIEWS RURAL ISSUES

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Nov 86 p 5

[Text] A young person will only remain in a rural area only when he feels like the head of a household after finishing school, gains what he needs to start a family and can spend his free time in no worse a fashion than city dwellers. If these conditions are not met, it will be hard to stop the migration of rural youth into the cities and to therefore turn back the regeneration and social stratification of rural areas.

These statements were made on 6 November in Pila at a meeting between the Council of Ministers Committee on Youth and the National Directorate of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW]. The meeting was chaired by the committee vice-chairman, Aleksandr Kwasniewski, Youth Affairs Minister.

In recent years and for the first time since the end of World War II, there has been a drop in the migration of rural youth into the cities but this has brought about a slight increase in the number of youth employed in private farming. Therefore, many different departments now must intensify this process. This can be achieved by consistent realization of the government program to help young farmers.

"We must strive for perfection in agriculture," said the chairman of the ZMW National Directorate, Leszek Lesniak. We must advocate the ideal that an efficient and successful farmer is not an enemy of the system but someone who helps contribute income to the state, gives other a good example and motivates them to work. This is the first step toward creating a climate of social activity among rural youth".

The positions adopted at the plenary meeting will be sent to the appropriate authorities. Despite the fact that numerous legal acts and practical actions have been taken to give rural youth a better start in life, the situation has not improved in any tangible sense.

Participating in the meeting were the director of the PZPR Central Committee Department of Youth, Physical Education and Tourism, Jerzy Swiderski, secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee, Roman Szarek, and a member of the presidium of the SD Central Committee, Andrzej Lewinski.

OPZZ COMMENTS ON 'UNFAIR' PRICE INCREASES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8-9 Nov 86 p 8

[Text] Piotr Aleksandrowicz interviewed Stefan Koziaczy, the vice-chairman of the National Confederation of Trade Unions, in PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY and we are quoting the following passages:

[Answer] You accuse us of demanding wage hikes. That is putting the cart before the horse. We demand higher wages because prices are going up. If double-digit inflation continues, what are we supposed to do? We are not against any price movements because prices do have to go up a little in any healthy economy but we are against sudden increases. We made ourselves clear on that point and the government agreed with us. However, prices are suddenly jumping in large groups of products. For example, the cost of municipal bus and tram fare has jumped about 100 percent...

[Question] You speak out against unjustified price increases but what does that mean?

[Answer] Price increases are unjustified when they come from a monopoly on the production of certain goods. It is well known that a monopolist can manipulate prices in any manner he sees fit. Let us also look at the cost mechanism: the more expensively you produce an item, the higher the price and profits. We cannot allow that. Everything gets loaded into costs and producers are not required to save materials and energy or modernize their technology and that is absurd.

[Question] Are you for abolishing monopolies on the production and sale of goods?

[Answer] Yes. Recently, Chairman Miodowicz strongly demanded that the Marshall of Sejm see to it that an antimonopoly bill go before the next session".

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RADIO-TV REPORT-BACK CAMPAIGN NOTES TASKS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Nov 86 p 2

[Text] The participation of the staff of the Committee on Radio and Television in the realization of tasks set by the decrees of the 10th PZPR Congress was discussed on 8 November at a reports and elections conference of the committee's PZPR organization. Several hours of discussion preceded a speech by the committee chairman, Janusz Roszkowski, who devoted most of his remarks to the problems of artistic programming. Indeed, a recent public opinion poll indicated a constant growth of interest in radio and television programs but those who discussed the issue were far from satisfied with programming results so far. There were also discussed many other matters concerning the activities of this institution whose staff represents more than 100 different professions and specializations. It was emphasized that the main task of the party organization should be to inspire a creative process that will encourage radio and television programming to present the problems most important to the country and its inhabitants. There was also much discussion about the equipment used in both media as well as working conditions. The chairman of the PZPR Central Committee Propaganda Department, Jozef Barecki, took part in this meeting.

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REPORT-BACK CAMPAIGN FOCUS ON SMALL PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by Marek Badtke: "The Party After the 10th Congress -- To Overcome Mediocrity"]

[Text] Wloclawek. At the city Reports and Elections PZPR Conference in Aleksandrow Kujawski, Jerzy Mroczkowski asked if people really do not want to join the party. Using the example of his own party organization, a POP [primary party organization] delegate from the business establishment of the WZGS [Provincial Administration of Communal Cooperatives] disagrees.

"Where the party is strong, it has its principles and can defend them and at the same time, enjoys great authority among workers. Where people want to join the party, they identify with its program. A candidate-candidate group has been organized at the establishment. Like many other party non-members, these people also participate in open POP meetings. These meetings discuss," says the delegate, "important problems like the "Program of the 10th PZPR Congress" and everyday work issues".

The party must keep a finger on the pulse of life in the community in which it functions. The results of the work of the entire municipal party organization is the sum of the efforts of all 47 POP's operating in the city. "Generally speaking," says the first secretary of the PZPR municipal committee, Lucjan Knapik, "we have established a rhythm of growth".

However, next to the strong party units operating at WZGS, the Rural Transport Cooperative, the fire department and at Elektron, the activities of the POP in the Municipal Communal Management Enterprise, Prefabet and Prebud are unsatisfactory. The party organization at Budkruz, the largest production establishment in Aleksandrow, continually fails to meet the party's expectations.

"We have not become intoxicated with success," said a young delegate from the party organization at the State Automotive Enterprise, Andrzej Liniewski. It is a fact that the party has an ever-increasing influence over the life of the

city. At the same time, we see too few PZPR members active within the worker's councils, neighborhood committees and commissions of the people's council". The delegate also has concrete proposals for reactivating cooperation between the worker's councils of establishments and neighborhood self-government in Aleksandrow. "How can it be," he demands, "that in realizing four million zlotys worth of public work at the Piaski settlement, we have received more help from the Sluzewie Agricultural Circles' Cooperative than from Aleksandrow work establishments?".

This utterance corresponds with statements made by Zbigniew Kierzkowski, a tool-fitter from the Elektron Cooperative and chairman of the last city party control commission and another worker, Jan Krawczyk from Budkrusz, a delegate to the 10th PZPR Congress. "The consolidation of socialist self-government," said Zbigniew Kierzkowski, "requires that the party organization work patiently among the members of the worker's councils. This constitutes an important element of management with the place of employment and is an inseparable part of economic reform. That is where the road to socialization of economic processes leads. For the same reason, in our everyday party activities, we cannot forget the properly conducted personnel policy demanded by the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. At the same time, regardless of progress achieved in their management, some of the wrong people still hold important positions at work establishments in Aleksandrow".

The conference delegates adopted the proposed "City plan for realization of the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress in 1986-1990". I heard it said in the lobby where the meeting was held that it is easier in a small group to decide the issues "in a neighborly manner". The decisions of the conference were also influenced by the experiences of recent years in which many communal problems were settled independently and without considering what was being done "upstairs". Whole kilometers and streets and sidewalks were repaved, a covered pedestrian walkway was built over the railroad tracks and new heating boilers were installed at the housing settlement in the neighborhood of Parkowa. The growth of industry in Aleksandrow Kujawski has dispelled its reputation as just the "little town at the junction". Improvements in its communal management have improved the citizens' living conditions but it is nowhere so good that it could not be better.

12261

CSO: 2600/239

PILA PZPR PLENUM NOTES 'INCREASED ACTIVITY'

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by Wladyslaw Wrzask: "Plenum of the Pila Provincial PZPR Committee -- Tasks for the Primary Party Organizations"]

[Text] Pila. The PZPR reports and elections campaign in Pila Province has entered the decisive stage where the conferences in the primary party organizations [POP] are concluding. Factory conferences are continuing and the POP meetings have started. The realization of the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress and the course of the conferences in the POP's was evaluated during a plenum meeting of the provincial PZPR committee. The meeting was chaired by the first secretary of the provincial party committee, Michal Niedzwiedz.

The course of the provincial and POP conferences shows that the authority and strength of the POP's has increased. This is due to greater activity among the POP's and party members and this is confirmed by the number of new party membership cards given during the conference.

Considerable rotation has been noted among the party authorities, 50 percent of which is composed of people elected for their first time. Most of these newly-elected figures are workers and peasants. New first secretaries have been chosen in 9 POP's. These changes are positive and should improve the work of the individual POP's.

The Pila Provincial PZPR Committee approved a plan for realization of the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress and the 6th Provincial Reports and Elections Conference. This plan outlines the goals and hierarchy of tasks to be fulfilled by the Pila party organization.

12261

CSO: 2600/239

BRIEFS

JOURNALISTS ON LAW-ORDER ISSUE—"The mass media has a strong influence on the legal awareness of citizens, enhances the public's legal sense and strengthens the rule of law". This statement served as the point of departure for a discussion titled "Does Our Public-Affairs Journalism Answer Essential Social and Legal Problems?" which was organized and held in Warsaw on 6 November by the SD Social and Legal Writers' Club and the Polish Lawyers' Association. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Nov 86 p 2] 12261

PZPR-ARGENTINE CP CONTACTS--Buenos Aires (PAP)--During the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Argentina, Janusz Kubasiewicz, chairman of the Polish delegation, deputy Politburo member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, met with the secretary general of the Communist Party of Argentina, Athos Fava, and the director of that party's foreign department, Fanny Edelman. They presented their opinions about the internal situation in both countries, the party activities of the PZPR and Communist Party of Argentina, interparty cooperation and the basic problems of the international workers' movement. J. Kubasiewicz also met with the mayor of Buenos Aires, Ricardo Ostumi, and they exchanged views about problems in the functioning of capital cities and the possibilities and prospects for cooperation between Warsaw and Buenos Aires in many different areas. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8-9 Nov 86 p 2] 12261

PZPR CC LECTURERS TASKS NOTED—On 10 November at the headquarters of the PZPR Central Committee, Secretary Henryk Bednarski met with a group of distinguished PZPR lecturers. They discussed the tasks that party lecturers face in popularizing the achievements of the 10th Congress and means of improving party lectures. The Central Committee secretary thanked those present for their past and future work and stressed the role they have in consolidating the party ranks and in strengthening the party's ties with the working class and the rest of society. Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Central Committee's Ideological Department, was present at this meeting. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Nov 86 p 2] 12261

SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY VISIT—On the occasion of the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a delegation of Central Directorate of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society, led by the secretary of the Moscow District CPSU Committee and vice-chairman of the Central Directorate, Igor Klochkov, came to Poland on the invitation of the Central Directorate of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society [TPPR]. The delegation took part in central ceremonies honoring the anniversary of the victory of the Great October

Revolution in Warsaw and also met with activists of the TPPR from Bielsko-Biala, Krakow and Nowy Sacz provinces. At the end of their visit, the members of the delegation were received by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski and the chairman of the Central Directorate of the TPPR, Stanislaw Wronski. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Nov 86 p 2] 12261

SOVIET ARMY YOUTH VISIT—On the invitation of the Chief Political Directorate of the Polish Army, a delegation of the All-Union Leninist Communist Union of Soviet Army Youth led by Major Igor Yefimov visited Poland on 10 November. They met with the leaders of the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] and the Youth Council of the Polish Army to exchange experiences in youth indoctrination, patriotic instruction of soldiers and realization of training tasks. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Nov 86 p 2] 12261

MOSCOW CP DELEGATION VISITS--A delegation of the Moscow CPSU Committee arrived in Poland on 10 November for a working visit of several days. The delegation was led by a member of the Moscow CPSU Committee Executive Board, Maria Polishchuk, a textile worker at the Moscow Silk Works imeni P. Shcherbakov. On Monday, the guests from Moscow visited the steel plant and drawing division at the Huta Warszawa Steel Works and learned about the work of Warsaw steelworkers. During a meeting with the secretary of the PZPR committee at Huta Warszawa, the plant directors and social and youth activists, the delegation was informed about the growth of that establishment. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Nov 86 p 2] 12261

SOFIA CP SEEKS MORE CONTACTS—Increased cooperation between the Warsaw and Sofia party organizations was discussed on 10 November during a meeting between the secretariat of the Warsaw PZPR Committee and members of a delegation from the Sofia Municipal Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party who arrived in Warsaw on Monday. During the visit, the guests from Sofia and Secretary of the Sofia Municipal Bulgarian Communist Party Committee Vasil Tservenkov have visited various factories and historical places in Warsaw. On 10 November, the members of the delegation laid a wreath at the "Heroes of Warsaw" monument. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Nov 86 p 2] 12261

PZPR STUDY GROUP IN FRANCE--Paris (PAP)--At the invitation of the French Communist Party, a study group from the PZPR Central Committee led by the deputy director of the Ideological Department, Janusz Janicki, visited France on 2-9 November. The purpose of the visit was to become acquainted with the activities that the French Communist Party has conducted among the working class since its 25th congress. The delegation was received by a member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of that party, Maxime Gremetz. During the meeting, the state and prospects for interparty cooperation were discussed. The study group from the PZPR Central Committee visited the departments [states] of Loire Atlantique and Yvelines where they learned about the activities of French communists and the CGT union organizations at places of work and residence. The group spoke with the leaders of the federation of the French Communist Party in both departments and learned about the work of the municipal councils in which the communists hold a majority. Furthermore, the study group visited the Messidor Publishing House and spoke with the director of the Maurice Thorez Institute of Marxist Studies. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Nov 86 p 6] 12261

CSO: 2600/238

SUCSESSES, FAILURES IN COMBATTING RELIGION IN BRASOV

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Sep 86 pp 93-95

[Article by Maria Cozma: "Successes, But Failures, Too, in Combatting Religious Phenomena"]

[Text] One of the main objectives of party propaganda is to extensively promote the revolutionary concept of the world and life--historical and dialectical materialism--among the communists and among all the working people, and to educate them in a consistently materialist spirit.

In the light of this objective, the Brasov County Party Committee is carrying out intensive activities designed to study the realities and tailor actions to specific requirements, and to acquaint the cadres responsible for this field with the particularities of the contemporary religious phenomenon and of the religious situation in the country, and with the methodology employed to imbue the masses with scientific, atheistic ideas. Thus, with the assistance of the county authority for ideological and political-educational activities, which also has a workshop for the materialist-scientific education of the masses, and which is led by the most capable specialists, activists, and teaching cadres from the university faculty of social sciences, researchers from the local branch of the Research Center for Youth Problems, members of the county commission in charge of disseminating scientific-technical information, etc., studies and research have been carried out and tests have been performed in certain localities among various categories of working people, school children, students, and other young people concerning their religious beliefs, scientific and cultural knowledge, and participation in actions organized by party, trade union, communist youth, communist students, and other organizations.

The party county body has apprised the propaganda and cultural-educational activists of the results of these studies and is monitoring the dissemination of scientific, technical, and cultural information, the materialist education, and the measures taken to combat retrograde phenomena and practices in close coordination with the specific requirements and the situation prevailing in each locality and unit. Periodically, the materialist-scientific education workshop organizes classes for those assigned educational functions in this area: deputy secretaries in charge of propaganda activities, chairmen of the commissions for the dissemination of scientific-technical information, heads

of scientific teams, and propaganda activists. On these occasions they are briefed on the neoprotestant denominations and sects existing in the Brasov County, the background for the persistence of the religious phenomenon, the methods employed by the cults and sects to attract young people, the antisocial and inhuman nature of certain religious cults in the contemporary capitalist world, the efforts made by party bodies and organizations to diversify and expand the activities of materialist-scientific education, and so forth. Led and guided by the county party body, the above-mentioned workshop has compiled extensive aid material for the use of the party organizations and the various cadres working along this line: thematic studies, documentaries, maps, bibliographical lists, files, sets of diagrams and slides, films, photo exhibits, dictionaries, guides, etc., concerning the religious phenomenon and the materialist-scientific and atheist education of the masses. Following this model, materialist-scientific education workshops have been organized in the town of Zarnesti and the Cristian commune, and various other actions are being initiated at various points of political-ideological documentation in towns, communes, and enterprises--microworkshops or atheist education corners--where party activists and propagandists are being trained along this line.

One of the major lines of action among the masses concerns the dissemination of scientific and technical information. The county has 135 scientific teams, 52 cultural-scientific universities, 571 technical education facilities, 62 women's education facilities, 25 scientific-technical circles, 20 circles of scientific atheism known as the "Friends of Scientific Truth," and school lectures for parents. The purpose of these facilities is to expand the informational horizons of the people through various means--papers, debates, roundtables, scientific sessions, documentary films, book exhibits, demonstrations, etc.--and to help them understand on a scientific and materialist basis the processes and phenomena occurring in nature and in society, the achievements attained by the Romanian people during the socialist period, particularly after the ninth party congress, since Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has been leading the country, and the new human discoveries, so that they should come to the conviction that the world was not created by any supernatural force and that its development is due to objective laws of nature.

Extensive and complex events have become traditional within the framework of the "Song to Romania" national festival, such as: "Science, Technology, and Progress," "The Decade of Science, Technology, and Culture in the Fagaras," "Days of Rupean Culture," "Days of Zarnesti Culture," and so forth. Scientific teams are often dispatched to isolated workplaces and among categories of citizens more prone to idealistic outlooks, such as: forestry units, building sites, livestock farms, bachelor hostels, etc.

Under the guidance of the county council of political education and socialist culture and the committee for socialist culture and education, the other county and local educational cadres are making efforts to eradicate the mystical elements that have through the ages been superimposed on beautiful folk customs, which had originally been of a secular nature, such as the "Mountain Celebration" of the Fundaia commune, the "Young Men's Fair" of Sacele, the "Parade of Saxon Costumes" of Codlea, the "Fortress Celebration"

of Rupea, or the "Young Men of Brasov." All of these have been enriched and restored to the people as authentic folk customs that express the joy of working and of their new life, the natural change of seasons, etc. Efforts are also being made to secularly celebrate important events in people's lives: births, weddings, coming of age, or retirement.

The actions launched are many and varied. However, upon examining their effectiveness on the basis of the results obtained and, particularly, of the requirements of the program of measures to intensify the materialist-scientific education of the working people approved by the party leadership in May 1986, one notes that, as it also emerged from discussions with party activists and specialized cadres, Brasov County still needs to improve the quality of these activities. It has been suggested, for example, that the studies, which were made about 3 years ago, should be updated, widened to encompass the entire population of the county, and expanded in depth, in the sense of investigating the social causes of the active or latent persistence of certain mystical beliefs and practices. As Comrade University Professor Mihai Merfea stated, "In order to secure a greater success in these activities we must more closely coordinate the research, atheist propaganda, and practical actions of all the forces that converge on covering these key phases of the educational act." In reality, the steps taken in materialist-scientific education are unilateral, and aimed in particular at intensifying the dissemination of information. This is, of course, very important for shaping a scientific world outlook, but it is insufficient because it targets the domain of knowledge without touching upon the psychological, social, and traditional background of the phenomenon.

Note also that the dissemination of information addresses all the categories of citizens without making special efforts to reach primarily those affected by mysticism or religious practices. As Comrade Petru Istrate, the secretary of the county commission for the dissemination of science and technology, very correctly stated, "The lecturer does not always know whom he is addressing, who is in the audience, or whether those who most need to be educated along this line, are present."

"Research," said Comrade Dumitru Bortun, university assistant and scientific secretary of the Brasov branch of the Research Center for Youth Problems, "must be aimed not so much at the scope of the religious phenomenon, but at its specific forms of manifestation, in order to learn how and with whom to organize activities in keeping with educational requirements." "In our studies," said University Professor Akexandru Suciu, "as well as in practice we should no longer address the general issues, merely separating the two categories--religious and non-religious--but we must thoroughly study the various categories of believers and their degree of religiosity so as to be able to act in a differentiated manner, in keeping with the specific aspect of the phenomenon and in accordance with each microgroup, and even each case and each individual."

The efforts of the county party committee must be carried on by each party body and organization and must be reinforced by strict monitoring of the manner in which they pursue the materialist-scientific education of the masses and remove them from the influence of mysticism and obscurantism. Certain

situations encountered in the field emphasize the need for this requirement. Thus, for example, the City Party Committee of Zarnesti has not examined the situation in this area since April 1985, and that of Risnov for an even longer period of time. Almost 2 months after the publication of the program of measures approved by the party leadership, neither of those party bodies had worked out their own programs of activity. In point of fact, systematic efforts in this area are not featured in the working plans of the city party committees, nor in those of the councils of political education and socialist culture, and even less in those of party organizations active in various units, which shows that this type of activity is not pursued everywhere with the necessary resolution and competence, but is left, as a rule, to the cultural institutions and those in charge of disseminating scientific information. However, as is known, a phenomenon as complex as the one under discussion requires extensive, varied, concrete, and many-sided activities which, aside from disseminating scientific and technical information and popularizing the most up-to-date discoveries attesting the materialist nature of the world, must actively combat mystical and harmful ideas and practices, and must contribute to shaping atheist convictions and a progressive and revolutionary mentality in every communist, every member of the Union of Communist Youth, and every working person, as well as an effectively creative and genuinely democratic climate permitting the full assertion of the human personality. However, the two above-mentioned city committees do little enough along those lines. The City Party Committee of Risnov, for example, still does not pay sufficient attention to studying real situations and is not receptive to some of the concerns evinced by teaching cadres. It does not take a resolute stand toward party members engaging in certain religious practices. Thus, for example, the case of one of the women members of the organization bureau of one of the local school was brought to the attention of the general meeting for repeatedly attending certain religious ceremonies, but she was not disciplined in any way and was allowed to remain in the bureau; freely active in the city is a group of religious singers, which even includes among its members party members and members of the Union of Communist Youth. The party organizations should have talked to all of them, to those who attend church services or organize religious ceremonies to mark important events in their and their families' lives and (weddings, baptisms), and help them understand the retrograde nature of their belief in such observances and practices. Even more so since, as is known, participation in religious activities, or in the activities of religious leadership bodies, or of religious artistic groups is incompatible with the revolutionary outlook of the world and society and with the status of party membership.

The local press, bodies of propaganda and mass political work, posters, radio transmission stations, and artistic teams are not sufficiently sensitive to this matter. If properly steered, they can efficiently contribute especially to combatting certain mystical and retrograde phenomena, mentalities, and practices. As is well known, the county newspaper DRUM NOU and the magazine published by the council of the Union of Associations of Communist Youth of the Brasov university center have printed some material in which a stand is taken toward the anti-human character of certain religious sects in the capitalist world, but they would do just as well to combat the retrograde and harmful practices of sects and sect members in our country and in their own county, which ape the former in their behavior.

These are all sufficient arguments to warrant consistent and manysided efforts at materialist-scientific education, and a close coordination of the dissemination of information with the establishment of optimal conditions for fully asserting the human personality, and of a fertile working and living climate with a resolute attitude against mystical and obscurantist ideas and practices.

12782

CSO:2700/99

ESSAYS ON UNIFICATION OF TRANSYLVANIA WITH ROMANIA DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 11, November 1986 publishes on pp 1156-1157 a 1,400-word review by Gheorghe Tanase of a book edited by the historian Constantin Gh. Marinescu entitled "Transylvania in the History and Conscience of Romanians" (Iasi Institute for Medicine and Pharmacy, 1985.) The book is a collection of 28 articles and studies by Romanian historians from Bucharest, Iasi, Cluj-Napoca and Sibiu who took part in a colloquium held in Iasi in 1983 "dedicated to the 65th anniversary of Transylvania's Unification with Romania and the 125th anniversary of the Unification of Romanian Principalities."

The book is divided into three chapters. The first chapter contains 20 studies and articles dealing with Transylvania's unification with Romania and constitutes the bulk of the book. According to the editor, Gh. Platon comes to the conclusion that "Transylvania's role in the history of the Romanian people is equivalent to a part-whole relationship, in that after the political separation all the parts of the whole constantly yearned for reunification to restore their vital functions," and that "the need to achieve political unity, felt consciously by the nation as a whole, incorporated the entire heritage of our 2,000 years of historical life." N. Adaniloaie "demonstrates that the reforms brought about during the reign of Cuza created conditions necessary for the intensification of the struggle for independence and unification of all Romanians into one state." Ion Agrigoroaiei argues that "Romanian history from 1859 to 1918 is the history of preparatory struggles setting the stage for unification." Other contributors reached similar conclusions, e.g., "Romanian social classes acted together. Political parties in Transylvania and in the rest of the country harmonized their efforts and prepared, spiritually and materially, the conditions for political unification." Several historians argued that for Romanians "history represented not only an important intellectual concern but was also a part of the struggle for independence, unity and progress." Finally, five articles grouped at the end of the chapter deal with the role of Transylvania in the history of Romania "demonstrating that national solidarity triumphed in spite of political and social adversities, bringing to light the fact that the idea of unity, of the creation of a national state, had become a powerful force which mobilized thought and action."

Chapters II and III are shorter and contain the remaining eight studies and articles. Several of the articles are devoted to examining the relationship between Romanian and general history," arguing competently that foreign public opinion was in solidarity with the sacrifices of Romanians on the field of the struggle for nationhood."

The book features summaries in English and French, prepared by the editor, as well as a name index.

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1918 UNIFICATION, BACKGROUND SKETCHED BY HISTORIAN

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian No 11, Nov 86 and No 12, Dec 86

[Article by University Lecturer Dr Mircea Musat: "The Union--a Single Thought of All the Romanians"; first four paragraphs of Part I and first seven paragraphs of Part II are introductions]

[Nov 86 pp 2-6]

[Text] In the millennia-long history of the Romanian people, 1 December 1918 represents one of their basic dates. A time of fulfillment of the national-unity aspirations of the most advanced forces of Romanian society, of the broad masses of people, the accomplishment of the unitary national state inaugurated a new era in the Romanian people's historical evolution along the path of progress, of their free and independent affirmation among the peoples of the world. Looking at this time from the general perspective of our homeland's history, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "Considering the historically important role of the national states and the nations in the modern development of the peoples, as well as the role that the national states and the nations still have to play in mankind's development, there is no doubt that the attainment of the union constituted the most important event in the long history of the Romanian people."

Romanian historiography--especially in the last 2 decades--having as an example and a guide the work of the party's secretary general, whose orientations are of exceptional value for scientific research, devotes special attention to the events that marked out our people's long and heroic path of struggles and sacrifices for the attainment of national unity. The monographs, the studies and articles, and the volumes of memoirs and documents published in recent years have brought out new and important aspects of the broad social, economic, political, and cultural processes of the Romanian people's historical evolution along the path of national unity, a lawlike, objective phenomenon.

Continuing a traditional concern of our historiography, in which highly prestigious representatives of national culture--N. Balcescu, M. Kogalniceanu, B.P. Hasdeu, N. Iorga, I. Bogdan, and many others--have distinguished themselves over the years, staffs of researchers and archivists have expanded their systematic investigations into archives, museums, and libraries at home and abroad, preparing extensive collections of sources. A special place among

them is occupied by the six-volume series appearing under the title "Marturii. 1918 la romani. Desavirsirea unitatii national-statale a poporului roman. Documente externe" [Records. 1918 for the Romanians. The Accomplishment of the Romanian People's National State Unity. Foreign Documents], totaling 922 documentary pieces of great diversity (diplomatic correspondence and reports, press articles, excerpts from studies and works of foreign authors, agreements and treaties, documents from the archives of central, civilian, and military institutions of various states, private correspondence, etc.), expressing opinions and attitudes of heads of states and governments, ministers, diplomats, political, cultural, or military personalities, press correspondents, leaders of political organizations and parties, etc. They come to present the general picture of our people's struggle for national unity and freedom viewed in the general context of the struggle of the oppressed peoples for removing the yoke of foreign domination and for their free national affirmation.

Underscoring the justness of the Romanian people's cause, the respective documents bring out with particular clarity the fact the forging of the unitary national state was the enthusiastic and conscious work of the masses of people in our country, the natural result of the heroic struggle of the whole Romanian populace in all its historical provinces.

"A State Full of Life and Efficiency"

One of the ideas that recur constantly in many of the documents contained in the above-mentioned volumes is that of the unitary character of the Romanian people's struggle and the strong influence that the independent Romanian state's existence had on the Romanians in the territories under foreign domination. In this regard, the gaining of state independence, as a result of the war of 1877-1878, since which 110 years will soon have passed--an event that animated the whole Romanian being, including the Romanians in the territories under foreign domination--strongly stimulated the national liberation movement, increasing the feeling of national solidarity, of confidence in the nation's forces. Noting this phenomenon, the Austro-Hungarian minister to Bucharest reported to the foreign minister in Vienna on 6 March 1879: "Through Romania's entry among the independent states, this country has been formally given the right to forge, as it wishes, its future relations with the other states and especially with the neighboring empires; in fact, however, in this regard, all Romanians capable of thinking agree that it can be a question only of this problem: whether it is in the country's interest to seek support in Austria-Hungary or to rely on the neighbor to the east. As long as present-day Romania formed part of the Turkish Empire--the events of the last 20 years have showed this--the Paris treaty (of 1856) gave the various powers the opportunity, and not rarely the pretext as well, to have a direct influence on the affairs of this state. The trusteeship, sometimes of one power, sometimes of another, surfaced in accordance with the temporary political alignments. On the other hand, the Romanians, clever people, have known how to use for their purposes the lack of agreement and the rivalry among the great powers--which found their faithful reflection on this terrain--and thus to get nearer to the desired goal: independence."

The development of the feelings of national solidarity and the continual strengthening, on many planes, of the ties between the political circles in Romania and the conationals under foreign domination are phenomena often found in the documents of the time. F. Lachmann, an agent of the intelligence agencies in Vienna, was the author of extremely revealing reports in this regard. In August 1881, he went from Bucharest to Transylvania to gather information on the state of mind that prevailed among the Romanians there; on returning, he wrote an extensive report, dated September 1881, in which he mentioned, among other things: "The first objective of my trip was Brasov. There I visited several Romanians whom I knew earlier, including Muresianu, the owner of GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI, the banker Nicolau, a nephew of I. Bratianu, the lawyer Margineanu, Roman, a Royal Caesar captain, retired, and so on.

"With Muresianu senior, I became personally convinced that he unconditionally praises the principles in ROMANIA LIBERA. (Footnote 1) (A Bucharest newspaper published by D.A. Laurian, the son of A.T. Laurian, the scholar and militant forty-eighter [participant in the Romanian revolution of 1848].) In the discussion, he stressed several times...(that), in his opinion, it is logical for the Romanians to also direct their constant attention toward Romania, because only from there can they expect the fulfillment of their desire and thus would be freed from the chains under whose weight they now suffer.... Muresianu senior...belongs to the category of those diehard adherents of Greater Romania who have only a single goal before their eyes: to be united one day with their compatriots beyond the mountains.... In a well-known meeting place of the Romanians in Brasov, which was christened with the name 'Grivita' in 1877 and where, in the form of regular evening meetings, decisions are sometimes made that are not compatible with the state's principles of order, propaganda is continually produced with regard to the sharing of opinions in the sense of Greater Romania....

"The relations with Romania have developed strongly of late.... Intellectuals of the Romanians in Transylvania are working quite systematically to paint for the masses, in the most beautiful colors, the happy conditions of existence in the national state, and in this way, the aspiration of seeking the fulfillment of their desires in Bucharest has gradually possessed the masses.... In addition to this, for some time, marriages between the Romanians in the kingdom and those in Transylvania have occurred remarkably often and the existing ties are thus becoming even more ramified and closer.... Ever since a kingdom (of Romania) arose in the immediate vicinity, only a policy for Greater Romania has been propagated...."

A memoir written in 1881-1882 by Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister Gustav Kalnoky about the situation of the nationalities within the dual monarchy acknowledged the fact that the Romanian people's national interests "go beyond the country's political borders"; at the same time, it pointed out that the existence of the independent Romanian state represented strong support for the national liberation and unity movement of all the Romanians: "Raised from modest beginnings, the Romanian state has known how to gain, first, recognition of its independence, then, gradually, international rank and position. The capacity for cultural development, in the sense of the ideas of a modern state, cannot be denied to the Romanian people. The activation of their

national spirit led to the formation--and, according to all estimates, to a lasting formation--of a state, not perfect, of course, but absolutely full of life and efficiency.

"Under any circumstances, it would be hard to prevent the recoil of these facts on the Romanian subjects of Stephen's Crown.... Even when still unprejudiced Romanians have taken into consideration the position of their people, so numerous in Hungary, they have felt obliged to complain of neglect and disregard from the center. Their representation in the Hungarian Diet has always been minimal. Not one Romanian is or has ever been in a prominent public office. A path to state positions in the Hungarian capital has not been opened for any Romanian talent for whom the way to Bucharest was paved....

"It was inevitable for the eyes of the Romanians in Hungary to be directed often toward the state related as kin, which...has raised itself to membership in the family of European peoples, with equal rights on an international level, which is increasing its forces, expanding its military capacity, underrated at first, and which has clearly obtained power and prestige abroad. (The Romanian state) has gladly offered asylum for the present and hope for the future to all discontented elements. Romania's population has enthusiastically united its voice in complaints about denationalization and highhandedness...." In conclusion, the memoir noted the justness of the ethnographic viewpoint, according to which: "Austria-Hungary is surrounded exclusively by states that have a national interest in the monarchy's being dissolved...with a view to the consolidation of the states that are within its borders."

"The Romanian Movement Is a Popular Movement"

Many other documents contained in the above-mentioned volumes refer to the intensification of the policy of national and social oppression conducted by the Austro-Hungarian authorities against the Romanians and the other nationalities within the dualist empire, a policy that was materialized in a long series of reactionary, discriminatory laws and measures that sought to limit political and economic rights and freedoms, raising all kinds of obstacles in the path of the free affirmation, on egalitarian principles, of all the nationalities.

In a report written in May 1890, after a trip to Transylvania, the English consul to Budapest, Sir Arthur Nicolson, made a number of judgments and findings in connection with the state of discontent that prevailed among the Romanians there: "In 1868, yielding to the demands of the Hungarian Government, the Vienna court sanctioned the merger of Transylvania with the newly founded Hungarian monarchy.... Transylvania was completely incorporated into Hungary, divided into several comitats, and, as far as possible, erased from the political map as a distinct national organism.... During the visit that I recently made to Transylvania, I found among all categories of Romanian intellectuals a feeling of general discontent based on more concrete and more serious claims.... In addition to this, which is specific to the situation in Transylvania, not only is sympathy openly expressed in Romania for the claims of their brothers, but also means for helping to ease their situation have been found recently in that country."

Stressing the formal character of the 1868 law on nationalities, the English consul noted: "On all sides, both that of the Saxons and that of the Romanians, unanimity has existed in asserting that, except for just a few isolated cases, all the provisions of the law are practically a dead letter."

In connection with the English diplomat's findings and judgments, the German consul in Budapest, in a report to the chancellor of Germany, wrote: "My English colleague recently took a trip to Transylvania, and he committed to paper the impressions that he formed there, in a long report sent to the Foreign Office. Sir Arthur Nicolson had the kindness to allow me to take cognizance of the things written in his report. Since it contains contributions to knowledge of the atmosphere among the Romanians, which are not without interest, I have prepared a fragmentary translation of it, which I have the honor to send, with all respect, to Your Excellency.

"As main causes of the discontent of the Romanians...(in Transylvania and Hungary), the following four are mentioned in the report: the Magyarization of schooling, the gagging of the press, the special laws for elections in Transylvania and the election abuses, and the exclusion of the Romanian element from almost all public offices....

"I take the liberty, with all respect, of noting that the English representative has already lived in Pest for several years, studies the country and the people in detail, and, according to the general opinion, is a person who thinks clearly and calmly.... The observations made about Transylvania by me, in the short period that I have held this position, coincide in all respects with those of my English colleague, who, moreover, even more harshly in his oral statements than in his report, condemns as wrong and futile the policy of Magyarization conducted by the Hungarian Government."

The memorialist movement in 1892-1894 had a strong response in international public opinion. (Footnote 2) (MAGAZIN ISTORIC, Nos 7-8, 1978, and No 9, 1980) On that occasion, the whole world was able to see the justness of the Romanian people's cause and the demagogic, reactionary character of the policy of the Austro-Hungarian authorities, their determination to brutally suppress any attempt to rise in struggle for national rights and freedoms. The trial staged by the authorities against the Romanian political leaders provoked strong reactions in the progressive public opinion in various countries. Referring to the situation in Transylvania, "where the aspirations of nearly 3 million Daco-Romanians tend visibly toward Bucharest," W. van den Steen de Leahy, an adviser of Belgium's legation in Vienna, in a report on 16 September 1893, stressed: "In its latest 'political review,' the newspaper L'INDEPENDANCE BELGE devotes the following lines to the recent Hungarian-Romanian disputes: 'At present, the persecution against the Romanians is no longer an illusion, but a sad reality! The incidents in the Cluj trial caused a great stir in Romania. Abroad, in the French, Italian, and English press, the Transylvanians are receiving encouragement that has not been expressed until now. Through the brutality of its proceedings, the Hungarian Government has provoked a distinct wave of sympathy in support of the oppressed, and it is possible to foresee the time when the Romanian problem will become a European problem.'

"This conclusion is accurate. We also find it in articles in REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE, JOURNAL DES DEBATS, and TIMES."

Written a few years after the strong political unrest caused by the memorialist movement and the trial brought by the Austro-Hungarian authorities against the leaders of the Romanians in Transylvania, the report of 1 November 1897, composed by J. Szilassy, the attache of the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Bucharest, and sent to Minister Plenipotentiary A.L. von D'Aehrenthal, contains very revealing information on the grave situation of the Romanians within the dualist monarchy and the development of their struggle for national emancipation. The author of the report had made a trip to Transylvania and his statements were based on observations on the spot: "There is not--I believe--any doubt that the Romanian people in Hungary and especially their intellectuals, who bear in their heart a lively interest in the 'Romance idea,' are discontented with their fate.... I do not believe that it is wrong when it is asserted that the Romanian movement is a popular movement, a 'termeszteti oszton' (natural tendency), as a state notary in the vicinity of Cluj told me...."

"I have had some occasions to become convinced of the sincerity of this tendency in the intellectuals as well as the simple peasants; I also recall here a worker from Apahida, who bore a Hungarian name, but who dictated to his notary some information in the Romanian language. Asking him about his nationality, he gave me in the best Hungarian language the proud response 'Roman vagyok' (I am Romanian). At the place of a clergyman, with a higher rank, whom I visited unexpectedly, I found the rooms decorated with Romanian colors. It happened more than once that I saw the people's eyes sparkling when those with whom I was speaking learned that I had come from Bucharest and they thought that they saw in me a citizen of Romania!..."

The exposition and the festivities organized in Bucharest in 1906, on the occasion of 40 years since King Carol's arrival in the country, provided an opportunity for strong manifestations of the feelings of national solidarity. Through the participation of many delegations of Romanians from Banat, Bucovina, Transylvania, and so on, the festivities took on a strong national political character. In the years that followed, such ties were continued and developed, with the Cultural League proving to be an especially active organization in preparing for the attainment of national unity.

One of the actions sponsored by the Cultural League was held in Iasi in the spring of 1908. Regarding its course and character, here is what the Turkish consul in Iasi wrote on 7 May 1908: "Societies and committees have been formed (in Romania) for the purpose of strengthening the existing ties with their brothers in Bucovina and Transylvania.... The newspapers and magazines--the number of the latter has grown considerably of late--are contributing greatly to this mission.

"The Romanian Government, which pretended for a long time to ignore the existence of the 'Romanian Cultural League'--whose apparent purpose is the cultivation of the language and the spiritual growth of the Romanians outside the kingdom, but which, at bottom, is a political league...--ended by recognizing this institution as a juridical person.

"The group visits of the Romanians from Bucovina and Transylvania had, until now, the appearance of a private initiative; the Romanian Government tried hard to not awaken at all the sensibility of its Austro-Hungarian neighbors, but as these visits become more frequent, the government's caution also tends to weaken. Thus, on the 19th instant, invited by the city hall of Iasi, 700 inhabitants of Bucovina, belonging to all classes of the population, but the majority of them being students of both sexes and peasants, were the guests of the Moldavians for 3 days. The reception that was given to them by the whole population could not have been warmer and more cordial. The presence of all the authorities, even the prefect in person and the whole elite of Iasi, was noted at the railroad station. The city was decorated and lighted. On their arrival, the people from Bucovina were received with shouts of 'Long live Bucovina!' The enthusiasm was so great that you would have believed that a victory was being celebrated. Moreover, public opinion interprets these manifestations as a first step toward union.

"During these love feasts, which lasted 3 days, the Romanians forgot that their guests were subjects of His Majesty Emperor Franz Joseph; all their toasts were for King Carol's health, for Bucovina, and for Romania, and not one word for the emperor-king."

We have commented on only a few of the many relevant documents concerning the development of the Romanian people's struggle for national freedom and unity at the end of the 19th century and the start of our century. They bring out the fact that the accomplishment of national state unity had become a lawlike necessity of the Romanian people's evolution, whose attainment had to be an act of will of the whole populace, aware of its historical mission and determined to plan its own fate in freedom.

[Dec 86 pp 2-5]

[Text] The year 1918 has gone down in the history of the Romanian people, above all, as the year of the culmination of the centuries-long struggle for national unity, of the fulfillment of the aspirations of all Romanians to live together in their ancestral homeland, in which they would work and would sacrifice themselves if necessary for their people and country. Dictated by objective laws, having as a basis factors of millennia-long historical unity--the community of origin, of language, of belief and culture, of territory, of political, economic, and social organization--the Union of 1 December 1918 represented an objective necessity of the evolution of Romanian society, for whose attainment all the people, from the broad masses to the state's leadership personnel, acted in complete accord.

"The forging of the unitary Romanian national state," the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, says, "was thus the result of the struggle of the main classes and strata of society, of our whole populace, an expression of the objective laws of social and national progress, which secured the full and everlasting unity of our nation, opening the way for its stronger and stronger affirmation in the economic and political life of the world."

World War I, during which, beginning in August 1916, Romania made an important contribution to the defeat of the militarism of the Central Powers, brought out even more strongly the Romanian people's desire for freedom, for a free and independent life. The outbreak of the revolution in Russia, the collapse of czarism and the victory of the Great Socialist Revolution in October 1917, and the military defeats suffered by the Central Powers in 1918 hastened the process of decomposition of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was no longer able to oppose the strong movement for national liberation of the oppressed peoples. The proclamation of the Republic of Austria, after the general strike declared on 30 October 1918, marked only the start of a broad national-democratic revolutionary movement that, in less than a month, put an end to the existence of the dualist Austro-Hungarian state.

The revolutionary events manifested themselves with growing force in Transylvania. From the close collaboration of the Social Democratic Party and the Romanian National Party--under the impetus of the struggle of the broad masses--and their full agreement on the urgent problems of that historical time, the Central Romanian National Council [CNRC] was created (31 October 1918), as the only political body of the Romanians, "the supreme and sole political forum of the Romanian people in Hungary and Transylvania," having the high mission of leading the struggle to gain national freedom and forge the unitary Romanian national state.

The creation of the CNRC was the signal for a vast movement to organize the struggle of the Romanians in Transylvania, Banat, Crisana, and Maramures. Suitable directing bodies that took power in the territories inhabited by Romanians were created in a very short time. The local national councils, especially of the counties, carried out a vast campaign around the idea of uniting Transylvania with Romania and kept public peace and order.

Acting firmly as their sole forum, "which represents the will of the Romanian people and relies on the free decision provided by the spirit of the time and by the will of the peoples," the CNRC, relying on the support of the broad masses of people, prepared for the National Assembly of Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918--a plebiscitary formula of deep people's-democratic inspiration with old roots in Romanian history--which, through its vote, gave to the age-old desire for unity the basis of the fact accomplished "forever."

The historical tradition of the Romanian people confirms the fact that, before making important decisions, the great national and military leaders and the leaders of the social and political struggles assembled the broad masses of people and consulted them on the paths to follow. In December 1918, the recollection of the grand people's assemblies in Cimpeni, Pades, Blaj, Islaz, and Filaret and those in 1858-1859 and 1877 persisted in the memory of the generation of political leaders called upon to legitimate the historic act of concluding the process of forging the unitary Romanian national state. Expressing the whole populace's will for union, the CNRC, at the proposal of the Socialists, decided that the broad masses of people would be consulted expressly with a view to the act of uniting Transylvania with Romania.

"In the Borders of Ancient Dacia"

The Romanian people's inflexible will to be united into a single state, on the basis of their historical rights, and the broad actions performed in that period also had a strong response in the consciousness of international public opinion--a fact also confirmed by the many documents which came from various diplomats, press correspondents, political figures, and representatives of the state bodies and institutions in various countries and which have been collected in the six volumes appearing under the title "Marturii. 1918 la romani. Desavirsirea unitatii national-statale a poporului roman. Documente externe," on some of which comments were made in the last issue of the magazine. Thus, in the report of the supreme head of Caras Severin Comitat to Minister of Nationalities Oszkar Jaszi of the Hungarian Government, dated November 1918, we read: "Information according to which groups of citizens, belonging to the Romanian population, want to take public power, set up councils, and require the leaders of the administration (first praetor, notary public) to relinquish their posts is being sent to me from various places in the comitat. According to the information, they are not unruly elements, but Romanian citizens who feel that...the public power here must belong to them, since they form the majority."

The events that occurred then in Transylvania were analyzed with special attention by responsible personalities of the time, to help their governments establish suitable measures and policy. On 9 November 1918, the French ambassador to the United States telegraphed to Paris, in connection with the note through which the American Government recognized the right of the Romanians to fulfill their national aspirations: "The American note referring to Romania," he stated, "...was recently published.... The Government of the United States will not (lose) sight of the aspirations of the Romanian people beyond as well as within the borders of the (Romanian) kingdom. The same government, which sympathizes with the spirit of national union and with the aspirations of the Romanians, will exert its influence everywhere, at the proper time, so that the just territorial and political rights of the Romanian people may be recognized and protected from any foreign aggression."

Many documents commented on the course of the Grand National Assembly of 1 December 1918, stressing the patriotic enthusiasm of the masses and the spirit of democracy of the documents adopted. In a telegram on 2 December 1918 from the German consulate for Hungary, the course of the Assembly of Alba Iulia was described as follows: "Great masses of people have come from all parts of Transylvania for several days; about 100,000 people participated in the assembly.... For the national assembly, 680 elected representatives were sent from 123 districts. The number of those with a mandate was 1,128, including women and soldiers. All of the Romanian bishops appeared. The assembly was opened at 10:30.... George Pop and Ioan Papp, bishop of Arad, were elected as chairmen, and Teodor Mihali, Stefan Cicio-Pop, and Socialist Ion Fluieras, as vice chairmen. The resolution, consisting of nine points, was presented by Vasile Goldis and unanimously accepted with tumultuous enthusiasm.... The national assembly expresses its desire for the peace congress to recognize the federation of all free peoples, in which the small peoples would also find their sure prosperity. The national assembly salutes all the peoples of the former

monarchy, held in bondage until now: Czechoslovaks, Germans, Austrians, southern Slavs, Poles, and Ruthenians. It salutes free Bucovina, which has already united with Romania."

Revealing comments and judgments are contained in the report of the minister of Spain in Bucharest, sent to the government in Madrid on 5 December 1918: "While official and popular festivities and events with which the return (of the government and the authorities) to the capital of the kingdom is being celebrated are occurring in this city (Bucharest), acts of incalculable importance are occurring beyond the borders of the old Romania.

"What has already happened once and for a shorter period of time, as long as the reign of Romanian Prince Michael the Brave lasted, in 1600, namely the fact that all the Romanian people were united in the borders of Trajan's ancient Dacia, will apparently be achieved again, and not by force of arms, but through the free will of the provinces that make up this country....

"On the date of 20 November, the Great Council of the Romanian People in Hungary and Transylvania addressed a proclamation to all the Romanians beyond the Carpathians, appealing to them with patriotic promptings to perform the acts that history asks of them.

"Urging them to display their national will, this proclamation summons the Romanians in Hungary and Transylvania to decide their fate within a national assembly that will be held in the historic city of Alba Iulia (which was precisely the one that the prince of all the Romanians, Michael the Brave, chose as capital of his kingdom).

"Sunday, 1 December, is the day set for electing the assembly, for which the Romanian bishops in Hungary and Transylvania and part of the high clergy of the two Romanian denominations, two delegates for each cultural society, two delegates for each women's association, one representative for each civilian school and institute, two delegates for each professional association, one officer and one soldier, as representatives of the army, for each district, two delegates for each association of workers, delegates of the Romanian Social Democratic Party, as a representative of the workers, two delegates for each group of university students, and five representatives for each territorial district were called.

"Thus, all the classes that make up the society in those areas will be represented. It is easy to understand the impatience with which a decision is awaited, the hope being nourished that it will be for union with the rest of the Romanian people, with Greater Romania thus being formed."

"To Free Their Brothers"

Here also is a short item published in the French newspaper LE MATIN on 6 December 1918: "The Romanian National Committee in Transylvania has proclaimed in Crisana, Banat, and Maramures the union of the Romanian areas with the Kingdom of Romania.

"The Romanian flag flutters on all public buildings. The enthusiasm is indescribable. On the streets the people cry and kiss one another. The old Saxon areas (colonies) in Transylvania, which have shared the suffering with the Romanians for centuries, partake of their joy with heart and soul."

On the same date, 6 December 1918, a telegram of France's minister to Sweden referred, in revealing terms, to the events in Transylvania: "The preparations for the National Assembly of Alba Iulia were magnificent. Continually, special trains transported Romanian population, estimated at 100,000 people, who hailed Greater Romania and King Ferdinand. The newspapers underscore the exuberant enthusiasm and the patriotic frenzy, but the great dignity of this multitude (illegible word). I will telegraph immediately after the arrival of the newspapers."

Here also are the on-the-spot impressions expressed by the agent of the German consulate in Bucharest, in a report on 11 December 1918: "On my trip from Sibiu to Budapest, I had the opportunity to speak with various Romanian intellectuals who were coming from the People's Assembly of Alba Iulia. Since I know the Romanian language as well as the German language and since I was traveling in civilian clothes, the Romanians set aside the reserve maintained toward fellow passengers, so that their stories became interesting. The information that I convey below comes especially from the Greek Orthodox archbishop of Lugoj and from a nephew of the well-known nationalist leader (Stefan) Pop-Cicio.

"An immense mass of people from all parts of Transylvania and Banat participated in the Assembly of Alba Iulia. Some speak of a crowd of up to 100,000 people. Even if this number seems exaggerated, just the huge crowd on our train alone indicated a great multitude.... All the leaders of the Romanians in Transylvania and Banat are declaring, from the very beginning, for an unrestricted democracy."

From a report of Belgium's minister to Bucharest, dated 27 December 1918: "A national congress held in Alba Iulia on 1 December declared the complete union of the Romanian regions in Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania, regions mentioned in the very document of union. It says that by Transylvania is meant not only Transylvania but also the whole region located in the territory of the ancient Kingdom of Hungary, inhabited by a Romanian population.

"A delegation came to Bucharest several days ago to announce to the king the decision of the Romanians beyond the mountains. His majesty, through a decree-law with the date of the same day, sanctioned this union.

"The Directing Council of the inhabitants in Transylvania is authorized, up to the actual and total unification, to conduct and administer the affairs beyond the mountains, with the exception of those referring to foreign policy, the army, posts and telegraph, the state's general security, monetary circulation, customs, and state loans, which will depend on the central government in Bucharest.... (The new provinces) are represented within the government in Bucharest by, respectively, one, two, and three ministers without portfolio...."

Finally, we reproduce several passages from the study "Transylvania," by the illustrious professor of geography at the Sorbonne, Emmanuel de Martone, who was to hold the position of secretary general of the Study Committee within the Paris Peace Conference. His conclusions are an illustration of the justness of the Romanian people's cause, a plea on the basis of historical truth for the basic rights of the Romanians to live free and united in their ancestral abode: "For the general public, the Romanian claims boil down to one word: Transylvania. The Romanians entered the war primarily to free their Transylvanian brothers.... The problem of Transylvania could be conveyed in a few words if we were to confine ourselves to the general aspects. It is indisputable that the Romanians form the majority of the population; the steps taken by the Hungarian Government before and during the war (in 1914-1918) prove sufficiently that a regime of strong coercion was considered necessary in this province....

"What is the real situation of the Romanians in Transylvania? Is it possible to dispute the fact that they form the majority of the population?"

"...It seems that the most numerous element of a region's population, the one that covers the widest area, should be considered, until proof to the contrary, the oldest and most vigorous. From the day on which they began to have self-awareness, the Romanians in Transylvania have proclaimed themselves descendants of the Dacians romanized by Trajan.... Transylvania, Banat, and Oltenia form the redoubt where the romanized Dacian population is preserved (after Aurelian's withdrawal)....

"Transylvania's ethnography can be summarized as follows: It was a Romanian area originally, where the Romanians still constitute three-fourths of the population, despite the introduction of the Hungarian elements, which are struggling to consolidate themselves and are obtaining apparent successes, and despite the introduction of the German elements, which are threatened by absorption. The Romanian population is not only the oldest but also the most vigorous, so much so that the region, taken in itself, seems destined to become more and more Romanian....

"The idea of a possible union with the brothers beyond the Carpathians has reached the most remote villages of Transylvania.... Romanian Transylvania is in the situation of the other oppressed nationalities in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Their representatives, meeting in Rome (Footnote 1) (It is a question of the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Austria-Hungary, held in Rome between 9 and 12 April 1918, which sanctioned each people's right to form itself into an independent state or to be united with its national state, if such already exists) with those of the Czechs and Yugoslavs, proclaimed their wish to be united with free Romania...."

The union of all the provinces inhabited by Romanians into a single state crowned the centuries-long struggle waged by the Romanian people in the heavy storms of history. It righted the wrongs committed in the course of history by the absolutist empires that, relying on force or through diplomatic intrigue, through conquest, or by profiting from circumstances unfavorable to the Romanians, occupied parts of the Romanian national territory. The Union

of 1918 did not belong to one social class, one party, or one political group, but constituted the energetic act of all the people. It impressed itself on mankind as an act of dignity and conscious will of the Romanian people, producing a strong international response. The national documents of the representative assemblies in 1918 were adopted by the state power and ratified at the end of 1919, thus also becoming legal documents from an international legal viewpoint. Stressing firmly the legitimacy of the Great Union's documents, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu specified that "the formation of the unitary Romanian national state was not the result of agreements made at the negotiating table, but the result of the struggle of all the people, animated by the age-old aspiration of unity, by the determination to fulfill the dream for which so many generations of forebears fought and sacrificed themselves."

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BRIEFS

FOREIGN TRADE PERSONNEL CHANGE--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Alexandru Rosu is relieved of his position as minister state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation and Comrade Traian Dudas is appointed minister state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 2, 17 Jan 87 p 1] /8309

PEOPLES COUNCILS CHANGES--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that: Comrade Costica Stoica is delegated to be chairman of the Executive Committee of the Suceava County Peoples Council; Comrade Iosif Szasz is delegated to be chairman of the executive committee of the Caras-Severin County Peoples Council; Comrade Iuliu Fejes is delegated to be first vice-chairman of the executive committee of the Harghita County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 2, 17 Jan 87 p 2] /8309

NEW AMBASSADOR TO UNESCO--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Tache is recalled from his position as Ambassador, permanent delegate of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO) in Paris. Comrade Petre Gigea is accredited as ambassador, permanent delegate of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO) in Paris. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 2, 17 Jan 87 p 2] /8309

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