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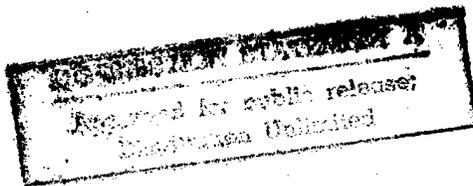
22 August 1983

19981027 104

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2188



DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 4

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

22 August 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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DECREE FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF IDEAS ON 1300TH STATE ANNIVERSARY

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 8 Jul 83 pp 691-692

[Decree No. 21 of the Council of Ministers, dated 24 June 1983, on the Creation of Conditions for the Development and Enlarging of Ideas and Purposes of the 1300th Anniversary of the Bulgarian State, signed by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Grisha Filipov, and the Chief Secretary of the Council of Ministers, Ivan Shpatov]

[Text] The celebration of the 1300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state has been a powerful stimulus in the overall activity in the political, economic and spiritual spheres to the heightening of the Bulgarian people's self-esteem and to the inculcation of a spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism in the working people and youth. The work done by the National Anniversary Committee under the leadership of the chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, Todor Zhivkov, has met with wide response and recognition here and abroad. The contribution of Lyudmila Zhivkova as chairman of the Coordination Commission and the Operations Bureau of the National Anniversary Committee and as initiator of major domestic and international undertakings was great. The positive results achieved create conditions for further implementation of the long-term prospective program and for continuation of this nationally useful activity.

For further development and enlarging of the ideas and purposes of the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state and in conformity with Decision No. 128 of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Council of Ministers hereby decrees as follows:

Article 1. (1) With effect from 1 July 1983 the Operations Bureau of the National Committee for Celebration of the 1300th Anniversary of the Bulgarian State shall be converted into the "Bulgarian 13th-Centennial" Coordination Bureau, which shall be included in the structure of the Central Administration of the Committee for Culture and shall carry out its activity on the basis of a state and voluntary public organization.

(2) The Coordination Bureau shall:

1. Coordinate the work of departments and organizations in the implementation of long-term prospective programs in connection with the celebration of the 1300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state;

2. Coordinate the search within our country and abroad for documentary materials relating to Bulgaria's historical development and the building of socialism;
3. Organize and coordinate the "Bulgarian 13th-Centennial" publishing program;
4. Coordinate the celebration of notable national anniversaries, of eminent creative people and builders of Bulgaria;
5. Enlist--on voluntary public basis--outstanding creative artists, cultural and public figures, representatives of various departments, institutes and organizations in the implementation and further development of activities associated with the 13th centennial of the founding of the Bulgarian state.

(3) The chairman of the Committee for Culture shall approve the regulations governing the activity of the Coordination Bureau, its structure and table of organization.

Article 2. (1) The Coordination Bureau and the State and Voluntary Public Organization "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund" may enlist specialist pensioners--for service on a voluntary public basis--to perform specific missions, with remuneration paid to them in conformity with article 6, paragraph 1 of Decree No. 138/1974 of the Council of Ministers and the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions (published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No. 7/1974; amended and supplemented in Nos. 36 and 65/1975, No. 26/1976, Nos. 65 and 92/1977, Nos. 7 and 69/1978, Nos. 17 and 33/1979, Nos. 29 and 56/1980 and No. 8/1982).

(2) Coopted pensioners, appointed in conformity with subparagraph 8 of paragraph 4 of Order No. 15/1978 of the Council of Ministers, shall retain their present labor remuneration as long as they hold their position.

Article 3. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Committee for Culture, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and other departments and organizations shall continue their contacts with national anniversary committees abroad for the celebration of the 13th centennial of the Bulgarian state and, in keeping with the conditions in each country, shall concentrate their work on signaling notable dates and events and on other activities devoted to Bulgaria, at the same time cooperating with the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation and the Banner of Peace Assembly.

Article 4. Ministries and other departments shall, in coordination with voluntary public organizations:

1. Continue their activity in line with current programs for further development and enlarging of ideas and purposes of the 13th centennial of the Bulgarian state;
2. Render assistance to the Coordination Bureau in implementing long-term programs and in achieving the missions and purposes connected with the celebration

of Bulgaria's 13th centennial and the commemoration of notable events and personalities in Bulgarian history, in the modern socialist era etc.

Article 5. The State and Voluntary Public Organization "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund" shall be included in the framework of the "Artistic Creative Work, Cultural Activity and Mass Information Media National Complex" as an independent, budget-funded juridical person, with headquarters located in Sofia and the object of its activity being as follows: to register and administer the personal and real property, financial resources and other rights that are donated or bequeathed by natural and juridical persons from Bulgaria and foreign countries for the benefit of the fund, of the Bulgarian state and of the socialist organizations; and to provide, through the resources of the fund, for the establishment of important projects in the spiritual sphere and for the further development of cultural activity and other social spheres, as well as other activities related to the organization's purposes.

Article 6. (1) The overall management of the activity of the State and Voluntary Public Organization "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund" in respect of the raising and disbursement of moneys, the administration of properties and the exercise of the rights of the fund shall be accomplished by a board of managers consisting of the following: chairman--chairman of the Committee for Culture; first deputy chairman--minister of finance; deputy chairman--deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the general director of the State and Voluntary Public Organization "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund," as well as the following members: representatives of the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Construction and Architecture, the State Tourism Committee, the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, the National Council of the Fatherland Front, the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, the Committee for Bulgarians Abroad, and the Central Council for Physical Education and Sports.

(2) The representatives of the departments and voluntary public organizations indicated in the foregoing paragraph shall be proposed personally by their heads. The membership of the board of managers shall be approved by the respective deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

(3) The day-to-day management of the State and Voluntary Public Organization "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund" shall be accomplished by the general directorate, which shall provide administrative control and financial accountability of the fund.

Article 7. (1) In performing the functions related to the object of its activity the State and Voluntary Public Organization "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund" shall integrate donor activities in Bulgaria and foreign countries, as follows:

1. By setting up temporary ad hoc groups with their own table of organization in Bulgaria and abroad for the purpose of organizing donor campaigns and economic activities by decision of the board of managers;

2. By issuing agitprop materials about donations and its own activity;
3. By financing measures approved by the board of managers;
4. By channeling and controlling the use of monetary and in-kind donations in keeping with the requirements of financial and planning discipline and with the desire of the donor or devisor and subject to observance of the applicable national legislation;
5. By offering moral and material incentives for donors and devisors in keeping with the Ukase On the Provision of Moral Incentives in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

(2) The State and Voluntary Public Organization "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund" shall have sections in the okrugs and in Sofia and commissions in the country's conurbation systems.

Article 8. (1) The state shall ensure compliance with the wish of donors and devisors by the State and Voluntary Public Organization "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund."

(2) Donations, bequests and activities in conformity with this decree shall be exempt from the payment of state and local taxes, fees and duties.

(3) The Ministry of Justice shall render assistance in the timely formalization of donations and bequests in favor of "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund."

(4) All hitherto existing funds and moneys associated with donor activity in accordance with article 5 in Bulgaria and in foreign countries shall be transferred to "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund."

Article 9. The State and Voluntary Public Organization "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund" shall perform its functions and missions in close coordination and cooperation with the Lyudmila Zhivkova International Foundation and the "Bulgarian 13th-Centennial" Coordination Bureau. The fund may fund activities related to implementation of the purposes and missions of the foundation.

Article 10. (1) Donations from foreign natural and juridical persons and from Bulgarian citizens, as well as from departments, unions of creative artists, from labor initiatives and from national ad hoc campaigns shall be paid to the central "Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund."

(2) Monetary donations received by okrug funds from juridical persons shall be distributed as follows: 85 percent for the given okrug fund and 15 percent for the central "Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund." Monetary donations received by okrug funds from natural persons shall be distributed in the same manner unless the donor expresses a different desire.

Article 11. The State Planning Committee, the Bulgarian National Bank and the Ministry of Construction and Architecture shall give preference for inclusion

in annual capital investment plans to projects financed by resources of "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund."

Article 12. (1) Economic organizations may make donations to "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund" from the resources in their monetary funds generated by the profits tax, on the basis of their own decisions made by their collective administrative bodies.

(2) Donations to "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund" may be made by ministries and other departments and organizations that have realized savings of the budget moneys granted to them.

Article 13. The chairman of the Committee for Culture and the minister of finance shall approve:

1. New regulations for the structure and activity of the State and Voluntary Public Organization "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund";
2. An ordinance on the raising and disbursing of the fund's moneys;
3. The structure, table of organization and budget of the organization's general directorate.

Article 14. (1) Persons guilty of infractions of the provisions of articles 7, 8 and 10 of this decree shall be punished in accordance with article 32 of the Law on Administrative Infractions and Penalties.

(2) The formal written findings of violations shall be drawn up by the agencies of the State and Voluntary Public Organization "The Bulgarian 13th-Centennial Fund" and the penalty decrees shall be issued by the general director thereof.

#### Final Provisions

§1. Decree No. 51/1981 of the Council of Ministers (DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No. 1/1982) is hereby rescinded.

§2. The execution of this decree shall be entrusted to the chairman of the Committee for Culture.

6474

CSO: 2200/127

INTERIOR MINISTER, MILITIA OFFICIALS DISCUSS POLITICAL EDUCATION

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 13 Jul 83 pp 1-2

[Report by Col Stoyan Stoyanov: "The Political Education Organs Are An Active Constructive Force; Conference-Meeting Between the Minister of Internal Affairs and Political Workers in People's Militia Units"]



Business presidium at the conference-meeting with political workers with the People's Militia. On the rostrum: Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs

[Text] A conference-meeting of political workers of the People's Militia with Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, BCP Central Committee member and minister of internal affairs, was held on 7 July 1983 at the People's Militia House. The conference was attended by Lt Gen Angel Karlov, first deputy minister of internal affairs, Col Georgi Kalinov from the BCP Central Committee Military-Administrative Department, Lt Gen Pavel Filipovich Perevoznik, representative

of the USSR MVR, Lt Gen Todor Terziev, first secretary of the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] party committee, Col Khristo Tsenov, deputy chief of the G. Dimitrov VSSh, members of the management and the party committee, chiefs of departments and secretaries of primary party organizations of the People's Militia Directorate, chiefs of political education departments of MVR okrug administrations, deputy chiefs in charge of political education of rayon administrations, KAT [Control of Automotive Transport] of okrug administrations and SPOOR, G. Dimitrov VSSh graduates newly appointed as political workers, UPV [Political Education Administration] inspectors and members of political and education departments.

The conference-meeting took place under the slogan "For Decisively Improving the Quality and Efficiency in the Activities of People's Militia." It was chaired by Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov, deputy minister of internal affairs and director of the People's Militia. He noted in his opening speech that this major event in the life of the political workers pleasantly coincides with the period of studying and mastering by the party members and the entire people, including the People's Militia personnel, the new theoretical elaborations and practical approaches developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the 12th Congress and the exceptionally topical programmatic speech he delivered at the Varna National Conference on Quality Problems.

The speaker also emphasized that this measure coincides with and is organized as an answer to the enhanced requirements formulated at the recent meeting of the expanded MVR collegium regarding important problems in the work of our organs, such as discipline and the preservation and assisting of the development of the economy.

"Our meeting," the deputy minister said, "is also a practical celebration of the 10th anniversary of the decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo on the creation of political education organs."

Col Stoyan Tashenov, chief of the political education administration of the DNM [People's Militia Directorate] spoke on "some topical tasks in ideological and political-educational work in the People's Militia."

The fact that all reports on positive results achieved and current tasks in ideological and political-educational work in the People's Militia were considered in light of the speech of Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the National Conference in Varna and that of Yuriy Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, at the recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum on ideological and mass political work, and in the spirit of the decisions of the MVR collegium of 29 and 30 June 1983 made a pleasant impression. The report cited a number of examples and facts proving that the political education organs are increasingly turning into an active constructive force. They are contributing to the enhancement of the ideological and political training and political consciousness of the personnel. They are developing the personnel's initiative and creativity and feeling of responsibility. Their main accomplishment is the fact that unity and cohesion has been achieved around the BCP Central Committee, together with commanders and party and Komsomol organizations.

In discussing the focusing of the efforts on enhancing the quality and efficiency of political-educational work, the speaker emphasized that the political workers must base their activities on the stipulation of the comrade minister to the effect that a social system of a clearly political nature and purpose, such as the MVR, requires a profound and creative application of the nature and stipulations of a political approach by the entire personnel and in all matters as an objective requirement. The application of the political approach under the new circumstances demands of the political workers to assist even more persistently the personnel in developing as citizens of the socialist society and as its active builders and defenders with their inherent ideological principles, morality, interests, high labor and behavioral standards and sharp political vigilance.

Topical problems related to further improvements in the political support given to official activities were considered in the speech on a broad basis.

The third group of problems on which the chief of political education administration concentrated in his report pertained to further improvements in organization, management and control. He pointed out that the political workers who operate directly under the one-man command chiefs must be uncompromising fighters for the prompt and qualitative obedience of orders, instructions and other legal regulations governing People's Militia activities. The unparalleled pace of the scientific and technical revolution, which is imbuing all People's Militia activities, gives priority to the problem of competence. Only a highly competent political worker can create a model organization and provide efficient management and control.

In concluding, the speaker said that the People's Militia political workers will do everything within their power to ensure a decisive improvement in their work on the political education of the personnel which is an important factor in improving the organization and upgrading the quality and efficiency of the militia man's work.

The floor was given to political workers who shared valuable experience related to political-education work in their units.

Col Mitko Georgiev, deputy chief of the People's Militia Administration and head of the department of political education at the Plovdiv Okrug MVR Administration, discussed in detail the efforts of his department to improve the political approach adopted by management and performing personnel.

Col Anastas Istasov, deputy chief for political education at the KAT department of the Sofia City Administration, gave specific examples of political support of assignments, based on the amendments and supplements to the Law on Road Traffic, effective as 1 July 1983. He noted that his department has organized a permanent course at which the results of the practical work of the automotive controllers on the application of the new stricter requirements are analyzed and discussed daily.

Col Georgi Dodov, chief of the political education department, Sofia Okrug MVR Administration, discussed problems of combining management with

political-educational work and the interaction between political workers and party committees and organizations.

Sr Lt Evgeni Donchev, deputy chief for political-educational work of the field subunit of the Varna Okrug MVR administration, shared valuable experience in the use of militia public-sergeant councils, tutors, Dimitrov rooms and others--in the education process, and the role of the competition in finding reserves for upgrading the quality and efficiency of militia activities.

Col Spas Tomov, chief of the People's Militia Faculty at the G. Dimitrov VSSh, submitted a detailed report on activities and results achieved in the training of the newly appointed political workers.

On behalf of his colleagues, Maj Georgi Vulev, the senior student, expressed warm thanks for the trust voted to his fellow students to become political workers in the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat and assured the ministry's leadership that they will try to justify this high trust through their actions.

Following the debates, the floor was taken by Col Khristo Tsenov, deputy chief of the G. Dimitrov VSSh, who read the order of the minister of internal affairs presenting awards to the new political workers who have distinguished themselves in the training.

The words of Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, minister of internal affairs, were listened to with particular attention.

After giving a positive assessment of the 10-year activity of the political education organs, their experience in the struggle for strong military discipline and upgrading the ideological and professional knowledge of the personnel and mobilizing their efforts for the model implementation of assignments, the minister noted that henceforth their work must continue to improve further and further. This progress must take place in the spirit of requirements and stipulations contained in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech at the National Conference in Varna and Comrade Yuriy Andropov at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on some topical problems of ideological and mass political work.

The speaker pointed out the need for a decisive change in the style and methods of work of the political workers. Their task is to engage in live practical efforts outside their offices, and there where the personnel carry out their duties in the struggle against crime, the preservation of public order, the protection of the economy, in maintaining traffic safety, and so on. The political worker should spend two-thirds of his time among the people. It is there that he must study their personal and practical qualities, the difficulties they face, the problems which affect them, etc., and find the most effective and suitable means and methods for influencing and helping them. The political workers must study and sum up the experience acquired in the various areas of activity. They must find ways and means to popularize such experience and help in its duplication and mass dissemination.

Comrade Stoyanov emphasized that in order to achieve high results warm and strong love for political work and the profession of the political worker is necessary. Hence our main requirement is to love one's work and profession, for it is only on the basis of this love, the comrade minister stressed, that the other ideological and professional virtues can be developed.

Having discussed in detail the complex international situation and the efforts of imperialist intelligence services and centers to engage in ideological subversion against Bulgaria, the comrade minister particularly emphasized the role of the political workers and their contribution to the steady politicization of MVR organs and converting the political approach into a base for the activities of all personnel, upgrading the political vigilance of the People's Militia personnel and their ability to react to all enemy provocations. Particular attention should be paid to training the personnel to act quickly and in accordance with the law however complex the situation may be.

Comrade Stoyanov formulated as an important and permanent requirement facing the political workers increasingly to avoid noisy, self-seeking and ostentatious measures, to get rid of the educational nature of their work and to engage in live and aggressive individual-education efforts in providing political support for the various tasks.

The minister of internal affairs also defined the criteria for assessing the work of the People's Militia personnel, including the political workers. In this connection, he cited the thought of Yuriy Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, who stressed that the criterion is the level of political consciousness and the labor activeness of the masses.

The comrade minister pointed out that the problems being resolved by the People's Militia are problems affecting the entire society and that we must ask for the help of the republic in resolving them. This approach must be increasingly broadened and enriched, making use of the opportunities offered by the double jurisdiction under which the People's Militia operates.

The minister of internal affairs also discussed other problems clearly delineating the directions along which political-educational work must be directed and carried out: the proper attitude toward citizens, the protection of state property, the presentation and neatness of uniform personnel, the legal nature of their activities, and others.

In conclusion, the comrade minister pointed out that the work of the People's Militia political workers is very dynamic, stressed and responsible. The tasks facing them are difficult and their targets of influence are numerous. This calls for a good organization of their activities, unification of their efforts with the commanders and the party and Komsomol organizations. This is the road which leads to success.

In closing the conference-meeting, Maj Gen Ivan Dimitrov, deputy minister of internal affairs and director of the People's Militia, said that it will unquestionably have a beneficial impact on further improvements and upgrading

the quality and efficiency of political-educational work among the People's Militia personnel and, therefore, the implementation of the responsible assignments in the struggle against crime and violations of public order. He assured the ministry's personnel and the comrade minister personally that the political-education organs will spare no effort for the successful solution of the responsible assignments given to them by the party and the government at the present stage and will turn the days remaining until the National Party Conference into a time of creative stress for achieving higher results in all areas of militia work.

5003

GSO: 2200/118

## UNSOLVED PROBLEMS IN CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIONS

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 13 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Georgi Panayotov, head of the Investigation Control Department, chief prosecutor's office of the Bulgarian People's Republic: "Unresolved Problems"]

[Text] In coordination with the other specialized organs, the preliminary investigation organs have achieved considerable results in recent years in the struggle against crime and for strengthening socialist legality. More crimes were resolved in 1982 compared with previous years. The highest percentage of resolving severe crimes was as follows: more than 96 percent of the murders; about 98 percent of rape cases; and about 100 percent of cases of hooliganism and attempted murder. The percentage of robberies and thefts of socialist and private property was lower. Considerable successes were achieved also in solving economic crimes which resulted in substantial damages. Thanks to the efficient joint activities of MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs], state control and prosecutor's office organs, major misappropriations, document forgeries, and other economic crimes were resolved in the areas of construction, public catering, the Korekom VTO [Foreign Trade Trust], foodstuffs, and others.

High results were achieved in terms of the quality and efficiency of investigations and prosecutor's office supervision and management. The speed of investigations was improved, cases returned for further work declined substantially, preventive efforts increased greatly, the number of nonguilty verdicts became minimal and the gathering of investigation data and proofs improved in quality and fullness. In a large percentage of cases the investigation was opened and completed on time. The results continued to improve in 1982 and the same has been noted in 1983.

However, some unresolved problems remain on the discovery and investigation of delinquencies. The question of criminal felonies, the perpetrators of which remain undetected for years on end, is particularly grave. Also important is to ensure the keeping of full records of crimes by MVR units throughout the country. A higher organizational, methodical and scientific standard must be reached in operative investigation MVR work. The essential prerequisites to this effect are the proper professional training of the personnel. This particularly applies to the preliminary investigation apparatus.

Unresolved problems exist also in the struggle against economic encroachments. The detection of such crimes is still not consistent with the size of such actions, particularly in the case of criminal negligence, production of substandard goods, improper records of production results, illegal payment of bonuses and other monetary rewards, misuse of funds, and fraud in trade and communal services. In 1982 not a single individual was tried in most okrugs for crimes as per Articles 228 and 231 of the NK [Penal Code]; only six individuals were tried for crimes committed under Articles 220 and 221 of the NK; 85 individuals as per Articles 232 and 225 NK; 91 as per Article 219 NK; and so on.

Improving the operative inquest and investigative-procurator's office activities and, particularly, interacting them with the other specialized control and financial organs, is another important problem. We must eliminate the underestimating of the struggle against crimes as per Articles 219, 228, 221, 225, and others, of the NK. Insufficient work is being done on the subject of crimes as per Article 225b NK and bribery, because of some weaknesses in reporting such activities. Major appropriations of surplus goods are not always or promptly detected. Greater attention should be paid to property acquired from unearned income by an individual under suspicion and the reasons for such acquisitions must be sought with a view to exposing crimes or at least confiscating such acquisitions as per Chapter 3 of the Law on Citizens' Property. Greater efforts must be made to improve the ways and means for exposing such crimes. This should include the more extensive use of scientific achievements, positive practical experience and the experience of the socialist countries, the USSR in particular.

The question of reporting prevented and stopped crimes has not been entirely resolved. A number of them essentially represent committed crimes and the culprits should be penally prosecuted. The MVR and prosecutor's office organs should investigate such cases more profoundly. Great exigency should be displayed and individual responsibility sought in cases of improper termination of such work.

We are concerned by delays in the preliminary inquests to determine if grounds exist for undertaking an investigation. Occasionally such inquests are of substandard quality. Fast procedures, particularly in their simplified forms, are not used sufficiently. Frequently the quality of the inquest is substandard. Procedural requirements are violated and the number of resolved cases is unsatisfactory.

Despite improvements, unresolved problems in preliminary investigations exist as well. Weaknesses occur in the initial or urgent steps in an investigation, in seeking and gathering some proofs, in the shallow interrogations and searches, substandard drafting of minutes and graphic presentations, and so on. A large number of cases are returned for further investigation, particularly in Kyustendil, Shumen, Vratsa, Mikhaylovgrad and other okrugs. The fact that damage recovery is low in a number of okrugs is due to underestimating the importance of this stipulation. More serious weaknesses are encountered in cases dealing with fire, labor accidents, negligence, some major misappropriations, and so on. Measures must continue to be taken to eliminate weaknesses in investigations, particularly by enhancing the professional

training of the investigators, increasing exigency and increasing the help they receive from their superiors, and providing more efficient and effective management and supervision on the part of the prosecutors, particularly in the course of the investigation and of more serious or difficult investigation cases.

Preventive work is the main direction in the struggle against crime. Its main tasks are decisively limiting the influence of alcoholism, intensifying the struggle against idleness and a parasitical lifestyle, fighting ideological subversion and improving work with repeaters. Preventive administrative measures as per Article 39 of the Law on the People's Militia may be quite effective if related to the stipulations of Articles 272 and 300 NK. The extensive use of Article 329 NK is equally necessary, particularly in cases of confirmed, even though partial, illegal income, the Ukase on petty hooliganism, measures based on Article 185 of the Criminal Procedure Code, including detention and signaling activities as per the same article, fines as per Article 318b NK, and Article 53 of the Law On the People's Militia and Article 60 of the Law On the Prosecutor's Office.

5003

CSO: 2200/118

WARNING AGAINST CIRCULATION OF COUNTERFEIT DOLLARS

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 6 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Scientific Association Lt Col Lidiya Khalacheva: "Once More On Counterfeit Currency"]

[Text] Bank notes are valuables of permanent value. Once printed, no additional data are added to them. The protection of such items from counterfeiting is achieved by creating numerous and differently complex obstacles of a technical nature (complexity of design, safety grids, use of several types of print and dyes, etc.), which must be surmounted before a counterfeit suitable for circulation can be produced.

Partial counterfeiting of bank notes is substantially easier to make. This is manifested in making changes in the original with a view to increasing its value.

A variety of means may be used to prevent any changes in the nominal value of the notes. They can be complex or simple. For example, the notes include a number of secrets, such as poorly visible signs, deliberate errors in the design, correlation between the signature and the number of the series, a control code known to the bank alone, and so on. One of the most efficient methods is designing an easily remembered characteristic feature without which even an unknowledgeable individual should see a difference. From this viewpoint, the design must not be overcrowded and must reflect familiar facts, political leaders, historical scenes or typical landscapes. These images must be easily remembered by the citizens. For example, the \$1 sign carries the picture of President Washington; the \$5 note, that of Lincoln; the \$10 note, of Hamilton; the \$100 note of Franklin; and so on.

Notes of the corresponding value must have a specific size, a permanent design and permanent predominant color. This requirement is observed in the notes issued by the Bulgarian National Bank, which vary in size and color. As we know, the five-leva notes are pink-red, the 10-leva notes are blue and the 20-leva notes are light brown.

Inscribing the value in both figures and letters is a reliable means of protection.

Let us also note, however, that some countries do not observe this rule and print their notes of different value in the same dimensions and colors as is

the case with U.S. dollars. This creates prerequisites for partial counterfeiting. We have come across such cases in our practice of expert evaluation.

As we pointed out, the purpose of partial counterfeiting is to change, to increase the nominal value of the notes by making proper changes. This can be achieved in a variety of ways. The most frequent counterfeiting is of U.S. \$10, which are changed into \$100s by changing the eight diamonds in which the value is indicated, on either side, with the introduction of parallel bars which separate the white area of the figure zero into four parts. The result is two 0s, i.e., the number 100. Additional corrections are made with a black or copy graphite pencil and black chemical paste, India ink, manually and, sometimes, with drafting tools, all of this, more or less skillfully. The counterfeiting of the figures on the back are made with a green pencil dye, green ink or green pastel color.

Equally frequent are counterfeits of U.S. \$5 to \$50, and from U.S. \$1 to \$100. In this case the task is more complex and technically more difficult. Mechanically, with the help of various means such as shaving blades, scalpels, etc., the entire initial figure is removed, as is the case in forging \$5 notes, or changing the negative-positive background of the slogans, as is the case in \$1 notes. Higher figures are entered in the thus-cleared areas with the help of drafting tools and the use of black and green printer's dye, and curlicues and the negative-positive grid are drawn in. Instead of a drastic mechanical action, the original design is covered with dyes and new figures are drawn in.

The expert examination of the counterfeited notes requires comprehensive graphic, physical-chemical and technical study of documents. In this case determining the way the counterfeiting was done and whether or not the confiscated tools could have been used to this effect is of great importance. Determining the nature of the counterfeiting enables us to conduct the investigation along the right way, and determining the type of materials used in entering the new figures (dyes, India ink, pencils, watercolors, and so on) helps in the search for the tools which could be used as material exhibits.

The expert study of counterfeited notes involves the microscopic and detailed study of individual requisites, including letters and figures. Observations are made in reflected infrared rays, which enables us to identify the initial text and to differentiate among the various writing tools used. The study of the electrical conductivity of the initially entered lines also provides information, for some types of India ink may be identified on the basis of such physical properties.

The nature of the drawing of the lines on the paper--surface or in depth--is determined along with their structure--evenly or unevenly distributed coloring particles, and so on. Comparisons are made in the forms and dimensions, configuration of additionally drawn lines, studies are made of their topographic location in terms of the other designs with a view to establishing the technical writing skills of the perpetrator.

The study of differences in the dimension, slant, configuration and correlation among the additionally entered figures and the structure of the lines are the base in identifying the counterfeiting method used. The differences may reveal that the new text was hand-drawn. In the opposite case signs that a plate was used may be looked for.

In order to determine the type and structure of the inks and dyes used we study their solubility in water and in organic solvents. Drop chemical analysis and fine-layer chromatography are used. Samples of the paper base of the notes are taken with the help of dimethylformamid or toluene. A mobile phase is applied in pencil dyes and pastels, consisting of toluene, methanol in a 25:1.3 ratio or petroleum ester, diotylester and ammonia, in a 70:30:1 ratio; a mobile phase is used for inks, consisting of butanol, methanol and water in 6:2:3 ratio.

The dissemination of counterfeit and forged currency entails a number of undesirable consequences. On the one hand, according to an international agreement, losses from accepted irregular currency must be absorbed by the country in which they were put into circulation. On the other, this encourages criminal elements. This explains the fact that since last year, in a number of places in our country, mainly during the active resort and tourist season, partially counterfeited U.S. dollars of increased nominal value were circulated. The relatively low technical standard of the counterfeiting facilities and the use of Bulgarian writing tools lead us to believe that they are the work of Bulgarian citizens. That is why the quick discovery and prevention of such forgeries of foreign currency are an important task facing the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] organs.

5003

CSO: 2200/118

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GREATER USE OF SIMULATORS IN TRAINING FORECAST

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 17 1983 (signed to press 18 Apr 83) p 8

[Article by Lt Gen Klaus Winter, deputy chief of the ground forces and chief, training: "Capabilities of Simulators and Training Devices"]

[Text] The need to train ever more efficiently and intensively is forcing a re-thinking of and new solutions to a large number of questions concerning the organization of combat training and how to ensure it.

Making modern means of training available is of great importance. Currently it is still the practice for members of the army in the ground forces to complete a great part of their practical training on field combat equipment. But up to a certain stage of training that is not necessary, indeed it is often pointless and inefficient. For example, it is simply impossible, for reasons of space and vision, for the trainer to monitor exactly the sequence and the correctness of the actions of all the members of a tank crew concerning many topics and to recognize and evaluate errors precisely. Besides that, it is extremely expensive to train only on field combat equipment. So more and more thought is being given as to how the relationship between the practical training part, which can be ensured with the help of modern training equipment, and the part for which combat equipment is needed, can be made more efficient and economical. For this reason, we have recently begun to introduce training devices and simulators increasingly in the ground forces. The innovators' movement made and is making an important contribution in this.

The simulator for engineer vehicles, the device for gun laying practice on an APC [armored personnel carrier] and the remote driving simulator for tanks are typical and also outstanding examples, about which VOLKSARMEE has published information on several occasions. These pieces of equipment are to make firing and driving training more efficient.

It is well known that it is not easy to learn to use the equipment, which is becoming more and more complex, with a high degree of perfection, to reduce all the expenses associated with use to a minimum and to attain the high training objectives in the limited time available.

The enormous increases in efficiency needed to do this can only be achieved with the appropriate simulators. Science and technology--particularly through the development of microelectronics, computer technology and optical electronics--have created the necessary conditions. In the NVA [National People's Army] we are dealing with a developmental trend that is comparable to the introduction of robots in industry.

Although a similarly high outlay is required to develop, manufacture and maintain these simulators, they possess the following crucial advantages compared with combat equipment:

--Certain training tasks can be repeated as often as desired and errors can be evaluated objectively, without wear on combat equipment as well as saving fuel and ammunition.

--At the same time, more soldiers can be trained actively than would be possible with limited availability combat training equipment.

--"Infringements" of the safety regulations during firing or "accidents" while driving with the simulator only result in a bad grade for the soldier. If necessary, different danger and combat situations can be simulated for the trainee without risk.

These necessary remarks should suffice to describe the possibilities we are striving to achieve and the value of the simulators.

What must be done or taken note of in the forces and units to utilize the advantage of this equipment?

1. In contrast to combat equipment, the value of a simulator increases the more it is used for the intended training task.
2. In order to be able to train everyone on trainers and simulators, they naturally have to be permanently available for use. The availability of a simulator for use is as important as that of combat equipment.
3. The simulator is not a "training robot." It can only help the trainer to work more efficiently and with greater concentration. The simulator does not automatically make training more effective. It is necessary to use it purposefully and with adequate motivation for the soldier.

One more word about the limitations of simulators and trainers:

We must welcome and support youth innovator collectives, such as that of Major Lotze, when they participate in inventors' competitions and create modern means of training. But before these types of devices are developed and introduced, specialized cost-benefit studies are needed. This is to prevent, for example, the cost of a trainer being greater than its benefit. Cost and real increases in efficiency in training and/or savings in field equipment must stand in a proper relationship. For this reason, the actual need for training must be proved before the start of development work.

Practice shows that success and peak performance can only be achieved in those areas where the most experienced trainers collaborate with technical specialists, who understand modern combat equipment, in the innovator collectives.

ANTHOLOGY OF GERMAN ETHNIC LITERATURE IN USSR REVIEWED

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 2-3 Jul 83 p 13

["Discovery of a National Literature Unknown to Us"--Review by Peter Derlinger of book "Anthologie sowjetdeutscher Erzaehler" (Anthology of Ethnic German Writers in the Soviet Union), published by Verlag Volk und Welt, East Berlin]

[Text] With this anthology, the Verlag Volk und Welt produces something entirely new on our book market. Who up to now was familiar with the literary production of ethnic German writers in the Soviet Union? Of course, it is known that there are also Germans living in the Soviet Union, but the fact that their literature is successfully developing among that of the other nationalities and peoples is probably known only to a few. In general, names such as those of Vasil' Bykov, Vil' Lipatov, Chingiz Aitmatov, Valentin Rasputin and others are linked with the concept of the multinational character of Soviet literature. Now for the first time a fairly large selection of the prose of ethnic German writers is available.

It offers the history and presence of a people whose beginnings go back for more than 200 years. The appeal of the Russian tsarina Catherine II of December 4, 1762, promised generous conditions for settlement in Russia to foreigners as well. Very soon it found a response among German immigrants, especially from southern Germany, who were enticed by the possibility to build a new and better life here. Separated from their old homeland and isolated from the rest of the Russian population, they lived in closed settlements. In this way they preserved their habits and customs, cultural traditions and language. Much of this is reflected in individual stories. At the same time, this constituted an obstacle to their integration in their new homeland. Above all, the clergy and the teachers, the new intellectual upper stratum of the colonists, adhered to the old German nationality identification and hindered the settling down in the new environment; besides, life had remained poor and difficult.

It was not until the victory of the October Revolution that a change took place everywhere in Russia. In different ways the reader finds out how tediously and tenaciously, in what complex manner and frequently at what cost in terms of blood shed the new life established itself in the German settlements as well, how difficult it proved to be for people to cope with the new property relations, but also what bright future opened up for the people, in particular the children.

The deep attachment of the ethnic Germans to the community of all peoples and nationalities of the Soviet Union, the feeling of being completely at home here, the consciousness of having a common responsibility for the entire country are evidenced in the story by H. Wormsbecher about the ethnic German Soviet patriot Paul Schmidt, who during the difficult years of the Great Patriotic War is animated by only one idea: To defend /his/ homeland. He realizes it under unusual circumstances, which show how complicated during these years the situation was for the ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union and at the same time reduces ad absurdum any idea that these people did not take any direct part in the struggle against the fascists, but merely did their duty away from the front.

Already here, but still more clearly in the subsequent stories--in the diversity and structure of the subjects, in the treatment of problems which far transcend the frame of reference of their own nationality--it becomes clear that the relatively young literature of the ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union has taken a step forward and is determined to conquer a place for itself among the literatures of the peoples of the Soviet Union. This is also indicated by the construction of the diverse subjects, for instance when D. Hollmann in a humorous way depicts the "scuffling and pulling together" of a women's brigade, when E. Konchak in fairy tale form reflects on the art of writing, when H. Kaempf artistically elaborates a legend of the friendly Kazakhs, and when R. Jaquemien in a utopian-fantastic story gives expression to his concern about the continued existence of the world.

An anthology cannot give a comprehensive overview of the literature of ethnic German poets and writers in the Soviet Union, who predominantly write in the German language. It awakens interest in a literature which is still relatively unknown to us and in its future path.

8970

CSO: 2300/345

## NATIONAL DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS, POLICIES IN 1970-1980 DECADE

Budapest DEMOGRAFIA in Hungarian Vol 24 No 4, 1981 pp 395-421

[Article by Dr Andras Klinger and Istvan Monigl: "Demography and Demographic Policies in Hungary During the Decades of the 1970's and 1980's"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] I. The Development of the Demographic Situation

During the past years, demographic processes have followed an /unfavorable/ trend: fewer persons were wed, fewer children were born and more people died than in previous years. For the most part, the /unfavorable demographic phenomena/ stem from the age composition of the population; therefore, they are not of a transient nature, but will /unavoidably present themselves over a longer period of time/.

From a demographic viewpoint, the two most significant occurrences during the 35 years since the liberation are the gradual /decrease in the size of the family/ and /the aging of the population/. Both phenomena are generally true for European countries--even if to a lesser extent. In Hungary, these two phenomena were coupled to a very significant /fluctuation in the birth rate/ and, since the mid-60's, to a /basically rising trend in mortality/.

### 1. Marriages

The power of tradition is exceptionally strong in marriage customs and thus, changes are brought about very slowly. The brisk rate of marriage after World War II lasted until the middle of the 1950's. Beginning from the second half of the 1950's, the inclination to marry gradually lessened, and from the second half of the 1970's, it declined to a greater extent. While there were over 100,000 marriages in the first half of the 1950's, today there are only 80,000.

The decline in the number of marriages may be explained in part by a reduction in the number of people entering the marriageable age. Simultaneously, however, the desire to marry has also decreased. The number of marriages per 1,000 unmarried males 15 years old or older has declined by 29 percent from the mid-1950's, and since 1975, by 19 percent in 1980. The number of marriages during the same period for unmarried females in the same age category declined by 29 percent and 22 percent respectively. The decline in marriages is primarily characteristic of women living in the capital

city and towns. Since 1970, the proportion of marriages per 1,000 unmarried women living in Budapest declined by 21 percent and by 23 percent for those living in towns, while there was a smaller decline (10 percent) for cities outside the capital. Cohabitation is probably most prevalent in the capital, while unmarried women living in towns have more restricted opportunities for socialization; their average age is also higher.

The decline in the desire to marry may be observed in all age categories of unmarried men and single women, and it has become more prevalent since the mid-1970's.

Significant changes may also be noted in the customs of remarriage. Following World War II until the 1960's, divorced or widowed men and women remarried in ever increasing numbers. In the 1970's, this trend changed, and since then the desire of those who were divorced or widowed to remarry has significantly abated; it may well be that the proportion within the total population and therefore among those about to be married has increased. In 1948, in 21 percent of the marriages, either one or both parties had been previously married. In 1975, this proportion rose to 25 percent and in 1980, to 29 percent.

Additionally, the number of marriages per 1,000 divorced males declined by 45 percent since 1970, and by 26 percent from 1975 until the end of the decade. During the same period, the proportion of divorced women who remarried declined by 30 percent and 15 percent, respectively. Although today, most remarriages occur among young divorced people--those most likely to be interested in terms of fertility--their ratio has also significantly declined. During the past 10 years, remarriage among the widowed has declined to a somewhat lesser extent than among the divorced.

/During the second half of the 1980's and the first half of the 1990's, the absolute number of marriages will/--in all certainty--/increase/, as will the number of marriages per 1,000 residents, due to the fact that by this time, the size of the generation reaching the marriageable age will have grown. By 1995, the number of marriages could reach 100,000 and their proportion will be 9.5 to 9.8 percent.

Since 1975, the trend of a gradual decrease in the average age of men as well as women who marry which has been in existence for nearly 30 years has been reversed. During the course of 3 decades, the age, in the case of men, has changed from 29 to about 26, and in the case of women, from 24.5 to 23. /During the past 5 years, the average age for marriage has increased/ by about 1 year for both sexes.

The traditional age for marriage is during the third decade of life. Most often, both men and women decide on marriage in the beginning of their 20's. The proportion of men is close to 50 percent and that of women is 40 percent. About one-third of women get married in their teens while nearly a quarter of men get married between the ages of 25 and 29.

/The marriage balance/ is the combination of the number of marriages contracted and the number of marriages terminated. Until 1977, the balance as a whole showed more marriages contracted, although it is true that this number gradually decreased from year to year. The first time that the balance of the marriages contracted and the marriages dissolved showed a deficit in the latter was after 1978. The deficit increased in 1980: 98,000 marriages were terminated in contrast to 80,000 marriages

contracted; dissolved marriages exceeded the number of marriages contracted by 18,000.

The proportion of marriages contracted is a function of numerous determinants. Among these, the most important are the size of the generation which is of marriageable age, or rather, its numerical proportion in the population, and the traditions which have been formed over a long period of time, or rather, the customs which are presently accepted. /Hungary/ with a marriage ratio of about 8 per 1,000 tends /to follow the Central-South East European pattern/. The ratio of marriages contracted is higher in this region. The marriage ratio is significantly lower in Northwestern Europe, primarily in the Scandinavian countries.

## 2. Divorces

Following World War II, the number of divorces has been steadily and significantly rising. By the end of the 1940's, it reached 10,000 each year, and since the mid-1960's, the courts have dissolved more than 20,000 marriages a year. In 1978, the number of divorces exceeded 28,000; in 1979 and 1980, somewhat fewer marriages were dissolved. Presently, there is one divorce for every three marriages. If divorces steadily continue with the present frequency, every second marriage would end in divorce before the spouses reached the age of 60.

The ratio of divorces per 1,000 existing marriages is 51 percent since 1960; since 1970 until the end of the 1970's it increased by 17 percent. Interestingly, the ratio in Budapest decreased slightly, while between 1970 and 1980, the ratio of divorces per 1,000 existing marriages increased by 36 percent in the other cities and by almost 15 percent in the towns. This could in part be explained by the greater proportion of older married couples living in Budapest.

In half of the dissolved marriages, the spouses are under 30 years of age. Divorce is most frequent in the 20-29 year-old age group, but since 1970, the frequency of divorce has increased most significantly for those under 20 years old, for women for women between 30 and 39, as well as for men between 30 and 39. Between 1970 and 1980, the ratio of divorces per 1,000 existing marriages increased by more than 40 percent for those under 20 years old, by 30 percent for women between 30 and 39 and by 33 percent for men between 30 and 39.

Thirty-five percent of the divorces occur in marriages where cohabitation lasted less than 5 years. Within this category, divorce is most frequent in the second and third years of marriage. A notable phenomenon is the increase in the number and proportion of those repeatedly divorced; their number has doubled during the past 2 decades.

Each year, the number of divorces increase where there were children from the dissolved marriages. The proportion of this type of dissolved marriage increased during the past 3 decades from 52 percent to nearly 69 percent. In 1980, there was 1 child in common in 37 percent of the dissolved marriages, 2 children in 24 percent and 3 or more children in 7 percent. Since 1970, the proportion of dissolved marriages with 2 children increased by 52 percent; the percentage for those without children dropped by 19 percent.

The causes leading to the dissolution of a marriage are complex; in not one but many

cases, several causes play a role. The present family law does not specify grounds for divorce. The types of causes and circumstances which lead to the dissolution of a marriage may be deduced only from the data of the representative inquiries. At the representative appearances for 1971, the causes fell into two large categories. The causes belonging to the first group (premarital sex, marriage at the urging of the parents against the will of the spouses or for property or other interests, rashly concluded marriage at an early age) are those which were present at the time of the marriage and later caused its dissolution; these constituted 7 percent of all grounds for divorce. The second category is characterized by causes which came about during the course of the marriage; these constituted 93 percent of all the grounds for divorce. For example, such causes are estrangement, sexual incompatibility, alcoholism, maltreatment, adultery, etc. Taking all the grounds for divorce collectively for men and women who dissolved their marriages in 1971, close to a quarter of the marriages were dissolved because of estrangement, 19 percent because of adultery, 13 percent because of maltreatment, 11 percent because of alcoholism; however, hardly more than 1 percent was dissolved because of sexual incompatibility.

Divorce is a relatively frequent phenomenon in Hungary. In 1977, there were 2.6 divorces per 1,000 inhabitants. The divorce ratio is higher than this in the United States (5.1 per 1,000), in the Soviet Union (3.5 per 1,000) and in Australia (3.2 per thousand). Roughly, the frequency of divorces is essentially similar to ours in Denmark, the United Kingdom, the German Democratic Republic and Sweden. The divorce ratio is, in general, significantly lower in the other European countries, or rather, in a few countries the law still does not allow divorce, or makes it extremely difficult to obtain.

### 3. The Household and the Family

The family is the smallest unit of cohabiting married and blood relations. The household is the economic community of the persons living together. The household could consist of one or more families; if no person outside the nuclear family belongs to the household, the family is identical to the household. The one- or multi-family households constitute the so-called family households. On 1 Jan 1980, of the country's 10,709,000 inhabitants, 9,374,000 lived in 2,864,000 family households and 1,300,000 inhabitants belonged to 856,000 households of another nature.

Between 1960 and 1980, the proportion of family households has decreased, and the proportion of non-family households has increased. Of the latter, the relative weight of the one-person household tended to increase. However, the rate of increase was most significant in the case of the other households. (However, these represent only an insignificant part of all households.)

The number of persons per 100 households dropped from 310 in 1960 to 295 in 1970 and down to 279 in 1980. The increase in the number of households which significantly exceeded the increase in the number of those living in the households could explain the decrease. Between 1970 and 1980, the number of households increased by 10 percent while the number of those living in the households increased by only 4 percent. The decreasing number of people living in a household is the result of demographic and housing policy measures. The proportion of those living with a relative or the family of a relative decreased, while the proportion of households consisting of one family

with not relatives or other persons living with them increased.

In 1980, more than 94 percent of family households consisted of one-family households. Of these, 82 percent represented families which had neither relatives nor other persons residing with them.

In an overwhelming majority of two-family households, the parents live with their child's family in one apartment. The decrease in the number of two-family households is explained by the fact that presently--as a result of the improving housing situation--fewer and fewer parents and children or married couples are forced to live together than 10, or 20 years earlier.

On 1 Jan 1980, of the country's 9,374,000 people living in family households, 8,898,000 lived in 3,028,000 families and the number of relatives and non-relatives living together with the family amounted to nearly 476,000. The numerical growth of families during the past 10 years was close to 5 percent, or 10 percent as compared to the figures for the 1960's. At the same time, the average size of the family--the number of family members per 100 families--decreased from 312 in 1960 to 301 in 1970 and to 294 in 1980.

The composition of the family has changed only to a small extent since 1970: The proportion of families consisting of married couples has decreased somewhat, and the proportion of families consisting of single parents living with their children has increased slightly. In families consisting of married couples, the number of those without children has increased relatively significantly; more than one-third of these families exist with no children.

The number and proportion of those families where one of the spouses is missing--whether as a result of divorce, death or separation--has increased during the past decade.

The size of the family depends primarily on the number of children in the family. The number of children living in the family is influenced not only by fertility but also by the duration of the marriage, or rather, the cyclic extension of family life and the speedier separation of the children from the family. The fact that the life span has been extended has also significantly increased the number and proportion of families living without children.

The decreasing number of children per 100 families is a persistent process. In 1960, there were 126 children per 100 families, in 1970 there were 111, and in 1980, there were only 105.

During the past 2 decades, the proportion of families without children continued to rise (30.8 percent in 1960, 33.7 percent in 1970 and 35.2 percent in 1980). The proportion of families with 3 children has gradually decreased from 1960 (7.8 percent) to 5.7 percent in 1970 and 4.7 percent in 1980; the proportion of families with 4 or more children has likewise decreased but to a greater extent. In 1960, there were 4 or more children in 5.1 percent of the families, 2.9 percent in 1970 and only 1.6 percent in 1980.

The proportion of families with two children has increased more significantly. In

1960, the proportion of families with 2 children was 21.6 percent, 22.3 percent in 1970 and already 24.8 percent in 1980. The increase is related to demographic policy measures, as well as to the fact that the large number of women born in the beginning of the 1950's entered their childbearing years at the beginning of the 1970's.

As a result of socioeconomic factors, the increasing rate of decline in the sizes of households and families began decades ago, and this decline will continue in the following decades. The proportion of those living with a relative or the family of a relative will lessen; at the same time, the proportion of households consisting of one family will increase. In families with married couples, the number of families without children will increase, and the number of families where one spouse is absent --whether due to divorce, death or separation--will also increase.

#### 4. Fertility

We are able to trace the development of fertility in Hungary for more than a 100-year period. Our records show that during the last decades of the past century, the average number of children per woman generally exceeded 5 and was probably closer to 6. There were between 44 and 46 live births per 1,000 inhabitants, which was one of the highest ratios in Europe at the time. However, the gradual decline in fertility could already be traced from the last decades of the past century; moreover, it was already significantly apparent in the decades preceding World War I. The birth rate continued to decline during the period between the two world wars; moreover, it was intensified after the increase in birth rates appearing at the beginning of the 1920's which compensated for the drop in the birth rate during the war. With a live birth rate ratio of approximately 20 per 1,000 which was experienced in the years before World War II, Hungary was in mid-place among the European countries.

After World War II, an increase in the birth rate on the same order which was characteristic for every country participating in the war after World War I was not observable. However, between 1947 and 1950, a relatively higher birth rate--about 21 per 1,000--nevertheless developed which remained above the trend of the average decline in births observed since the past century. After this, the "customary" decline in the birth rate began following the compensatory period after the war: in 1952, 19.6 live births per 1,000 were already recorded. However, fertility in the following years was significantly modified by demographic policy measures which had contradictory purposes and results. First, the number of births increased (in 1954, there were already 23 live births per 1,000 inhabitants)--primarily as a result of measures regarding the prohibition of induced abortions; then as a result of the newer laws promulgated in 1956 which again made possible the authorization of abortions, the birth rate again began to decline.

More than 200,000 children were born per year between 1953 and 1955; in those years we reached the peak of the demographic wave. From 1957, the number of live births declined at a rapid rate, and in 1962, a total of 130,000 children were born; this represented the nadir of the demographic wave. /The dual peculiarity of Hungarian demography/ finally developed in the 1960's--on the one hand, that the number of live births does not ensure the one-to-one reproduction of the population, and on the other and concurrently, that the number of live births fluctuates vigorously, and for this reason, the age composition of the young population is also unbalanced. From the

second half of the 1960's, the number of live births increased and exceeded 150,000 --in part, as a result of the introduction of child care support and other measures; however, it consistently remains below the level which could have ensured the maintenance of the size of the population over the long run.

In 1973, we took a number of comprehensive demographic policy measures. In part, as a result of these, the number of live births skyrocketed between 1974 and 1976, and approached and exceeded the 190,000 mark. We repeated the demographic wave of 1953-1955, but on a lower average level and we created "the mirror image" of the demographic peak of that time. The significant, although transient increase in live births--along with the small degree of increase in fertility--could overwhelmingly be attributed to the births of children ahead of schedule who had nevertheless been planned for, and an increase in the number of women of childbearing age. (These are the years when the large age groups born between 1953 and 1956 entered their childbearing years.)

Since 1977, the number of live births has decline at a rapid rate. The decrease may primarily be attributed to a decline in the number of women of childbearing age and to the "missing" children resulting from births ahead of schedule in the previous years. The number of live births in 1979 totalled 160,000 and its downward trend remained unchanged.

In 1980, 149,000 children were born, corresponding to a 13.9 per 1,000 live birth ratio. This is already lower than that of 1973 and also below that of 1967-1969, when it increased to the level of 15 per 1,000 as a result of the introduction of child care support. The size of the children's generation born in the past decades is not as large as that of the adults; the proportion of adults and elderly in the age profile of the population gradually grew, while that of the children and youth has decreased. The replenishment of the population has not been assured for a long time already, aside from the short time period between 1974 and 1979; therefore the size of the population will decrease in the ensuing decades.

The average decline in fertility coincides with a time when young women under 25 represent an ever growing proportion of the women bearing children. The time between the births of children has been shortened; married couples realize the smaller average-sized family more quickly. Thus, the frequency of giving birth for young married women between 20 and 24 years of age only declined to a lesser extent; moreover, the frequency for those under 20 years of age increased during the past decade. Fertility declined most significantly in the over-30 age category of married women because of the absence of 3rd or 4th children.

Presently, 46 percent of all children born are the first child, approximately 40 percent are the 2nd child and the proportion of 3rd children has hovered at around 10 percent during the past 5 years. The average sequence of live births has not reached the 2nd child during the past 15 years; as a matter of fact, it is gradually regressing.

For a long time, it has been observed that the level of culture, membership in various social strata, place of residence, the economic activity of women and social mobility are all factors which influence reproductive behavior and the number of children born. All those phenomena--positive, in and of themselves--which have taken place during the

past 35 years in socioeconomic life and in the cultural sphere, have affected the declining tendency of fertility. Today, a smaller-sized family coupled with a higher educational level is also a common phenomenon. The level of education is what mostly determines the number of children to be born, although the differences have decreased during the past decades. In 1980, the size of the completed family of married women aged between 40 and 44--145 children per 100 women--who had higher education degrees was more than 40 percent smaller than the families of those who did not even complete grammar school--246 children per 100 women--and was 23 percent smaller than the families of those who completed grammar school. Only in families where less than 8 grades of grammar school were completed are enough children born to ensure one-to-one reproduction. The rising cultural level and the decline in the proportion of those with lower levels of education per se already effect a decreasing trend in fertility.

We notice similarities if we examine the fertility of the members of different social strata. The differences here too have lessened, but even today--as in the past--the average family size of the agricultural population exceeds the family size of those with intellectual occupations and is larger than the family size of the non-agricultural laborers. Their declining proportion within the population means the continued decline of fertility. As of today, enough children are produced in the agricultural population--237 children per 100 women--to ensure one-to-one reproduction, although during the past 20 years their fertility has declined to the greatest extent, by 27 percent. The average family size of non-agricultural workers is already smaller than this and the level of reproduction for those with intellectual occupations lags significantly behind this.

The number of live births per 100 married women between the ages of 40 and 49 is the lowest in the capital city and has declined during the past 10 years. The average number of children for married women living in towns and rural areas has also lessened. Today, there are far less regional differences than there were 10 years ago, but the average family size of married women living in Budapest is still only two-thirds of the family sizes in rural areas and hardly more than three-quarters of the family sizes of married women living in towns.

During the second half of the 1970's, the live birth ratio significantly declined in the majority of capitalist countries; in most countries it was even lower than the 1980 live birth ratio in Hungary (13.9 percent). (For example, the ratio was between 10 and 13 percent in the German Federal Republic, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Italy, Switzerland and Sweden.) England, Wales, Finland and Japan, among others, were at the level of the present Hungarian ratio. Capitalist countries with a higher ratio than Hungary's were primarily those in Southern Europe (Greece, Spain, Portugal) and the United States. The live birth ratio is higher than ours in the European socialist countries--and is generally growing. (There are 15-16 live births per 1,000 inhabitants in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, 17 in Yugoslavia, 18 in the USSR and Rumania, and 20 in Poland.)

## 5. Mortality

Between 1976 and 1980, an average of 137,000 people died in Hungary yearly; this /corresponds to a 12.9 per 1,000 crude mortality rate./ In 1980, 145,000 people died and /mortality reached 13.6 per 1,000./ These figures are high compared to the

present mortality levels of industrialized countries with advanced health care or compared to the crude mortality rates calculated for the population of the country during the decade of 1960.

In Europe at the end of the 1970's, only the German Democratic Republic had a higher crude mortality rate than ours. The mortality rate of the Austrian population is similarly high; it is hardly better than ours. However, it should be noted that the proportion of elderly in the two countries mentioned is significantly higher than in our country. Between 1975 and 1978, there were an average of 13.9 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants each year in the German Democratic Republic and 12.5 per 1,000 in Austria.

According to the most frequently utilized net combined index, the /life expectancy/<sup>1</sup>, the unfavorable mortality rate developed not only as a consequence of the "aging" of the population, but also as a result of /the higher age-specific mortality rates in most age groups, or rather, the mortality rate for the over-30 male portion of the population has risen over the past 1 and 1/2 decades./

/During the course of the 20th century, the mortality rates for the country's population have always been unfavorable/--as compared to those of industrialized countries with advanced health care. Although the prospects for life in the long run have improved to a greater extent here than in countries which are in more favorable circumstances, /we have been unable to close the gap; moreover, it is as if it has widened in the most recent years./ In Hungary, the life expectancy in 1980 was 66.0 years for males and 73.2 years for females. These values are among the lowest for industrialized countries with advanced health care. Regarding male life expectancy, in the second half of the 1970's, Hungary shared 27th-26th place with Poland in the ranking of 29 industrialized European and non-European countries with advanced health care. Portugal was in the next to the last place, the Soviet Union was in last place, and only in Yugoslavia, Portugal and Rumania are the life expectancies of women worse than ours.

For nine decades, between 1876 and 1967, mortality showed a basic downward trend. Accordingly, the crude mortality rates in Hungary were the lowest in the first half of the 1960's. In the last 1 and 1/2 decades, /between 1966 and 1980, mortality showed a basic upward trend./ Incidentally, alongside the deterioration of the mortality rate, the transformation of our fundamental structure observable throughout the 20th century, which determines the nature of mortality, continued during this time period.

The essence of the transformation of the age structure consists of /the increasing proportion of elderly in mortality/. In 1980, those over 60 years of age comprised 17 percent of the population and accounted for three-quarters of all deaths, while those over 70 years of age and representing approximately 8 percent of the population accounted for 58 percent.

As favorable as the age distribution of mortality, or rather, the tendency observable

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<sup>1</sup>The expected number of years of life based on the mortality rate of a given year.

in its modification may be, the rising rate of mortality is just as unfavorable and disquieting, i.e., the mortality rate has increased from 10.2 per 1,000 to 12.9 per 1,000 during the past 1 and 1/2 decades. Three well-defined demographic phenomena are responsible for these undesirable changes:

1. the aging of the population;
2. the change in the age-specific mortality rates;
3. the change in the cause-specific mortality rates.

If the age distribution would not have changed during the last 2 decades, the crude mortality rate would be around 10 per 1,000; thus, its value would be what it was 20 years ago (and not higher). However, since the beginning of the 1960's, a significant aging of the population set in. This circumstance is the determining component of the rising crude mortality rate.

In parallel with this process, contradictory changes in age-specific mortality rates took place. In certain age groups, it declined according to expectations; in others, primarily /for males, the mortality rates per 1,000 inhabitants increased/ unexpectedly. The contradictory tendency in age-specific mortality rates--the extent to which they grew or declined--were identical, and this situation essentially conceals one of the fundamental peculiarities of mortality for the past 1 and 1/2 decades: the deterioration of the mortality rates for the middle-aged male population. Formulated more precisely, only the effects of "aging" are shown in the changing mortality rate. Nevertheless, we must remember that the balance of the unfavorable development which took place during the past 15 years showed an average of nearly 4,000 "surplus" deaths each year for the 40-59 year-old population.

Except for occasional lapses, /infant mortality/ has gradually /decreased throughout the course of the century/. The infant mortality rate at the end of the 1970's is a fraction of what it was at the turn of the century; however, in an international comparison, our country's infant mortality rate is one of the highest among the advanced countries, despite extraordinary progress--23 infant deaths per 1,000 live births in 1980.

The majority of the infants who die are either of low birth weight or premature. The lower the baby's weight at birth, the worse are its prospects for staying alive. For babies weighing more than 2,500 grams, the mortality rate is 8.2 per 1,000; for less than 2,500 grams, it was 152.7 per 1,000 in 1980. (However, 93 percent of babies weighing less than 1,000 grams die.) The proportion of premature babies is 10.6 percent of all births; it has hardly declined during the past 10 years. Since the mortality rate of prematurely born infants is about 19 times higher than that of babies born "at term", it is obvious that the number of prematurely born babies must be reduced in order to reduce the infant mortality rate in Hungary. Almost independent of the causes of premature births, this primarily depends on prevention and extremely careful and modern prenatal care.

In 1980, 2.4 percent of all deaths were infant deaths. For exactly this reason, as desirable and necessary it would be to reduce infant mortality, it would not and does not influence the mortality of the population as a whole.

The cause structure changed fundamentally during the 20th century. /The essence of

the change was a decrease in the relative significance of deaths caused by infectious diseases and an increase in the relative significance of tumorous diseases, deaths resulting from circulatory diseases and deaths due to violence./ At the end of the 1970's, nearly 53 percent died from circulatory diseases, 19 percent of tumorous diseases, while 8 percent were victims of violent deaths.

An examination of the interrelationship of the age- and cause structure of population and mortality would be most likely to illuminate the changes which have occurred in the mortality rates during the past 1 and 1/2 decades. In this approach, we will reduce the changes which have taken place in the age structure to "aging"--for the sake of simplicity. (This is legitimate because it is the essence of the changes taking place in the age structure.)

According to the approach, around 78 percent of the increase in the mortality rate which occurred in approximately the last 15 years is a consequence of the aging of the population; 22 percent is a result of the fact that frequency of death, independent of aging, increased in several major categories which cause death--primarily those of circulatory system diseases, tumors, wounds and poisonings. However, this so-called standardized cause-specific mortality "surplus" which views the age distribution as a constant is manifested only in the case of males. Between 1969 and 1979, this sort of "surplus" mortality could not be observed in the case of females. Consequently, "aging" carries a weight of nearly 61 percent in the deteriorating mortality rate of the male population and 39 percent in the intensified frequency of death--independent of age distribution. Formulated in another way, the major death-causing categories of circulatory system diseases, tumors, wounds and poisoning in the basically rising trend in mortality caused more than 9,000 surplus deaths in the male population in 1979 as compared to 1974.

#### 6. Natural Reproduction

A relatively high live birth rate and a low, or rather, declining mortality rate are characteristic of the first decade following the end of World War II. Accordingly, the rate of natural reproduction was significant--9-10 per 1,000 yearly; moreover, it was 12.0 per 1,000 in 1954 and 11.4 per 1,000 in 1955. During these 2 years, the size of the population grew by 117,000 and 113,000, respectively.

The second period began in 1956 and lasted for practically 10 years; its main features were declining, or rather, low live birth and mortality rates. Thus, the rate of natural reproduction gradually declined from 9.0 per 1,000 to 2.4 per 1,000. In 1962, when the live birth rate was the lowest up to that time, natural reproduction was 2.1 per 1,000 which still yielded an increase of 22,000 in the population.

With the present mortality rate, the population would have already temporarily decreased in the beginning of the 1960's.

The third period began in the mid-1960's and the live birth rate increased at times and decreased at others, but the mortality rate gradually continued to increase. The low and fluctuating natural reproduction rate reached its lowest point in 1980 with a value of 0.3 per 1,000; the country's population grew by hardly 3,000.

## II. The Future Development of the Population

A continued decline in the number of births may be expected in the following decade. This is primarily caused by the fact that the females who are now entering their 20's belong to the small generation born at the low point in the birth wave, after 1960. Thus, the number of 20-29 year-old females who produce 70-72 percent of all newborns will decline sharply. In 1977, their numbers peaked at 870,000; however, since then, their numbers have gradually declined. Presently there are 820,000 and by the end of the 1980's, there will be 650,000. Only during the course of the 1990's may a small and transient increase in their numbers be expected as a result of the maturation of the generation which was born in the 1974-1978 birth wave, but following this, we must count on there being a small number for a long time.

It is likely that the sharp decline in fertility which began in 1980 will continue at a similar pace until the mid-1980's, and starting from then, the constant number of children per family is taken into consideration.

From 1982 until the turn of the century, these two factors may yield a lower number of live births each year than at the time of the low point in 1962.

The yearly number of deaths will increase until the end of the century, based on the population's present, or rather, future age distribution and on the mortality rates for the second half of the 1970's. The number of deaths will steadily exceed the number of live births; a declining population until the end of the century is inevitable. Consequently, in the year 2000, the probable size of the population will be smaller by nearly 300,000, as compared to 10,713,000 in 1980.

Concurrent with the decreasing size of the population, the age composition of the population will significantly change and develop more unfavorably than at present. The number of children will decline by 570,000, or 24 percent. At the turn of the century, there will be 235,000 fewer young people between the ages of 15 and 39. The size of the adult population between the ages of 40 and 59 will foreseeably grow by 280,000, and an increase of 200,000 is expected in the numbers of the elderly and old over 60 years of age. As a result, every 5th inhabitant will be over the age of 60; and the proportion of those under the age of 15 will decrease from the present 22 percent to 17 percent, a sharper decline than that seen in population size. At the end of the century, the population structure developed in this fashion could produce a continually increasing rate of decline in the size of the population in the following period.

The transformation of the age structure of the population also affects its composition according to economic activity. The proportion of active wage earners within the population has continually increased until the mid-1970's; since then, a gradual reduction was observed. From the 1980's until the end of the decade, we must expect a continued decrease in the strength and proportion of the active wage earners. During this time, the new generation of young workers will not be able to compensate for the losses resulting from retirements and deaths because of the small size of the entry-level generation. From the 1990's, the replacement of manpower will improve because of the larger-sized generation born in the beginning of the 1970's which will enter the work force. It could be expected that the size of the working-age population will decrease at an increasing rate after the turn of the century due to the aging of

the larger sized age groups born in the 1950's.

The number and proportion of inactive earners will continuously increase during the following decade. Presently, one-fifth of the population belongs to this category, and presumably by the turn of the century, one-fourth could be included here. The proportion of dependents will continuously decrease during the next two decades because of the smaller number of children.

According to family planning studies, seemingly no young couples become married with the intention of remaining childless and the proportion of those planning to have only one child is also relatively low. A decisive majority of those to be married (over 70 percent) would like to have 2 children; the proportion of those planning 3 or more children is also relatively low, hovering around 20 percent. If these plans were realized, the average family size would closely approach the level necessary for one-to-one reproduction.

However, their original plans will not be realized. Five percent of married couples remain without children--mainly for reasons of health and biology. The proportion of those married couples who later opt for a one-child family is significantly increasing. These occur mainly among those who were planning on two children. It is also fairly frequent that those planning on 3 or more children later have only 1 or 2. As a result, the average family size is significantly below the level which ensures one-to-one reproduction.

A feasible version would count of that proportion of childless and one-child families which on the one hand, takes health and biological restrictions into consideration and on the other, which would seem realizable--in the short run--with a suitable incentive system. Our demographic policy and the associated system of resources must strive to ensure that a family's own plans regarding family size be more completely realizable. Let it not happen that those planning on having 3 children have only 1 or 2 or--what is more frequent--that those planning on having a family of 2 children stop after the first child.

### III. Demographic Policy

#### 1. On Demographic Policy in General

By /demographic policy/, we mean the combination of specific goals and the means serving their realization in the area of demographics along with the conscious social influencing of the population. Demographic policy is determined by /its content, goals, basic principles and implements/. Depending on the number of demographic areas or processes it affects, we could speak of demographic policy having /one or more factors/. In earlier decades--and in international practice--/the goals of demographic policy/ and therefore its content was fundamentally determined by the tensions and contradictions within the population. During the past 1 and 1/2 decades--primarily as a result of the growing development and utilization of the state-social development policies--the expansion of the content of demographic policy has been a general tendency throughout the world, but especially in the economically advanced countries. While previously, demographic policy was basically aimed at influencing the size and composition of the population, today the different demographic policies are more likely

to be characterized by the fact that they encompass the population and the growing sphere of socioeconomic processes affecting it.

The /basic principles/ of demographic policy and the implements closely associated with it reflect the whys and wherefores of the realization of demographic policy. /The comprehensive nature/ of demographic policy which encompasses every essential factor, and perhaps deficiency, influencing demography--whether it is set to attain its goals by /incentives and promptings/ or by a greater or lesser degree of indirect or direct compulsion or restriction, i.e., during its implementation, whether it enhances the individual's and family's freedom of choice or restricts it; the extent and manner in which it is /coordinated/ with socioeconomic progress and development as a whole and thus how it serves the well-being of society as a whole, as well as that of the individuals and families within it over the long run; whether and to what extent it improves their standard of living and the quality of their lives--all of these collectively constitute the nature of demographic policy.

Ever since the time organized states came into being and began to deal with how the size and growth of the population is related to the development of the state and society, the heads of states have desired to influence the spontaneously developing population processes. During the course of history, there have been various ways of intervention--we are familiar with /direct and indirect means of increasing or decreasing the size of the population, but what is characteristic of each is that /social expectations were at odds/ with the /individual practices/ of the members of society--the families. In other words, the goals of demographic policy were always in opposition to what developed in society. This is also natural in and of itself, since if, for example, the population growth were to spontaneously develop in conformity to the desires, goals and needs of the state, there would be no need for any sort of governmental or legal measures. It seems necessary for society to intervene in the behavior of families and influence their desires by some means, only when development proceeds in an undesirable direction.

The demographic policy measures which were developed during the course of history were created in the interests of an imagined "common goal"--essentially in the interest of those social ideals which in a given country--from social, economic and political viewpoints--took the optimum population size as its basis, or rather, the /population growth/ necessary to reach this. Therefore, demographic policy measures were formulated toward this end. With respect to these goals, we could talk about a /"pro-natal"/ demographic policy if it wished to increase the size of the population or, in contrast, of an /"anti-natal"/ policy if it attempted to decrease population growth. Taking into consideration that all population processes could influence either the growth or decrease of the size of the population, demographic policy measures could affect all of them. Therefore, the fundamental determinants of reproduction are: births and deaths, laws governing both the founding and dissolution of families, the development of marriages or their dissolution (divorces), or the population's change of residence both within the given country or between other countries (with respect to either immigration or emigration).

Thus, we could conceive of demographic policy more generally as consisting of governmental measures aimed at influencing all population processes; however, in a more restricted sense, by /demographic policy, we mean the influencing/ of births, i.e., /the number of children/ (size of the family). This is why during the course

of history, most demographic policy measures attempted to modify precisely the population process considered to be the fundamental determinant of reproduction. Since, in actuality, the wishes and notions of the parents determine the number of children to be born, it was believed that precisely the number of children was what could be influenced by either direct or indirect measures. For this reason, the demographic policy of the state during the past decades have considered it their fundamental goal to primarily influence the number of births. It is less possible to influence the other determinant of reproduction, mortality, by direct means. Naturally, the fact of death is unavoidable; it is only possible to take appropriate measures to improve health care policy, standard of living policy and the life style which would extend the life expectancy.

At the present time, nearly every country in the world is grappling with the question of what growth in population would be most suitable, under present circumstances, for the realization of future economic, social and cultural goals. The results of various calculations, analyses and methods all serve to generalize the conclusion that most ideally for the world as a whole, or rather, for the majority of the countries, the size of the population should be stabilized after a certain amount of time. This means that a population situation would have to be attained in which--on the basis of optimal age distribution, the number of children, those of working age and the elderly constituting that proportion of the population most suitable from the viewpoints of economy, manpower and regeneration--/the number of births and deaths would essentially be identical each year/. This would also mean that the sizes of the generations would become equilibrated, and the slow, gradual decline of each generation would only begin in the biologically determined later part of life.

This is a /stable population situation/ which is also known as "zero population growth". Considering their current economic and social situation, the rate of population growth is rather high in the developing countries, in which even the relatively higher mortality rate cannot counterbalance the rather high degree of fertility. At the same time--as we have seen in the above--mortality exceeds the number of births in the majority of the advanced countries since, nearly everywhere, the degree of fertility lags behind the level necessary to maintain one-to-one reproduction. Thus, when both groups of countries set the goals of their demographic policy, they both uniformly consider the attainment of a stable population with the difference that developing countries endeavor to realize this by decreasing fertility and the advanced countries by increasing it. Thus, the former utilize "anti-natal" means while the latter employ "pro-natal" measures. Naturally, there are countries where, despite the recognized situation, nothing is done to change it. However, elsewhere, it is still believed that in contrast to "zero population growth", the social and economic conditions make a certain actual population growth of small proportions necessary; therefore, this is reflected in their demographic policy goals.

It is not merely a theoretical question whether /"social policy"/ (or "family policy") and /demographic policy/ should be considered as identical or different. An answer to this question is also important because the two terms (and measures) are frequently interchanged here too, because the system of implementation of the two types of policies frequently overlap--not only in influencing fertility. There is a view which is even accepted to a certain extent and which states that the /basic goal/ of a generally formulated /social or family policy/ is to ensure that there be /no great divergence/

between the income and therefore /the standard of living/ of /individual families/ because of the size of the family, or rather, because of its age composition. Thus, the basic family policy measures ensure assistance in such a way as to serve the financial situation of the families. In contrast, /demographic policy measures strive to place those families in a more advantageous situation which they wish to aid prominently in order to further the desired goals of the demographic policy/.

In this approach, /demographic policy/ in general has a /"discriminative"/ character; it prominently aids certain types of families, and in contrast, not others. (From the viewpoint of social distribution, this is discriminative because in the distribution process, one group naturally gains a larger share at the expense of another group.) A good example of this is the family allowance system. If a family receives the same allowance for every dependent child, we could speak about family policy. If a significantly higher family allowance is granted towards the 3rd child than the 2nd or 4th and other children, and no family allowance is granted after the 1st child, we could speak about demographic policy measures taken in the interests of promoting the birth of 3 children in a greater proportion.

There are great differences considering the sociocultural circumstances and income of families and this must in any case be kept in mind when choosing the policy implements. There are numerous types of demographic policy measures, even in the interest of a given single goal. The accepted view is that no one type would be suitable to alone influence the demographic behavior of /every type/ of family. For this reason, in most countries where demographic policy became an important element of national policy, a series of deliberately complex demographic policy measures were developed during the course of the 1970's which were characterized by the facts that they ensured continuity and placed a certain combination of means at the disposal of families. This is particularly characteristic of the European socialist countries where demographic policy has become a part of general socioeconomic planning during the past decades, and where its provisions directly targeted growth in family size, or rather, its stabilization.

On the basis of domestic and international experiences of the last decade, the situation increasingly seems to be that societies and policies concerned with demography consider it their task not only to alter /unfavorably/ developing demographic processes but, more comprehensively, to limit and terminate certain negative social, economic, sociopolitical and sociopsychological consequences of /given demographic processes/ (for example, aging), as well as to support /positive processes/ and trends which further the social development of the population and serve the well-being, in the broad sense, of the family and the individual.

Thus, we may say that the general developmental trend and characteristics of the above mentioned and outlined demographic policies make it ever more urgent today to raise theoretical, methodological and practical questions on the expanding content and changing nature of the scientific substantiation of demographic policy, the research necessary for this, the relationships among demographic and other policies, the development of the population and its influencing, and general socioeconomic policy. It seems obvious that a demographic policy which emphasizes population size and fertility--its greatest determinant--could have significantly divergent features from a demographic policy which extends to other population processes and is conducted with the intention of more comprehensively examining and influencing the condition of

the population and its characteristics. It also seems indisputable that this type of more broadly defined demographic policy could be more organically and directly associated with social policy; at the same time, its implementation is far more complex than previously.

## 2. The Effectiveness of Our Demographic Policy

During the past decade in our country, there were two opportunities, in 1953 and in 1973, for demographic policy measures to affect the population to a greater extent. This article does not deal with the measures taken at the beginning of the 1950's; the authors surveyed the more detailed results of the 1973 measures in their recently published writings.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, in the following, we will only deal with the main features of the development of domestic demographic policy and with certain questions of its effectiveness.

According to generally accepted public opinion, the demographic policy measures of 1953 (the Ratko measures) were nothing more than steps which served to raise the birth rate by compelling the population through the utilization of an abortion ban as its main instrument. A more detailed analysis of the measures shows a different picture. The desired goal was to be reached by several types of measures, and considering the situation at the time, by relatively large financial appropriations.<sup>3</sup> Despite this, the measures and their reception--closely related to the political atmosphere and strategies of these years--were fundamentally determined by the ban on abortion and its compulsory nature.

Not only have we had to bear the consequences which these measures have exerted on the population processes, but also their deliberate and sociopsychological effects; the examples of other nations during the past decades show that compulsion of the family (see for example, the lessons of Indian demographic policy in the decade of the 1970's) precipitates the active and bitter opposition of the populace and there are no demographic or demographic policy results--in the positive sense. Thus, in actuality, the nature of the demographic policy plays a decisive role; moreover, because of the negative experiences of the populace, its effects will be felt for decades.

Following the development of the population after 1956 and especially the temporary effect of the increase in child care assistance and family allowances introduced in 1967, the increasingly accepted view in Hungary at the end of the 1960's and beginning of the 1970's was that there was a need for the development of a comprehensive long-range demographic policy to replace the individual measures and laws which were not sufficiently coordinated. This coincided with the resumption of long-range national economic planning in 1968. By the beginning of the 1970's, the social administration had also accepted the professional-scientific view, and the basis of long-range demographic policy conduct had been developed by 1972-73.

The Hungarian demographic policy promulgated in 1973 took the above into consideration

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<sup>2</sup>Istvan Monigl, "Socioeconomic Planning and Demography", DEMOGRAFIA, No 4, 1980; Andras Klinger, "Demography and Demographic Policy and Its Instruments", TARSADALMI SZEMLE, No 3, 1981.

<sup>3</sup>See the thorough and detailed studies of /Karoly Miltenyi/, DEMOGRAFIA, No 1, 1958; DEMOGRAFIA, No 2-3, 1958.

and was naturally very similar to the demographic policies of those countries whose demographic situation--like ours--was characterized by a low fertility level and the desire for stability. The /series of measures/ which, following appropriate party resolutions, was announced along with Resolution No. 1040/1973 (X. 18) of the Council of Ministers, was probably special in that /it was the only one among the European countries which summarized in depth the required tasks in the interests of the desired goal/. It comprehensively specified the tasks, but in setting its goals, it did not mention several important and particularly characteristic factors influencing the development of the population.

In their entirety, the measures improved--with considerable social effort--the living conditions of the affected families; they created more favorable financial and social conditions for decisions, and for childbirth and rearing in young families. At the same time, the known development of the number of live births and the level of fertility during the past 6 to 7 years shows that the effectiveness of these measures on the population has remained limited. It is very likely that their less than expected effectiveness is /primarily and decisively/ related to the /particularly long-range determination/ of demographic processes and population behavior. The fact that family reproductive behavior and the associated values and models could show significant change perhaps only decades from now indicates that the goals in this area formulated in the beginning of the 1970's were only partially realistic. Thus, the setting of more realistic goals requires an approach and observation, from a long-range perspective, taking decades into consideration. The favorable social circumstances and trends (for example, higher-level employment of women, mobility processes serving to decrease fertility, etc.) which existed, or continued, in the 1970's, and which in previous decades had also contributed to the decline of the fertility level, in all certainty also played an independent role in the reduction of the average number of children planned and realized within each family.

The less than desirable degree of continuity and the intermittency present in the implementation of demographic policy in all certainty has a role in its diminished effectiveness. The demographic peak formed by the middle of the 1970's has, for longer or shorter periods of time, lessened the improvement of the conditions for the birth and training of children in certain areas. We may assume--as shown by Western European studies prepared after the first third of the 1970's--that the unfavorably developing world political situation as well as a reduction in the previously dynamically rising standard of living also play a role in the formation of reproductive behavior. Young people entering a career or starting a family feel the effects of these consequences more than the norm. In its entirety, this may unfavorably influence family intentions of this nature equally in the short as well the long run.

In summary, we may say that while favorable changes did accompany the complex, long-range and motivative demographic policy introduced in 1973 and synchronized with the goals of social policy, the targeted population goals were not quite realized; a flexible and continuously implemented demographic policy organically synchronized with social and economic policies and encompassing every essential factor which exercises an influence on the population was not developed. The experiences gained from implementation as well as the changes in the population situation during the decade of the 1970's /require the expansion of the goals and content of demographic policy and the supplementation of its system of implementation/.

### 3. Goals and Content of Future Demographic Policy

Besides the unchanging low level of fertility and the recurring fluctuation in the number of live births, the /new demographic situation/ formed in our country during the decade of the 1970's which was introduced in detail in the first section, is also characterized by

- the gradually increasing mortality rate of the population--more vigorous in the case of certain age groups;
- the development of steadily effective conditions for smaller decreases in the population;
- the aging of the population--already in effect and continuing in the long run;
- evidence and recognition of fundamental disorders and operational difficulties of family institutions.

The peculiarities of our country's population require that society deliberately strive in the long run

- to raise the abnormally low fertility level to ensure one-to-one reproduction, and in harmony with this, to gradually equilibrate the age composition of future generations;
- to better ensure the necessary prerequisites to intensify the support and protection of families and to better and more realistically provide for the increasingly important functions of the family;
- to better protect the health and biological conditions of the population and the quality of population growth;
- to improve the health conditions of the population, to reduce the mortality rate and therefore to increase the average life expectancy;
- to develop a more suitable institutional system and social human relations which are better attuned to the aging of the population.

Aside from the abrupt increase in the number of live births lasting a few years, /the fertility level/ had not increase in the decade of the 1970's, but gradually declined and is expected to do so in the future. In the upcoming years, perhaps in the decade of the 1980's as a whole, it would be possible above all else to realistically strive for the limitation of a further decline in the fertility level and for a decrease in the large reduction of live births. Besides the maintenance of the realistic goal of making the 2-3 child family type more prevalent in the distant future and the more intensified and diversified support of families with various numbers of children than in the past, this primarily requires that /we concentrate our efforts on supporting the birth of the second child during this time/.

This assumes the reduction of the negative experiences associated with the birth of the first child /and requires the establishment of aid to one-child families which may contribute to the reduction of the proportion of one-child families/.

The creation of better established families, the lessening of disturbances in their functioning, social protection of their existence and the deliberate social influence associated with population growth are /issues of decisive importance for future demographic policy/. Therefore, the stability of the family must be more vigorously

ensured than in the past by utilizing material-financial resources, deliberate cultural influence as well as legal regulations. It is necessary to urge greater respect for the institution of marriage. Mutual respect and honor, toward each other and the child, and a standard of responsible behavior for keeping the family together must be made more generally accepted, while intensifying social respect for the vocation of motherhood. The conditions of childbirth and childrearing must be comprehensively improved and the services which ease the fulfillment of the woman's motherly and other family duties must be expanded.

In our long-range social development, we must make the fulfillment of the family's fundamentally important function, whose role is generally growing, in the emotional training and socialization of the child, more realistically and completely possible by also gradually developing and extending the necessary conditions and institutional systems. A tighter relationship must be established between the socializing institutions of the family and society. It is practical to encompass this in a comprehensive program--/integrated with/ daily family life and within this, with organizational and institutional programs which ease household tasks, with financial and infrastructural programs and also with active /family policy as a whole/. /Strengthening the stability of the family and its peaceful functioning could mean a contribution toward reaching all the goals of demographic policy/ and may be one of the most important instruments of long-range demographic policy for training in family living.

/In the decade of the 1970's, mortality became a demographic and, even more so, a social policy issue, in essence as equally important as fertility/. The two elements of definitive importance for the reduction of mortality are prevention and care. Both must begin from conception and must accompany a person throughout the course of his entire life. Special attention must be directed toward the protection of the mother and infant and to the fight against diseases which are most frequent and cause the most deaths by discovering and increasingly restricting the unfavorable effects associated with lifestyle, work and environmental circumstances by generally raising the level of health care, people must be taught that it is not enough only to live "better", but rather, that one must live in a healthy, or at least in an increasingly healthier way. The development of health care must continue to be a priority.

Genetic counseling, specialized screening examinations and prenatal care must be utilized in a more organized way, on a higher level and in wider areas than previously /for the protection of the population's health and biological state, and the quality of population growth/. Special attention must be given to high-risk pregnancies and especially to the reduction in the number of premature births, thus fostering changes in lifestyle by which this could be suitably established. The proportion of congenital mental and physical defects must also be reduced by improving the level and organization of health care. The effects of environmental and occupational hazards affecting the population--primarily its fertility and mortality--must be gradually limited by their more complete delineation. We must attain the gradual improvement of the population's state of health ensuring that physical and mental development and growth during infancy and childhood is optimal within genetic endowment, that the physical and mental development and the possibilities for further development in adulthood stabilize at a higher level and finally, that the natural changes which accompany aging do not set in prematurely in order that the possibility of living a long and active life is

ensured to an increasing degree.

/The general situation of the elderly and aging as a social problem will be one of our most important social issues and concerns during the next longer phase of development./ During the next decades, the elderly, and to a large extent, the aged population will create divergent conditions from those in the past for socioeconomic development. All of these could engender new functions for society, the social structure, the infrastructural networks as well as for families, and a transformation of the division of labor. Considering the relatively low retirement age, the socioeconomic situation of the elderly in the future will increasingly be determined by the extent to which they will be capable of socially utilizing their capacity to work, and maintaining and prolonging their social-human contacts. Thus, /the main implements and areas/ for socially influencing the elderly and their socioeconomic situation in a positive direction are /work and the preservation, for as long as possible of the family, contact with the younger generations and genuine roles in the family and society/.

The most natural and effective form of care from the viewpoint of both society and the elderly is the effective operation of nursing, provisioning and habitation within the family--and, where applicable, reliance on the younger generations in the family. These methods can also be argued for on the basis of humanitarianism. Thus, society must strive to increase the responsibility and role of the family in the case of the elderly, and for the formation of their socioeconomic situation. /In order to achieve this, institutional opportunities must be created and conditions which could make this more realistic for individual families than at present must be improved./ At the same time, it is indisputable that the existence of financial prerequisites--within this, primarily a suitable apartment--is only a necessary condition for all of this; the behavior and decisions of the different generations and families is influenced by tradition, and also to a large extent, by the models learned by each child within a family.

#### 4. Basic Principles and Instruments of Future Demographic Policy

In the future, demographic policy will of necessity be joined more comprehensively, extensively and organically to social policy as a whole; this will equally affect both the /basic principles and instruments/ of demographic policy.

The necessity for a demographic policy composed of several factors and the expansion of its content raise the question of the relationship between demographic policy and the other policies (family policy, welfare policy, etc.) in a new way. Besides the fact that these relationships will span a wider range than previously, it may be expected that they will become more complex and varied. It seems rather certain that while demographic policy as an attitudinal and procedural phenomenon per se will be implemented to a greater extent, its system of implements will increasingly be characterized by its integration with individual policies affecting population growth. It seems that from this viewpoint, special importance must be attributed to a more broadly defined social policy, family policy and health care policy for the upcoming longer period of time.

Significant tasks fall to scientific research in the satisfactory establishment of the foundations of demographic policy. In addition to the theoretical clarification of the

relationship between the various parts and branches of the policies which affect the population and the research which better advances the practical implementation of demographic policy, a more thorough exploration of the nature of demography and the society which influences it is also an important task. Thus, in a large part, the task before us is to fashion the practical implementation of a demographic policy with an expanded content and its complex system of implementation.

The basic principle of demographic policy which has remained unchanged is that it combines /the promotion/ of demographic policy behavior with an expansion of the opportunities for action and choice of the affected families. All of this requires the further development of the system of financial conditions and institutional systems which are affected by the goals of demographic policy so that they become more suited to meet generally higher standards and more diverse social needs.

In the future, a greater role must be accorded to /cultural and conscious/ factors in the conduct of demographic policy than in the past. Although both domestic and foreign experiences support this, our knowledge in this area is rather limited. The experiences of the past decade show that the "results" of direct, insufficiently stratum-specific and deliberate influencing are rather meaningless.<sup>4</sup> The level of our knowledge could not be called better in strictly defined cultural areas either. Therefore, population processes, population behavior as well as the relationship between cultural conditions and lifestyle must represent one of the important tasks of research in the future.

One of the basic features of demographic policy and one of the major conditions for its scientific foundation /is its long-range nature/. Population processes are determined by the complex mechanism of socioeconomic factors and at the same time, their effects on the population are realized after a considerable lapse of time. In the long run, our population situation /could improve/ only on the basis of a change in socioeconomic circumstances due to the influence exerted on cultural and conscious situations /and as a result of a consistent balanced demographic policy/. Therefore, the long-range element of our demographic policy must be realized to a greater extent than before and we must reach the point where in mid- to long-range plans, it exerts a greater and more comprehensive influence on the interrelationships among socioeconomic progress, economic development and population growth. In the process of attaining the goals of our population policy, this must lay the groundwork for greater continuity than in the past.

In the future, /the stock of implements/ of demographic policy will be modified, in accordance with its goals. The instruments of financial and social policy as well as legal regulations already in existence could be modernized and made more comprehensive while their basic elements and features are retained. During the course of the implementation of demographic policy, the scope and importance of the connections partially developed earlier, with social policy as a whole, especially with regard to certain areas: above all else, with employment policy, family policy and health care

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<sup>4</sup>/Kalman Kulcsar/ develops this in detail in his lecture presented at the conference entitled "Population Growth and Demographic Policy", Statisztikai Kiado [Statistical Press], 1981.

policy; at the same time, the instruments serving demographic policy probably will overlap less with the instruments of income and social policy in the future. The development of more favorable population processes and the limitation of negative processes must also be facilitated by increasing the diversity of the system of implementation. In conclusion, it follows from the above that intermittency is naturally foreign to this type of demographic policy.

In a demographic policy of expanded content, the consideration and influencing mechanism of all those socioeconomic processes--thus, employment and work relations, social and geographic mobility, the standard of living and lifestyle, schooling and culture, as well as changes in certain elements of consciousness--which affect population growth and form it as a part of the processes of socioeconomic development, will take on /new significance/.

##### 5. National Economic Planning and Scientific Research

During the past decade, the connection between /population growth and national economic planning/ was characterized by both successes and deficiencies. The developing long-range socioeconomic planning was increasingly integrated into the foundations for population growth and demographic policy; however, all this was incorporated into the mid-range planning to a lesser degree than would have been possible or necessary. Besides observational factors and the economic situation developing from the mid-1970's, the fact that planning methods and indicator systems which could have made the realization of this possible were not sufficiently developed also played a role.

Within the framework and program and as an organic part of the long-range planning for the period between 1981 and 2000, /a demographic policy concept which extends beyond the planning period must be worked out/--relying on the results yielded in areas where planning work affects population growth as well as on scientific research --which extends beyond the long-range plan to the period of time needed by the peculiarities of the population, while paying special attention to the determination of demographic policy implementations of a strategic nature and of long-term validity, and to their interrelationship and synchronization with social policies as well as other functional sectorial policies.

During the past decade, /scientific research related to population growth satisfactorily laid the foundations for our demographic policy and with their latest results, also well served the exploration of new characteristics of population growth and the foundation for the modernization of demographic policy. In the future, the formation of demographic policy which is more aptly suited to the altered circumstances of population growth must be founded on research which better utilizes the possibilities for cooperation between the sciences and which more thoroughly and directly serves demographic policy; in our demographic situation, the role of scientific establishment in demographic policy as well as that of population growth in socioeconomic development is growing. /In the future by directing special attention to research related to population growth--and demographic research, above all others--the following general guiding principles should be utilized:

--in researching population growth and its processes, we must strive to a greater extent than previously to explore socioeconomic interconnections and relationships;

--we must bring about closer and more organic relations between demographic research and socioeconomic planning which form the basis of social action.

Beside the deeper and more detailed exploration of the causes of basic demographic phenomena and their interrelationships--based on interdisciplinary research--greater attention must be paid to researching the conditions, socioeconomic changes and influencing mechanisms which /exert an influence on demographic growth/, or rather, /which are also determined by population growth in the long run/. Special attention must be paid to researching the effects arising from /stagnating and declining population growth/, to analyzing the relationships between population growth and /consciousness and culture/, to research related to /the family and mortality/ and finally, /medial-biological-genetic/ research related to the /quality of population growth must be continued more effectively and concentratedly than in the past.

In summary, we may state that in the following decades because of the unfavorable demographic situation which evolved in our country, we must proceed with a demographic policy which has a more expanded content than in the past, which is more organically synchronized with social and development policy and which is also more scientifically grounded. In the long run, this type of demographic policy may be suitable for restricting the negative consequences of population growth, for influencing the unfavorable trends, and by the turn of the millenium and thereafter, for actively contributing, based on and as a part of socioeconomic progress, to the formation of a more favorable demographic situation--which would also decrease the effects of unfavorable trends accompanying the decline in population growth, which until the turn of the millenium, will be of a lesser degree but will then speed up, owing to the structure of the population. Thus, the measures taken in the 1980's will bear fruit after decades have passed. This perspective provides an opportunity for and requires judicious, balanced social action and continuous and persistent effort; at the same time, they will make dramatic and quick measures unnecessary.

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## WLODZIMIERZ OLIWA COMMENTS ON LOCAL, STATE ADMINISTRATION

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8 Jul 83 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Lt Gen Wlodzimierz Oliwa, Minister of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection, by Jolanta Matiakowska of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA; data and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: In the activities of the highest state authorities a great deal of attention and energy, as well as consistency, is given to improving the efficiency of the work of the state administration at all levels. Comrade Minister, how do you assess the results of the measures taken thus far? What criteria do you and your Ministry apply in evaluating the efficiency of the state administration in relation to the needs of the citizens?

[Answer] Lt Gen Wlodzimierz Oliwa: We are conducting an active policy in this area. We proceed on the assumption that not only should cases of poor functioning of local administration be eliminated, but that neither should simply average performance of this work be acceptable. In recent years the scope of the local administration's tasks has expanded, both because its powers and area of activity have been increased, as well as because of the application of economic reform.

Improvement in the efficiency of the local administration requires a certain amount of time, but even under present conditions some favorable changes in its functioning can be made. Anyway, we are already seeing the first signs of improvement. The assessments of the military operational groups, made as a result of the studies, made for the second time, in the gminas and towns, have also confirmed that favorable changes have occurred. The comprehensive inspections of the provinces, organized this year by the Main Local Inspectorate, operating within the Ministry, have supplied extremely extensive materials for the evaluation of the local administration and its functioning.

The results obtained in the implementation of socioeconomic tasks and the consistency of these results with the assumptions of the state's policy, are a measure of this evaluation. Among the detailed evaluation criteria we can list, for example, efficiency and methodicalness of operations, timely and proper service to citizens, and effective guidance in meeting the populace's basic needs. In the evaluations, consideration is also given to maintaining close ties with the local society.

[Question] Comrade General, can you give us specific examples where the local administration is functioning better?

[Answer] In all offices a work-planning system has been put into effect and the employees are held responsible for the performance of this system. At the same time, principles for the cooperation of the administration with the village administrators and representatives of the village communities have been defined. These communities are increasingly appreciative of our undertaking. In addition, recently we have noted an improvement in investigating people's complaints and petitions. We see a distinct change for the better in the establishment of lasting ties with society by the local administration. We have noted many initiatives in this area recently. Opinions and comments relating to the functioning of bureaus are also been looked into. This makes it possible to quickly eliminate improprieties in their work on the one hand, and on the other hand, it permits shaping of fairer assessments, on the part of society, concerning the activities of the local administration, and thus enhances the authority of this administration.

#### Prestige of the Official

[Question] After passing a law on service regulations binding on state officials, a code of ethics for state officials is now being developed. What do you expect of this code?

[Answer] The code will be an expansion of the provisions contained in last year's law on employees in state offices. It will pertain to the duties, traits, attitudes and rules of conduct which apply to an official in a socialist state. As for expectations relating to strengthening and improving the efficiency of the local administration, we can speak in the context of all of the laws which regulate the duties of and rights of state officials. But only the observance of these laws will definitely contribute to proper selection and greater stability of cadre in the local administration, and systematic training and skills-improvement of this cadre.

[Question] Have the measures taken thus far slowed down the turnover of employees in the state administration offices? Are the people who are most needed there going into these offices?

[Answer] Unfortunately, we have not yet been able to slow down the turnover of employees in the local offices of the state administration. One of the basic causes is wages, which now lag behind in comparison with the overall increase of wages in the country. We think that the matter of wages in the local administration must be taken care of immediately. In any case, the law on state office employees provides that the amount of emoluments for state officials should rise at a rate no lower than that of the average emoluments for workers employed in the socialized economy.

Another, in my opinion, important reason which makes selection and stabilization of cadre in local administration difficult, is the still-low social standing and prestige of the official. Someone may say at this point that a local official must earn high social standing. The truth probably lies somewhere in between, because it is also important that the role and importance of the administration in a socialist state, relevance in assessments, and an atmosphere of friendliness, should be

properly appreciated. This does not mean that the administration cannot be criticized, and this criticism is necessary. But it should be addressed at a specific official or organizational unit, and not at the entire institution. That is why in addition to showing what is wrong, examples of good and dedicated work should be shown more often--the proper relationship to a citizen and his needs.

#### A Difficult Choice

[Question] Irrespective of how qualified and how ethical the employees of the state administration may be, the citizens rate their activities on the basis of how they settle the matters submitted to the administration. Meanwhile it operates in a specific economic situation. It may be assumed that your Ministry does not have too much freedom of maneuver in those areas that most affect the daily life of the citizens, i.e., in the housing and municipal economy and local transportation. In what areas, therefore, do you want to concentrate your attention?

[Answer] With the meager means now available to us we must make hard choices and concentrate on the most important tasks. In the areas entrusted to the Ministry, assisting the local organs of state administration, we will concentrate our attention this year and during the next few years on ensuring the necessary increase and continuity in municipal services, while also improving their quality and reliability. This pertains mainly to availability of water and heat, local transportation, keeping the cities clean, that is, those sectors of the municipal economy that are closely linked with the functioning of the cities and the populace's living conditions. In housing construction we will concentrate on establishing conditions for that industry, making use of the initiatives, activity and means of the populace and the workplants. But progress in this field is dependent on more efficient and disciplined investment activity, allocating the investment for utilization in a timely manner, and in giving more consideration to repairs, both of housing buildings as well as municipal installations.

#### Repairs, Transportation, Cleanliness...

[Question] The state of the municipal economy in Katowice province is affected by the environment, as seen, for example, in the damage done by mining, the transportation difficulties, the breakdowns in the water-sewage network (14,000 a year), and damage to roads. Comrade Minister, what is the concrete solution to these problems, both as relates to direct assistance in supplying indispensable equipment and installations and organizational and financial assistance? We are deliberately formulating the question in this way because we have seen the distintegration of some enterprises (wages here are less than half of those in the industrial plants of the Mountain Industrial District (GOP)) and a reduction in the level of functioning of the municipal services.

[Answer] I am aware that in Katowice province, because of the mining damages, the scope of tasks ensuing from technical maintenance of municipal facilities and the many breakdowns, is very large. In order to create better conditions for an indispensable growth in employment in specific cases, the Ministry is attempting to have the increase in the wage fund, amounting to 6.5 percent, exempt from deductions for the Vocational Activization Fund, apply, as decided in individual cases, to

the average wage and not to the wage fund. We are also trying to obtain agreement for reductions in calculating deductions for the Vocational Activization Fund in repair plants of enterprises which utilize housing funds.

Measures involving wages are not fully effective. That is why the activity of the enterprises themselves in improving working conditions and the social conditions of the municipal workforces is also essential. We are counting on the activeness of the trade unions being organized to help in this regard. We are trying to ensure that the needs of the enterprises of the municipal economy in Katowice province are met. In 1983, local transportation will receive 300 Ikarus buses (including 60 articulated) and 30 large-capacity streetcars. This should make it possible--aside from replacing obsolete rolling stock--to increase the number of buses and streetcars in service and thus improve transportation. In addition, it is anticipated that in 1983 148 special vehicles will be delivered for the requirements of the municipal economy. This will include 108 vehicles for removal of solid and liquid wastes and winter and summer street-cleaning, 9 special vehicles for cleaning sewage pipes and catch basins, 7 tow-trucks and 1 laboratory for the water- and sewage-system enterprise needs. Also, in distributing the transport rolling stock and heavy equipment, Katowice province has been given definite priority within the limits, unfortunately, of the greatly reduced allocation to the Ministry.

#### At Different Levels

[Question] Most, as much as 40 percent of the country's environmental problems, are concentrated in Katowice province. One person is responsible for taking care of them--the governor of Katowice province. Every one of the remaining 48 governors, as can be easily calculated, has, statistically, 30 times fewer such problems weighing on him. Why, then, do the attempts of the Katowice authorities on the transfer of part of the governors' entitlements in this field to the mayors of the larger GOP towns, which have to contend with problems that are frequently greater than those of sometimes an entire province, go unheeded?

[Answer] I share the viewpoint that under the conditions that exist in Katowice province, duties of environmental protection, if they are to be performed effectively, require that there be a suitable division of tasks between the organs of the province and the primary level. The Ministry is familiar with this problem, which occurs also, although on a somewhat smaller scale, in other provinces that encompass, within their borders, large urban-industrial centers. To solve it, however, means that the primary-level authorities must be given far greater competence to act independently, and that organizational structures must be adapted accordingly. If the local organs at the primary level are to perform the expanded tasks in the field of environmental protection, the offices under them must have the appropriate, from the standpoint of qualifications and numbers, environmental-protection staffs. It should also be remembered that the funds allocated for this purpose will have to be restricted to the amounts available thus far.

The matter of increasing the powers and independence of the organs at the primary level is reflected in the draft law on people's councils and local self-government. Therefore, final settlement of the matter of increasing the powers of the primary-level organs in the field of environmental protection will be possible after the new law on people's councils and local self-government goes into effect.

## Responsibility for Environmental Protection

[Question] It was hoped that after economic reform the country would come out of the crisis both economically and ecologically. Meanwhile, the mechanisms activated by reform to stimulate better functioning of environmental protection are, as experience has shown, inadequate. In Katowice province, for example, not one of the most onerous industrial plants is able, under current economic conditions, to get funds for investment arrears in environmental protection. Meanwhile, the number of indispensable investments, financed centrally, has also been greatly restricted, for Katowice province also. Banks are unwilling to grant credit investments for environmental protection, and income tax allowances for this purpose cannot be applied. What solution, Comrade Minister, do you see for this situation?

[Answer] Economic reform could not be and is not some kind of miracle, which would immediately ensure drastic increases in funds for environmental protection. The substance of reform in this area depends on integrating in one economic organization responsibility for environmental protection and decision-making on allocation of specific funds for this purpose. The economic mechanism stimulating the economic organizations to take into account environmental protection needs in their activities is a system of payments for taking advantage of the environment and penalties for failure to observe the requirements to protect it. The size of the penalties in effect in Katowice province is three times those in effect throughout the country as a whole. Enterprises making investments in the field of environmental protection can take advantage of tax deductions, and also of bank credits--within the limits that the credit plan allows. In view of the restricted capabilities of the enterprises, additional funds are being activated on the part of the state, in the form of subsidies from special-purpose funds, such as the Environmental Protection Fund and the Water Management Fund. The state is also assuming the financing, through the central investment procedures, certain investments that are particularly important for environmental protection. This also pertains to Katowice province.

And furthermore, in the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-1985, outlays for environmental protection should greatly increase in comparison with 1982. But they will only allow for implementation of limited tasks. In these circumstances it is essential that there be constant observation, both on the part of the central authorities as well as the provincial authorities, of the effectiveness of the operation in the field of environmental protection of the present economic mechanisms, and especially as to whether they are able to ensure funds for implementation of the goals specified in the 3-year plan.

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CSO: 2600/1118

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Crumbling Barriers Among Trade Unions

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZELA in Polish 7 Jun 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by Lech Czuba: "Crumbling Barriers"]

[Text] Two Hundred and Sixteen Registration Applications from Professional Trade Union in Elblag; First National Federation of Farm Workers

The trade union movement is systematically developing in the province of Elblag. By 30 May, 216 registration applications had made their way to the Elblag Provincial Court. One hundred ninety-four trade union organizations are already registered. Included in this number are the professional trade unions of the province's largest factories.

We are interviewing Edmund Waraczewski, the chairman of the First Registration Department of the Provincial Court in Elblag, on the registration process, problems of the concordance of introduced motions with their binding legal certificates, and the most frequent errors committed during the drafting of laws.

The first months of introducing new legal certificates have always raised certain doubts about their interpretation. A certain period of time is necessary for the reasons and principles of new law to "sink" into the social consciousness so that society can understand it. In this initial period, the number of reservations voiced concerning the proposed planned rules and regulations for trade union organizations by the Provincial Court which, as the registration agency, validates their compatibility with current legislation, was significant.

The reservations concerned mainly procedural formalities. It often seemed to the people processing the projected rules and regulations that the shortage of signatures was not a mistake, that this should not be a factor in holding up registration. Investigating the compatibility of the projected rules and regulations with the legislation of the government from an official viewpoint is the first duty of the lawyer. Outwardly trivial shortcomings are important from the perspective of law and order.

The second phase of the registration is the research into the essence of individual regulations in as far as their compatibility with the law is concerned. Even here the number of proposed corrections was considerable during the initial period. However, even during this period the number of expressed reservations has already been gradually reducing and there are few of them currently. Certainly the appointment of an Advisory-Consultative Team with the Provincial People's Council had an influence on this.

What especially was the concern to which the expressed reservations of the registration agency referred? Most reservations were expressed by the Provincial Court about the regulations on collective disputes and the right to strike in the rules and regulations prepared by founding committees in agricultural plants and also in education centers, while article 40 of the law on professional trade unions distinctly deprives these plants of the right to strike.

Another group of reservations covered the absence of mention in the regulations' preambles of any reference of the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party. This problem was extensively discussed during the meetings of the State Council's team which had been appointed to work out the planned law on professional trade unions. I will remind you that the team was operational from 17 October 1980 until 26 April 1981; representatives from all the then-operating professional unions plus government and scientific representatives participated in the team's efforts. After the second debate, all team members acknowledged that a distinct statement of the leading role of the party in the preambles is justified from the viewpoint of the possibility of a loose interpretation by individual unions of the general statement on the recognition of principles contained in the Constitution.

Other problems are tied to this one. In some of the planned rules and regulations, there is a record that professional unions are independent of the political apparatus. Even this problem was settled during the existence of the State Council team which acknowledged that such a record would restrict any action by union members and, simultaneously, political party members by interpreting their demands as being based on the initiatives of the party apparatus. The second article of the law on professional trade unions distinctly covers the independence from state and economic administration.

Subjective restrictions on affiliation with trade unions, thus depriving people who perform political party functions of their right, are also contained in certain legislation not corresponding to the law. Also deprived is the chance to carry out trade union functions, while the law does not contain the clause leaving this matter up to the individual. Similarly extensively interpreted were the law's regulations on the rights of professional trade unions; it was also included that a professional organization has the right to define the fixing of awards or the guaranteeing of wage amounts, while the law speaks only about consultation and publicity of their amounts or fixings.

After a union has been registered, the founding committee has the obligation to conduct elections of the leadership and to present to the court an application to register the administration together with the minutes of the elections meeting. It often happened that this action was not carried out nor were suspenses for its execution set.

I presented selected shortcomings and errors most often committed by union organizers. Initially, their number was considerable, but gradually decreased. After discussing these considerations with the registration agency, and then explaining in several articles how proposed plans conflict with existing laws, they were completed and/or corrected.

Of course, not all projects presented required corrections or completion. The court had no reservations on a considerable number of them. Generally, the number of voiced considerations was not large. Their entering into documents, prepared by people with no everyday experience with legalities, should not be surprising. This is why there is a registration agency to check out legal compliance, point out the contradictions and supervise the introduction of corrections.

The registration process of new professional trade unions is proceeding quickly. The Provincial Court in Elblag has registered 12 unions in the last 10 days of May alone. Preparations by certain unions are already underway to set up supraplant structures. This is so especially for the professional organizations of farm workers. They have decided to set up a national federation and Elblag Province was the first national federation and Elblag Province was the first nationally to appoint a founding committee of a provincial federation.

#### Court Registration of Trade Unions

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 8 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by A.L.: "The Number of Trade Unions and Trade Unionists Is Increasing"]

[Text] Registration Division of Provincial Court Is Busy

The Provincial Court's Registration Division in Poznan cannot complain about a shortage of work. Stacks of briefcases with applications for registration literally and entirely fill the small corner designated for this activity. It is worth adding that Poznan trade unions, in regard to the number of incoming applications and the number of unions already registered, occupies second place nationally after Katowice. However, the number of officials in the division, in procedural matters, including one person partially dedicated to this work, and one judge. In other provinces where an improvised system to facilitate the processing of applications has been adopted, and, what is most important, a several-person task force is working on the matter, it takes 2 days to process a registration; with us, 2 months.... It seems a speedy improvement is in order.

More and more applications are coming. By the end of May, the Registration Division received more than 1,100 registration applications from trade union organizations and their administrations. Poznan province is ahead with 480 applications for legal status; from Pilsk--360 applications; and from Leszczn--171 applications. On the other hand, 401 unions are registered in Poznan; 281 in Pilsk and 129 in Leszczyn. Barely 250 applications refer to the registration

of union administrations. The Registration Division reminds us that the duration of processing this indispensable formality takes 14 days. This is an especially important requirement for those trade union organizations which want to be associated in a federation. Without a registered administration, they are unable to finance their joining.

Professional trade unions are already operating in principle in all the large plants of our region. Recently, union organizations from the "Tonsil" Loudspeakers Production Works, the M. Kasprzak graphic works and also the RSW press-Book-Movement and Farm Academy have been registered.

Newer and newer obligations are increasing. Trade unionists are turning to the division for information on the number of trade union organizations in a given sector for the purpose of organizing efforts to establish a federation. Workers are anxiously awaiting the moment when, perhaps, the court in Warsaw allows provincial courts to authorize the registration of trade union federations. Under current working conditions, the time to register will certainly drag on longer than ever before.

#### Trade Union News

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 9 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by the paper's editorial staff]

[Text] The professional trade unions are playing an ever more significant role in the country's socioeconomic life. There are more and more of them and they comprise a considerable portion of the workforce membership.

For this reason, our editors are introducing, independently from any ongoing news or information devoted to these problems, a continuous rubric in which we will devote space to materials covering trade union activity. We want to show the professional unions in action, to what degree they are becoming involved in the defense of working interests and in the resolution of all the problems of the enterprise and workforce. We want to show people who participate, who jointly bear responsibility for the settlement of the plant's most pressing problems, and who are active in the trade unions. In a word, we want to report about everything that the unions do on an everyday basis.

We wish to edit this rubric together with the trade unionists. Trade unionists, we are counting on your help. Write to us about your achievements, but also about your troubles and any difficulties. We will assist you. We await your letters, comments and proposals.

#### Ice of Mistrust Is Melting

"Somebody has got to begin this work," told a worker from the Przemysl Elbud to our reporter. This worker is one of those innovators responsible for appointing a trade union organization in this plant. This was in mid-October of last year when the seeds of the trade union movement began to germinate.

Let us go over the facts again: It was November 1982 when the first meeting of the Przemysl Provincial Court took place on the issue of professional trade unions. Four trade union organizations from Pruchnik, Przemysl and Jaroslawie acquired legal status in order to begin legitimized operations at the beginning of January.

Those, who bore the burden on their shoulder, will testify that the beginnings of a new establishment, and the overcoming of prejudice, barriers, distrust and indifference were difficult. But after some time had passed, the ice of mistrust had melted. Many, who had stood on the sidelines, decided to add their signatures to the trade union declaration.

Today, 162 union organizations are operating in the plants of Przemysl Province. They comprise around 25,000. By now 100 of the organizations have elected their plant administrations.

More than 800,000 railwaymen belong to the professional trade unions; these men perform various services on the line. The trade union organizations are active in all services units of the railroad.

The trade unions have become a fact in all large plants, which are important to the province, in Jaroslawie and Przemysl. They have been generally accepted in the Przemysl Regional Enterprise for Cereals Processing in Jaroslawie and in the Construction Machine Plant of the Steel Will mills in Lubaczow. The workforce of almost all state agricultural enterprises have their own trade union organizations.

More than 2,600 people, including 1,500 workers, have expressed their desire to join the professional trade unions in Przeworsk and its environs. Spokespersons for workforce interests are strongly making their presence felt in 32 Przeworsk and suburban plants and institutions. The trade union movement is developing among teachers and cultural officials. One could cite considerably more examples.

The trade unionists in many institutions can already be proud of specific aspects of their work. It is no secret that these specific accomplishments are the best construction elements of trade union authority, winning more and more members for the trade unions. One example cited reminds one of others. There is nothing surprising in that more than 100 founding committees are moving ahead with the proper preparations for going to the courts and applying for registration.

The independent, Self-Governing Professional Trade Union [NSZZ] of Workers from the Przemysl Hardboard Plants, which gained legal status on 8 December 1982, has a certificate barely 6 months old. We mention this because we have a reason: The trade unionists themselves from Przemysl's "board" plants have approached related plants with the idea of establishing supraplant trade union structures between the board, glue and match sectors. An organizational meeting will take place in 8 days in Dubieck. The managers will be the trade unionists from the Przemysl Hosiery Plants (ZPP).

## Elections in the Mielec Transport Equipment Works [WSK]

The Independent, Self-Governing Professional Trade Union [NSZZ] of Communications Equipment Plant Works already counts 5,000 members in Mielec. Presently, the trade unionists are choosing their new leadership. Gustaw Bartnik, vice-chairman of the Founding Committee of new trade unions in the Mielec plant, told us about the course of the elections campaign: "We have already ended the elections campaign for trade union leadership at the production department level. Department councils, as well as interdepartmental ones in production sectors, which have too few members, have been elected. We have currently reached the stage where we will conduct plant conferences. These conferences have already taken place in 5 plants making up the enterprise. In another few days we will hold them in the Engine Plant, administrations sections and Aircraft Factory. During the campaign, delegates will also be selected for the Enterprise Trade Union Conference which we intend to organize towards the end of this month."

The lively discussion accompanying the elections meetings testifies to the great interest in future activity and the formation of the union.

Not only were worker social and vital issues raised, but also production problems which the union has in introducing the economic reform, and the problems of what to do with profits and how to distribute them justly.

## We Are not Afraid of a Federation

On 10 May of this year, the Provincial Court in Warsaw registered the Federation of Steel Mill Professional Trade Unions on the basis of an agreement worked out by the State Council. One of the Federation members is the Independent, Self-Governing Professional Trade Union of Workers from the Steel Mill [HSW]. We interviewed Edward Szmit, a member of the governing body of the Federation's Founding Committee, about the role and tasks of the Federation:

[Question] Many plant union organizations have not yet completely become hardened or can stand alone on their legs. But the steel mill workers are already creating a supraplant structure.

[Answer] I do not believe that this would be a surprise to seasoned observers of trade union life. The trade union organizations from the Lenin Mill, the M. Nowotki Mill in Ostrowiec and the Bierut Mill in Czestochowa have come forth with this new idea. First, a Committee for Professional Trade Union Cooperation was established. There was a long discussion about the need to appoint some kind of representation and the unions were consulted on the idea. We at the mill came to the conclusion after a very long debate that a joint forum is essentially necessary where joint problems from the entire sector could be solved more easily and so we joined the federation. The federation is currently made up of 74 mill trade unions from all over the country.

[Question] What needs actually determined this decision?

[Answer] We have the same plants that others in this sector have. For instance, people wanted more and more to modify the Workers' Corporate Labor Pact and the Mill Workers' Charter. Recently, we were surprised to be deprived of a coal deputy. It is difficult to imagine that every union would end up going to the ministry over these matters. I doubt that such diffused actions will have the desired effect. United we are stronger. Beyond this, such representation facilitates considerably the conduct of consultation on the various decisions of the authorities.

[Question] Aren't you afraid that a trade union "cap" will thusly come into being to direct plant organizations?

[Answer] Out of the question. There is a provision in the planned law on the federation that each plant will have its own legal status which guarantees its freedom of action and independence. There is also the possibility for a union organization to leave the federation if the workforce so decides.

[Question] In conversations with the trade unionists from other sectors, I heard the statement that maintaining such a supraplant can be extremely expensive....

[Answer] How to finance the federation was also a touchy issue with us during the discussion. We concluded, however, that it would be worth it. We will allocate 20 percent of our membership fees to a federation fund. That is for the beginning, which, as is known, is always most expensive. I think that the percentage will be lower in the future because the projected structure of the federation is to be very modest.

[Question] How does this structure look?

[Answer] Simply put, the federation is a representation of plant organizations which have joined it. At the first congress, which is supposed to deliberate next Saturday in Katowice, an executive committee will be elected on which the representatives of 25 unions will sit. A Chairman and 5 Vice-chairpersons will also be elected. This framework and some social duties is everything. The federation will be run by several people who will work on purely technical matters, such as receiving and processing requests, correspondence and the like, as well as a small office for convalescent affairs. The executive committee will be made up of 11 permanent members representing organizations of more than 3,000 trade unionists, and 14 rotating members from smaller organizations. The length of office of permanent members will be 3 years and half that for rotating ones. Representatives from the smaller plants also may have the opportunity of becoming permanent members if discussions turn to the nonferrous metal mills, coke mills, foundaries, and plants making fireproof materials which all vote for a joint representative. The highest authority will be an assembly of the trade unions meeting every 18 months.

[Question] What will be the difference between the permanent member and the rotating one?

[Answer] Besides the extended term of office, permanent members will have the right of a double vote during voting, while rotating members will have only a single vote. I feel that this is fair since our contribution as an organization of almost 3,000 members to the federation fund is greater than that of small plants. Of course, when I speak of members, I am talking about unions and not individual people. Any given trade union may be represented by someone else at every committee meeting provided that he has complete authority to act for his plant organization.

[Question] Could it turn out that large plants like the mill will end up dominating the smaller ones and the federation will become a fiction?

[Answer] I do not believe that there will be any domination or that any decisions will be forced on to others. I have been speaking for a whole hour about the projected rules and regulations and the structure which were finally registered, but not before they were agreed upon by all members. A congress in the democratic fashion may still make certain improvements. In practice the membership will rely on problems, which the union itself cannot solve because they go beyond the scope of a single plant, being referred to the federation. While these problems are being discussed with ministry representatives, for example, a representative from the given trade union must be present and he will decide if the final verdict on an issue corresponds to the union's interests or not. The federation will fight for general issues which touch upon all unions and issues requiring intervention on the central level. Thanks to this, plant organizations will be able to focus their efforts on problems inside the enterprise. I think that the federation is currently the best solution for the trade union movement and will become the authentic representative of the trade unionists.

#### Ongoing Key Issues

The Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Workers from the Sanok Municipal Management Enterprise [SPGK] was awarded legal status on 30 December 1982. Currently, more than 30 percent of the workforce of 11 specialty plants are organizing with 207 members, including 133 workers, declaring their affiliation to the trade union. How does a plant trade union organization of city dwellers from Sanock legitimize itself and what key enterprise problems take up most of its time? We put these questions to Edward Silarski, chairman of the Sanok NSZZ of SPGK workers.

"It is understandable that organizational matters took up a great deal of our time. Our first general meeting, which was attended by more than 90 percent of the membership, concentrated on the election of the leadership. A 9-man administration and 3-man audit commission was set up based on legal documents; we defined together the program for undertaking our next activities.

"In our enterprise, which is made up of many specialty plants where special work requires that various issues and problems be individually regarded, we set the limit of legal allowances. The trade unionists decided to renew the public activity of the labor inspector and to construct a recreation center in

Trecpcze. Principles were defined for sharing premiums and awards, for social and financial assistance, and for prioritizing people who distinguish themselves by their work, who are disciplined and who care about the enterprise's good name. The trade union organization has taken on the responsibility for the fair distribution of referrals to hospital care, holidays and other forms of recreation, as well as settlements and camps for children. We have adopted a plan for improving plant safety and hygiene at work; we were also, to an extent, the 'executors' of recommendations.

"Members of our trade union supervise the provision of the workforces with protective clothing, footwear and protective personal equipment; we patronize the finishing operations in the new bus [MSK] shed which will soon radically change work conditions in the technical base. We are fighting mismanagement in parts, subassemblies and tires. Our annual requirements of 1,200 sets of tires and tubes are covered by only 10 percent. Bus transportation workers are troubled by a shortage of parts for the fuel assembly of compression-ignition drives, mainly injectors and injector points; hence, the recovery of every part and its reuse is our great concern. The close supervision of the use of fuels, oils and lubricants, everyday contact and the close cooperation of trade union organizations--ours and the federation's bring definite advantages. We can mitigate supply shortcomings in parts which guarantee the accident-free operation of our transportation vehicles.

"Our workforce intends, despite specific difficulties, to continue improving municipal services, including passenger bus service. And we do not really have to convince people about this problem, because when there is an accident, the phones ring off the wall.

"Based on our experience, we can say that we have no shortage of problems; maybe this is why we are thinking of the appointment of supraplant organizations. For instance, a trade unionist federation of related enterprises of municipal management, even if only in Krosien Province, could more extensively undertake the coordination of actions and efforts in resolving issues and problems which are beyond our power to solve. We will support those initiatives because 15 of such organizations of municipal management are operating in the Carpathian Mountains region."

#### Overcoming Opposition to Trade Unions

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 9 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by W. L.: "A Trade Union Workday"]

[Text] At the Polska Welna Wool Industry Plants

Gradually, overcoming difficulties and prejudices, the Independent, Self-Governing Professional Trade Union of textile workers in the Polska Welna Wool Industry Plants is becoming more and more active. And this is also not very easy because of those who have taken on the responsibility for a common cause, but do not have the experience in the trade union arena. One has to learn. Maria Smolarczyk, the chairperson of the administration, took up her duties after

simply coming in from the province; she is a weaver by trade. Danuta Borodziej, the vice-chairperson--she carries out public duties--is also a weaver by trade. Presently, she works as a sorter.

Despite the difficulties, 492 members, including 103 pensioners and retirees, belonged to the trade union organization in the Polska Welna Wool Industry Plants on 1 June. But the workforce counts currently no less than 1,900 members! This means that the union still has plenty to do in order that the majority of work colleagues can also join. Even the last few days have seen an intensive flow of membership applications.

During the first months of this year, the administration concentrated its main efforts on organizational issues. Step by step, essential union activity, which means first and foremost the protection of working interests in its most significant meaning, is beginning to play an ever more important role. And much is actually happening in this field.

As a result of conversations with union workers, as well as non-union ones, the administration concluded that several worker categories, namely paid on a daily basis, and such professions as paymasters and department master accountants, have been wronged. These colleagues were not included by plant regulations and changes in the wage system because of the dictated and narrowly encompassing criteria of the economic reform. The shortcoming of the closely fixed piecework standards was acknowledged as a weakness when granted wage increases. This was especially the case for workers who worked the hardest, as those involved in transportation and stores. As a result of the conversations between union representatives and management, these workers were awarded wage increases, even though they were not covered by existing accords. Chairperson Maria Smolarczyk is also very much in favor of having even more talks with management about this matter. It is the unions' opinion that the size of wage increases for these worker categories is still not proportionate to the amount of work these categories do, nor to those changes taking place in the plant system of accorded wages. The union also took an interest in the inaccurate granting of premiums based on achievement to certain workers. The union strongly takes the position that an improvement in production results depends not only on the labor of workers directly employed in production, but also on work organization to a basic degree. Technical supervision should concern itself with this; management as well.

The union administration made 5 corrections regarding the program presented by management on plant regulations covering the distribution of awards. As a result of the discussion of the administration's representatives, a compromise was reached at a joint meeting with the workers council. Three corrections were considered. Recently, the administration kept one of the copies of the minutes of last spring's review of working conditions for its own use. The trade union considers its duty the control of implementing timetables worked out on the basis of received recommendations.

At the suggestion of the trade union, the working council and management resolved to subsidize workers riding to work for part of their ticket cost from the 15th of this month, similar to the practice of aiding those riding trains and buses.

The 11-man plant protection commission, which was constituted under the chairmanship of the plant public labor inspector, Boleslaw Jarczyk, will have ample opportunity to show what it can do. The commission is made up of both trade unionists as well as nonunionized workers from the Polska Welna Wool Industry Plants. The union supervises the commission's activity.

In implementing the resolution of the representatives of 13 trade unions operating in Lublin Light Industry--we have written about this before in our newspaper--the union will employ a legal advisor in the next few days who will serve the unions, i.e. the membership, with expertise in the area of the labor law. If need be, he will also serve on the Court of Labor and Social Insurance. Each of the unions, based on the size of its membership, will proportionally contribute for any expenses incurred because of the above. This form of interunion cooperation should be recognized as the first swallow heralding the rise of supraplant structures in the future even in this sector.

There is a host of touchy issues. Not only do trade unionists turn to the union in the Polska Welna for help, but also those who are not unionists: for example, it has happened that someone did not receive his due in wages or premiums. Many speak up about housing issues.

The social commission with the administration has its hands full. It is necessary to decide who gets space in the workers hotel, who gets a private room or an apartment or who gets a loan for remodeling his apartment or for building a home. These issues require particularly sensitive and scrupulous control and are extremely time-consuming. And if that were not enough, a large portion of this work falls on the shoulders of a single salaried union worker, i.e., the chairman. It is worth adding that the secretary of the workers council participated in the proceedings during the review of housing issues by the commission.

Applications for allowances also consume a great amount of time. Decisions have to be reached collectively. Requirements are great, while the funds are unfortunately limited.

Although the times are hard, we also need to think about recreation. On the occasion of Mother's Day, a show was arranged for 60 women: those who had distinguished themselves at work and those who are single, but support more than 3 children. Based on the quotas adopted as before by active professional trade unions, the administration finances partially payable variety shows and excursions for workers and, particularly, for children--within the framework of summer programs.

Much attention is also focused on the problems of pensioners and retirees.

Sometimes we have to look further down the road, beyond the plant. For this reason, people thought about setting up a money box in the entrance hall for voluntary contributions to the Polish Mother's Monument to be set up in Lodz. It is possible that more than one of the contributors will herself take advantage one day of the medical services of this center.

The money box is secured, but despite this, one can see a great deal of money already within through the openwork of the box walls.

ALBIN SIWAR COMMENTS ON POPE'S VISIT

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 8 Jul 83 pp 1, 3

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee member Albin Siwak, reported by Leslaw Gnot]

[Text] A sweltering July day--everyone thinking about where to escape from the heat-soaked buildings when the day's work is done. Much of the workforce and cadre on vacation, for this is the vacation season. Despite this, the largest hall in the Roller Bearings Factory (FLT) in Krasnik is filled with people. Even those came who are on vacation now. The secretary has to arrange for additional seating. What magnet draws these people to this meeting?

The guest of FLT's workforce, Albin Siwak, himself gives the clue to this when he bluntly asks the PZPR Plant Committee members who greet him:

--Thank you for the invitation. But please tell me honestly why you invited me.

--That was what the workforce wanted, replies the secretary. The workers especially, want to talk with a worker, a member of the Political Bureau of our party.

--Yes, to talk--interrupts a member of the executive board. The people need such a direct, honest, exchange of ideas. And you know how to do this!

--Well, says Albin Siwak, I try as much as possible to maintain contact with the people, especially the workers. And I, too, feel that we must talk as openly as possible. Even if something undiplomatic is said in all this, generally speaking people like such a direct form of contact.

On Antisocialist Activities and National Accord

[Question] How extensive were the antisocialist activities during the Pope's visit?

[Answer] I was able to see this from two sides. During a visit in Berlin I looked at the West German television coverage, and when I returned I learned about what went on here. In West Germany almost exclusive attention was given to attempts at rioting, people giving the well-known "V" sign... Despite this, the final conclusion was rather pathetic... The Poles did not regard the Pope's pilgrimage as an occasion for mass demonstrations.

According to our information, about a thousand people involved in antisocialist activities "serviced" all of the ceremonies, following the Pope from Warsaw to Poznan, Silesia, Wroclaw, Czestochowa, all the way to Krakow. They distributed themselves according to plan among the crowds, making sure that they were visible to the cameras of the foreign television. They shouted and they held up placards. But the masses of people did not react to these attempts. And so, without ignoring what took place, we can say that the sowers of unrest lost again.

[Question] Are you, a person who was so definitely opposed to the "Solidarity" extreme, now in favor of accord and reconciliation?

[Answer] Of course I am for reconciliation, not only because the Political Bureau, of which I am a member, has taken such a position, but also out of my deepest personal conviction. We must persuade and draw the people who are still confused and lost to work with us. We must break through the artificial divisions into the right and left side of the fence. And those people, too, who are straddling this fence waiting to see who wins our most important and most urgent goal. But I cannot agree with those who in talking about reconciliation wish to obliterate the picture of the class struggle that is taking place here, who do not emphasize clearly enough that reconciliation and accord can occur only on the basis of recognizing the fundamental principles of socialism in our country. This seems to be such an obvious matter, but there are those who seem to forget about this...

#### On Social Policy and Housing Problems

[Question] Will we continue to conduct our present social policy? Are we able to afford everything that has been introduced in Poland in recent years?

[Answer] I, too, have doubts here. I see how the wave of new proposals and demands continues to grow. And we should realize this fact at least, that already now 18.5 percent of the state's budget goes for subsidies for social purposes, while in Sweden, a country heralded as a welfare state of the highest world standing, budget subsidies do not exceed 8 percent. Another example: reduction of sick benefits for the first few days was overwhelmingly rejected. The extremely wealthy United States does not pay sick benefits for the first 7 days of sickness in any occupation. And our fraternal socialist countries, whose economic conditions are much better than ours, do not allow themselves the luxury of granting full 2-year maternity benefits...

Of course, I do not believe that we should now eliminate our social services, or back out of future and past promises. But at least as future measures are concerned we should be more cautious and ask ourselves whether we are able to afford all of this. Because ultimately all of these gains will turn against us--will cause further devaluation of our money. Therefore, I see a close interdependence between what we are able to do and the future development of social services.

[Question] Can the situation in construction be cured? What can be done so that there will be more housing? Why do we not enforce the rule--one dwelling for one family? Our applications in these matters to the city mayor remain unanswered.

[Answer] Construction truly is one of the most neglected and badly-functioning areas. There are many reasons for this. For many years a poor wage system was in effect, one that favored a pretense of working but not good, productive work. Low wages in construction were a negative-selection factor. Do you know that in Silesia, for example, when new wage conditions were introduced in mining, 42,000 people fled from the construction enterprises into the mines?

Young people must be drawn to this occupation, and in addition to wage reform we must apply other forms of preference. There is a proposal persistently being made that a person taking a job in construction be guaranteed housing after, for example, 5 years... POLITYKA attacked this idea, arguing that in such a difficult housing situation the principle of full equality must prevail. Theoretically that is right. But if we consider that statistically every construction worker completes, during that time, 20 M-5 or M-6 apartments, then even if one of those goes to him 19 will remain for distribution. If we torpedo this most attractive element of the proposal than it will be more equal, only there will be nothing to divide up.

And the situation is very bad. In 1979, 270,000 apartments were completed and this still was not enough. Last year the people obtained 111,000 apartments. How much is this in comparison with 4.5 million families waiting for housing. That, then, is the scale of the problem. In the near future legislation will be passed which will regulate such matters as the obtainment of land for construction, factory assistance to people building homes by their own efforts, obligating and encouraging factories to build factory housing, and a number of other measures. However, without a doubt, the housing problem is not just an economic matter today. It is one of the most important political problems. If we do not accomplish the tasks of the Ninth Congress in this area, no one will forgive us.

The city mayor replied to the second part of the question dealing with dual housing. He reported that matters are being settled and that the persons complaining have received replies. In many cases, however, the legal situation is different than the information supplied would indicate.

#### On Accountability and Responsibility

[Question] Have the former VIP's been brought to account or have these matters been dropped?

[Answer] So far as I know the State Tribunal is supposed to meet still in July. The cases are in progress. But let us not conceal the fact that it is not at all easy to settle these cases in accordance with the law and all its principles, and at the same time in such a way as to satisfy public opinion. Let us take just one example: the defenders of the accused persons are already putting forth the argument that after all, each year the Parliament passed a motion approving the government's operations, and that the Supreme Chamber of Control verified that the majority of the decisions were made in accordance with regulations. And yet it was bad and continued to get worse.

There are also opinions expressed that most of the accountability scandals were either contrived or deliberately exaggerated so as to discredit not only specific

prominent persons but the people's authority as a whole, the party, and its elements. Doubtless there were such cases also, but after all, there was also a lot of ill-will, lack of integrity, violation of law and the principles of socialist ethics.

Someone once said at a meeting of the Central Committee, "let us be done with all of this because we are getting sick of it"... I took the floor and said most emphatically: The assessment of blame has to be brought to a conclusion. Only then can we stand before the people with our heads held high. That is my position on the matter. So far as I know, most of my comrades share this opinion, and that is why I believe that these cases will be brought to a conclusion. But it is always the rule that the higher we go the more complicated, more difficult the cases are, and require the longest time. But nobody in the leadership wants to "worm out" of this matter.

Regardless of accountability for the past, we must combat all of the dishonesty and corruption that is being revealed now. As chairman of the PZPR Central Committee's Complaints and Grievances Commission I have a number of such cases. Some you are familiar with through television; for example, the case of the Housing Cooperative in Szczeczeszyn. Every Friday I see approximately 70 people. Other comrades see no fewer people each day. Hundreds of letters. All of this tells us how much more has to be done in our country if respect for the law and the principles of social justice is to become commonplace.

Today there are still schemers, petty local officials and "operators" who count on the fact that they will not be punished, and on someone's support--if not open then silent--and defense. But the chain of these kinds of practices has been broken. Not only are the innocent defended and their matters justly settled, but also the guilty are severely punished.

Something else should still be said: In certain fields the regulations and legal standards in effect permit "lawlessness" within the majesty of the law. We now have to correct this with great difficulty. We cannot do this in a slapdash way. A bad law or regulation must be replaced by a good, wise law, one that is precise and facilitates rather than complicates attainment of the correct goal. Certainly Parliament has never worked as intensively as at present.

On the Workers' Party

[Question] What has changed and is changing in the party?

[Answer] The question seems to be a general one, but I wish to take this occasion to bring up an important problem. Before the Ninth Congress the Central Committee of the party, which has the word "workers" in its name, consisted of 270 members of whom 26 were workers. Their participation in the work of this echelon was small. If they took the floor at all their speeches were primarily prepared by someone else--glib, coordinated, and positive. After the Congress there were 97 workers in the Central Committee. And often they took the floor very independently, combatively, and sternly. Even if everything in these speeches is not rightful, it is, after all, the genuine voice of the workers. It is the same in the Political Bureau, where there are now four workers in the problem commissions and other fields.

We will not learn everything all at once, but even with our inefficiency and lack of experience we bring into the work of the highest party echelon such workers' traits as intransigence, decisiveness, and knowledge of the realities of life and society's attitudes. All of this is very important and very necessary.

The question: What next? I think that the next Thirteenth Plenum of the Central Committee, based on the materials and assessments which the last Twelfth Plenum originated, will allow us to define the basic assumptions of the party line, which will be the development and application of the substance and decisions of the Ninth PZPR Congress to the requirements of the current situation.

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## USSR'S ZAGLADIN COMMENTS ON CURRENT STATE OF COMMUNISM

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 6, Jun 83 pp 36-47

[Interview with Vadim Zagladin, first deputy director of Foreign Department of CPSU Central Committee; translated from the Russian and edited by Sylwester Szafarz and Wladyslaw Wolodkowicz: "Historical Responsibility of Communists"]

[Text] [Question] You are known in Poland as a prominent theoretician activist of the world communist movement. How do you assess, in general terms, the present stage of its development?

[Answer] The 1970s were a period of profound socioeconomic and political transformations all over the world. As you know, these transformations were related, above all, to the configuration of an international alignment of forces in favor of peace, democracy, and socialism (in this regard, of principal importance was the attainment, by socialism, of military and political parity with imperialism); to further deepening--one can say--in every respect, of the general crisis of capitalism; to the final disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism and with the emergency, in Asia and Africa, of a large group of revolutionary democratic states which are oriented toward socialism; to powerful development of social movements of a democratic character, including, above all, the antiwar and antimissile movement; to the steady development of scientific and technological evolution and the latter's increasing influence on social and political processes of contemporary world. It stands to reason that the above factors did not have a uniform and direct impact; indeed, there were also certain deviations from the general rate and direction of the course of events, as well as certain contradictory or even regressive movements. But, as a matter of fact, it is precisely these elements that characterize the new situation which emerged in late 1970s and early 1980s.

By way of generalization, we can state that by early 1980s the world underwent a basic change. It no longer resembles the world which existed in the 1960s and even the image of the world to which we became accustomed in the first half of the 1970s.

In many respects, the transformations that occurred were a result of the activity of communists and of the communist movement. Their work has been and

continues to be the most important subjective factor in the renewal of mankind's life. And when the world changes, communists also should "change." Because if they do not "change," and do not take a new situation into account in their policies, they will not be able to solve successfully the new tasks which they face. For marxist-leninist parties, the process of constant "changing" in internal development and of improving one's activity is actually an organic process, typical of them on account of their nature. Of course, necessary changes in the party's policies and activity do not always and everywhere take place at an appropriate time; but that is another matter.

All over the world, in the 1970s and at the beginning of the 1980s, from the socialist countries to the developing countries, communists made serious efforts with the aim of improving their strategic and tactical foundations as well as the forms and methods of their work. That was a period of intensive search for new solutions and new roads to progress.

Much was accomplished and found during past years--much, but of course, not all that we needed. Wide-ranging search for a modern strategic and tactical [party] policy--corresponding to a given situation--is being universally continued. Nevertheless, even now it can be stated that the results of this work are, on the whole, positive. Despite all kinds of complications and obstacles, there has been an increase in the activeness and, in many cases, also the effectiveness of the work of fraternal parties.

[Question] One of the main contemporary tasks of world communists is the struggle for peace and against war. What are the possibilities of intensifying and improving the effectiveness of collaboration of communists in this area?

[Answer] The main problem with which the communist movement has to cope during the present period is the noticeable intensification of the conflict between the two social systems throughout the world. At present, this conflict has grown sharper than in previous years, which is related to the characteristics of modern strategy and tactics of imperialism. The essence of the problem consists in the fact that the most conservative and aggressive forces of the western world are trying to retaliate, to reverse the course of history and to prevent further eventual transformation of the social features of our planet. In order to attain these regressive objectives, the imperialisms of U.S. and NATO are activizing "a policy of strength" in their attempt to achieve military and strategic superiority over socialism (and, what is more, general or--one can say--absolute superiority all over the world), and for this reason they are increasing the danger of war. In this situation, the struggle for peace has become, objectively speaking, one of the most important tasks of communists and, in general, of all supporters of democracy and progress. At the same time, precisely communists, as the most aware, organized, and goal-oriented vanguard of revolutionary forces, assume a particular, one can say, historical responsibility. These issues were discussed in November 1981 at a meeting of communists in Prague which was devoted to an assessment of the activity of the monthly "Problems of Peace and Socialism," in June 1982--at the international theoretical conference in Sofia on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of G. Dimitrov, and in March 1983--at the international scientific conference in Berlin in connection with the 165th anniversary of the birth and

the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. Despite the diversity of discussion topics, the main and dominant theme was precisely the increased responsibility of fraternal parties to defend mankind against the dangerous plans of imperialist reaction and to implement the increasing possibilities to further the advance of the cause of social progress.

It goes without saying that the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries have an important role to play in the implementation of this task. Indeed, on the one hand, the socialist world, and particularly the socialist community, is the mainstay of the cause of security of nations and of the cause of social progress. On the other hand, it is the target of imperialism's counterattack. Therefore, it is understandable that the communists of the socialist world ought to display particular energy and make special efforts in order to prevent war. The relevant actions of our countries are generally known: it suffices to refer to the results of the Prague conference of the Advisory Political Committee of the member countries of the Warsaw Pact, to initiatives by USSR and other fraternal countries which aim at stopping the arms race, etc.

By the way, from the viewpoint of the struggle for peace and for strengthening of peace, no less important role than foreign policy is played by internal strengthening of socialism, by the latter's successful development in the economic area, by improvement of its democratic political system, and by overcoming of difficulties where they occur. The stronger is socialism, the more lasting is peace. And, conversely, any weakening of any element of socialism offers another chance to enemies of peace and supporters of the "policy strength."

Communist parties in nonsocialist countries demonstrated, in recent years, an equally high degree of responsibility, by organizing active resistance to imperialism in all the basic areas of its dangerous activity. If we speak about priorities, here also problems of antiwar movement occupy the first place. And the second place is occupied by problems of organization of struggle against the consequences of economic crisis, particularly against unemployment. These two directions are at present characteristic of the activity of communists in virtually all nonsocialist countries.

Of course, of much importance are--if one can say so--not only individual activities of fraternal parties in the defense of peace but also their collective activity and coordination of their efforts. Such coordination is at present being implemented through organizing of all kinds of bilateral, regional and international meetings of communists at which various aspects of their collaboration are discussed. I have already mentioned a number of such meetings of a worldwide character. Of great importance have been also regular consultations of Central Committee secretaries of fraternal parties of the socialist countries with regard to foreign and ideological affairs, and regional consultations of communists of the Near East and Central America. Another example of regional but fairly extensive coordination of actions of communists is the joint appeal of many fraternal parties of the NATO member countries with regard to the struggle against the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe (this appeal was publicized in late April of this year).

Thus, coordination of actions of communist and workers' parties in the struggle against the danger of war exists and is developing. At the same time, the extent and the very nature of the war menace are so great that there is an urgent need to intensify our efforts as well as to improve the collaboration of communists of all countries in the struggle to maintain peace. Possibilities of this kind undoubtedly exist. Of particular importance is, on the one hand, a deeper understanding of the role and responsibility of communists as the most consistent antiwar force (since communists strive not only to prevent a specific war but to eliminate war from the life of societies) and, on the other hand, fuller consideration of the fact that in order to prevent war and to stop the arms race (and this is indeed the most important preliminary condition for solving, by all nations, of political, social and economic problems which they face) it is necessary to have the internationalist cooperation of all (and not only some or individual) peace-loving forces, primarily communists. Unfortunately, in some cases, the first or the second fact, or both together, are underestimated. This underestimation, I hope, soon will no longer be a problem.

In general, it is worth noting that the principle "Proletarians of all countries, unite!", put forward by K. Marx and F. Engels, i.e., the principle of proletarian internationalism, has never before sounded so timely as nowadays. Of course, today its meaning has been deepened and enriched. However, even now the most important aspect of internationalism is the struggle against the foreign policies of the bourgeoisie and against unjust antinational wars which are being prepared by the latter. I wish to remind you that Marx regarded such a struggle as one of the most important components of the activity of the proletariat, this struggle aiming at the latter's social liberation.

[Question] It is natural that the communist movement is developing while overcoming obstacles and difficulties in its path. What, in your opinion, are the principal difficulties?

[Answer] I think that the question can be answered thus: There have always been and will continue to be obstacles and difficulties in the course of the struggle of communists. This kind of mental conclusion is by no means a manifestation of pessimism. It is merely an objective statement about the real situation.

First of all, the point is that communists are the most powerful of all the revolutionary components of contemporary society. And if this is so, they cannot fail to encounter the strongest and the fiercest resistance on the part of forces of the old world of exploitation. Moreover, communists are essentially pioneers, who are the first to blaze new trails. They proceed on the assumption that the main driving power of social progress is, in total, the class struggle in which they actively participate. Naturally, they are constantly attacked by their class enemies. Last but not least, communists, (like, after all, any political force which is or wishes to be a vanguard), constitute merely a larger or smaller part of the whole, in this case, of the masses. It is precisely this part that is not, by any means, separated by some

kind of great wall of China from other parts of society and its life--as a whole. It is therefore natural that not only communists themselves exert influence on society but that they are also subject to a definite and, at the same time, nonuniform influence on society's part--for example, on the part of so numerous, essentially petty bourgeois, [social] strata. And these strata are propagators of ideas of bourgeois reformism and of class cooperation. All this cannot fail to affect the activity and positions of communists, particularly in our epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism.

It is understandable that the above-described general elements can manifest themselves differently in individual stages of development in different countries. With regard to the present stage, difficulties of the communist movement manifested themselves, above all, in the following problems:

First, in the manifest irregularity in the activeness of fraternal parties. For example, while communist parties of the Near East and Latin America carried out in recent years many extensive joint campaigns in defense of peace, in West Europe the activeness of communist parties manifested itself mainly within national limits; on the other hand, recently there have been virtually no continentwide actions on their part, even with regard to issues of peace. There has been also temporary slowdown in extending their influence on masses and individual [political] parties. In some places, they have been late in developing the antiwar struggle.

Second, not in all cases have communists succeeded in opposing the class enemy's ideological and propaganda efforts. In particular, the imperialist forces have had success in persuading individual groups of working people that the current increase of tension is the fault of not only imperialism but also of socialism and, above all, of the Soviet Union. In a number of cases, wide publicity has also been gained by the false theory about the Soviet military threat.

Moreover, imperialist ideologues have succeeded, in many cases, in imposing upon a part of the masses an abstract concept of human rights which is completely detached from the class reality of our times. The objective of this concept was to turn on "a green light" for a campaign in favor of antisocialist and antirevolutionary forces, while, at the same time, all means of combating these forces in socialist countries were declared to be "unlawful."

Third, in some countries, internationalist solidarity turned out to be weak, particularly with the people of Poland, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Angola, and El Salvador. Probably this was also a manifestation of the fact that, in a number of cases, bourgeois propagandists succeeded in spreading totally untrue "theories" according to which the solidarity of socialist countries and revolutionaries of other countries with revolutions in Angola, Ethiopia, and Afghanistan amounts to exporting revolution and undermining world peace. As a result, some representatives of democratic circles and, unfortunately, in some cases communists as well, on solidarity-related issues are sometimes found on the side on which, it might seem, they ought not to be.

Fourth, in recent years there has been noticeable weakening of the solidarity of individual communist parties of western countries with socialist countries. Moreover, in these parties there has been wide-spread dissemination of views and positions which present the world of socialism in a distorted light (of the kind of the well-known "theory" about real socialism, and particularly its Soviet version, having lost its "driving force").

Fifth, in some places there has been a resurgence of ideological and theoretical concepts which clearly diverge from essentially revolutionary concepts of scientific socialism and--in general--from marxism-leninism. This concerns, above all, those concepts of socialism which do not anticipate total elimination of private ownership of means of production (i.e., which do not exclude maintaining, in socialism, antagonistic, and therefore alien to it, relationships of exploitation), etc., as well as those views which result not from the idea of class struggle on the way to socialism but from the idea of cooperation between classes and "accord" between opposing classes.

What are the causes of all these shortcomings and weaknesses? It is understandable that any analysis of them (if we speak about a marxist-leninist analysis) must always be specific. However, a detailed examination, in an interview, of the sources of each of the above-mentioned problems, taking also into consideration the national conditions under which they occur, is simply not possible. Therefore let us confine ourselves to certain assertions of a more general character.

First of all, as the above considerations clearly demonstrate, a considerable role here has been played by the actions of imperialism, the latter taking advantage, for its own purposes, of the lag in the political awareness of a large part of the masses in western countries. Here is a characteristic detail: U.S. and other NATO countries, as well as their organs--as time goes on--devote increasing attention to problems of the communist movement. This is a very concrete observation. For example, one of the directives of U.S. National Security Council pointed out the need to intensify creation and utilization of difficulties of "world communism," to "reduce the spread of communist ideology," to "impair the strength of communist parties and organizations," etc.

In this connection, the most recent period demonstrated particularly the enormous role of bourgeois mass media as a weapon of class struggle and the need for revolutionaries to take this role fully into account, as well as to oppose their own increased activeness to the activity of these media.

On the other hand, undoubtedly, here and there we have seen manifestations of the influence of the social milieu which surrounds the communists--of the milieu in which they live and work--as well as of the influence of party bourgeois views and opinions (which I have mentioned earlier). I think that we should have no doubt that the position of certain comrades who, let us say, favor socialism but with retention of private property, or who demand separation at all costs from realistic socialism, is determined mainly (regardless of what these comrades say) by the moods of the petty bourgeois

mass which is outraged by "extremes" of imperialism but which is by no means ready to accept the basic political, social, and moral guidelines of socialism which it finds to be "too rigid."

Last but not least, in a number of cases there has been evidence of the poor theoretical background and lack of preparation on the part of some communists, coupled with (particularly in cases of comrades who grew up during years of relatively high economic prosperity and relatively low intensity of class struggle) lack of appropriate revolutionary experience.

We should not minimize the importance of the above-mentioned problems and difficulties but, it seems to me, neither should we exaggerate it. As a matter of fact, if these problems and difficulties have caused considerable losses to individual branches of [our] movement (above all, to those parties which began to operate legally), they nevertheless have not slowed down the universal growth of the communist movement. Joint meetings of fraternal parties in Prague, Sofia, and Berlin have demonstrated that on the basic issues of anti-imperialist struggle their positions are identical or similar, and divergencies in a certain area manifest themselves to a very small degree; positions which differ from the views of the majority meet with disapproval and criticism on the part of an overwhelming majority of fraternal parties; the dominant tendency is to strive for unity, for cohesion of the communist movement, above all, in order to resist imperialism and to activize the struggle against war.

[Question] Communists solemnly observe well-known Marxist anniversaries. What are the principal, distinguishable elements of the relation of world communist and workers' movement to Marx's achievement and to its contemporary significance?

[Answer] The 165th anniversary of the birth and the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx indeed became a very important event for communists and not only for them. Demonstrations which took place on that occasion in scores of countries all over the world are, in my opinion, a profound and eloquent testimony of the ideological development of basic branches of revolutionary struggle and of their cohesion which is based on the accurate and principle-oriented platform of marxism-leninism. These demonstrations unquestionably were a reflection of the impact of Marx's ideas on broad masses of working people.

Of course, not everybody in the communist movement has an identical attitude toward Marx and his ideas (this is related to general divergences of views which exist at present and which have been discussed earlier). While an overwhelming majority of communists regards K. Marx and his ideas, as well as V. I. Lenin and his ideas, as an ever-fresh source of revolutionary inspiration, a reliable basis for an analysis of new phenomena as well as for preparation of strategy and tactics of struggle, there also certain comrades who, like bourgeois theoreticians, assert that Marx's ideas are, allegedly, either outdated or have not passed the test of practical application in life. They present marxism as an outstanding philosophical teaching of the 19th century whose scope, however, is limited to Europe--a teaching whose importance

has diminished considerably at present. There is a view that many new phenomena in social life "cannot be fitted into the theoretical framework of marxism." Does contemporary capitalist society resemble a society of the period of Marx?--is a question which is sometimes asked. And, can marxism be utilized for an analysis of the conditions in former colonial countries which still have not "reached" the level of contemporary development of capitalism? Some authors assert still something different--that in our time (particularly in the socialist countries) marxism allegedly has lost its creative character and has ceased to meet contemporary requirements. And if this is so, then--allegedly--it should be modernized and improved through, for example, implantation of theses which are borrowed from bourgeois or reformist literature.

We will not conjecture about the subjective motives and intentions of spokesmen for such views; regardless of motives and intentions, they do much harm to the workers' movement. They confuse and disarm working people ideologically; they give an appearance of veracity to antimarxist views of bourgeois ideologues and politicians, and they actually increase opportunities for bourgeois influence on the workers' class. And if it is so, then views of this kind unquestionably call for an analysis and an appropriate reaction on the part of true marxists.

On the other hand, with regard to "the need," preached by some comrades, "to modernize" marxism-leninism as allegedly incapable of understanding the realities of the contemporary world, "the problem does not at all consist"--as Y. V. Andropov writes--"in a presumed 'crisis' of marxism but in something else--in the inability of some theoreticians, who refer to themselves as marxists, to rise to the actual level of the theoretical thinking of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and in an inability to utilize, in the process of specific research, specific problems of whole intellectual potential of those thinkers' teaching."

Mankind's progress in the 19th and 20th century has coincided, to a considerable degree, with Marx's discoveries and achievements and, moreover, to a considerable degree it is a result and a consequence of these discoveries and achievements. Past and present experience are proof of the fact that all the basic conclusions of revolutionary marxism, formulated by it during the 135 years which have passed since the "Communist Manifesto" have been fully confirmed by the course of history. On the other hand, precisely in the light of accumulated experience, not only marxists but even some of outstanding bourgeois scholars have come to the conclusion that a scientific analysis of contemporary problems of development of society, as well as scientific prognoses for its future, are not possible outside marxism-leninism and without marxism. Our party, CPSU, decidedly bases itself on this thesis.

As every true science, marxism-leninism is constantly developed, improved, and enhanced on the basis of natural and social sciences as well as generalization of social practice. In recent years, communists of the world have considerably augmented the common treasure-hoard of their knowledge. This process is continuing without interruption with the proviso that it does not follow the path of diluting marxist-leninist teaching but--quite the contrary--is based on reinforcement of its base and on defense of its principles. Such an approach

fully corresponds to the traditions and spirit of our teaching and to the requirements of social progress and needs of the communist movement.

I think that it is possible to assert most convincingly (without minimizing, at the same time, the importance of all the other areas of activity of fraternal parties) that the future growth of the communist movement and the latter's further achievements depend, to a very large extent, on intensification of the movement's activity in the ideological and political area and on its success in developing marxist theory and propaganda as well as in spreading the ideology of marxism-leninism.

[Question] The 12th Congress of the Chinese CP introduced specific changes in that party's policy and ideology. How do you assess phenomena and processes which are occurring in the activity of CCP, particularly with regard to that party's relations with other communist and workers' parties?

[Answer] As we know, the Chinese CP, under the influence of ideas of Mao Tse Tung, for a long time--for over 20 years--followed the path of ignoring not only the general principles of revolutionary struggle but also the specific national experience of China itself. This resulted in extremely undesirable consequences.

The most recent congress of the Chinese CP initiated well-known changes in that party's policy. At the congress, the previously implemented [party] line was subjected to severe and, at the same time, as we ought to believe, generally justified criticism. In many speeches at the congress, appeals were made for China's return to the path of building true socialism and for a purge of the accumulations of the "cultural revolution" and all that was connected with it. Following the congress, specific moves were made in this direction, although, as the very leaders of the Chinese CP admit, many problems still continue to remain unsolved or, as we say in Russian, "pending."

I should not like to go into a more detailed discussion of problems of internal policy which are within the sole competence of China and its party. On the other hand, with regard to the foreign policy of PRC--although some specific changes have also occurred in this area--it still contains elements that hamper complete normalization of relations between USSR and PRC, which is the sincere concern of our country. We assume that such a normalization cannot be achieved at the expense of the interests of other countries, nations, and [communist] parties. It is understandable that normalization can be implemented only on the basis of complete equality of both sides and respect for our mutual interests as well as the interests of the security of the Soviet and Chinese nations.

And, finally, a few words about the mutual relations of the Chinese CP with fraternal parties. It stands to reason that these relations are a sovereign matter for the parties themselves. However--in our opinion--normalization of interparty relations with the Chinese CP cannot be achieved while principles are being disregarded, while harm is done to the interests of other fraternal parties or countries and, even more so, while these parties or countries are

being harmed. Normalization should serve the interests of anti-imperialist and antiwar struggle, the cause of peace and social progress, and the interests of unification (and not division) of revolutionary forces.

[Question] The complex international situation--to an unprecedented degree--places on the agenda the problem of collaboration between communists and social democrats. What are the main characteristics of the politics and ideology of contemporary social democracy, and what are the chances of the latter's collaboration with communists, particularly in Europe?

[Answer] Collaboration between communists and social democrats, not for the first time in history, is becoming one of the most important problems of world politics. As we know, in the past we did not succeed in securing this collaboration. This had extremely negative consequences for the workers' cause and for the fate of nations. The "division" which is to blame for this situation is a separate problem. However, in order for justice to be done, we should observe that communists have been, incomparably more so than social democrats, consistent and active supporters of collaboration between the two basic currents of the workers' movement.

Today, however, the problem of collaboration between these two currents has acquired particular timeliness, on account of the need to prevent another war.

Since the middle 1970s, well-known changes have taken place in the relations between communists and social democrats. Since that time, communists have begun to implement, more energetically than before, the line which will result in unity of action in the antiwar struggle. In turn, social democrats have initiated a well-known revision of their positions, above all, on the issue of war and peace.

In truth, this revision has its limits. For example, while expressing their specific willingness to collaborate with the communist parties of the socialist countries in the struggle for peace, social democrats, on principle, do not wish to have anything to do with communists in their own countries. Nor is there the slightest diminution of divergences between the ideological principles of communists and social democrats, with regard, above all, to such fundamental problems as choice between class struggle and class cooperation, or understanding the essence of the ultimate goals of the struggle of the proletariat and the ways to attain them.

Likewise, as regards the issue of war and peace, there are numerous inconsistencies among social democrats. The virtue of anticommunism, fairly widespread in their community, impels certain persons in the leadership of parties which belong to the Socialist International, to participate in campaigns which are organized by imperialists and directed against the socialist countries (also in problems pertaining to Poland) and which actually serve the cause of psychological preparation for war. With reference to various premises, including also that of NATO solidarity, some socialist leaders justify the arms race which is being implemented by NATO, as well as plans to deploy new U.S. nuclear missiles in West Europe. Such policies do not at all serve the interests of working people and of peace.

At its 26th Congress, CPSU stated clearly: "We will support all measures which favor the cause of peace and democracy." At the same time, we act on the following assumptions:

--existing divergences, including also ideological ones, should not be an obstacle in a common struggle for specific, common causes;

--communists do not renounce criticism of the ideological positions and opportunistic practices of social democracy;

--we give first priority to collaboration in a struggle for peace and against war.

[Question] The most recent international consultation of communist and workers' parties took place precisely in June 1969. Since that time, numerous requests for a new consultation have been received. What can you say about the purposefulness of such a consultation and the possibility of holding it?

[Answer] In principle, international communist consultations, if we can judge on the basis of accumulated experience, are useful. Our party has several times declared itself in favor of holding them, provided that they are held with the consent of participating parties and appropriate democratic methods and forms are observed in the preparation of such consultations.

At present there are a great many reasons which speak in favor of holding a new consultation. The most important of these is the need to intensify the struggle of communists to maintain peace and to provide better coordination of their efforts in this struggle (which has been already spoken about). Evidently, however, the time is not quite ripe for such a consultation. The point, then, is to continue [individual] consultations and to discuss the related problems. And this will require time.

[Question] A recent speech by President Ronald Reagan indicates that the United States intends to enter a qualitatively new stage of the arms race, including, among other things, placement of new antimissile weapons in space, etc. What is behind those intentions of the U.S., and what would be the long-range implications of this move for the international situation?

[Answer] Our country virtually gave an answer to this question in a statement which Y.V. Andropov made in connection with a message which he had received from a group of U.S. scientists and social activists.

Moving the arms race into space would have extremely grave consequences. Actually, it would result in a deadly threat to all mankind. Taking this into consideration, the Soviet Union proposed signing a treaty to prohibit placement of any kind of nuclear weapons in space (this occurred as early as August 1981). A majority of UN members supported our proposal. Unfortunately, work on a draft of this proposal still has not begun in the UN Committee on Disarmament as a consequence of the position of U.S. and other NATO countries.

[Question] The new peace offensive of USSR and of the socialist community represents a realistic alternative to the imperialist policy of aggression and armament. What progress has been made in the area of implementation of the main goals, and directions of this offensive, which were charted in Y.V. Andropov's speech of December (1982) as well as in the Prague political declaration of the Warsaw Pact member countries?

[Answer] The situation in the area of implementation of the main goals and directions of the peace offensive of the countries of the socialist community is not uniform. The following most important elements can be distinguished. Our initiatives (above all, the 1983 Prague declaration) were understood and most actively supported by numerous and widely diversified peace groups and forces. Of course, this does not at all mean that--as some western politicians assert--the antiwar movement is a "branch" or a creation of the socialist community. The antiwar movement of our times is, to a large extent, spontaneous; it develops all by itself and is without precedent as regards the diversity of its participants. On the other hand, there is a true and well-known (incomplete) convergence of initiatives of the socialist community and the slogans of this movement. This is easy to explain as a manifestation of universal and keen interest in the problem of preventing war. The point is also that the foreign policy of the socialist community is an objective one and its goals coincide with the vital interests of all nations, of all mankind. The peace initiatives of the socialist countries have helped to destroy even the cleverest and the most refined arguments of the enemies of peace, demonstrating to all those who can see and hear which side in the present situation is struggling to prevent war and which side relies on a policy of strength and preparations for war. Precisely this has favored, to a considerable degree, activization of those who oppose imperialist militarism and the arms race.

All these are important positive elements. But it is difficult not to notice that our initiatives continue to meet with sharp resistance on the part of the enemies of peace. The practical implementation of many of these initiatives is being hampered and slowed down by imperialist and conservative forces. And so the struggle continues.

But, in my opinion, the peace forces are overwhelmingly favored in this struggle. Imperialism has not succeeded in changing the balance of power--military and strategic as well as political. And this is an inexhaustible source of our optimism and our confidence in the future.

[Interviewer] Vadim Valentinovich, thank you very much for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/1077

OFFICER ASSESSES EFFECT OF MARTIAL LAW ON ARMY YOUTH

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 21 Jul 83 p 6

[Interview with Maj Tadeusz Rzepecki, chairman of the Youth Council, Polish Army and vice chairman of the Main Board of the Polish Union of Socialist Youth, by Kazimierz Zglejszewski; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] During its initial period, martial law was received by part of the public with repugnance and even hostility. Some young people demonstrated at their workplaces and in the streets against the martial law decision. What was and is the current situation among military youth?

[Answer] At the November-December juncture when we had to deal with the escalation of pressures from the political opposition and Solidarity, the army, in my opinion, played a stabilizing role. But 13 December accomplished the task entrusted to WRON [Military Council for National Salvation]. From the perspective of 18 months, one can state unequivocally that WRON accomplished its tasks, and today the social atmosphere is decidedly different from that which prevailed in December 1981.

Our soldiers also drew positive conclusions from the introduction of martial law. In those winter days they carried out the tasks entrusted to them by WRON, but today they have returned to their jobs in the factories, on the farms and in the schools. Last February we organized a meeting with 50 young people who performed military tasks during the first days of martial law and who are now back in civilian life. With great satisfaction we learned that they were well received in their communities.

[Question] Did all of them have such positive experiences?

[Answer] There were no drastic cases. At least we have not heard of complaints of the type: it was you who imposed martial law, and now we will show you. Some problems were experienced by those soldiers who, at the recommendation of WRON, were accepted as students. But coming into play here instead are the longer interruption of studies and the need to make up in a short time some party materials rather than personal dislikes related to military service or the tasks that were completed a short time ago.

[Question] But people having various opinions entered into the army. It should not be forgotten that Solidarity included several million people; the vast majority of them were young and very young people, and some of them served in the military during martial law.

[Answer] Of course the soldiers were very surprised by the imposition of martial law. But I would like to state that very emphatically that we noted no cases of refusals to carry out orders or even carrying out orders poorly. During martial law military discipline was significantly better than is experienced during normal years.

Later, in the course of the informational and educational work, and in the course of discussions and meetings, we noted that there was understanding for the imposition of martial law which effectively averted a national tragedy and repercussions in the international arena. Of course one does not carry out orders in an exemplary manner if one questions the cause they serve.

[Question] How did martial law affect the work of military youth organizations?

[Answer] In the military community, the ZSMP [Polish Union of Socialist Youth] is one of the elements of the process for shaping the moral-political attitudes of soldiers. From the very beginning of martial law, the ZSMP joined in activities to inform and to explain the nature of the crisis. As early as the third day of martial law the Presidium of the RMWP [Youth Council, Polish Army] deliberated. Please remember that martial law did not abolish statutory forms of youth organization work, not even in the armed forces; on the contrary, its role increased significantly.

We initiated a series of meetings under the common motto "Let Us Talk About the Fatherland" during which we discussed the motives for imposing martial law, its goals and our tasks as a youth organization to see to it that soldiers perform their duties well.

[Question] Were these meetings only of ZSMP groups?

[Answer] Of course not. Soldiers who were ZSMP members as well as those who were not members attended the meetings. We organized over 6000 such meetings. I would like to add that the all-union campaigns, especially the "What Kind of Poland--What Kind of Union?" campaign, played a very important role.

[Question] How were these meetings conducted? Were they held in accordance with the tried and tested script of a chairman's table with the organization's aktiv behind it, long reports and no discussions?

[Answer] The formula varied considerably. There also were chairman tables; it is difficult to get some activists to change to another style of operation. However, most meetings occurred in places where the soldiers performed their military duties. For example, I would travel to a unit and hold a spontaneous

group discussion, often in the cold. Thus they were not directed meetings, nor were they done for show purposes.

Jurek Jaskiernia, Lt Col Miroslaw Hermaszewski, a WRON member, and I were at one of the units near Warsaw during Christmas Eve dinner during which long discussions were held about the situation in Poland. Thus the meeting formats varied considerably. No one attempted to use the tone of a mentor.

Questions arose concerning certain specific realizations of martial law and its prospects. The soldiers were also interested in how long they would have to serve since--as is known--one of the age-groups had their military service extended. But martial law was not questioned.

But even before December 1981, as conflicts arose we tried to explain the goals of the political opposition in which Solidarity began to play a decisive role; we revealed all the international political circumstances in which Poland found itself; we discussed solutions to the political and economic crises.

[Question] The army has always come to the aid of our economy, and during the martial law period when many problems accumulated as a result of the West's economic restrictions, this aid was especially needed.

[Answer] Independent of executive tasks resulting from the imposition of martial law, we conducted operations under the motto "Soldiers to the Aid of the Socialist Fatherland." This action was directed toward helping our rural areas. We went to the farmers and repaired and overhauled their agricultural equipment, we helped with the spring field work and the like. The value of this work amounted to about 20 million zlotys.

I would also like to add that the ZSMP provided help to our organization's civilian cells as well as to our fraternal unions. For example, in the Silesian Military District we called up 43 operational youth groups that consisted of administration units and youth instructors. They operated in the gminas and cities helping to rebuild the youth unions whose structures were at times weak. They worked several weeks, and I must say that the work was highly appreciated by the voivodship echelons.

[Question] But did not some people complain that the youth unions are attempting to regain their old significance under the protection and with the aid of the army?

[Answer] The RMWP secretariat coordinated the form of aid with the youth unions, and as you duly observed, from the very beginning this form of aid was given at a distance, especially in the primary echelons, and later there were even requests for additional meetings and consultations.

Of course many activists who were in contact with these groups do not have pleasant memories. Mistakes, loafing, incompetence or outright unwillingness to undertake any kind of action were laid bare unrelentlessly.

In addition to economic help, we also provided political and ideological aid, which is no less important.

This year we are continuing last year's "Soldiers to the Aid of the Socialist Fatherland" activities under the motto "From the Soldiers of People's Poland to Agriculture and to Society." Simply stated, we are maintaining the continuity of our activities for the common good. After all we have but one fatherland.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

11899

CSO: 2600/1103

REGULATIONS ON RECORDING OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS PUBLISHED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 27, 20 May 83, pp 396,397

*/Text/* Decree of 10 May 1983 by the Ministries of Justice and National Defense on the recording of telephone conversations and the safeguarding, preservation, reproduction and destruction of recorded conversations.

On the basis of Article 198, Section 5 of the Code of Criminal Proceedings (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1969, No. 13, item 96 and 1982, No. 16, item 124 and No. 16, item 273) and Article VI, Item 2 of the Regulations introducing Code of Criminal Proceedings (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1969, No. 13, item 97 and 1982, No. 35, item 228), the following is enacted into law:

Item 1. 1. The recording of telephone conversations is to be conducted at the order of the court or the prosecutor at a time and period stated in the order.

2. A copy of this order to record telephone conversations is to be sent to the director of the pertinent postal and telephone precinct.

Item 2. The recording of telephone conversations is to be done with the aid of sound recording apparatus.

Item 3. 1. Documentation containing the following data is to be made for operation discussed in Item 1:

1) designation of the operation performed with mention of the basis for its performance.

2) name of the person or institution being the telephone subscriber and the number of the telephone apparatus used for the recorded conversation and, if possible, the numbers of other telephones with which the recorded conversations were made.

3) type of apparatus used and the system of recording.

4) the magnetic tape speed, the number of recorded tracks, the type of other carrier used for recording and the recording parameters.

5) recording start and stop times and whether or not an automatic device for switching on the recorder was used.

6) data identifying the magnetic tape (other carrier) referred to by the document.

7) any other necessary data on the conducted recording.

2. In case of damage to the recording device or snagging and damage to the tape (of another carrier) during the recording, an appropriate note is made of this fact according to Section 1.

3. The document referred to in Section 1 is signed by the person executing the recording.

4. The director of the postal and telephone precinct prepares a list of persons executing the activities referred to in Item 1, Section 1. The list includes data on the means by which the recording was made and the time of execution.

Item 4. The recording of telephone conversations is to be done in a manner in which neither the execution nor the contents of the recording will be revealed to unauthorized persons.

Item 5. 1. On completion of the recording, the magnetic tape (of another carrier) along with documentation referred to in Item 3 is to be packaged and the certificate signed.

2. The material referred to in Section 1 on completion of the recording as well as on each demand of the prosecuting that ordered the execution of the recording will be immediately delivered to that organ by the director of the pertinent postal and telephone precinct.

Item 6. 1. The conditions for reproducing for trial purposes the recording of a telephone conversation is to be determined by the court or the prosecutor conducting the proceedings.

2. The protocole of legal proceedings during which the reproduction of the recorded conversation was made is to include the name and position of the person having made the recording as well as the data referred to in Item 3, Section 1, Part 6 and the type and make of the recording device. If necessary, the protocole will also include the contents of the reproduced recording in whole or in whatever part pertinent to the proceedings.

3. In reproduction of recordings, sound-enhancing equipment may be used. Appropriate mention is made of this in the protocole of proceedings and the recording documentation referred to in Item 3.

4. On completion of reproduction of the recording, an appropriate mention of the reproduction is made in the documentation referred to in Item 3

and the magnetic tape (other carrier) and documentation are packaged and the certificate signed.

Item 7. 1. If the magnetic tape (other carrier) is damaged as a result of reproduction, this fact is properly noted in the protocols of proceedings and the document referred to in Item 3.

2. The provisions of Section 1 also apply in cases of damage to the magnetic tape (other carrier) under other circumstances.

Item 8. The magnetic tape (other carrier) with the recorded telephone conversation may be copied by order of the court or prosecutor. The number, sequence and identity of the copies made is entered into the documentation referred to in Item 3 and a copy of this documentation is also attached to each copy of the magnetic tape. Items 3, 5 and 6 respectively apply.

Item 9. Magnetic tapes (other carriers) with recorded telephone conversation are transferred and stored under conditions protecting them from destruction or damage, especially chemical, mechanical, temperature or magnetic destruction or damage.

Item 10. Recordings of telephone conversation not applicable to criminal proceedings are to be destroyed on the order of the court or prosecutor. This action is documented with respect to Item 6, Section 2. The magnetic tape (other carrier) is returned to the director of the appropriate postal and telephone precinct.

Item 11. This decree goes into effect 14 days from the day it is announced.

Minister of Justice: S. Zawadzki

Minister of National Defense: F. Siwicki

12261

2600/1082

## CEAUSESCU'S VIEWS ON WORKERS MOVEMENT EXAMINED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10, 25 May 83 pp 23-29

[Roundtable discussion organized by the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and ERA SOCIALISTA with participation by Dr Ion Ardeleanu, Dr Marin Badea, Lieutenant General Dr Ilie Ceausescu, Dr Ion Coman, Dr Romus Dima, Dr Mihai Fatu, Dr Ladislau Gergely, Dr Vasile G. Ionescu, Dr Gheorghe I. Ionita, Dr Stefan Lache, Constantin Mocanu, Dr Mircea Musat, Dr Nicolae Petreanu, Dr Stelian Popescu, Vasile Puscas, Dr Dumitru Rusu, Dr Gheorghe Sbirna, Dr Gheorghe Surpat, Dr Pompiliu Teodor and Dr Gheorghe Tutui: "The View of the RCP and Its Secretary General, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, About the History of the Workers Movement as an Integral Part of the History of the Country"]

[Text] The concern for the further study of the information on the history of our people and for the growth of its educational role holds a significant place in the theoretical and practical activity of the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Because of his precious guidance and his fruitful interventions in clarifying certain complex problems regarding the more or less distant past of the country, historical research in socialist Romania has had important successes in all the fields upon which it has turned its attention in recent years.

In his speech at the Enlarged Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu once again paused upon certain basic moments in the history of the Romanian people, pointing out the great educational importance of their corrent and thorough understanding. In this framework, the secretary general of the party especially stressed the need to deal with the history of the country in a unified manner, of the organic integration of the history of the working class and the workers movement in the general history of the country, pointing out the fact that our people have a single history and the activity of the party of the working class, as well as, furthermore, the activities of the other political parties existing in the past, consitute an integral part of this history. "We must," comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "have a unified history that will appropriately express each stage of economic-social development and each historical period and the social struggles and political activities, and that will characterize, in light of the truth based on facts and documents, both the role of the social classes and the people, and the different leaders of the state and the political, scientific and cultural personalities. In this concept of a unified history, the history of the Romanian people will also have to include

the history of the revolutionary workers movement and the history of the Social-Democrat Workers Party, as well as of the Romanian Communist Party.

In the spirit of these scientific considerations, the History Department of Romania within the framework of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, together with ERA SOCIALISTA, have organized a roundtable discussion with participation by university lecturer Dr Ion Ardeleanu, Dr Marin Badea, Lieutenant General Dr Ilie Ceausescu, university lecturer Dr Ion Coman, Dr Romus Dima, university lecturer Dr Mihai Fatu (Timisoara), university lecturer Dr Ladislau Gergely, university professor Dr Vasile G. Ionescu (Suceava), university professor Dr Gheorghe I. Ionita, university professor Dr Stefan Lache, university lecturer Constantin Mocanu, university lecturer Dr Mircea Musat, university professor Dr Nicolae Petreanu, university lecturer Dr Stelian Popescu, university assistant Vasile Puscas (Cluj-Napoca), university lecturer Dr Dumitru Rusu (Iasi), university lecturer Dr Gheorghe Sbirna, Dr Gheorghe Surpat, university professor Dr Pompiliu Teodor (Cluj-Napoca) and Dr Gheorghe Tutui.

In this issue we are publishing the first part of the discussions.

#### Fundamental Requirements of Historical Research

Stefan Lache: The subject of our discussion is directly linked to the guidance given by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the Enlarged Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 regarding the unified treatment of the history of the Romanian people and the need to have an organic integration of the history of the workers movement in our national history. This need stems from the reality itself of Romanian society. Our people have a unique history, with the revolutionary workers movement and the activities of the political party of the working class representing an inseparable component of it.

In the activity of scientific research and the correct, objective presentation of the historical past of the Romanian people, as well as other peoples, we have had and constantly have before us the inspiring example of the entire theoretical and practical work of the leader of our party and state and his views regarding the passage of time. Whenever one looks at the history of the Romanian people and history in general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu offers us conclusions and lessons of a great profusion and spiritual beauty which fertilize historiographic progress, enrich it and considerably broaden the horizons of understanding historical reality. The daring thought of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu gives us the profound analysis of the development of Romanian society in its overall scope and defines the dialectical ties between historical tradition and the present and future of our country; the interpretation of the permanent nature of the history of the Romanian people and its real significance; the extension of the acceptance of the meaning of history and the thorough arguments on historical legitimacy and, implicitly, historical optimism; the understanding and just evaluation of the workers phenomenon in the general context of the economic-social and political evolution of our country; the shining promotion of educational values and patriotic values in history and the role of this science as a factor for progress, for improving today's society and for

stimulating the free and independent development of the people; and for understanding and peaceful cooperation between countries and nations. In brief, historical knowledge and history as a science were placed on lasting bases of truth and consistently guided in the spirit of dialectical and historical materialism, the most advanced concept about the world and life.

Mircea Musat: The vigorous rise of the Romanian people on the scale of history and its great potential to innovatively deal with the problems that faced it throughout the centuries and to examine closely and probe the future synthesize their supreme virtues in the being of the party of the working class, an eloquent expression of the progressive values and traditions that have been born throughout Romanian times. Through the party of the communists, the Romanian people crowned centuries of uninterrupted sacrifice and the victories that were recorded by generations and generations of forefathers, and that dialectical link was completed, that arch across time - the past-the present-the future - as the foundation and the means of propelling the country to the most impressive peaks of civilization.

Generated by the realities and imperatives of our national soil, the Romanian communist party is, through its daring and actions, the bearer and promoter of the most fertile stage in the history of Romania, within it being found the creative power and ability of all the Romanian people and the uncontested milestones of our advancement along the path of progress. The entire existence of the Romanian Communist Party is a living proof of the fact that it draws its vim and vitality from the glorious history of the millenia of our people and from all the events and struggles that have occurred throughout time. It expresses its decision to ensure, under the new historical conditions, the continuing development of the civilization and life of the entire Romanian people up to a new level and to create for them a worthy and free future, the communist future.

The victorious path that has been traveled by the people under the leadership of the communists and the broad social transformations, whose initiator and leader was the RCP, speak of the giant influence that it has had in our society. "Never in Romania," comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the RCP, points out, "has there been another political party with a history so rich and glorious that has fought with self-sacrifice and achieved so much for the happiness of the Romanian people and for the greatness of our nation. Our party was born and grew along with the proletariat and its destiny is closely linked to that of the working class and all the Romanian people."

A result of the development of the workers movement in our country and the party of the working class that was created 9 decades ago, the RCP raised to a higher level the struggle of the proletariat and the other working masses and the democratic, progressive forces of society for a better life, for rights and social and national liberty and for progress and prosperity. Through the creation of the RCP, on 8 May 1921, and under the leadership of this party, the working class was present and had its word to say in all the

important events in the affairs of our country. In 1921, a powerful party was born at the level of greater Romania, one fundamentally different from the other political parties in Romania at that historical stage. The RCP entered into the composition of the country's political affairs struggling to resolve the major problems of the Romanian people. The social and national ideals of our working class, an organic expression of the interests of all the people and the imperatives for the development of Romanian society, were consistently promoted through heroic battles, whose background formed the spirit of solidarity and unity for the workers, progressive and democratic forces. During the heroic class struggles, carried out with self-sacrifice and the spirit of sacrifice under some of the most complex and difficult conditions, the RCP - although it operated illegally from 1924 to 1944 - measured up to the heights of its historical mission, guiding the proletariat and the working masses to victory in the struggle against the exploiting classes and for the creation of the new, socialist system.

The ideals promoted by the party of Romanian communists and its heroic struggle, one filled with self-sacrifice, were the binding power and the key to great victory in August 1944. A crucial moment, one opening up a new era in the history of Romania, the victory of the revolution for social and national, antifascist and anti-imperialist liberation opened the path for certain significant changes in the affairs of the country, marking the transition to building socialism, an ideal embraced and promoted by the most enlightened visionaries of our people more than a century before.

The successes that have been obtained, especially after the Ninth Congress with comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the head of the party and state, illustrate the correctness of our party's theoretical and practical activities, a party which creatively applies the objective laws of economic-social development, the general principles of scientific socialism and the materialist-dialectical and historical concept to the specific conditions in Romania, enriching the theory regarding the building of socialist society with new concepts and theses.

Having appeared from the realities of Romanian social-political affairs and continuing and raising to a higher level the ideals of the Romanian people for rights, liberty, independence and progress, the RCP is organically embedded in our national history and is followed with trust and devotion by our entire nation - it is its vital center.

Nicolae Petreanu: The decisions of the Enlarged Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982 regarding the unified treatment of history and the role that this science has in educating the workers and the young people of our country in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism and love for the country, the party and the people are added to the rich treasure of ideas and lessons regarding the history of our country that are contained in the party documents and the theoretical works of the secretary general of our party. This is not the first time that comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has called upon historians to conduct an appropriate approach to the problems concerning the history of the country and a multilateral and thorough treatment of its various key moments. In 1966, on the 45th anniversary of the creation of the

RCP, the secretary general of the party pointed out that the history of the workers movement and the communist party is indissolubly linked to the country's economic, political, scientific and cultural development, to the progress of the forces of production and to the actions of the objective social laws and the internal and external factors that have influenced the history of the country, and that, as a result, it must be presented in the context of the general economic and social affairs of the country, in a close link with the activities of the other revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces that have contributed to the development of society.

Pompiliu Teodor: Our discussion represents, without a doubt, an act of historiographic opportunity, being designed to give theoretical bases to certain new and necessary efforts in the research and teaching of the country's history. With regards to the need to treat the history of the workers movement as an integral part of the history of Romania, the party documents speak clearly of this, beginning with the Ninth RCP Congress. The results of the research dedicated to the history of our workers movement have shown, furthermore, that a truly scientific methodology requires as a starting point the history of the structures of the civilization of modern and contemporary Romania. Of merit in this regard, for example, are the studies which have established the organic link between socialist ideology and our own historical and cultural traditions, bringing to light the significant role of our democratic and revolutionary movement in the 19th century.

At a time when there is much discussion about research and the elaboration and unified teaching of our national history, it seems necessary to me for us to note here the path-opening contributions of certain historians having a materialist-historical background who have studied the workers phenomenon in connection with the progress of Romanian civilization and with the expression of capitalism in our society.

I feel that our historiography - I have in mind here the research of the last decades - has not succeeded in reconstituting the history of the working class as a social phenomenon, according to the exigencies of a modern methodology. First of all it took into consideration the workers movement and only secondly the worker phenomenon. Certainly, this orientation is necessary, but it must be doubled with the reconstruction of the history of the working class and how it was created in the context of the national history, in a direct relationship with economic and social revolution and in accordance with the specific nature of our historical development. In this regard, the idea of a unified history can be validated only to the degree in which, in addition to socio-political dynamics, it finds its appropriate place by the research designed to reconstruct the history of the working class as a fundamental element of material and spiritual creation of the Romanian people.

I would like to note here that the works of Lucretiu Patrascanu "Problemele de baza ale Romaniei" [The Basic Problems of Romania], "Sub trei dictaturi" [Under Three Dictatorships] and "Curente si tendinte in filosofia romaneasca" [Currents and Trends in Romanian Philosophy] were designed by their author to give to the party the necessary milestones for an adequate political and

ideological orientation. Understanding the fundamental problems of Romania served the purpose of creating a basis for political action. At a time when there were the clear effects of political apriorism, stemming from an ignoring of Romanian realities, through historiography they sought to guide political activities in accordance with the desires of our society. For the great majority of them, our historians felt that a natural task of Romanian historiography was researching the country's past from a democratic perspective. In investigating the agrarian reform or the traditions of struggle of the peasantry for social freedom, in addition to the history of the workers movement or other aspects of our history, successive generations of researchers subscribed to the line of the progressive traditions of our historiography and gave new dimensions to historical knowledge. Opting for the full research of the structures of Romanian civilization, they cultivated social and economic history and they tried to offer, from the view of the working masses, a reply to the bourgeois view about the evolution of Romania.

Vasile Puscas: In previous years, the problem of historical reconstruction was presented humanity's awareness in an impressive variety of modes. The rate of contemporary historical development was combined with the complexity of the forms of expressing the process nature of societal development, requiring a permanent reconsideration of the events that took place in the more or less distant past. The powerful affirmation of the producing social classes in the building and conscious support of a system of values that would open the paths to real and total expression of human constructive abilities was accompanied by the priority desire to make the truest possible presentation and to understand this phenomenon. In such a context, contemporary world historiography is ever more insistently concerned with socio-economic subjects, with the history of the working class acquiring the appropriate importance in the socialist countries as well as in other countries.

In recent decades, the writing of the history of Romania integrated both the old attempts to reconstruct historical reality, as carried out by the representatives of socialist intellectuality at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of this century, and the valuable traditions of materialist-historical historiography from between the two world wars. The fact that in numerous older works there was a revelation of the natural connection between the working class and the entire nation, with the proletariat clearly being a class within the people and not outside of them, offers us important milestones in correcting fixing the place of the working class in our national history and in placing the workers movement within the history of the Romanian people. In this regard, we believe that the proletariat - which organically adhered to the theses of scientific socialism - took into account in its revolutionary political activities that which the Marxist theoreticians called "the historical perspective," that is, they knowingly created history and did not merely "cooperate" in achieving it. Therefore, when they committed their forces, alongside all the people, in the struggle for the interests of the entire nation, the workers defended in their position the true creators of national history. That is why the history of the working class represents

an element of cohesion in our national history and a factor for the correct understanding of this, with all of its interferences in the space of Romanian civilization and modern and contemporary universality.

Mihai Fatu: I feel that currently we are facing not just a question of a methodological nature and, perhaps, not first of all of a methodological nature. For a long time, we were used to dealing with the history of the party in the manner in which we treated it. The old methodology was, among other things, the pursuit of certain practices which the Comintern established in the realities between the party of the working class and its own nation and between the communist party and the other parties in their countries. For that reason, in a series of articles and works some authors arbitrarily divided the history of the workers movement from the history of the Romanian people without trying to completely decipher the major meaning of the history of the workers movement and its vigorous ties with national realities, treating numerous aspects themselves of activities of the working class and its revolutionary party and exaggerating, sometimes, their weight in the development of society and in the struggle for its revolutionary transformation.

After the Ninth RCP Congress, we tried hard to implement comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's idea of moving to the organic integration of the history of the workers movement into the history of the Romanian people. Presenting the problem of a unified presentation of the modern and contemporary history of Romania, does in no case mean that we want to diminish the contribution of the Romanian Communist Party, and our workers movement in general, but, on the contrary, by organically integrating them into the processes with which they were confronted and which in a real sense brought them about, we want to restore to our party the great and true credit which it has in the history of our people. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu correctly stated at the Enlarged Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 that we can also write works of history on the workers movement in which we can broadly treat the specific problems of the working class and the socialist and communist movements, but starting with the historical realities and with the overall aspects of our national history and in close connection with these overall aspects.

The integration to which we are referring requires, first of all, determining the place of the working class in the general context of the history of the Romanian people. In connection with this, we face the great problem of the nature and national content of the party of the working class and the significance of its presence in the social, statal organism of the nation; in other words, of the manner in which it was in a relationship with the objective phenomena with which the Romanian nation and Romanian state were confronted throughout time, especially during the modern epoch when the communist party was part of a very broad, dynamic and contradictory environment and had to confront difficult and especially complex situations. In my opinion, the analysis of the RCP in the affairs of the Romanian nation requires recognizing the fact that, whether it wanted to or not, it was forced to relate to the state not only as an opposition force, but also as a participant in initiatives put forth by the government. I have in mind here the fact that some objectives of an

administrative, social-economic and cultural nature that were achieved in the inter-war Romanian society at the initiative of different governments were also contained in the program of our party and, as such, enjoyed its support. Let us take, for example, the 1921 agrarian reform. As is known, this was an organic part of the program of the workers movement. Similarly, the communists participated in some of the parliamentary and town elections, and in 1939, when the black clouds of fascist aggression were gathering over Romania, the communist party passed the word to its members to join the army to defend the independence and territorial integrity of the country.

Stefan Lache: In connection with what comrade Fatu has pointed out, I would like to say that for the just understanding of the historical moment that has just been cited (1939) we must keep in mind the statements made by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu regarding the ability of the RCP, as clearly expressed prior to the Second World War, as well as later, to express itself as a national political force. Encountering great difficulties, the RCP succeeded in drawing up its political line and the tactical objectives corresponding to the national economic and socio-political conditions and in examining the fundamental desires and interests of the people in the ranks where it was born. Coming out for and working firmly for the defense of the national unity and the independence and sovereignty of the country, the RCP practically abandoned the incorrect theses and slogans that had been issued by the leading fora of the Third Communist International regarding the process of creating the unified national Romanian state.

As is known, these theses and slogans - which proposed taking away from Romania certain territories that were inhabited by an overwhelming majority of Romanians and actually urged the dissolution of the national state and the dismemberment of the Romanian people - had serious consequences for the RCP, creating the danger of tearing it away from the masses and the national interests. To their honor, the militants of the communist party did not accept such a thesis and were against those directives that were inconsistent with the specific realities in our country.

Some people paid dearly for refusing to carry out those tasks that were contrary to the interests of the country. We must note that, despite the great difficulties and pressures exerted from outside the country, the RCP could not be broken from the national realities and could not be diverted from its natural concerns. In this regard, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "The negative consequences of these practices and methods that were applied during this period in the workers movement in our country demonstrate what great importance there is in the revolutionary struggle to steadfastly respect the right of each party to draw up its own policy independently, with it being the only one capable of understanding the realities in its country and of objectively evaluating the political tasks during each stage."

Ladislau Gergely: The new Marxist historiography in our country, dealing with the main moments of historical evolution against the background of phenomena in the economic, political, ideological and cultural spheres, tried to decipher

the make-up of the social forces and existing classes and social groups, the relationships between them and the specific nature of the class confrontations in each historical stage. In presenting the important stages and moments in all their complexity, a more profound understanding was reached of the history of our country, a more realistic appreciation was gained and the formulation was made of certain critical judgements regarding the evolution of historical phenomena and events. The improvement of activities to research and teach the history of the country necessarily requires, in addition to showing the valuable elements of historical traditions, the analysis of those negative aspects. And, this is so not only so they can be better known by contemporaries but also so they can serve as lessons for later generations.

Gheorghe Surpat: I feel the works of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu are of great importance for raising our activities in writing and teaching history to a higher level. According to his thesis, "our party is not outside of the nation and the people and our nation has a single history." This is not only a methodological requirement, but the expression of historical reality and the development of the workers movement in Romania. This evaluation by the secretary general of the RCP is based on the reality that our party was born and developed in the ranks of the revolutionary forces and the ranks of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the people. It is the continuator of the most advanced traditions of democratic and revolutionary struggle for the development of the Romanian people and unified national state and for socialism. Throughout all the stages of its development, the party of the working class has placed itself in positions that are advanced in relationship to the fundamental problems of Romania's evolution. Furthermore, its ideas and activities were fully validated. The same thing can also be said about personalities and about the leaders of the revolutionary movement, which represented not just the party, but the people and progress in general.

The need to have a unified treatment of the history of the party and the people and an integration of the history of the workers movement, the party and the working class in our national history stems from the objective historical realities of our country. The workers movement and the political party of the working class that was created in 1893, later to be the RCP, were affirmed as national forces. Keeping this in mind, I feel that we must continue to make much greater efforts to present history to the Romanian people as a unified entity and to treat historical processes in their natural interdependency and dialectical unity.

Gheorghe I. Ionita: As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in 1966 in his speech on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the creation of the RCP, the history of the workers movement and the communist party "is indissolubly linked to the economic, political, scientific and cultural development of the country, to the progress of the forces of production and to the actions of the objective social laws and different internal and external factors that influenced the history of Romania. Understanding the role that the party played during different stages requires a thorough study of the position of the social forces and classes with regards to the crucial events of the country's history and an examination of the activities of the revolutionary militants and

workers in light of the interests and trends of the classes that they represented. The history of the struggle of the working class, the socialist movement and the communist party must be presented in the context of the country's general economic and social affairs, in close connection with the activities of the other revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces that contributed to the development of society."

I feel that otherwise it is not possible to conceive of things. The communist party or any other workers political grouping and the overall revolutionary movement never represented political forces taken out of the context of the history of the country. As a result, each of these groupings can be studied and understood only in connection with everything that was specific to the general history of the Romanian people during one stage or another. At the same time, I want to point out the fact that the history of the communist party and the history of the workers, revolutionary and democratic movement were created in a close link with the broad masses and, through this, they were strongly and directly involved in the natural process of carrying out our national history.

Similarly, I would like to stress that the efforts to have a unified presentation of the history of our people do not exclude the further study of the specific problems of the history of the workers, revolutionary and democratic movement and the Romanian Communist Party. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated at the Enlarged Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1983 that: "The creation of a work or certain special works on this subject will have to serve as a supplement to the history of the Romanian people, presenting certain events which cannot be contained in a more narrow national history." As such, in the future in our general research activities we will have to find the appropriate place for researching the different aspects and problems of the history of the workers, revolutionary and democratic movement and the Romanian Communist Party.

Dumitru Rosu: The need for a unified research and teaching of history and for an organic integration of the history of the workers, socialist movement and the RCP into the history of Romania is required to an equal degree for two reasons. On one hand, one cannot conceive of a history of progressive, democratic forces outside of the general history of the country, a history that offers us not only the framework for events, but also explanations, conditions and causative factors. On the other hand, the modern and contemporary history of Romania includes as an intrinsic part the social-political and economic problems that are created by an active presence in Romanian society of the working masses, in general, and the democratic, progressive forces. Actually, the unity in history and the unity between the history of the democratic, workers forces and the history of the country are an axiomatic truth which does no longer require arguments and pleas.

From a point of view of the history of the workers, democratic and revolutionary movement and of the RCP, the entire problem and the fundamental aspects of this history define a given historical epoch and the general progress of the history of Romania. The activities of the worker organizations - the pillar of these

workers' resistance before history and reality - directly refer to the fundamental problems of our nation and Romanian society. If we refer to the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, we find between the objectives of the workers and socialist movement and those of the political party of the working class vital aspects for all of Romanian society: the agrarian-peasant problem, the universal vote and electoral-parliamentary activities, the need to industrialize the country, the nationality problem, domestic and foreign policies, the evolution of culture and all its components, and so forth. As a result, the workers organizations were not only not outside the general problems, but they had as their fundamental axis the very same problems.

Marin Badea: I feel that we cannot achieve the most complete and, at the same time, convincing picture of the multiple and organically determined links between the phenomenon of the workers movement and the political party of the working class and the general history of the Romanian people during the modern and contemporary if, between the aspects that are discussed during our round-table, we do not take into consideration the "ideological field" of the country as well. In other words, as one of the "fields" that has confronted the exponents of the economic, social and political interests of the working class, on one hand, and those of the ruling classes on the other hand. And this is especially so in the "ideological field" where, as a true mirror, we can find the reflections of all the great or "small" problems that have been raised by the course of the development of the Romanian people, with some of these being of interest in one way or another, to one degree or another to all the social-political forces in existence at a given moment on the historical scene of the country (national unity, for example, or the problem of war and peace) and with others being merely the expression of only one or another of these forces (the agrarian problem, industrialization, democratization of political affairs, and so forth). In any case, the resolution of one or another - understanding by this a correct response that was offered to the need for movement in the development of the Romanian people - involved either by national consensus or by positions of confrontation the forces or social-political forces from which the working class could not be absent. And, it could not be absent since, as has been mentioned more than once in the party documents, the proletariat is the most advanced class of the country, the bearer of the most revolutionary ideals of the popular masses and the exponent of the vital aspirations of all the people.

From this natural need to represent the workers movement, we see the appearance and its affirmation as an internal factor of the development of the Romanian people and as a constitutive phenomenon of our national history. Understanding the struggle of the working class as an integral part of the country's general history makes possible not only an encompassing picture of that which represents the workers movement, but also offers the data necessary for the more accurate understanding and more detailed understanding of the development of Romanian society as an overall historical process in which the different component elements are in a close interdependency.

Gheorghe Surpat: We also have the duty, as clearly stressed in our party's documents, to research the problems of our national history in an independent manner and to present it free from the influence of others and free from models

or complexes that are inferior, and in full agreement with reality and the truths of each epoch. Therefore, if the writing of the history of the party and the workers movement was temporarily influenced by or even carried the stamp of the existence of a leading center of the international workers movement, I feel also that the writing of the history of the Romanian people was, for its part, marked by the existence of certain centers of influence outside of our national borders, especially with respect to our people's relations with other peoples and their place in the overall group of world nations. The incontestable credit of our party and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is that for having restored to the Romanian people their own history, without debts or obligations to external centers, in accordance with its dignity and its multimillenia history and for giving, certainly, the appropriate attention to its cooperation with other peoples throughout the centuries and to the natural, inevitable interdependency on the most diverse levels with these peoples.

#### An Active Involvement in the Problems of the Country's Social-Economic and Political Development

Nicolae Petreanu: To speak of integrating the workers movement into the history of the country requires, first of all, a retrospective look at the process of the appearance of the working class in our country and an outline of those more significant moments and events which led to transforming the working class into a class aware of its historical mission and to creating its revolutionary political party.

The appearance and affirmation of the working class were the natural result of the process of Romanian society's general, economic-social and cultural development and the progress of the forces of production, as well as the changes that occurred in the relationships of production. This complex process was synchronized with the creation of the nation, as well as with the great turning points in the history of the Romanian people (1784, 1821, 1848, 1859, 1877-1878), with the creation of workers organizations being closely linked to the growth in the working class's awareness, to the spread of scientific socialism and to the evolution of the struggle for social and national liberation. Making itself felt and participating in a growing measure in these events and affairs, which took place on or influenced the Romanian population on both sides of the Carpathians, the working class at the beginnings of the country's modern history was noted as an important social category having its own characteristics and a distinct composition that was in full affirmation. It appeared, developed and gradually expressed itself as a distinct class within the framework of capitalist society.

If the beginning of the creation of certain worker cadres in industry took place even back under the conditions of the break-up of feudalism - more precisely, in the handicraft workshops and in manufacturing, after the transition to an industry based on machine-tools powered by steam and after the liberation of the peasantry through the reforms of 1853 and 1864 favorable conditions were created for the noticeable growth in the number of workers and for the creation of a modern factory proletariat. It is significant that the Romanian proletariat very early exhibited a combativity and aspiration towards organization. This

explains the fact that in a relatively short period of time it moved from simple forms of organization - associations of mutual aid that were created beginning in the middle of the 19th century - to general associations and, later, in 1872, to the General Association of Workers in Romania. This, in fact, marked the beginning of the organization of the proletariat on a national level and its desire to directly and efficiently participate in resolving the great problems that were occurring in Romanian society.

Right from the beginning of its political activities, in addition to the objectives calling for the liberation of the working masses from exploitation and oppression, the Romanian proletariat included in its program for revolutionary struggle objectives of national and general interest, such as the defense of the country's independence and sovereignty, the protection of the sacred right of the Romanian people to develop independently and so forth. A graphic example of the workers movement's commitment to resolving the great problems in the development of the Romanian nation was its attitude towards the act of proclaiming the national independence of Romania and the full participation, with self-sacrifice, in the war of 1877-1878 by numerous socialist militants.

During the following years, when the specific nature of the country's evolution crystalized along the path to capitalism and there was a clearer proliferation of the great problems that were confronting Romanian society, the working class began to express itself ever more clearly as a social force capable of taking into its hands the banner of the great ideals of the Romanian people and the flag of the struggle for social and national freedom and for having a more just society, a socialist society.

The entire theoretical and political activity carried out by the workers organizations and the Romanian socialists demonstrates a sustained attempt to make from the ideas of scientific socialism an efficient instrument for investigating and understanding Romanian realities and a guide in the actions to carry out a revolutionary transformation of society. In this regard, a shining example is represented by the work written by Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, "Ce vor socialistii romania?" [What Do the Romanian Socialists Want?] (published in 1886 in REVISTA SOCIALA), which represents the first program based on Marxist principles that was drawn up by the "party of the workers" in Romania. Gherea's study demonstrated that socialism had a favorable field for development in our country and that it was not an exotic plant that could not be adopted, as was maintained by the opponents of the workers movement.

The creation of the Workers' Social-Democrat Party in Romania in 1893 - whose anniversary we recently celebrated - crowned the extended efforts to organize the Romanian proletariat, being the expression of the development of its political awareness and the ever more powerful need that was felt by it to have its own party. From the very beginning, the Workers' Social-Democrat Party in Romania assumed its historical mission to lead the struggle of the working class and the other working masses in the cities and villages to acquire political power and to have a socialist transformation of Romanian society. There was no basic problem of the economic-social development of the country

in which the party of the workers would not have expressed its point of view: the support of the policy to industrialize the country and the demand for an appropriate solution to the agrarian-peasant problem, the struggle for the broadening and guaranteeing of certain fundamental citizens rights and freedoms, the improvement of the material and cultural status of the workers, the assurance of obligatory and free education, the legal equality of women with men, the use of a progressive income tax and so forth - all of these were an integral part of the overall strategy of the Romanian socialists. It is impressive to see the firmness with which they knew how to combine the struggle for the elimination of exploitation, of classes and of any political and economic-social inequalities with the requirement to create a unified national state and with the unwavering defense of the right of the Romanian people to be masters of their own fate and to guide themselves.

Gheorghe Surpat: Actually, the Workers' Social-Democrat Party in Romania, which appeared from within the Romanian people and from the very being of the country, bore the mark of the national and social realities in which it was created, working in consensus with the fundamental desires of the Romanian people. It expressed itself as a national force, stating its main positions in all the major problems that were troubling Romanian society during that period: the defense of the unity and independence of the Romanian people, the support for the need to complete the unity of the Romanian state, the development of industry as a main factor for progress and ensuring and consolidating national independence, the democratization of social-political affairs and the real resolution of the agrarian-peasant problem. The party of the working class brought into the Romanian political picture a superior view regarding the means of resolving these problems according to the needs for the quickest development of Romania along the path of progress. This gave it the quality of being the authentic spokesman and defender of the vital interests of all the people and contributed to its powerful affirmation on the political and social scene of the country.

It is known that right from the middle of the 19th century the problem of the directions of development of the Romanian economy had begun to be a subject for discussion, continuing to be in the public opinion until the middle of the 20th century. This discussion gave birth to fundamental questions, such as: Can and should industry be developed in our country? Is it possible and necessary for Romania to become an industrial nation? Should, perhaps, Romania remain an agrarian nation that would center its development exclusively or on a priority basis upon agriculture and renounce industrial development completely or for the most part? The answer to these problems of vital significance for the fate of the Romanian people was given by the exponents of the diverse social classes and groups in accordance with their specific interests. Since the problems involved the most profound interests of these social classes and groups, they constituted the subject of a frenzied struggle on the ideological plane, as well as on the place of economic policy.

We should remember the fact that these problems arose before the Romanian people during the period when industrialization was conceived and declared as being accessible only to a restricted circle of capitalist countries and when the representatives of the industrial capital in the developed countries

or of the foreign monopolist capital in our country denied the need and opportunities of creating in Romania an industrial nation and some of them went so far as to state that the Romanian people did not have industrial abilities.

In counterattacking such concepts, the political party of the working class and its important representatives, as well as numerous patriotic economists, prominent personalities and politicians, demonstrated the Romanian people's ability to develop along the path of progress and a modern civilization, and made its contribution in the theoretical substantiation of this path. The representatives of our workers and socialist movement considered the development of industry as "a condition for the future existence of the country and a vital condition for existing or not existing," and they argued the special importance of industrialization for the general progress of Romanian society, for the assurance of certain better working and living conditions for the working class and all workers and for the creation of the premises for the future transition to the building of socialist society.

Vasile Puscas: The penetration of scientific socialism into our country occurred, as we know, within the context of the efforts to understand the realities of modern Romanian society and to interpret Marxist theses in correlation with these theses. And, in order to study and comprehend this, the socialist theoreticians began with deciphering "past historical realities," as noted in a document from 1892. We are speaking here of that insistent recommendation, which became almost axiomatic, to "take into account the particular nature of the Romanian people..., their level of culture... and our political system" when establishing the tactics of the party of the working class. The intention of the working class was not just to set itself free, but also to unchain the other oppressed social classes. The proletariat was the class that was the most aware and correct regarding the need for social revolution, placing itself, as a result, in the forefront of the struggle for the social emancipation of the entire people. In C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea's work "Ce vor socialistii romani?" it is clearly pointed out that "we will fight in the middle of the people for their emancipation, being sure that any step forward made by the people for emancipation will be a step forward towards the achievement of our ideals." This same study-program mentioned that the ideals of the socialists are of a totality of the nation since they want the nation to become the owner of the means of production and to give the actions of the working class "a unified and harmonious direction" in accordance with the most noble desires.

From the time of these ideas, the link between the proletariat and the Romanian nation is found over and over again in all the programmatic texts of the workers party. It seems to us especially clarifying the editorial in the first issue of VIITORUL SOCIAL, having the nature of being the magazine's program, in which a clear and close relationship is established between the class interests of the proletariat and those of the Romanian people: "The work of the proletariat, although a class work, is of interest to all mankind at the same time. Its daily struggles involve the interests of all of the people. And, this is so not

only for the fact that the fate of being poor and having a salaried life was destined for all the popular classes, but also because it was linked to them through the community of current interests. Thus, when the proletariat was struggling for universal suffrage, when it was fighting for tax reforms and when it was fighting against the destructive goals of militarism, the proletariat appeared in the role of the representative of the entire nation." And, with a nearly prophetic tone the study noted: "Only under the auspices of socialism and only by way of the struggle of the proletariat will the political rebirth of Romania be accomplished."

This same care to avoid sectarianism, isolation and the excesses in stating the class positions is also found in the discussions at the 1910 Congress of the Workers' Social-Democrat Party in Romania when it was once again stressed that there was need for placing the activities of the proletariat within the unified structure of the Romanian people. In a presentation to this congress, one delegate felt that the historical role of the working class was one specific to the class, while, at the same time, one also of a profound national nature. "The interests of the country are not for the foundations of the cities and villages to deteriorate, but, on the contrary, they are for the people to be well off materially and spiritually. When we ask, therefore, for improvements and reforms, light and well-being, we are fighting not only for the achievement of the interests of a single class, but we are fighting for the entire country, for national strength."

Dumitru Rusu: One essential aspect that merits being pointed out in the activities of the old socialist movement refers to the historical continuity of the struggle to acquire the universal vote - an objective taken on by the socialists of the general-democratic, progressive movement of the first half of the 19th century. The universal vote, one of the fundamental demands of the 1848 Revolution, continued to be a complaint during the era of unification and independence and, during the last third of the 19th century it was among the basic demands of the workers and socialist movement. The working class in Romania, which, besides the final objectives, pursued immediate democratic changes - the carrying out of the bourgeois-democratic revolution - also took up in time, along with other demands, the idea of the universal vote. And in this case we are not dealing with a mechanical acceptance, with the addition of another force in the struggle to achieve the demands of the bourgeois-democratic faction, but with a change in content and with a new approach that became ever more accentuated as the proletariat matured. In the concept of the workers and socialist movement, acquiring the universal vote basically followed the democratization of parliamentary affairs, the enlargement of the parliament through representatives of the masses and the access to decisionmaking for the use of most people.

In 1888, the first socialist representatives, V. Gh. Mortun (Roman) and Ioan Nadejde (Iasi) were elected to the parliament. The socialist victory in these elections signified the official entry into the political arena of the country of the new political formation, "the party of the workers," demonstrating, at the same time, the powerful adherence of socialist ideas to Romanian realities

and among the ranks of the working masses. Participation in the parliamentary elections in 1888, 1890, 1894 and 1898, and in the elections for the town councils in various centers throughout the country broadened the access of the working masses to political affairs and favored the strengthening of the ties between the socialists and the people.

In the context of the general movement in favor of the universal vote, at the end of 1896 the bases were laid for the "Union of Universal Suffrage," which united all those persons, regardless of the political party to which they belonged, who were in favor of legislating the universal vote. Despite all the aspects that could be discussed - we are thinking of the fact that this union was able to serve the liberal leftists in order to gain supporters among the workers, peasants and intellectuals - it is worth stressing, in the context of our discussion here, the efforts of the socialists to cooperate with the other social-political forces interested in acquiring the universal vote. Furthermore, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the demand for the universal vote had become an acute problem throughout all of society and one of the great problems of modern Romania which needed a quick solution. From the point of view of the workers movement, this demand was closely linked to the strategy of preparing the socialist revolution.

Until the first world war, the demand for the universal vote represented the subject of certain broad discussions within the framework of the conferences of the Socialist Union, the theme of certain powerful press campaigns by the major socialist newspapers, ROMANIA MUNCITOARE, VIITORUL SOCIAL and VIATA SOCIALA, and one of the basic slogans of the workers demonstrations on 1 May. Participation in the electoral campaigns in 1911, 1912 and 1914 brought thousands of votes to the socialist candidates I. C. Frimu, Cristian Racovski, M. Gh. Bujor, N. D. Cocea, Toma Dragu and so forth. It thus can be said with exaggeration that the modification of the Constitution in 1917 and the elimination of the qualification electoral system and the proclamation of the equal and secret universal vote, through the law of November 1918, were the result of an extended political action within which the working class and its party made a significant contribution. Throughout its existence, the workers and socialist movement was broadly involved in electoral-parliamentary activities, being profoundly involved, through its own organizations, in the overall carrying out of Romanian social affairs.

Romus Dima: A graphic illustration of the fact that the workers movement always constituted an integral part of the history of our country is shown to us by the realities in Oltenia. The workers movement in Oltenia had deep and strong roots in revolutionary traditions. It is an incontestable truth that the appearance and maturation of the proletariat and the workers movement in this part of the country occurred within the general framework of the evolution of Romania along the path of the development of capitalist production relations. The particular economic and social aspects of Oltenia, determined primarily by the level and rate of the development of capitalism, one slower than in the other regions of the country, did not, however, constitute an obstacle for the workers movement in passing through the same stages and events that were occurring on a national level. Limited to the unified process of class organization of the proletariat in Romania, the workers movement in Oltenia was organically

integrated right from the very beginning in the activities of the revolutionary forces throughout the entire country and in the discussion of the basic problems that troubled and concerned the Romanian people, thus contributing to the ever more powerful affirmation of the working class on the scene of Romanian social and political affairs.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the Oltenian socialist militants were in the front ranks of the Romanian revolutionaries who were working to spread scientific socialism among the masses of workers. Through the socialist publications VIITORUL (1887) and SOCIALISTUL (1888) in Turnu-Severin and REVOLUTIA SOCIALA (1898-1898) in Craiova and through the efforts of certain advanced intellectuals people began to know the ideas of scientific socialism which the Romanian socialists were linking to the immediate general-democratic demands of the workers and the popular masses.

We can see the conclusion that, despite the weak industrial development in the region, the workers movement in Oltenia actively participated in the discussion of the main problems that were of concern to Romanian society at the end of the century, making its contribution to the struggle against exploitation and oppression and for the affirmation of the working class as the most advanced force in Romanian society. At the beginning of the 20th century, the proletariat and the Oltenian socialist militants enrolled with all their conviction into the revolutionary front whose purpose was the re-organization of the political and professional formations of the working class. Consolidated after the 1910 Congress, the party of the proletariat (the Workers' Social-Democrat Party in Romania) continued to play a significant role in the arena of social-political discussions and struggles.

Ladislau Gergely: Along with the appearance of the workers and socialist movement, I believe that we can also show their contribution to the resolution of the nationality problem and to the brotherhood of the workers of different nationalities. Right from the first workers associations, these members, without regard for nationality, considered themselves brothers, comrades in combat, with each one making a contribution according to his knowledge and ability and taking an equal risk in confronting his employer and the oppressor forces of the state. The use of one's maternal language in sessions, at meetings and in the documents of the movement was a natural thing. There were no animosities, except in rare cases and then only because of certain instigations from those outside of the workers movement.

Along with the idea of the creation of the political party of the working class, the idea of a common struggle became more understood and, depending upon the demands of each historical period, was reflected in practice and in the tactics and strategy of the socialist party. The socialist movement in Romania made a significant contribution to dealing with the nationality problem from revolutionary positions and to substantiating a correct line with regards to the co-inhabiting nationalities in our country. The socialists in Romania and the political party of the working class directed the Romanian working masses and

those belonging to the coinhabitating nationalities towards the common, united struggle against the exploiters. Articles or theoretical works speak with respect about the other peoples, the other nationalities: "We sharply condemn the chauvinist Hungarian policy," noted the newspaper MUNCA on 10 May 1894. "The blame for this persecution does not, however, fall upon the working Hungarian people, who have absolutely no interest in oppressing the Romanians, but rather upon the ruling Hungarian class."

A constant principle of the socialists was dealing with the nationality problem in close connection with the struggle for social liberation. The socialists combated the policy of national feuding, actually pointing out that this position weakens the ranks of those who were fighting against oppression, while the exploiters of different nationalities had a good understanding in their struggle against the popular masses.

Marin Badea: The involvement of the party of the working class in all the economic, social, political, cultural and other processes and events that were carried out in the country's affairs during one period or another must, therefore, be presented from an overall, national perspective. Understanding the roots of the workers movement, deeply rooted in the history of the Romanian people, as well as the interdependency with which it existed alongside other social-political groupings and its specific place in the overall structure of modern Romanian society, allows us to state that the organized workers and socialism played an indisputable role in the evolution of this society. Thus, for example, the analysis of the agrarian problem as a fundamental problem of the history of the Romanian people during the modern epoch: the points of view expressed by the socialists (and later by the communists) did not call for a simple revelation of the nature of political relationships and revolutionary relationships between the two social forces - the working class and the peasantry, which objectively should have combined their efforts until they blended into one course of action for social liberation. Through the entire ideological discussion dedicated to this question, the socialists reached the just, scientific conclusion, according to which, by its nature, the internal mechanism of the agrarian problem - the relationship between the great landowners and the small peasant farm, one that had been perpetuated for too long - would have affected the overall development of Romanian society, would have blocked the regular evolution of industry, would have slowed the recruitment of the workforce necessary for this and other sectors of activity, would have impact upon political, cultural, scientific and institutional development, and so forth. This is the source of the practical-political conclusion: the need to smash the great landowners and to give land to those peasants without any land or only a little land. A conclusion that proved to be, during the course of later historical development, completely viable.

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## ROUNDTABLE ON CONTEMPORARY MARXIST THOUGHT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 7, 10 Apr, No 8, 25 Apr 83

/Discussion by Univ Prof Dr Alexandru Boboc, Univ Prof Dr Ion Bulborea, Univ Reader Dr Aculin Cazacu, Univ Prof Dr Gh. Al. Cazan, Univ Reader Dr Victor Duculescu, Ion Mitran, Dr Marin Nedelea, Univ Prof Dr Petru Panzaru, Univ Prof Dr Constantin Vlad, Mihai Milca, Univ Prof Dr Ion Florea and Univ Prof Dr Gheorghe Badrus, recorded by P. Nichitelea and S. Stanescu

/No 7, 10 Apr 83 pp 21-28

/Text The great revolutionary reforms of our time and the actual victory of the ideals of socialism bear witness to the prodigious destiny of Marxism. The content of the present ideological confrontations attests to the increasingly powerful influence of the forces of social progress and the historical and dialectical-materialist conception.

The bold and innovating spirit of Marxism has brought political ideas and strategies to social thought and action that are reaching an increasingly wide audience, and they are being fully confirmed by social experience and by contemporary social development. But the vitality, strength and prestige of Marxism stem not only from the historical validity of some socioeconomic principles or forecasts but primarily from the open nature of its whole series of ideas and concepts, from its ready receptiveness to the new and advanced, and from its ability to reflect the trends of human society toward revolutionary innovation and reform.

The creative, dialectical spirit of Marxism welcomes discussion, action and the search for methods of theoretical generalization and practical solution of the extremely complex problems of our times on the basis of its revolutionary energy and experience and each nation's particular realities.

The discussion arranged by ERA SOCIALISTA, including university teachers, scientific researchers and party activists, has brought out some new aspects of the confrontation of ideas, the contemporary development of the Marxist conception, and the contribution of the RCP and its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu to the enrichment of revolutionary theory and practice.

We are publishing herewith the first part of the abridged stenographic record of the discussion.

CONSTANTIN VLAD: Our period, when it is viewed in the entirety of its contradictory processes of course, is one that demonstrates that Marxism is still a very vital conception that can treat thoroughly and answer the questions of contemporary experience and consequently can go on serving as an instrument of investigation, comprehensive interpretation and revolutionary reform of society.

This quality of Marxism originates in its most profound nature and its dialectical spirit. Nothing is more foreign to Marxism and scientific socialism than the view of knowledge as a closed, finite system. Marxism lives insofar as it remains dialectical and true to this innovating spirit, and constantly open to social-historical experience.

To be sure it is difficult to answer the question, "What is still permanent and current in Marx' works?" But I feel that as scientists and ideological activists we must also consider those problems.

I think that first of all the dialectical-materialist (especially the dialectical) interpretation of the world and accordingly of society and history is and remains current. That interpretation of reality and the laws of social and historical development is undoubtedly one of the main acquisitions of human thought that we owe to Marxism. It was on the basis of that conception that Marx and Engels developed a determinist view of social development based on the idea of succession of socioeconomic structures and the presence of classes and the class struggle as a motive force for social progress.

The idea of the necessity of eliminating capitalism and promoting the role of the working class as a main revolutionary social force in permanently abolishing relations of exploitation and oppression and in creating a new society of social equity and justice, namely a communist society, is still a fundamental acquisition of Marxism.

Moreover Marx' explanation of the attraction of the theory and consequently of Marxism and of the relationship between party loyalty and scientific objectivity is profoundly current.

All this demonstrates once again that Marxism is primarily a method of knowledge, a method of interpreting the world, and a method of social reform.

There are several general considerations that I think are still valid and remain as principles and basic acquisitions of Marxism. Of course they are not the only ones. I am also thinking of the analyses that Marx, Engels and later Lenin and other Marxists made of various phenomena and processes such, for example, as the development of a Marxist political theory or a Marxist economic theory, as well as other contributions to the study of problems of political power, democracy, revolution, and the state, the development of some fundamental principles of transition to socialism, etc.

MARIN NEDELEA: As distinguished from other social systems and theories, Marxism did not become a rigid pattern or a mere historical stage in the dialectical process of knowledge but has been from its beginning an ever suitable method of investigating reality, interpreting social phenomena, and guiding the practical

reforming action of the revolutionary forces. This capacity is inspired socially by the revolutionary potential of the working class and the other categories of workers, whose emancipation is the fundamental postulate of Marxism, and epistemologically by its dialectical-materialist conception of the world and society, which lends it a constantly open receptiveness to the changes in social reality and a general aversion to any metaphysical interpretations.

The viability of Marxism as a revolutionary theory has been confirmed both by the many and varied results of the struggle for socialism (most of them being in course of formation) and by the socioeconomic development under the conditions of the socialist society established and its conversion to an official ideology in a number of countries. Despite some attempts (which history has not substantiated) to see in Marxism a mere means to ideological justification of state policy, it has been and still is a scientific guide to the study and revolutionary reform of reality.

It is not the Marxist conception as such, but its inadequate development in relation to the new socioeconomic reality, mechanical application of some principles of its classics that were developed under other historical circumstances, and misinterpretation of the national character of the action of the general laws governing construction of the new order that once led to dogmatic thinking, harmful attempts to copy experience, and replacement of enterprising creative action with repetition of abstract formulas.

ION MITRAN: By its idea content, its value as a model of theoretical and philosophical analysis of complex and changing social realities, and the inquisitive spirit lent by the revolutionary zeal of some profound truths and convictions that it logically formulates, Marxism constantly encourages comparison with experience and critical rethinking of concepts, principles and theories that are no longer in keeping with the new. The analytical spirit practiced and instituted by Marx has always generated new value judgments, thanks to constant reference to social experience and objective evaluation of the revolutionary changes and reforms in society.

The revolutionary theory is characterized by the ceaseless refreshment of its nature at the spring of universal thought and knowledge and from the advances of all sciences and the inexhaustible and constantly growing social experience of human society.

Furthermore the social nature of the contemporary world and its political-ideological vocabulary are inconceivable today without the ideas and concepts of Marxism, scientific socialism, communism, revolutionary theory, etc. This very fact gives proof of the permanence and influential power of Marxism. The solid foundation of historical and dialectical-materialist thought, its agreement with experience, and its ability to enrich itself on the basis of new social-historical conditions are the living source of those ideas, which became a true material force as soon as they reached the masses. They are the ideas of scientific socialism, which became guidelines of human progress through the works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and social-historical experience.

As it has been pointed out in our discussion, Marxism scientifically proved the inevitable downfall of capitalism and the victory of the socialist order by discovering the objective laws of social development, and the evolving history of

human society is still clearly confirming the predictive power of Marxism. The whole reality of the world of today and the broad revolutionary processes of social and national liberation characteristic of our period eloquently prove that the time is long past in world history when communism was a doctrinal "phantom" frightening reactionary rulers, who were constantly trying to organize all kinds of "crusades" and "blockades" against the new order, as some monopolist and imperialist circles are still trying to do today.

Aspirations to social progress are now uniting increasingly wide social categories and influencing new social and ideological options that are often reflected in new forms of political organization or of direct and indirect political alliances. Meanwhile favorable conditions have been created for expanding the scientific-technical revolution, and its more and more pronounced interaction with various social processes brings new elements of the anticipated social future under theoretical contemplation.

In speaking of such a process at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the great changes of the present period "require a sound knowledge of the factors and laws basic to the world's development and understanding of the fact that social development as a whole bears out the spirit of the revolutionary conception of the world and life and that despite the obstacles and difficulties that may arise, mankind is regularly advancing with firm steps toward the classless society and a society of social justice."

PETRU PANZARU: Short of ignoring other aspects, I think we should place more emphasis on our attitude as Marxists toward Marxism and toward realities. Proceeding from analysis of the present national and international realities (an analysis based on the RCP Program, the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference), from the new factors that we must not overlook, and from them to consideration of Marxist theory and methodology is a methodological problem here. We always say various propositions advanced by Marx in a different century and in a situation different from the present one cannot be valid. The instrument and the method are valid. Of course we must not confuse pedantry and the necessity of rejecting it with rejecting knowledge of some fundamental texts in Marx. In general, by the method we mean dialectics and its well-known features. Yet I would also raise the question whether the method should not also be somehow refreshed and enriched in the light of so many contemporary acquisitions of knowledge from epistemology to sociology, philosophy and all that human knowledge has provided. That is in the spirit of our party documents and in the Marxist spirit itself, which is actually the quintessence of world culture. The new factor of globalization of society, including culture, has intervened today and you cannot overlook the fact that Asia, Africa and Latin America have come under the influence of Marxism, giving rise to radically new data on the subject we are discussing here.

GH. AL. CAZAN: Our discussion began with notice of some of the important aspects of the problems of the Marxist creative spirit. Of course I agree with the ideas expressed here about the significance and content of the permanence of Marxism, its presence and influence in the contemporary world or the characteristics of the theory Marx developed. Of course all the ideas cannot be treated in depth in

one discussion, nor is it possible to exhaust subject matter like this concerning Marxist ideology, its place in today's world, and the unity and originality of Marxism.

One of the first points I would like to stress here concerns the way we interpret the causes of the permanence and influence of Marxism in the present-day world. And we often dwell, not without reason, upon the internal structure of Marx' thought, the dialectical nature of his materialism, and the materialism of his dialectics. We also quite rightly emphasize the fact that Marx' philosophy is a critical, antidogmatic philosophy receptive to historical reality, the findings of the sciences, and socioeconomic changes, and that it has a militant party spirit, having been founded on the theoretical basis of the struggle of the working class and all mankind for liberation from exploitation.

I repeat, all these things are true and they reflect the real causes of the permanence and growing influence of the philosophy and, in general, the ideology of Marxism upon the history of our times. But I feel we must also consider another factor that determines not only the nature and significance of Marx' creation but also the main reason for its contemporary manifestations on the existential, cultural and historical levels.

No previous philosophy nor the the philosophies advanced in the second half of the 19th century and the 8 decades and more of the 20th century succeeded in becoming the philosophy of this time, in reflecting the latter in their trends, or in determining the direction of their development, because they were not up to the level of generality of Marx' conception of the world. The "secret" of the revolution in philosophy that Marx accomplished lies in the fact that he transcended the one-sidedness characteristic of both mechanistic materialism and idealism and created a theory of the world superior to them in the generality of its content. It would be difficult to treat this phenomenon in depth in this discussion, since it involves the subject of philosophy, the ontological, epistemological and cosmological problems, philosophical anthropology, philosophy of history, etc.

Marx' ideas became realities because their truth is one that has not yet been surpassed in its generality. Therefore I think the growing influence of Marxism, in direct proportion to the increasing complexity of historical experience, is essentially due to the level of generality that Marx attained. If Marx' works had not expressed the general developmental trends and laws of nature and society, they would be merely of historical interest today and would be considered only one of the phases in the history of philosophy, political economics etc. The matter is particularly important to the present ideological conflict on the subject of Marxism. Many older or very recent interpretations of Marxism, and of Marx's works especially, attempt in various ways (not without theoretical subtlety as a matter of fact) to refute the validity of Marx' theory by dwelling on the idea of its absolute, historically determined character. Therefore I think any creative development of Marx's works must proceed in the direction of raising their characteristic level of generality, a level based upon knowledge of the latest advances of science and social-historical experience and upon dialogue and comparison with the thought of our period.

ALEXANDRU BOBOC: On the ground that Marxism is a dynamic, constantly renewed conception, the RCP has repeatedly pointed out the necessity and advantages of

exchanges of opinion as a factor for constant enrichment of the revolutionary conception of the world in keeping with the constant changes in the world. It is in the spirit of historical and dialectical materialism and of scientific socialism to take account of the distinctive features of socioeconomic development and new historical conditions whose specific diversity permits review and reevaluation of the universal truths of the revolutionary theory.

The receptive and creative character of Marxism calls for a profound critical awareness. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "It is quite evident that the great discoveries of science, technology and human knowledge are lending new dimensions and permitting new interpretations of both the natural and social laws. We should not be alarmed if any given law or any theory about socioeconomic development or the party has to be changed. We should not look in the works of the classics to see if they said something about the phenomena of today. To think that way means to act dogmatically, to be a conservative instead of a revolutionary, and to lag behind social development." Actually the revolutionary character consists of Marxist attitudes as such and it is in harmony with the realistic spirit and receptiveness characteristic of the Marxist conception itself to what is new in society, in knowledge, and in human experience. Marx and Engels often pointed out that this revolutionary conception is not closed but only a point of departure to be further developed.

The creators of historical and dialectical materialism and scientific socialism themselves proceeded from a certain level of scientific development and experience, and therefore their theory must remain open and receptive to innovations by virtue of their work. This very receptiveness creates the essential conditions for creativeness, for enrichment of the treasury of ideas, and for a wide diversity of interpretations and application under other specific social-historical conditions. Such an interpretation is also a major contribution to understanding of the nature of the revolutionary theory and of the position and role of Marxism in our times, in the historical experience of our period, and in the great confrontations of ideas in the world of today.

MARIN NEDELEA: Actually Karl Marx and his innovating revolutionary thinking marked the beginning of the widespread trend of thought that nobly inspired powerful movements for social and national liberation at the close of the 19th and throughout the 20th century, as well as scientific study of social phenomena.

His basic contributions to social and historical studies and to revelation of the economic laws of capitalism became permanent acquisitions of the treasury of world culture, while concepts he formulated or substantiated were transmitted by representatives of the most diverse trends or schools of thought.

The particular requirements of the various great periods in the subsequent development of Marx's revolutionary theory and its specific application in various countries by various social and political agents brought out various aspects of it and various laws of revolutionary struggles, and they also contributed to a comprehensive, multiform picture of the Marxist theory itself.

Ever since it appeared the Marxist revolutionary conception has been constantly confronted with the problem of the relationship between uniformity and diversity. The bourgeois Marxologists of the last few decades dwell upon a plurality

of Marxism as divided into Marx' original Marxism (and that too divided and contrasted between the periods of the author's youth and maturity) and its subsequent interpretations or developments. Differences of opinion among Marxists on particular problems in evaluating social phenomena and determining parties' or states' attitudes toward them are presented as proof positive of the so-called disintegration of the revolutionary theory in the face of the increasingly complex realities of social experience.

Aside from some stereotyped caricatures from which not one of the great theories is exempt, the development and creative application of Marxism keep changing the correlation between the above-mentioned terms but they do not break it.

Uniformity primarily pertains to the level of generalization of the conception of the world, the method of analyzing the phenomena, and confirmation of the most general laws of revolutionary struggle, while diversity becomes more specific as Marxist revolutionary thought and experience penetrate more and more deeply into the most diverse and manifold social phenomena.

Our ideological opponents capitalize on this natural dialectical process in order to oppose a metaphysical interpretation of uniformity to the vast wealth of contemporary Marxist thought, in the hope of laying a methodological foundation for separating and contrasting the various components of the actual revolutionary movement. Of course inadequate comprehension of the dialectics of the developmental process of our revolutionary theory in its breadth and depth is the epistemological basis of the dogmatic relapses, the narrow, purist views of Marxism, and the attempts to pose as privileged defenders of its purity against its own creative development.

CONSTANTIN VLAD: I should like to point out that the diversity of opinions, judgments and theories about the interpretation of the present-day world and the particular ways and means of accomplishing the revolution and building the new order, which diversity arises in the communist and workers movement because of the particular conditions under which the communist and workers parties operate, is a favorable sign and fact in itself. It reflects the basic fact that revolutionary ideology and scientific socialism are enriched by each communist and workers party's contribution, by the communist and workers parties' contact with reality, with the specific historical conditions, and with the results of the working-class struggle and the struggles of all revolutionary forces, as the indispensable requirements for maintaining and developing the dynamic, creative character of Marxism.

In demonstrating the permanence of Marx' theoretical conception, revolutionary ideology and scientific socialism have proved themselves capable of treating and fully answering the highly complex and difficult questions facing the world of today, the questions now raised by the transition to socialism. Of course it is not socialist ideology alone that is expected to answer any given current questions, nor are the answers to be sought or found in isolation from other schools of thought. Hence the necessity of the dialogue with the latter and development of viewpoints in close correlation with the results of knowledge and experience, generalization of which requires such a dialogue, a discussion and, in a number of cases, a confrontation.

Of course it would be unrealistic to believe that Marxism enters into these dialogues and confrontations with its success automatically assured from the start by its intrinsic merits and the dialectical, materialist and determinist character of its philosophical grounds. To be sure Marxism has these merits but they cannot be automatically exploited by mere repetition of the gains of scientific thought and revolutionary experience at a given point. Only reference to reality and a constant, frank appeal, with no preconceived opinions, to the ever new data and problems to be resolved can bring out those intrinsic qualities of Marxism that actually give it strength and a lasting capacity to innovate and renew. Dialectical materialism is not developed by marshaling the concepts, however skillfully it is done, but solely by investigation, scientific interpretation and solution of the problems presented by experience. Marxism can solve those problems if it remains faithful to its dialectical and critical principles, the appeal to experience, and constant renovation.

These qualities of dialectics are brought out by the evidence of the last few decades, indicating the growing maturity with which various communist and workers parties creatively approach and solve the problems presented by experience and the revolutionary struggle.

ALEXANDRU BOBOC: As it has been said here, the main factor in this evolution of the revolutionary theory is the dialectics of unity and diversity, both components being essential and operative.

Against the background of the theoretical-methodological and conceptual unity and the uniformity of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception I think there is a great wealth today of specific practical solutions but also of interpretations and "readings" of Marxism (to employ the structuralist expression), but it is a process that supplements that of conceptual innovation and enrichment of the Marxist treasury of ideas. It was correctly noted in our discussion that development of the theory is not confined to mere application of universal truths to new circumstances, but the method and the theory itself must be enriched by generalizing the results (including the new results) in new conceptual arrangements, in new formulations of problems, and in new solutions and explorations of prospects.

Marxism plays a creative part not only in the evolution of contemporary social processes and in scientific explanation of the present developmental stage of the communist and workers movement but also in the interpretation of the great confrontations of ideas in our period and the great controversies in philosophical and social-political thought. In view of the great importance of studying Marx's works today and the impact of Marxism upon the contemporary world, a sustained effort toward political-ideological clarification is especially needed, particularly since the new phenomena and facts of contemporary society and the communist movement have raised new problems continually.

Marx's pioneering theoretical work is a permanent guide to action and to the flow of its further development in keeping with the new phenomena and the new historical necessities.

The appearance of a great dispute about Marxism in the theoretical world in the 1960's and afterward is itself to be interpreted as an acknowledgment in fact of

the value and effect of Marx's works in the contemporary world. Actually the idea of the value of Marx' works was accentuated by what was called "the dispute about Marxism." As J. Habermas (a representative of "the critical theory of society") said, this dispute contained in itself "a radical criticism of knowledge" which in turn "was possible only as a social theory and it was implicit in Marx' theory of society."

The new situation in the methodology of the social sciences accordingly compounds the situation in contemporary Marxist theory and makes it all the more necessary to develop the latter on many levels.

The RCP's theoretical work is graphic proof of application of the principles of revolutionary dialectics, bringing out the necessity not only of greater flexibility in reviewing the potential applications of the Marxist theory but also of restructuring some of its concepts, formulations of problems, and combinations in keeping with the present developmental stage of socialist society. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982, "Experience in socialist construction emphatically demonstrates that it must be based on both the general laws and the economic, social, historical and national realities of every people and every country. Any disregard of the general socialist principles and laws may seriously impair or even endanger socialist construction, but disregarding the realities and applying methods or stereotypes that do not allow for them may also cause great difficulties and threaten the country's socialist development itself. Therefore constant care must be taken to harmonize the dialectical unity between the general truths and the specific realities."

The RCP's documents and efforts and its secretary general's works are making it increasingly clear that effective commitment to creative development of Marxism is inseparable from the constant, unremitting effort of a realistic historical-critical awareness on behalf of national independence, social and human progress and development of each communist party's personality.

ION BULBOREA: Of course new phenomena and processes have set in from the time Marx wrote his works to the present time, and they are highly complex and contradictory. Capitalism has gone through various developmental stages, a new socioeconomic system in the form of socialism has developed, new states have appeared on the international scene as a result of the overthrow of the colonial system and imperialism, and so on. Moreover Marx and the Marxist classics in general did not attempt to provide for or theoretically generalize all subsequent socioeconomic and political changes. They did not regard the principles and conclusions they formulated as anything rigid or petrified but as the theoretical generalization of the processes and phenomena they knew and experienced.

There is no question that a number of Marx's general principles and conclusions concerning the capitalist economy and its inherent contradictions or mankind's socialist future are still valid today.

But we must point out, and it has also been said in the discussion, that the solidity of Marx's theory and of the Marxist theory in general originates in its inseparable ties with reality. Constant reference to facts and complete adherence to reality are the basic guidelines of Marx's works, and the exceptional

value and vitality of his thinking lie in this fundamental correlation of theoretical points with social experience. Specific analysis of a specific situation epitomizes the very essence of Marxism and the vital spirit of revolutionary education of the working class. By its creative nature itself Marxism suggests reflection, action and the search for methods of theoretical generalization and practical solution of new phenomena and socioeconomic processes on the basis of realities and the truths of experience.

On this subject, Nicolae Ceausescu quite rightly pointed out that Marxism is not a dogma laid down once and for all. It is constantly developing in step with socioeconomic development and the revolutionary changes taking place in the world today, and therefore each party can and should actively help to enrich the working-class conception of the world and life.

What does creative development of Marxism actually consist of? I think at least three aspects of it should be noted.

First comes enrichment of the conceptual systems of various sciences, philosophy, political economics, the political sciences et al. Then there are creative application of the general principles to each country's specific-historical conditions and participation in the dialogue and confrontations of contemporary ideas. Marxist thought must not be on the defensive. It must speak its piece and play an active part in the international dialogue and confrontations of ideas, wherein Marxism can demonstrate its persuasive power and the authenticity of its principles even further. And we can say of all these aspects that the RCP and its secretary general have helped to enrich the treasury of Marxist theory and to develop the revolutionary thought of the working class.

It is a well-known fact that many and varied examples can be cited of enrichment of the conceptual-categorical system, such as the concept of the fully developed socialist society, that of the developing or medium developed socialist country, the problems of the contradictions in socialism in their various forms, the role of the national state and nation, the concept of the new international economic order, etc.

ACULIN CAZACU: Concerning what has been said here about the permanence of Marxism and its capacity for lasting vitality and constant renewal, I should like to point out that the conceptual expression "creative spirit of Marxism" has a very wide range of meanings, and they are by no means confined to the strictly reflective aspect. I think it is a mistake, which we sometimes still encounter, to consider and treat the problems as if Marxism were only a theory on the present world scene. It is a matter here not only of a creative spirit *stricto sensu* but also of accomplishment and a creativeness that is at once theoretical and practical. As contrasted with the past decades, Marxism has a twofold strength today, both theoretical and practical, indicating that constant reliance upon experience and historical facts has become a reality for Marxist thought. Today Marxism has become an optimal model of the dialectics of the theory-practice system. Its creativeness lies not only in its intrinsic "spirit" but also in its potential as a material force to change the world. The practical procedure Marxism calls for is an essential feature of its creativeness. But we should say that this practical procedure is not just a social-historical one in general but one of building the new socialist society, that is an embodiment of the model of society that original Marxist thought contains and anticipates.

Marxism is a view of the world, to be sure, and a model one wherein many new and creative theoretical procedures are developed, including the ones the RCP is preparing.

When we consider the way this creative spirit is treated from another point of view, it sometimes seems rather limiting to us because it is directly correlated with overcoming dogmatism, intransigence, isolation of ideas, etc. Of course the Marxist spirit manifests itself in overcoming those anomalies, but it is a feature characteristic of the whole conception, being a structural feature and not a circumstantial one, and one that belongs to the system and nature of Marxist thought.

GH. AL. CAZAN: The need of precise evaluation of the Marxist position in contemporary ideology and history has been mentioned here. Clearly Marxism has the greatest influence in ideology today. There is no noted thinker or school of philosophy, aesthetics, literary criticism, sociology or political science that does not refer to Marx, Engels, Lenin and the ideology of the communist and workers parties.

But we must distinguish two facts. Some thinkers quote from Marx' works and make valuable contributions to the development of contemporary philosophy and sociology, aesthetics etc., while others are implacable enemies of Marxism and avowed anticommunists. But even the latter, as they themselves record, owe what they have originated and the analyses they have made to the influence of Marx' works upon them. Raymond Aron says that quite unequivocally in his book of interviews published a year ago and entitled "Le spectateur engage."

But the influence of Marxism upon the public consciousness is by far the most interesting fact. Marxist philosophy and ideology have entered into common parlance. As the non-Marxist philosopher Pierre Masset said in his work "The Influence of Marxism in the Contemporary World," the principles and ideas of Marxism as well as its expressions now belong to social thought and the popular language, associated as they are with criticism of exploitation and the many forms of alienation and a critical attitude toward the repressive bourgeois state and the inequalities and economic crises generated by contemporary capitalist society. No other ideology has ever succeeded in reaching the consciousness as Marxism has.

This is to be explained by the agreement of the truths of Marxism with the truths and legitimate interests of the working masses and of all those who are experiencing the alienating realities of capitalism in one form or another. But this should not lead us to ignore the criticisms of Marxism, especially since they have become equally virulent and unscientific in the last few decades. Some of these criticisms capitalize on actual facts that we do not always explain pertinently or in detail. Therefore I think works are needed that will adequately reflect the history of Marxism in all its stages, especially since the opponents of Marxism are using some points in its history to "demonstrate" its disintegration. I also think we must more thoroughly investigate the problem presented by some Marxist thinkers themselves such as Louis Althusser, namely that of "the crisis of Marxism," as well as the problem of the underlying causes of dogmatism.

A history of the development of contemporary Marxist thought will show that what we represent today in Marxist creative theory and our place in contemporary Marxism are also due to the creative Marxist heritage in Romania. The cultural history makes it abundantly clear that in the second half of the 19th century the Marxist thinkers in Romania were among the first in the world to understand the spirit of Marxism, Marx' relations with other philosophers and other cultures, the sources of Marx' creative theoretical work, and especially the necessity of applying Marxism creatively to the stage of the new socioeconomic and political facts. I think Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea made a decisive contribution in the second half of the 19th century to the formation of Marxist ethics and to the development of Marxist aesthetics and literary criticism. He was one of the first in the world.

For the first time in the world a Romanian physician, as Stefan Stanca was, applied Marxism creatively to the study of medical phenomena. And then let us add another thinker, Ionescu Raicu-Rion, who made a vital contribution to the development of scientific-literary criticism. The Romanian Marxists are in great part responsible for the efforts of the international workers movement on behalf of the agrarian problem.

This tradition with which Romanian Marxism was inaugurated was to be developed in the period between the wars, and I think it is being developed particularly today. This situation bears witness to the creative theoretical work of the RCP and its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu.

ION MITRAN: In the spirit of the principles of international solidarity that he formulated and practiced, Marx followed the oppressed peoples' revolutionary struggles very closely. Accordingly, in view of the social changes, bourgeois-democratic revolutions and struggles for national and social liberation of the East European and Balkan peoples, the history of the Romanian people as well as that of other peoples in this area were subjects of the founder of scientific socialism's theoretical studies and direct political considerations. His definite views on the rights of the Romanian principalities in their relations with the Ottoman Empire and Czarist Russia and the bad effect of Ottoman rule upon the Romanian people's social, political and cultural development are well known, and he emphatically condemned the great powers' policy of expansion and invasion, especially the foreign policy of Czarism and its counterrevolutionary actions.

Marx' writings and correspondence with Engels contain references to socioeconomic processes and important events in the history of the Romanian people and their struggle for social and national liberation and to socialist workers movements as well.

As Comrade Cazan said, Marx' ideas reached Romania shortly after his works were published and were disseminated more widely in the time of the First International and as the workers movement developed.

As we know, in the second half of the last century the progressive element of the Romanian proletariat and leading socialist militants came in contact with the ideas in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" and other works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Capital" especially, with the program of the First

International, and with the ideas of the Paris Commune, and they kept the Romanian workers movement informed of the most advanced thought of the period.

The formation of the PSDMR [Social-Democratic Workers Party of Romania], the political party of the Romanian working class, in 1893 was the result of some major economic, social, political and cultural changes that took place in Romania at the end of the 19th century, the progress of the productive forces and social relations, the rise of the socialist and workers movement, and the growing presence of the working class on the political scene. The objective factors for the party's formation made the process inevitable that would lend Romanian society a new and powerful political force armed with a revolutionary ideology and able and determined to protect its own interests as well as those of the people in general.

With the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national emancipation that began in August 1944 the process of assertion of the working class and its wishes and interests acquired unprecedented speed and proportions. By successfully leading the urban and rural workers' struggle for a society free of exploitation and oppression and based on equity and justice the Communist Party amply demonstrated its dedication to the entire people's vital interests and its ability to guide the Romanian nation's destinies correctly and progressively.

ION BULBOREA: Speaking of the influence of Marxism in the world today, there is no question that there are many acknowledgments of the importance of the works of Marx and his followers and of Marxism in general in analyzing the problems facing mankind today. While Marx's contribution to analysis of economic problems for example (such as those of social reproduction under present conditions) was ignored until recently, today a number of bourgeois thinkers such as E. Domar, W. A. Lewis, A. Hansen and other students of that phenomenon are trying to derive elements from the Marxist theory that will help to solve some practical problems of the Western economy and capitalist society.

It is not by chance that W. A. Lewis frankly remarks in his work "Theory of Economic Growth" that if a connection is to be established between the present concern about economic growth and the great classical tradition, we should sooner refer to Marx and his adherents. And we also note in Hansen's case an effort to appeal to Marx to determine the capitalist economic cycle, its nature and its manifestations. The problem of economic cycles is a current one disputed today, and not only in connection with the capitalist economy. In A. Hansen's chief work, "Economic Cycles and National Income," he says Marx was the one who laid the foundations for analysis of the cyclical nature of capitalist reproduction. He said, "Karl Marx had already formulated the idea in 'Capital,' Volume II, Section II, Chapter 9, that the long life of fixed capital can be a very important factor in the economic theory of cycles." Hansen also allows for that qualification in his economic model. And the American economist is also familiar with the stages of the capitalist economic cycle that Marx formulated, namely depression, invigoration, advance and crisis, although he confines himself to describing those stages and their technical-economic significance without going into their socioeconomic causes or the contradictions in the society dominated by the power of capital.

Unquestionably study of the cyclical quality of capitalist economic development is highly important, and Hansen's works as well as those of other western thinkers are of interest in that respect. They provide specific materials on and interesting analyses of the functional mechanism of capitalism that are useful for examination of contemporary economic phenomena and processes. But it should be noted that despite their persistent efforts the bourgeois economists could determine the duration and stages of the capitalist economic cycle only a posteriori. They were wrong nearly every time they tried to predict the new cycle. It might be said that in this respect the Marxist economists have not made very much progress either. But in view of the present expansion and intensification of economic interdependences, careful study of the capitalist economic cycles is highly important not only theoretically but also practically, and it is of primary significance because as we know the bad effects of economic crises do not stop at the borders of the capitalist countries.

VICTOR DUCULESCU: I think that discussion of the timeliness and importance of the theoretical principles developed by scientific socialism should also bring out Karl Marx' notable contributions to substantiation of the necessity of new, democratic international relations based upon full respect for all peoples' rights and legitimate interests.

As we know, Karl Marx' works contain many valuable conclusions about the international events of his period. Marx' criticisms of British colonial policy, Czarist absolutism and all forms of domination and oppression can still be regarded today as pages of an anthology of international law and political thought.

Marx asked the working class and the revolutionary forces of the world "to make the simple laws of morality and equity that should regulate relations between private persons become supreme laws of international relations." The founder of scientific socialism emphatically stressed the idea that "In opposition to the old society with its economic misery and its political madness, a new society is being born whose international principle will be peace," because all nations will have one and the same master, namely labor."

The liberal and profoundly humanistic ideas of scientific socialism about formulating new principles of international relations have been brilliantly developed in the works and impressive international activity of the Romanian president Nicolae Ceausescu. As we know Nicolae Ceausescu has made a substantial and noteworthy contribution to demonstration of the importance of the new principles of relations among states and to their acceptance and recognition in international documents. Our party and state leader has repeatedly stressed the urgent necessity of abolishing the policy of force and threat of force, the old practices of the policy of domination and dictation, and the policy of areas and spheres of influence. From the high forum of the National RCP Conference Nicolae Ceausescu said, "It is necessary to do away with the policy of force and dictation entirely and to consistently respect every people's right to choose the path of socioeconomic development that they want. All states and the great powers especially must assume the solemn obligation in their international relations to follow and respect the principles of full equality of rights, observance of national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit."

Romania's view of the role and importance of the new principles of relations among states in international affairs is reflected by the entry of those principles in the documents signed by Romania and by its continuing effort to make them more binding and influential. It is well known that Romania has made an important contribution to codification of the principles of international law. It is now supporting the ideas of an international code of states' conduct, a treaty to prohibit the use or threat of force, and some firm commitments to resolve international disputes solely by peaceful means. All these initiatives illustrate not only Romania's dedication to the cause of observance and promotion of the principles of international law but also its consistent effort on behalf of all these principles and standards so that they will be actually implemented in the states' procedure and become effective rules of conduct in international relations. It is also making a noteworthy effort toward a better expression of the requirements of justice in the standards of international law, and elimination of the provisions that are formally egalitarian but actually disadvantage a number of countries and especially the developing ones, which are threatened by unfair practices, the policy of interference in their internal affairs, and perpetuation of the old policy of neocolonial domination in new and disguised forms. The requirement for justice is met throughout the whole view Romania is promoting of the new international economic and political order, not as a mere shift in the power structure but as a structural change in international relations that can facilitate the liberation of all peoples, respect for their dignity, and construction of a new, better and more just world from which any relations of domination and injustice will disappear forever.

The idea of peace, so dear to Marx, permeates the political action and doctrine concerning international affairs that Romania has developed. In Nicolae Ceausescu's thinking peace is not just the mere absence of war. It means abolition of any practices of domination or servitude, and it is closely correlated with satisfaction of the peoples' legitimate wish for their right to self-determination to be respected and with the nations' hopes to do away with the imperialist policy and division of the world into rich and poor, oppressors and oppressed. The great ideas embodied by scientific socialist thought have been and are brilliantly applied in socialist Romania's foreign policy, a policy that consistently pursues the national, sovereign interests of the Romanian people, a free, socialist people, as well as their ardent aspirations to live in peace and collaboration with all peoples in a world of peace, justice and equality.

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/Text/ Our discussion has already brought out a number of important points demonstrating the timeliness of Karl Marx's revolutionary conception and the creative way in which scientific socialism is being developed today in the RCP's practical activity. Emphasis upon the timeliness of the Marxist doctrine is particularly important in the present confrontation of ideas and in the theoretical dispute that is going on between the progressive forces wishing to make structural changes in the world and society and the backward forces contesting the importance and success of any innovating changes. We must not for a moment forget that we are now seeing not only a great ideological confrontation but also an offensive against Marxism on the part of the reactionary, backward forces who are trying to disarm the progressive, revolutionary forces in that way and to divert them from their natural course toward radical social reforms. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee

of 1-2 June 1982, "We have recently seen an intensification of the anticommunist campaign against the socialist countries and socialism in general. On the basis of some difficulties and some events in some socialist countries, certain circles are trying to draw conclusions about the so-called crisis of socialism and even maintaining that socialism is no longer the only valid alternative to replace capitalist society based on exploitation and oppression of the masses and other peoples."

In fact a real campaign against Marxism and socialism in general is now going on in the West. Karl Marx's works are being criticized from the most varied standpoints. It seems paradoxical that certain theories that he never supported are being attributed to Marx or some ideas of his are being deliberately exaggerated to the point of absurdity. Maurice Duverger reproaches Marx for "making the productive forces sacred," while Leszek Kolakowski considers Marxism "the greatest fantasy of our century, combining messianic fantasies with a true and appropriate social cause, namely the struggle of the European working class against poverty and exploitation." The same author attributes to Marx "blind confidence that a paradise of universal satisfaction awaits us just around the corner." "Marx," Kolakowski maintains, "combined his romantic dreams with the socialist expectation that all needs will be completely satisfied in the earthly paradise" ("Main Currents of Marxism," Vol III, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1978, p 523).

Marxist determinism and Marx's ideas about power, the state and human freedom especially are being criticized with particular virulence today. Actually the discussions about Marxism involve certain actual experiences and the ways Marxism has been applied and implemented in various countries. Therefore the more or less recent "critics" of Marx particularly question socialist society's system of political organization, in the attempt to demonstrate that the socialist countries should adopt the system of western democracy as a model. The well-known opponent of Marxism Raymond Aron maintains that "free Europe" as contrasted with "ideocratic Europe" (the socialist countries -- our note) represents "not only freedom but also productive efficiency, and it embodies, less imperfectly than the other Europe, the values proclaimed by Europeans from the Atlantic to the Urals." ("In Defense of Decadent Europe," Regnery-Gateway Inc., South Bend, Indiana, 1979, pp XV, XVIII) Raymond Aron even maintains that "If the verdicts of history were pronounced by a tribunal of virtue, Western Europe would win." ("Le spectateur engage," Paris, Julliard, 1981, p 295)

There is certainly no occasion for us to dwell very long upon the "virtues" and "values" of bourgeois democracy, which are refuted by experience every day. What is puzzling is the attempt, however modest, to identify western society with justice, morality and the general welfare.

GH. AL. CAZAN: Criticism of Marx's thinking and the revolutionary activity inspired by that thinking has never ceased in the 135 years since the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" was published. But the "trial" of communism and Marx's thought instituted by the apologists of capitalist society has undergone periods of either intensification or relative abatement depending on the particular social-political circumstances and the acuteness of the socioeconomic contradictions in capitalism.

Attempts to revive conservative criticism of Marxism have been and still are being made (as indicated, as a matter of fact, in a previous theoretical discussion

published in ERA SOCIALISTA\*) in a wide variety of ways and with an arsenal of means extending from an allegedly correct interpretation of the data of the contemporary sciences and social experience to invocation of mystical-religious practices and political mysticism and to obsessive cultivation of some "myths" once disseminated by fascist ideology. The rise and decline of the "new philosophy" at the end of the 1970's are examples of this, among others.

For instance Jean Marie Benoist's contradictory position on the analysis of the history of philosophical thought, and of Marxist philosophy in that connection, was due to regarding the history of thought either as a "cemetery of philosophers" or as a texture of symbols of no significance except in that sense, or as texts in the same "metaphysical" framework (a discourse on "The One," "The Same" etc.), or as a bearer of the Power. (J. M. Benoist, "Marx est mort," Gallimard, 1970).

Use of an idealist and obscurantist view of the history of philosophy that is contradictory to the point of a dichotomy between its "symbols" and its "text" is a strategy with many variants in the attempts of contemporary bourgeois ideology to contest the permanence of the Marxist revolutionary plan. Some authors draw conclusions from this argument that directly serve a political interest. For instance J. M. Benoist "reads" Marx' and Lenin's works in the defeat of the students movements in 1968. A. Glucksmann "reads" Fichte, Hegel, Marx and Nietzsche alike from the standpoint of a distorted conception of the revolution, while Françoise Levy "reads" Marx with petty bourgeois prejudices that would reduce the world to petty bourgeois dimensions. These "critical" views differ in insignificant details, but they pursue the same effort to demonstrate the alleged "death" of Marx and of Marxism in general.

MIHAI MILCA: Many western Marxologists who declare themselves more or less opposed to Marxism (Z. Jordan, B. Wolfe, I. Y. Calvez or R. Tucker) are trying to shift the emphasis of the discussions of the originality, identity and impact of Marxist thought in the present-day world to grounds where the aspects of Marxism prevail that they consider "ideological," debatable and "vulnerable." Other western Marxologists, who combine interpretation with ideological criticism in their procedure (G. Lichtheim, S. Avineri, M. Rubel, L. Coletti or I. Fetscher), alternate in their studies between interpretation by scientific methods and abusive "exploitation" of some of Marx's statements. And finally there is a category of Marxologists who take up the study of Marx's works and the history of Marxism with a belief in Marxism and its method on principle and with an approximation of Marxism that is intended to be creative (S. Stojanovic, A. Cornu, E. Mandel et al.).

Some views are often insinuated into the body of Marxologists' interpretations to the effect that Marxism is an "obsolescent" philosophy and even that "Marx is dead" or that Marxism has "betrayed" the spirit of Marx' thought, that the theoretical legacy of the classics has not been maintained in communist ideology or socialist construction, etc. But the ideological confrontations in the contemporary world between Marxism and non-Marxist thought make it evident that the opponents of Marxism are resorting to increasingly "subtle" and "sophisticated" ideological strategies in order to oppose them to the unquestionable timeliness of the Marxist principles.

\*"Crisis of Apologetic Doctrines of the Bourgeois Order As a Reflection of the Crisis of the Capitalist System," ERA SOCIALISTA, No 24, 1982, pp 36-39.

Behind the recognition of evidence of the growing influence of Marxist thought in the world of today, of the consolidation and development of Marxism, and of the proliferation of studies about Marxism and studies of Marxist inspiration, there is always an arriere plan of Marxological studies that is fraught with disguised or unknown motivations, incentives and prejudices or ideological biases and repressions making for distortion, falsification and ultimate rejection of Marxism in some form. As it has been said here, L. Kolakowski's attempt to project upon the history of Marxism a view vitiated by a partisan spirit and a neopositivist turn is most relevant in this respect.

Marxist thought cannot remain indifferent to these ideological attempts intended, in one way or another, to "overcome" Marxism. Its critical, theoretical and practical nature itself requires it to give a firm and convincing reply to the doctrinaire anti-Marxists attempts to discredit socialism and the progressive, revolutionary ideas in general in attacking the current message of Marx's thought.

GH. AL. CAZAN: In general the new anti-Marxist works are not very original in their "criticism" of Marx, Marxism and socialism. On the contrary, without admitting it they are repeating old anti-Marxist arguments and ideas and borrowing heavily, while hiding the borrowings, from the more or less theoretical campaigns waged by the forces of the right against the theoretical foundations of Marxism and the policies of the communist and workers parties.

In reducing Marx sometimes to Hegel, sometimes to Feuerbach and sometimes to Aristotle, one of the authors we have mentioned here, Jean Marie Benoist, sees the same categories of human nature, the generic man etc. everywhere but he does not see their different contents. Marx's explanation of man and his nature is a dialectical and materialist one, but J. M. Benoist is interested in only one fact, namely that it is a philosophical explanation and therefore no more than a metaphysical one, which would mean that it must die or be regarded solely as such, as purely metaphysical.

J. M. Benoist rejects the scientific-objective quality of Marx's works along with Marx's "metaphysics" and here too his procedure is sophistical reduction. In his view, in order to prove the necessity of socialism Marx introduced a "transcendental subject," namely the masses or the proletariat, an academic universal operating "on the logical-metaphysical principle of identity" like those devised by Parmenides, Plato and Aristotle.

For Marx, however, historical time is the real time of the events and facts, and it follows from the relationships between them. In "The Holy Family," "The Poverty of Philosophy," "The Manifesto of the Communist Party," and "Capital" Marx investigates, contrary to metaphysical or dialectical idealism, the existential conditions of the masses and the proletariat and the real contradictions in capitalist society and deduces the historical role of the proletariat and masses in history from that specific-historical analysis. Contemporary interpreters sometimes ignore Marx's criticism of the subjective idealist conception of history of B. Bauer, for example, and impute to Marx precisely what he criticized.

Here too the attack on Marxist philosophy and scientific socialism is primarily a political one. For example J. M. Benoist's demonstrations are not logical demonstrations or analyses of "texts" but rather expressions of his thoughts, which he attributes to Marx in order to make of Marx and Marxism a theoretical and practical impossibility.

ION MITRAN: Indeed these attacks upon Marxism and scientific socialism are political in nature, tendentiously interpreting the specific-historical conditions that are always open to revolutionary social change in order to accredit the idea of "precluding" the prospect of revolution, as Raymond Aron also does when he says, "The revolution of which Marx spoke is behind us ... and from now on social progress is possible without political revolution." Other authors approach the subject of the so-called "shifts," "reforms" and "cures" of Marxism, allegedly "blind and deaf" to the tensions of realities, from the same position, including Edgar Morin in his work "Pour sortir du vingtieme siecle." But what is essential and characteristic in Marx' analytical and prospective thought, namely the inevitable necessity and real possibility of the generalized victory of the socialist revolution and construction of a new kind of civilization, has been confirmed by social experience in our century in a great variety and diversity of specific-historical forms and national characteristics.

In directly extolling capitalism or, more "modernly," preaching the "convergence" of both systems in a "new social synthesis," bourgeois ideology takes as its allies theorists and ideologists who were Marxists at least for a time and thinkers who were once "radicals" or "of the left." One of these, Norman Podhoretz, even says that frankly. In an article significantly entitled "The New Defenders of Capitalism," he summarizes and systematizes the "overall strategy" of anticommunism as one of presenting formerly leftist thinking who openly defend capitalism, discussing the relationships between democracy, freedom and equality from a neoconservative point of view, disparaging the countries that are building socialism, and presenting the capitalist system as the "least evil solution."

The bourgeois propagandists' revival of the theme of the "crisis" of Marxism and socialism serves the purpose of counteracting the aspiration to revolutionary social and political reforms. But despite the distortions of "Marxologists" of the most varied persuasions Marxism still remains a vital presence by virtue of its receptive and creative spirit and its method of dialectical interpretation of social experience. That presence is particularly obsessive and irritating to the apologists of capitalism because actually more and more western scholars are pointing out that Marxist philosophy is one of the most fertile ones and that it cannot be "marginalized" but, on the contrary, it constitutes a major reference point of the efforts to understand and reform the world of today.

ION FLOREA: The attempt to activate bourgeois ideology in our time and the latter's attempt to launch a propaganda counteroffensive are manifested in the revival and reinvigoration, in a number of western countries, of reactionary rightist concepts and in the emergence of neoconservative political concepts along with the neoliberal ones, on the economic level especially. This is true of the concepts of the "new economists," who are actually trying to justify the monopolist bourgeoisie's new political, economic, social and cultural strategies as the crisis worsens and to promote a solution to the crisis at the expense of the masses in the capitalist countries and of the peoples of the "third world."

All these attempts are characterized by recrudescence of anti-Marxism and anti-communism in form and especially in content, and sometimes in the most brutal

forms, resorting to any methods and especially to distortion and mystification of Marx's theory, the facts in the socialist countries, and revolutionary thought and practice. Bourgeois ideology has also been capitalizing in its procedures on the difficulties in the development of the leftist political forces in certain periods of political confrontation and their disunity in some countries, which (in its haste to take the wish for an accomplished fact) it presents for propaganda purposes as an alleged "bankruptcy" and a total "collapse" of Marxism and the political movements it has inspired.

Today as in every historical period as well the representatives of reactionary ideology make absolutes of the negative phenomena, voluntarist subjectivism and errors that occurred in a certain period, as well as the contradictions that arose between some of them, presenting them one-sidedly and divorced from those countries' general socioeconomic progress, which progress became possible in such proportions only under socialism. By denying the great achievements and progress accomplished by the peoples of the socialist countries, these ideologists have come to identify socialism and its nature with some of the negative phenomena it has encountered in its historical evolution.

ACULIN CAZACU: In the last few years especially, there have been some very intensive reflections or regroupings in bourgeois ideology. New concepts, standards, theoretical models and policies have appeared, as well as new ideological procedures for assembling not only traditional trends like existentialism, structuralism etc. but primarily many heterogeneous conceptual fields in a sui generis mixture dominated by the purpose pursued (often political) and having little to do with theoretical coherence or homogeneity. Under these circumstances I think we need to reconsider many of the concepts with which we are operating, including some that were developed in the original Marxist thought.

One of the current antisocialist ideological procedures is to take some concepts concerning the process of building the new society from the conceptual field of Marxist thought itself and to try to implement them according to realities of the capitalist type. For example, no more nor more less than a "bourgeois theory of self-management" is being developed today. The fact is symptomatic even when it is realized that this procedure is only in the ideological stage, in the sense of a conceptual system. We can also mention various versions of bourgeois "meliorism" and the concepts of the "uniform structure of capitalism," the "unity of interests" of the social classes under contemporary capitalism, and the possibility of "codetermination" of that society.

I think a reply to such ideas requires a reinforcement and more active development of our conceptual system in closer correlation with the practical requirements and with the new theoretical structures in reactionary bourgeois ideology.

To cite further examples, views are being developed that are based upon "globalization" of all contemporary world problems and upon alleged solution of the problems in connection with a given socioeconomic system of the capitalist or socialist type. We know of a great many such "globalistic models" developed by noted western thinkers. Proceeding persuasively from some actual phenomena of the contemporary world, they conclude that the explanatory and interpretative capacity of Marxist thought is no longer as effective today as it once was and therefore we must view things in the light of other analytical models, such as the informational, the globalistic, the technocratic, the scientific and other

models. All of these models are based to a great extent upon exaggeration in theory of the impact of the technical-scientific revolution upon the contemporary world. As we said, some of these variants are based on facts but they extrapolate them to the level of a universal system and capitalize on some contradictions in the process of building the new society.

ION FLOREA: The unremitting efforts of the various ideologists of the right to disparage socialism coincide with those of the various hotbeds of anticommunist propaganda. Moreover the anticommunist propaganda and ideology no longer differ today internally, or even in form, and so much the less in idea content. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in the report to the National Party Conference, attacks upon the socialist countries play an important part today in the propaganda disseminated by the imperialist circles. The secretary general said, "We may say that we are witnessing a general intensification of antisocialist and anti-communist activity as a component part of intensification of the armaments race, restriction of the democratic rights and freedoms, and violation of the independence and sovereignty of various states."

Anti-Marxism and anticommunism form a kind of linkage today for the attempts to strengthen the reactionary forces of any kind. To this end the differences of opinion that still exist among their proponents are being overlooked, as in the case of the noisy propagandistic dispute between the representatives of the "new philosophy" and those of the "new right." On the level of the basic trend of these schools of thought, anticommunism is a conclusive proof of the backward class character of an ideological and political concept. Despite appearances, the purpose of this libelous ideology is not to deplore the "realities" of socialism but a primarily an internal one peculiar to the capitalist countries, namely to silence all those who are opposed to capitalism, to present the capitalist West as a "world of freedom" and of "human rights" by contrast, and to distract the attention of the masses in those countries from the social and national inequalities.

The anticommunist schools of ideology often adopt the tactics of an "apologetic" criticism of some aspects of contemporary capitalism. But it is a "criticism" that will reject from the start the possibility of a revolutionary alternative and will keep within the limits of the class status quo of capitalism. Such criticisms are intended for attenuation of the social conflicts characteristic of contemporary capitalism, acceptance of the inequalities by those who are disadvantaged, and attraction of the masses' attention to superficial, nonessential changes not affecting the bourgeoisie's political domination of the whole society.

ION BULBOREA: The attitude of non-Marxist thought as well as that of Marxist thought toward socialism as a historical reality is an essential problem involving the subject set for our discussion. The problems of socialism have a widespread impact upon the world today. There are bourgeois thinkers who point to the lasting quality of Marx's predictions when they face the facts. J. Schumpeter for instance speaks of "sick capitalism" or "sick capitalism under an oxygen mask" on a path that will cross that of socialism. J. K. Galbraith in his work "Economic Science and the Public Interest," recently translated into Romanian, notes an option for "a new socialism" that is not merely a matter of ideology but is "required by circumstances," and he says the circumstance that requires

it "is the backwardness of the market system." To be sure other examples could also be cited. I have mentioned only the well-known ones.

I would add to the foregoing that these thinkers' ideas about socialism are quite confused, suggesting the need of changes in the western system of economic and social organization instead of the transition from capitalism to socialism as a necessity of the present period. Moreover some bourgeois ideologists are actually trying to justify maintenance of the capitalist system. Paul Samuelson claims that although western society is sick it is "turning a new page and entering upon a new life, with long walks, vitamins and noble thoughts, in the direction of the mixed economy." It is clearly an undisguised form of justification of capitalist society.

GH. AL. CAZAN: In the last few years the "new" backward ideological schools have been drafting an indictment as broad as it is distorted of socialism as a socioeconomic and political organization. In this way "criticism" of socialist democracy displays a tireless will to distort the realities of the socialist countries to the point of obliterating them.

The recriminations against socialism deliberately evade the specific social-historical conditions in each socialist country, the particular nature of the socioeconomic and political contradictions in various periods of the history of socialist construction, and the particular characteristics of the class struggle, especially in the period immediately following the seizure of power by the working class. From their point of view, socialism is on a par with capitalism and the "Power" functions and operates in both societies to its furthest limits.

For example, we find that in B. H. Levy's deliberations on socialism objective study of socialism is purely and simply rejected in favor of condemnation. Analysis of these deliberations in comparison with reality shows not only ideological confusion but also deception and their equally erroneous and reactionary character. For B. H. Levy abolition of exploitation of man by man, socialist economic relations, and mass participation in socialist construction do not exist. Such highly important historical phenomena as disappearance of the exploiting classes and private-capitalist ownership, the struggle to assert the socialist principles, creation of a new quality of life, etc. are eliminated from his demagogy.

An abstract "freedom" released from historical conditions and propagandistically opposed to Marxism and the right "to do anything in any way" are all exhibited in order to mislead the masses. "Criticism" of socialism from these nihilist positions ultimately reflects the necessity of obscuring the general crisis of capitalism and defending the social, economic and political status quo. B. H. Levy's idea that capitalism is eternal clearly demonstrates the nature of the interests these theories consistently protect despite the anarchy they proclaim. In his opinion, it is a fantasy to say that happiness is in the nature of things just as it is a fantasy to wish to include happiness in history and reality. Therefore the philosophy or philosophies that have envisaged the possibility of happiness, freedom and justice have "attacked" human ontology, which by its very existence means relations of mastery and domination. Master and Servant, B. H. Levy says, are the true realities of history.

Denial of the democratic rights and freedoms is parallel to and combines with a programmed anti-Marxism based, among other things, upon "criticism" of any kind of humanism. For some adherents of the current anti-Marxist schools, "The individual has come too late in history." There is no "generic man," "human nature," "man as a rational being," or the like. The purpose of this modern irrationalism is ultimately betrayed in the solution that it envisions, and the solution is actually intended to conserve the capitalist reality and to distort the socialist principles.

ACULIN CAZACU: I should like to raise another question, which is actually integrated in the structure of ideas we are considering in the discussion, namely the need of developing Marxism through a more active approach to the problems of power, and of political power especially. I think we still have to construct a Marxist ontology of power, that is a dialectical view of power as a social condition, as existence, and as a dimension of existence. Many new ideas of this kind have been published in the party documents, but they must be more closely detailed and translated into the language of the various social-human sciences, political science, sociology, the theory of management etc. in order to construct a uniform ontology of power and also in order to make a reply not only "in itself" to some schools (like the "new philosophy" for example, which is attempting an ontology of power) but particularly a constructive reply representing our effective contribution to the process of constructing the Marxist ontology of power.

And so the creative spirit of Marxism develops by reference to experience but it must also be implemented by comparison of ideas, on the ground of the new conceptual and theoretical field that the non-Marxist and anti-Marxist ideological practices are bringing into discussion.

ALEXANDRU BOBOC: When he developed the materialist conception of history and closely correlated it with revolutionary experience, Marx radically restructured the modern conception of history and its motive forces and major trends. Analysis of the essential antagonisms of modern bourgeois society is the main basis of the theory that "The history of all societies so far is the history of the class struggles," as well as the basis of the view of the historic role of the proletariat in revolutionizing the economic base and in building a new society of social justice and equality, namely socialist society.

In connection with this analysis Marx made the point that we cannot understand the direction of the historical process as a whole without understanding the main directions of the history of our times. This opened up a new path in developing the theory of the direction of history, because a true theory cannot reach the truth of historical "rationality" unless it proceeds from a specific point in history, presenting its causes and distinctive features as well as its prospects. The dialectics of the historical process as a whole and its basic contradictions and interactions could not be understood or expressed without understanding the nature of modern history. The particular way the latter is created becomes the model for historical creation in general and for understanding the individual as the creator of his own history, a fact which is embodied in the process of creating the new socialist and spiritual society in general.

Identification of the producer in modern society as a creator of history inevitably led to the theory that those who work (masses, peoples etc.) are the

creators of historical progress. By that generalization Marx made a real change in the modern conception of history as a human creation and of the real stages in the progress of values and humanism in world history. The world of today owes Marx not only one of the most lasting and humane prospects for its material and intellectual progress but also one of the most radical structural innovations in its mode of thought and action.

**GHEORGHE BADRUS:** It is widely recognized today that Marx accomplished a true revolution in political economics by applying his general conception in the most complete and profound way to that science, on which he spent nearly 40 years. Where the scholars had long believed that they had to deal solely with relationships among things, Marx revealed that actually economic phenomena reflect social production relations among people. The distinction between the material form of the processes and economic categories and their qualitative social content as well as the indication of their contradictions permitted scientific analysis of goods and their value, the origin of the surplus value, and the sources of the incomes of the various social categories. The fact is very important that by analyzing mass economic phenomena, the social economy as a whole, and their evolution Marx demonstrated that they do not develop by chance or individual, subjective whim but according to objective laws whose action cannot be overlooked even if people are not conscious of it. It is to Marx' everlasting credit that he placed labor on its proper pedestal as the creator of all material and intellectual goods and the source of all values and the surplus product without which society cannot advance by demonstrating the critical role of the working masses in production, in history, and in social progress in all stages of development.

His study of the origin, development and decline of production relations in bourgeois society, his discovery of the nature of relations between capital and labor, based on exploitation of salaried labor and acquisition of the surplus value by the capitalists owning the production means, and his demonstration of the law of surplus value as a fundamental law of the progress of the capitalist production method have placed Marx's name at the head of the roster of the social sciences. These essential truths have stood unshaken. All the changes in capitalist society in the last 100 years, although very significant, have not modified the determined bases of the bourgeois production method. Of course the situation is different in the case of the particular movements of capital, which appear on the surface of economic activity and which Marx himself analyzed separately from their nature.

The capitalism of our time, with a technical-material base that includes automated production and use of electronic computers, robots, nuclear energy, synthetic materials and other gains of the scientific-technical revolution, with the dominance of giant firms, financial capital and transnational monopolies, with intensive intervention of the state in the economy and programming of economic processes, differs considerably from the old capitalism.

**ION BULBOREA:** Under the new historical circumstances the alternative of socialism as a solution to the problems facing mankind today is widely discussed in the "third world" countries, for example, where the opinion is becoming increasingly prevalent that capitalist production relations cannot provide a balanced and equitable development of the various areas of the globe. The idea is

emerging more and more clearly that the capitalist way cannot give the developing countries access to the advances of modern science and technology or to the formation of a strong economy competitive on the international markets. Many progressive scholars and politicians in Africa, Asia and Latin America maintain convincingly that the future of their countries is identified with the socialist way of social development.

On the other hand a number of western theorists speak of a so-called "crisis" of socialism, maintaining that socialism is not the only alternative to societies based on exploitation. Various theories have been devised in an attempt to demonstrate that mankind's future does not depend on socialism but upon societies called "postindustrial," "superindustrial," "informational," or "technotronic" with "mixed economies" etc. Alain Touraine, a believer in the theory of the postindustrial society, is one of those who distort the prospects of socialism. In a work entitled "Postsocialism" (L'Après-socialisme) published in 1980, Touraine actually states that "Socialism is dead" and that "We must understand the socialism of yesterday in order to invent postsocialism today."

In speaking of the attempts to demonstrate that scientific socialism and Marxism are part of the past Nicolae Ceausescu quite rightly said that such attempts are groundless and indicative of a narrow interpretation of the concepts of scientific socialism. He said, "Marx did not leave us stereotypes or models for building socialist society. He drew theoretical, philosophical and practical conclusions about the inevitable construction of a society without exploiters, and the ideals of its achievement are being very emphatically confirmed throughout the world today."

GHEORGHE BADRUS: There is no question that Romanian economists should place more emphasis upon the new characteristics contemporary capitalism has acquired and approach them from the RCP's positions and in the light of creative Marxism, those and other phenomena like unemployment and inflation, which have become chronic, the distortion of the cycles of capitalist economic development, the changes that have taken place in redistribution of the surplus value, the changes occurring in the economic structure of the capitalist countries, the crises and contradictions in the world economy and their effects, the changes in the international division of labor, the advance of the socialist countries in international economic affairs, the evolution of the developing countries in the postcolonial period, the role of the financial-foreign exchange system in international economic relations as a whole, the world market and economic policies, and other problems of great theoretical and practical urgency.

The value of political economics based on Marx far exceeds the limitations of analysis of one production method alone, namely the capitalist one. Marx' theory of reproduction is new and vital to analysis of a wide range of problems, and it is basic to study of the entirety and the internal connections of the processes of movement of the total and final social product, production, distribution and use of the national income, provision for the optimal accumulation rate and the proportions between accumulation and consumption, correlation of the extensive and intensive factors in economic development, use of the time factor etc. A number of subjects were developed in Marx's works that are vital to the general theory of political economics, the methodology of economic research and economic activity. It is noteworthy in this connection that Marx's

distinction between capital as property and capital as a function and between relations of ownership and possession and relations of economic management, as well as his determination of the role of the market and competition in the action of the economic laws, are of essential importance in analyzing the problems of the economic mechanism, which have become particularly urgent.

The ideals of socialism acquired a scientific foundation in the Marxist economic doctrine. When he undertook a revolutionary socioeconomic forecast Marx said that in order to construct socialist society private-capitalist ownership must be replaced by social ownership of the production means, the power of the working class must be established, any form of exploitation must be abolished, new principles of distribution that are based on equity must be applied, production must be planned, steps must be taken to conserve social labor, and conditions must be created for harmonious development of the human personality. To be sure Marx achieved a work of critical importance in scientifically substantiating the historical necessity and inevitability of socialism, but he was not in a position to foresee the specific ways of attaining that revolutionary goal. In any case Marx foresaw that socialism and the struggle to institute it would take many forms depending on every people's national circumstances. He wrote, "It is very possible that Chinese and European socialism will differ as much as Chinese and Hegelian philosophy." (Marx-Engels, "On the Colonial System of Capitalism," Political Publishing House, 1962, p 6)

ION FLOREA: The aggravation of the current crisis of capitalist society is profoundly affecting bourgeois ideology and its increasingly persistent attempts to legitimize the capitalist system and to alienate the masses from the revolutionary socialist option.

By using ideology's powers of persuasion, which are greater than ever under mass media conditions, the bourgeoisie is now trying to "restructure" and renovate its ideology, seriously shaken by the explosion of social conflicts in 1968, and to reinvigorate its theoretical foundations. Accordingly in the last few years we have seen a recrudescence and activation of the reactionary, rightist, anti-communist ideological trends, including the philosophical ones.

The ideological activation of anti-Marxism is so intensive that it has led some realistic observers of ideological phenomena to conclude that it is actually a matter of a real "ideological war." In keeping with the present extent of the crisis of capitalism, all means have been mobilized and pressed into service including ideological warfare, which is part of the bourgeoisie's political strategy and tactics. As the French author Serge Wolikow concluded, the ideological output is "an essential aspect of political activity" today because politics to a great extent take "the form of general ideological conflicts, and even the structuring of conservative political behavior and maintenance of passive attitudes have to be reactivated by particular interventions," that is ideological ones.

MIHAI MILCA: Since it was constituted from the start and developed throughout as a critical polemic unalterably opposed to speculative and contemplative philosophies, subjective and objective idealism, and popular and metaphysical materialism, Marxist thought has never ceased for a moment to be a favorite target of isolated or concerted attacks from various ideological quarters. All

of these attacks can be reduced to one ideological attitude or one common denominator, namely dispute or flat rejection of the epistemological validity and legitimacy of Marxism and of its historical justification.

The attacks on Marxism have often taken the forms of "assimilation," "recovery," "retouching" or "recasting" of some of Marx's theories. The attempts to deform and falsify the message of Marxist philosophy have been alternated or combined with the attempts to deprive Marxism of its characteristic revolutionary purport.

In a recent work describing the present perception of the position and destiny of Marxist philosophy among both Marxist theorists and those opposing Marxism, H. Lefebvre expresses the opinion that the question "What is Marxism today?" actually presupposes a great many underlying questions. (Henri Lefebvre, "Une pensee devenue monde... Faut-il abandonner Marx?" Fayard, Paris, 1980) Lefebvre writes, "There are innumerable meanings of the term Marxism and innumerable images and perspectives in the light of which Marxism is perceived as a phenomenon with many and diverse facets, some of them even contradictory, or as a heterogeneous reality, a multitude of more or less conventionally unified phenomena under the same designation. This situation seems to best suit a whole cluster of 'Marxologists' who either display an 'academic coolness' or frankly align themselves with anti-Marxism and try to reduce Marx's thought and Marxism to the rank of an 'ideology' among many others and consequently regarding it as a 'pseudoscience,' a 'fragment' of knowledge, etc. There is nothing new or surprising about these attitudes. The history of Marxism abounds in situations where Marxist thought was subjected to distorting pressures and attempts to annihilate, 'revise' or 'surpass' it from the positions of philosophies and doctrines that were reverting back to Kantianism, Hegelianism or positivism in 'neo' or 'retro' forms."

ION FLOREA: In order to maintain and consolidate its dominance, seriously and directly threatened by the intensified economic and social contradictions, especially since the aggravation of the present crisis, the bourgeoisie is trying through its ideological representatives to use ideas, culture and the mass information media in support of its economic and political strategies concerning the crisis and its dangers. It is significant in this regard that a number of rightist politicians and thinkers feel that the bourgeoisie has neglected ideology in the past and must change that attitude today. Philippe Malaud said, "Traditionally they (the moderate liberals -- our note) have been less concerned with doctrine than their adversaries and thought less in ideas than in facts and figures. Moreover, in assuming their responsibilities of power... they have concentrated on the daily, serious and realistic administration of the country" but "they have overlooked not only the stimulus of pertinent doctrinal thought but also the need of political action (or rather metapolitical) beyond good administration." (Philippe Malaud, "La Revolution liberale," Masson, 1976)

Just what causes these revised attitudes toward ideology? It is clear that the shift of the world balance of power in favor of the anti-imperialist forces for peace and progress, thanks to the establishment of socialism as a world system and the overthrow of colonialism, the strong advance of the communist and workers movement, the expansion of social protest in a number of capitalist countries, and the restricted field of action and influence of capitalism in the world, is a cause of concern to the reactionary forces, which is directly reflected in their ideological efforts and especially in their present political ideology.

In addition there are the ideological reasons properly speaking that make it even more urgent for the bourgeoisie to redouble its efforts in this direction, like the attraction of Marxist ideology for the masses and the socialist options of broad categories of workers in its own countries as well as those of many "third world" peoples. Today these also include the development, in some western countries, of radical ideologies opposed to the capitalist system and its principles and values, such as the "new left" ideology that has been gaining ground in the West in the last two decades.

Perhaps we should also mention that it has been a long time since the bourgeoisie could resort to force and repression of revolutionary social movements by open violence, especially in some countries where they have unquestionably emerged as national forces.

Intensification of the ideological struggle is also to be explained by the fact that in addition to its traditional role as a reflection of the political and class struggle in the world of ideas, under certain circumstances and in a certain way ideology can be a "substitute for other forms of the class struggle." (Pierre Domergues, "La restructuration ideologique," in the book "Le nouvel ordre interieur, Editions Alain Moreau, 1980) The ideological struggle is closely involved with the other forms of class struggle, and it reflects and supplements them actively in the world of ideas.

CONSTANTIN VLAD: The particular circumstances under which the influence of the revolutionary working-class ideology can grow should be pointed out in close connection with the foregoing comments, especially under the present circumstances. Ideological confrontations do not mean and are never limited to mere statements of the positions of one ideology as contrasted with those of the opposed ideology.

The influence of an ideology depends on its ability to answer the new questions presented by experience and knowledge. I shall mention only a few points about the demand upon revolutionary socialist ideology that follows from this feature.

As a social system, socialism is an embodiment of the ideals that give that ideology its content. Therefore ideology and activity concerning it have a major aim of revealing the purpose of the changes socialism makes in all social activities, of actively promoting the gains of socialism in all fields, and of defending those gains with all its resources whenever necessary. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of that function of socialist ideology because, as it has been pointed out in our discussion, the confrontation between capitalism and socialism is taking place today while capitalism still has a huge arsenal of resources to promote its own values and to distort and disparage socialism's historical contribution to the humane functioning of human society.

But revolutionary socialist ideology is also maintaining its other, no less important functions, such as its active function of treating problems to be solved in the course of building the new order, its effective contribution to their solution (by its characteristic means of course), and its function of criticizing the negative phenomena that can and do arise in this process, the elimination of which is indispensable to the success of socialist and communist construction. The advantages and importance of such comprehensive interpretations of the functions of revolutionary ideology are very graphically illustrated by the approach

consistently promoted by the RCP administration and its secretary general, who guide ideological work in all these directions, namely explaining and substantiating the tasks to be accomplished, the measures taken for the purpose, and the results obtained while taking up the still unsolved problems and ways of solving them, and criticizing the defects that appear in the course of implementing the developmental aims in order to eliminate them.

This comprehensive interpretation of the functions of ideology reflects the latter's deep involvement in the effort toward socialist and communist construction and the new order as a living organism that constantly grows and develops and in that development is faced with problems, has difficulties to overcome, errors to correct, and contradictions and lags to remedy. It reflects ideology's involvement in and commitment to a society that tries to purposefully guide the struggle between the new and the old and the promotion of what is new and advanced in the course of that struggle and regards criticism and self-criticism as one of its fundamental laws.

ION MITRAN: The world of today is distinguished by some social processes of an extent and complexity difficult to compare with those of previous periods, so that the effects of the radical changes in the last part of the 20th century and the historical novelty of many of them require constant analysis and comparison of the correlation between the general theoretical conception and its practical application at a given point, under circumstances that are not and can never be identical. Accordingly the multitude and diversity of the processes characteristic of our period necessitate a clear understanding of the main phenomena and trends and their dialectical evaluation in the unity and diversity that characterize them.

Creative application and development of the revolutionary theory created by Marx and the founders of scientific socialism depend upon the subjective element's ability to examine the social reality in its constantly contradictory entirety. Overcoming any one-sided opinion and the "reassuring" and simplistic prejudices about the social prospects is proving to be one of the requirements for adequate theoretical expression of any aspects of the revolutionary process. Whether it is a question of the theory of revolution and political power or a question of the whole process of implementing the principles of scientific socialism, discussion of such problems is vitally urgent and of course makes it necessary to abandon any stereotypes or outmoded formulations of experience however "traditional" or "classic" they may be. In the spirit of the Marxist dialectical method, it is only the principles and ideas based on correlation with the objective trends of social development that prove their worth and their truly revolutionary character. No subjectivist or voluntarist abstractions divorced from real history ever in any case provide a recipe or formula with which the historical periods "can be adjusted," as Marx phrased it.

By virtue of their revolutionary spirit, their clear and humanistic scientific character, and their high-humanistic tenor, the Marxist ideas and principles have made their way into the consciousness of people on all continents, generating and stimulating social reform programs and efforts of a revolutionary nature.

ION BULBOREA: Efforts to develop the historical and dialectical-materialist conception are particularly urgent because, as it has been noted here, we

sometimes hear about a "crisis," with or without quotation marks, in the development of the Marxist theory. I do not mean here just the conclusions of bourgeois historiography about the revolutionary theory of the working class, but even those of some scholars who are or claim to be Marxists. Of course it also depends on the meaning attributed to the concepts in question. If one person means a certain conception of the world and life by Marxism, while another uses it in another sense, the dialogue is certainly impossible. Therefore I feel it necessary to revise the system of concepts with which we are operating, and we have an eminent and creative example in the RCP documents and its secretary general's works.

Moreover the need to enrich the Marxist system of concepts and categories has already been pointed out by the classics. For example Engels said that any new idea in a science entails a revolution in the technical terms of that science. Accordingly, I think there still is a certain rigidity accompanied by a tendency to change terminology when ideas and categories are taken from other sources. It is a fact borne out by experience that in explaining socioeconomic phenomena and processes we cannot confine ourselves to mere citation of the theories and conclusions formulated by the founders of scientific socialism. The scientific response requires new theoretical generalizations. This does not exclude but, on the contrary, requires integration of the results the classics reached. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his report to the 12th Party Congress, "Experience has been telling us that consistent observance of the conception of historical and dialectical materialism, scientific socialism and the thought of the Marxist-Leninist classics is essential to the success of every party's effort. At the same time we must realize that we are living in another historical period requiring a new approach to the fundamental problems of social development."

A graphic example of development of Marxist thought and its elevation to new levels of scientific investigation is provided by the RCP's and its secretary general's development of some new categories and concepts, enrichment of the existing ones, and creative application of the general truths and laws to the particular Romanian conditions. The stages in Romania's historical evolution have been defined on that basis, the content and distinctive features of the present developmental stage have been specified, and the aims of the 12th Party Congress concerning transition to a new developmental stage and achievement of a new quality in all socioeconomic activities have been formulated.

Marxist thought is developed primarily through the theoretical and practical activity of every working class party and the studies made by Marxist thinkers in various countries. Every communist party's theoretical and practical experience and the experience of every country on the socialist construction front are highly important and influential on an international scale. No one in this entire process has universally valid solutions, nor does anyone hold the secret to all the answers to the problems presented by society and experience.

Of course dogmatism and revision of principles at any cost merely because they were formulated dozens of years ago have nothing in common with the creative spirit of Marxism. He who changes theory into dogma is no Marxist, but neither is he who rhetorically proclaims it in the name of "creative" development without carrying it out in practice.

CONSTANTIN VLAD: As we have mentioned before, the creative and militant character of Marxist ideology depends upon its close connection with all that pertains to fulfillment of the tasks of building the new order and its performance of a multitude of functions indicative of a positive relationship between ideology and science. As we know the main prerequisites that lend socialist ideology a scientific character are to be found in the objective laws, which necessarily and historically determine human society's advance toward socialism and the historical role and mission of the working class as the most consistent bearer of this ideology interested, by virtue of its historical role, in exact knowledge of the characteristics and direction of the processes in a period.

But this scientific character of revolutionary ideology is never a spontaneous, automatic result of the said factors but a continuous acquisition due to an unremitting effort to advance the ideology in full accord with the results of scientific, dialectical-materialist determination of the realities. In other words, the relationship between the committed, party character of socialist ideology and its scientific character is a comprehensive one. There is no question that revolutionary ideology is and can remain socialist as a party ideology that leads the way and the struggle for the victory of the communist ideals. Meanwhile it can be a scientific ideology only if it is involved in reality and substantiated on a scientific basis and in step with the advances of the human genius. This ultimately means that the ideology is identified with science when the Communist Party, the bearer of the ideology, bases its leadership on scientific knowledge of the realities and when it provides for scientific social management.

Therefore a positive relationship between ideology and science and between the committed and the scientific qualities of ideology is not a gift that we can enjoy in any case and under any circumstances but a result of a whole series of factors and a combination of objective and subjective conditions, ultimately depending on the Communist Party's ability to perform its functions in society in the spirit and on the basis of science. As we know this is one of the main characteristics of the RCP, of its conception of ideology, of its practical policies in ideological activity, and of its whole conception of the laws development, consolidation and advance of the party as a leading political force in society and as a vital center of the nation and of society as a whole.

ACULIN CAZACU: If we examine, from the standpoint of ideological creativeness and consistency, some works on theory or applied research published in Romania that deal, for example, with problems of social organization, improvement and management or even with problems of socioeconomic development in Romania, we note an aspect that must be remedied. Although they proceed from explicit ideological premises and purport to be dialectical approaches, some of these works are essentially the result of analysis of "status-role" systems, that is systems of an ultimately functional type. In the name of thought that substantiates the Marxist dialectical viewpoint, some works employ approaches characterized by a functionalist or neofunctionalist spirit even though they are not declared as such. For example such works analyze only structural aspects of the enterprise, wherein the factors of efficiency and the new quality of work, human and production relations and economic activity are reduced to the form taken on various organizational levels by the "role" and "status" the individuals have in the production process.

For example when the workers' threefold capacity as producers, owners and beneficiaries is analyzed the "role" they have or may have in the production process is often discussed, which role leads to a progressive assumption of responsibility in the socialist democratic system to the extent to which it is exercised. Of course these functional considerations are important, but they are not essential. I think such a reality as that purposefully instituted through the workers' threefold capacity is by its nature a revolutionary change of the whole structure and evolution of the social and production relations in Romanian socialist society.

Therefore it is not merely a matter of accumulation of new qualities, "roles" or "statuses" but a new historical experience, another historical course of the social processes, and another historical reality. We must interpret this reality in the Marxist spirit, determining its trends and prospects. It is quite restrictive to note only that new "roles" and "statuses" will gradually accumulate, so that it is a question here of understanding the new historical scope of this threefold capacity of the workers, and we can also consider the emerging capacity of the workers as direct organizers of the production processes.

One more problem. If for example Marxist thought has preserved its theoretical precision over the years, that is also a decisive theoretical and practical advance over the trends appearing in various anti-Marxist and antisocialist schools of today, which schools often consist of eclectic mixtures and many of them are composed of "extracts" from various philosophies. This is true, for example, of the "new philosophy," the "new right" and other ideological activities of the kind, which are subjected to an active critical analysis in the Romanian publications on the subject.

I would like to stress the fact that Marxism has remained essentially unchanged and has always proved capable of creative development, while many of the non-Marxist and anti-Marxist ideological actions are mixtures and composites. Works are always appearing in various western countries that combine theories that used to be considered mutually exclusive even in non-Marxist thought and are now cast in a theoretical model that allegedly represents a "new type" of scientific analysis.

PETRU PANZARU: Indeed we should avoid the generalizations about Marxism, since it is more useful to select and treat the problems facing mankind and every single nation. Hence the necessity of understanding and considering the action of the objective social laws or, more accurately, the interaction of those laws. We must consider the interaction of the general objective laws of social development with socialism's own laws. Nicolae Ceausescu shed a new light on this important problem in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 when he said, "It is a well-known fact that a number of laws generally valid for the whole society have existed and operated in all previous social systems, and they have contributed to the development and advancement of the peoples' and nations' common awareness and to the general development of science, culture, and the human consciousness. But they were always used by the exploiting classes for their own purposes and to consolidate and maintain their domination of the other social classes and the masses. Once the working class appeared upon the historical scene a new and revolutionary conception of social

organization and social relations was developed, as well as the transition to an order of social and national justice with no oppressive classes." It is evident that because in socialist society structural changes are made in the base and superstructure of society, socialism differing qualitatively from all previous social systems based on private ownership of the production means, the action of the laws of social development will also show important distinctive features, to be studied in depth as a permanent aim of the social sciences.

I also think we must give more careful consideration to the interaction of the social laws with the objective laws of nature, since the man-society-nature relationships are taking on new proportions unknown in Marx's time. It is sufficient to cite the serious implications of the scientific-technical revolution, the ecological problems facing a constantly growing world population, the grave dangers of the armaments race, especially that of nuclear weapons, etc.

Of course the problems of action of the objective social laws cannot be approached abstractly, but with the most concrete approach that is possible, from which conclusions can also be drawn of a practical nature for social activity and for attaining our main goal, namely a new equity of work and life. I feel we still owe the most specific and multidisciplinary answer we can give to the question, how do the laws of social development ultimately operate, and by what means are their objective requirements to be met? That will bring out the decisive role of the human factors, of scientific knowledge combined with social experience, and of the purposeful, united action of the masses in harmony with those requirements. Without consideration of the fact that the objective social laws operate through people's activities and relationships, nothing can be understood of the inner mechanisms, including psychosocial ones, of social determinism or of the evolution of social-historical development. Social experience has taught us that the purely theoretical appeal to the objective laws and posing as omniscient about their requirements do not solve the practical problems of social development.

Research in the socioeconomic and political sciences has a broad field today in the study of the human factors in social improvement, to bring out the inner psychosocial mechanisms that determine good performances in all social activities as well as a high degree of collective and individual satisfaction with the results of work.

VICTOR DUCULESCU: Romania's experience demonstrates the fact that socialist society is an inestimable framework for development of the masses' creative powers. The further improvement of socialist democracy in Romania through self-management and self-administration, the advance of the Romanian socialist state as a state of revolutionary workers democracy, and the new and increasingly abundant and intensive ways in which socialist democracy is carried out in practice strikingly reflect the strength and viability of socialism. They validate the original experiment that Romania has promoted by applying Marxism creatively in practice and constantly correlating it with the Romanian people's particular national aspirations and the stages traversed in national development.

The political system of Romanian socialist society illustrates a radically innovating and original experiment that unquestionably demonstrates the real and effective exercise of political power by the people. The authenticity of the democratic forms reflecting the Romanian people's participation in management of

affairs of state on both the national and local levels and in management of their own enterprises and productive units proves the vitality of scientific socialism interpreted not as a dogma but as a creative experiment fully correlated with the national aspirations and interests and with the particular conditions of socialist construction in Romania.

The profound democratism of Romanian socialist society is also strikingly illustrated by the continuing dialogue of the RCP leadership with the masses, the party secretary general's visits and many working meetings with the workers, the discussion of problems concerning the efficiency of the respective units, and the adoption of effective measures to remedy any defects and to involve the workers collectives more and more effectively in the implementation of the program for socioeconomic development and improvement of the entire Romanian people's living standard. The effort to further improve the Romanian political system in keeping with the requirements of the present stage of socialist construction is indicative of the creative way Romania interprets and applies the great lessons of scientific socialism to the national realities and of the precise way the principles of scientific socialism are applied, developed and interpreted in socialist construction in Romania.

**ION MITRAN:** In initiating, organizing and directing the revolutionary task of building the new order and overcoming the dire legacy of exploitation from the time of the bourgeois-landowner regime, the RCP has proved a bold and tried explorer of the path of the new civilization, capable of applying the principles of scientific socialism creatively to Romania's particular conditions. The RCP has been actively contributing to the enrichment of revolutionary theory and practice, to the greater international power and influence of socialist ideas, and to the cause of friendly collaboration among peoples and nations on behalf of social progress, peace, and construction of a new world economic and political order.

Romania's present stage, its rates of socioeconomic, scientific and cultural development, and its firm commitment to fully developed socialism, as a main strategic objective of the present stage, are inseparable from its innovations developed and implemented since the Ninth Party Congress especially and from its clear, realistic and intensely popular domestic and foreign policies specified in the RCP Program and in the documents of the 12th Party Congress and the National Party Conference in 1982.

In the spirit of the dialectical view of domestic and international social processes, the party and its secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu regularly analyze the new phenomena and processes, taking a critical revolutionary attitude toward the results obtained in building the new society and initiating measures for improved scientific planning and management of all socioeconomic and political activity, for improving working methods on all levels, for overcoming the contradictions that arise, for eradicating the old and promoting the new in social existence and awareness, and for the triumph of the principles of socialist ethics and justice.

Historical and dialectical-materialist examination of the phenomena and changes in Romanian socialist society and in the contemporary world has enabled the party and its secretary general to take an innovating approach to some important

theoretical and practical problems. Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works are a living, cogent testimony to his receptive, creative and truly Marxist stand on generalizing social experience. Such important subjects as the dialectics of the general-particular, national-international and objective-subjective relationships in social experience, creation and development of the technical-material base of the new order, the nature of Romania's social and class structure, amplification of socialist democracy, replacement of the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat with that of workers democracy or the state of revolutionary workers democracy, functions of the nation in the present period and solution of the minorities problem in Romania, origin and mechanism of contradictions in socialism, evolution and complexity of development of advanced socialist awareness, socioeconomic processes characteristic of the present time, and requirements for application of some new principles to international relations -- all these are important contributions of the RCP and its secretary general to the enrichment of contemporary revolutionary theory and practice.

Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The founders of scientific socialism were revolutionary thinkers, not prophets who would specify an imaginary future or lay down immutable precepts valid for any stage of development. They devised a uniform revolutionary conception of the world and of communism based on dialectical-materialist analysis of economic and social development. They repeatedly pointed out that this revolutionary conception is not closed but on the contrary is only a point of departure to be constantly developed and perfected on the basis of new socioeconomic realities and new advances of science and human knowledge."

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CSO: 2700/202

## HISTORY BOOK WRITTEN TO COUNTER FOREIGN 'SLANDERS'

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 1 Jul 83 pp 13, 18

[Article by Vasile Netea: "The Book of the Times"]

[Excerpts] Rarely has a work of history been welcomed with such interest and satisfaction as has the recent work of the historians Mircea Musat and Ion Ardeleanu entitled "De la statul geto-dac la statul roman unitar" (From the Geto-Dacian State to the Unitarian Romanian State). The work was prompted--as the authors state in their foreword--by the fact that "recently, in a number of books, studies and articles published abroad...there have been distorted pictures of our national history and undocumented, coarse ideas and theses, contrary to historic truth, have been presented on the (international) journalistic circuit." These false assertions, some of them of a denigrating, slanderous nature, refer to practically all our history, beginning with the territory and origin of our people, in the places where it was formed, in the great moments of its history--the reigns of Mircea the Old, Stefan the Great, Mihai the Brave, the Union of 1600, the Union of the Principalities, the war of independence, the proclamation of the Union of 1918--and our contribution to the development of European civilization and culture.

Such slanders have been found not only in some of the major American, Canadian, Argentinian, British, French, and Swiss periodicals but also in some books published in the same places. Our detractors are coveting Romanian territory, mobilizing all their forces to falsify historic truths and the rights of a people present in the history of Europe for more than 4,000 years.

The book of the historians Mircea Musat and Ion Ardeleanu is written on a broad documentary base, beginning with our first chronicles and archives, going to the great compendiums written by A.D. Xenopol, N. Iorga, and Const. C. Giurescu, and the widest possible reports from the Romanian and foreign press. In the work a prominent place is occupied by the testimonies of foreign historians--French, British, Italian, German, Russian, Bulgarian, Polish and Hungarian--and other historians of good faith and high scientific level.

No other work which has appeared in recent decades includes any more documentary and archival material on the achievement of state unity in Romania, showing how "the force of right triumphed over the right of force."

## ATMOSPHERE OF ALL-NIGHT ASSEMBLY SESSION EVOKED

## Reservations, Arguments

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE No 1697, 10 Jul 83 pp 7-10

[Article by Scepan Rabrenovic]

[Text] "My role is not grateful and it is not easy for me to speak in these early morning hours, but obviously, there is no other way for us but to go on till the end."

With these words, the chairwoman of the Federal Executive Council [SIV], Milka Planinc, began her exposition to the delegates of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia on Sunday, at early dawn, a little before 4 am. She was tired, as were all the members of the federal government and all the delegates, and her exposition was not written down--she only used a notebook. The reason for this was that she was not sure whether she would speak that morning at all.

Because up to a few minutes before then, the Commission for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Assembly of Yugoslavia was in session for almost an entire day and a night, incessantly seeking consensus in relation to three bills and one act, which were supposed to insure an orderly repayment of foreign debts. With these laws, the Assembly of Yugoslavia gave, in fact, guarantees to the federal government that it can sign the contracts for the new credits in the amount of about 6 billion dollars.

Those who had announced that this session would be dramatic were right. The resignation of the federal government was also predicted, in the case that the Assembly of Yugoslavia would not be given the guarantee to sign the contracts for the new credits, or in the case that the bills guaranteeing an orderly repayment of debts would not be passed. Such a possibility was confirmed by some members of the SIV in a conversation with journalists: "We cannot stand alone behind so many obligations all by ourselves, and if the Assembly does not stand behind them, too, we will withdraw..."

## New Credits--New Obligations

Without the new credits, on the other hand, it was not possible to go on. In fact, it would have been possible, but with great difficulties: production would have been drastically curtailed, and this would practically mean that the country would have nothing to export or to earn currency by exporting to pay the debts. Because it is well known that in the first 6 months of this year we have not reaped about 1.7 billion dollars for the principal and about 130 million for the interest, and the production was only at the last year's level. The SIV has, it is true, studied several ways to guarantee an orderly repayment of our debts, but it seems that it had no choice. Milka Planinc pointed out in her exposition that the new credits will, in fact, give only a reprieve, and just create the conditions for the solution of the crisis in our country, but that not even they will suffice unless our behavior is totally changed.

Foreign creditors, comprising 610 banks from developed countries and 15 governments, have sought firm guarantees, and in order to insure themselves they proposed the courts in New York, London or Belgrade to have competence in the matter. And it is well known how the courts punish the defaulters: by the confiscation of their property.

In order to avoid others confiscating our goods, the SIV decided to propose bills which authorize that we, in our country, confiscate money from one another. This is made possible, for example, by the enacted law about payments in hard currencies. According to it, if it happens that the debtor, a basic organization of associated labor, does not have hard currency to pay the debt in time, this currency must be provided by the work organization of which the debtor forms a part. And if not even the work organization has the hard currency, the debt must be paid by the composite organization of associated labor.

If the composite organization does not have the money in its turn, the debt must be paid by all the commercial banks of which it is a member.

These are not all the circles yet: if not even all the member commercial banks have enough hard currency, the debt is paid by the associated bank, and if it is not able to do it either, the debt is paid by all the banks on the territory of the republic or province in which the debtor--the basic organization of associated labor--is located.

If not even all these banks have sufficient hard currency to pay the debt, it will first be attempted to pay it with the reserve funds of the Yugoslav National Bank (to which, in addition to the state reserves, everybody contributes at least 5 percent of the total hard currency income), and if this is not sufficient either, the Yugoslav National Bank is authorized to take the necessary funds from the hard currency accounts of all the banks in the country, and even from the hard currency accounts of the banks abroad in order to repay the debt.

The National Bank is authorized by this law to put controllers in all the commercial banks in the country which will authorize all the payments, except for the fixed and guaranteed obligations.

#### Collective Responsibility for Individual Mistakes

Even to those who do not know much about the economy, it is clear that the decisions of this law can deprive of their rights (and this will happen) those who create income. It is of little comfort to them that the law foresees that the debtor must return all the funds together with the interest and the costs incurred because of the difference in the value of the currency. This law, in fact, provides collective responsibility for individual mistakes. In this way, those who work well may be harmed: because of the obligation to pay somebody else's debt they may come into such a situation that they have to stop production. And if the best ones stop the production, it cannot be good for the others either. And those who until now have been working poorly are now almost rewarded for the poor work, although there are many ways to punish them for their poor management.

This is not the only weakness of the proposed Law: as the circles of those who are obliged to pay the debts are first completed within a republic or province, this contributes to a further division of the Yugoslav market. Because Yugoslavia exists only in the 5 percent of the total foreign currency income which is put aside, out of solidarity. All the other debtors' accounts are kept within the framework of the republics and provinces.

Furthermore: this law still recognizes two currencies in the country: (the dinar and the convertible foreign currency), instead of keeping the entire amount of foreign currency in the foreign currency accounts in dinars, and selling foreign currency on the free foreign currency market. In this way they could be acquired also by those who owe them.

Knowing what conditions were set by the givers of foreign credits, the SIV had no choice, and without these laws, Milka Planinc said, it would be even more difficult.

#### There Was No Food Either

When these laws were proposed, the accounting started: what and how much some will lose, and how much some will win. (There will be many more losers than winners). For this reason the debate was so long and so dramatic, although the SIV, at the delegates request, promised to come up with a better proposal by this October. But as nobody at this moment knows what this new solution could be like, everybody tried to improve their position in the proposed laws.

All day Saturday and the night from Saturday to Sunday, time seemed to have stopped still. According to the first proposal, the session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces had to begin at 10 am, but the Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign countries had then just begun its session.

Later on, the session was first postponed for 5 pm, then for 7:30 pm, and then for 9 pm. After that nobody mentioned what time the session will take place.

In the meantime, the above-mentioned Committee would hold its session for a while and then the federal government, but it also happened that both these bodies were in session at the same time. Some delegates reproached the government for the acceptance of foreign conditions, but they did not offer a better solution. They only mentioned some historical events in which we were able to resolutely say "no." Vice President of the FEC, Mijat Sukovic responded to all the objections like this: "This time, we should say 'no' to ourselves."

A small hall, known as the "unit", where the debate was being held was too small to receive all those who were interested in the course of the session. Two journalists had to sit on each chair, technical services were not able to do everything on time, and the delegates, under the pressure of time, became more and more impatient.

Waiters in the Assembly restaurant, who worked all the time, were the busiest. About 6 pm they ran out of bread and meat and had to borrow food from other restaurants in the neighborhood, and when these stopped working after midnight, they borrowed meat and bread from the Hotel Metropol.

It seems that the most alert throughout the night was the president of the federal government, Milka Planinc. She often talked with the delegates, members of her government, and journalists and wittily commented on the events that were developing fast. Some time after midnight she joked: "I'm afraid that one of the delegations may kidnap Mijat Sukovic and ask that, in exchange for him, we should drop some articles of these laws."

In the name of the federal government, it was Mijat Sukovic who most frequently explained the proposed laws.

#### The Government Abstains From The Amendments

It became most hectic some time after midnight, when the FEC abstained from two proposed articles of the Law of payments in hard currencies which it had proposed in the form of amendments during the day, persuaded by the governor of the Yugoslav National Bank, Radovan Makic. The delegations of Slovenia and Croatia opposed these articles--now, 20 and 21. These articles of the law intended that the Yugoslav National Bank

should limit the number of commercial banks which would be authorized to handle transactions with foreign countries (article no 20) and to complete with the circle of solidarity in such a way that the National Bank could ban all the payments of all the banks in the country until a given obligation is fulfilled (article 21).

The Federal Executive Council explained the dropping of the amendments like this: "The law of currency transactions and credit transactions with foreign countries already contains provisions that make all this possible." Then, however, a member of the Montenegro delegation, Momcilo Cemovic stood up and expressed his opposition: "If the SIV abstains from these amendments, then the Montenegro delegation proposes them as its own, to which it is entitled." Delegation of some other republics agreed with the position of the Montenegro delegation, and the tension increased. A little later everybody agreed that article 20 can wait a while, but the article 21 became the object of contention. The Slovenian delegate Miran Potrc asked first that this article should be elaborated in the details, and all the delegations accepted this, but then he stated that his delegation does not agree to accept it.

This provoked the following statement by the Serbian delegate Borisav Jovic: "We've heard all the objections of the Slovenian delegation and accepted them, but it turns out now that they cannot agree for procedural reasons. All of us have worked under the same conditions, and it is strange that now only the Slovenian delegation mentions the agreement of its assembly. The Serbian delegation will not give its consent to the guarantees to sign the contract about the new credits, unless their orderly repayment is completely safeguarded."

This practically meant that the article 21 of the proposed law is indispensable, and if the law itself was to be passed.

Miran Potrc had no way out. He asked for a recess so that his delegation could consult the "basis" in Ljubljana. It was already long past midnight, and many people wondered how the "basis" would be found at that hour and who is in fact this "basis." (Only the Republic or Provincial Assembly can give the consent to the republic and provincial delegations in the Federal Assembly for the passing of new bills.)

#### Waiting for Ljubljana's Consent

The situation would have been somewhat more favorable had it been a "normal" time, when the Presidency of SFRY could be convoked in order to propose temporary measures on the basis of the SIV proposal. (Temporary measures are enacted when the agreement about a bill cannot be achieved; simple majority in the appropriate department is sufficient for their adoption.)

Miran Potrc returned to the "unit" at about 3:30 am and asked once more the delegations of other republics and provinces to abstain from enacting the article 21, since the SIV itself had abstained. When his request was not granted, he gave, in the name of the Slovenian delegation, his consent to it.

A little later the bell rang, announcing the session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, at which three laws and one act were adopted. And when the delegates dispersed about 5 am in the quiet Belgrade Sunday morning, they could only conclude that they had finished an important business. Yes, the laws have been enacted by a compromise, but the majority of laws are enacted in this way. The important thing is that they be enforced.

The journalists had to work overtime, this time too: they remained until 6:05 am at the press conference, where the vice president of the FEC Mijat Sukovic and the federal secretary for finances Joze Florijancic talked to them about the significance of the enacted laws.

#### Troubles Ahead

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE No 1697, 10 Jul 83 pp 10-11

[Article by Mirko Djekic]

[Text] At the time when the Yugoslav Federal Assembly was full of delegates and newsmen, not far from that old building, in the Belgrade bohemian Skadarlija, life went on as usual: accompanied by song. Yet, the lights went off first all over the city, and only later under the domes of the Parliament.

This Assembly night had its third dimension, which is worth remembering.

#### Three Years Ago

"On Monday, late at night, the American writer William Saroyan talked on the second channel of Belgrade TV about lots of things, from good literature to bad politics. He did it in a pleasant way, typical of Armenians, especially the gifted artists whom this people has spread all over the world. Speaking of his fellow countrymen and their national characteristic--receiving life's blows with a smile--said the following: 'But when a crisis appears, each of us accepts his own responsibility'."

This quotation has been taken from a text in NIN of September 1980, published under the title "The Limits of Our Indebtedness." It was all happening at the moment when things could have been stopped at this limit, although we were appalled by the fact that the country owed foreign creditors 15 billion dollars. In our country, too, the crisis has crossed the threshold... A few nights after the one in which the chairwoman Milka Planinc in a dramatic way appealed to her fellow countrymen--the Yugoslavs, generally speaking--that everybody should accept his own responsibility, the nation was still celebrating the splendid dates of the warrior past.

The publication of the data about our debts represented an entry into the archive of secrets, regardless of the fact that they were taken from official foreign statistical bulletins of the International Monetary Fund, which is by now so well known to everybody. Three years later, at a time of the dramatic announcement that in the meantime the borderline of economic earnestness in our transactions with foreign countries has been crossed (although the analysis of why this could have happened in such a short time has not been offered), on the dry Belgrade pavements people still walk lightly as if wanting to say that "everything will somehow turn all right:"

But--it will not. If the situation in the economic area could be called serious, and until a few months ago more serious, is it not now most serious?

"I have no more time," are the words of the poet Desanka Maksimovic, whose verses will remain for the history of literature and for a record of our characters: we catch ourselves into a trap very easily. There is never enough time. A few years ago, even the cautious economists forecasted that the present crisis would last until 1985, and now the chairwoman of the FEC extends the date to 1989. For those countries that realized that the first significant disturbance in the international monetary relations began in 1967 and reached its climax in 1971--the year in which the energy crisis began--tranquility has appeared only now. One can partly relax. While in the meantime these countries avoided credits, credits appeared so attractive to us. The world economic tactics has changed and we find ourselves in the category of those who can be called losers.

#### Economic Potential?

The economic report of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, of which we are a member for 1982/83, which has just been sent out and which can be used by the agencies in the world after 0:01 am on Thursday, Paris time, the appraisal of our management of economy is not flattering. Many earlier ones were. Until a certain time ago, the Yugoslav economy was regarded as a developing economic potential which keeps progressing, in spite of difficulties. It is encouraging that this time also it is indicated that this economic potential is not small, that it can produce more, if it succeeds in reforming itself. And this, of course, is expected in the coming weeks.

"The ever greater borrowing abroad," it is said in this study, "in order to finance a fast expansion of internal demand and a belated adjustment of the economy after two oil shocks, led to a considerable increase of the foreign debt in hard currency, which grew from about 4 billion dollars in 1973 to 18.5 billion dollars in 1982, and more than half of this debt was incurred in the last four years. All the categories of credit grew rapidly--financial, medium term, commodity, import financing, short term... These credits are in approximately three fourths expressed in American dollars, and a somewhat greater portion is accompanied by the fluctuating interest rate (especially the newest loans).

Loans taken from private sources represent a little less than two thirds of the Yugoslav indebtedness, while the rest are loans from public sources (or connected with public guarantees), and a little more than 1.5 billion dollars comes from the International Bank. The calendar of maturity of payments has been considerably shortened in the last years, partly because of the changed conditions on the Yugoslav market, but also because of the increase of the portion of short term deposits in the Yugoslav banks, especially after 1978.

The annuities of hard currency debts grew faster in the last few years than total debts: in 1978, Yugoslavia paid one billion 750 million dollars for annuities, and in 1982 4 billions. The reasons for this are twofold: the increase of interest rates and the fact that new debts were short-term, so that payments matured relatively fast.

According to the available indicators, the payments of annuities will increase next year. What will happen in the next 2 or 3 years depends in the first place on the level of interest rates on the international capital market, on the share of long term credits in the total amount of credits which will be given to Yugoslavia in the future, and on the success of her stabilization policy, i.e., on the increase of the export of goods and services to hard currency countries.

#### Textbook Economy

The tiresome assembly night, in which physicians were busy, too, showed that delegates were tired too. At dawn, sleepier journalists began to take them for members of the present government--and indeed, there are quite a few delegates who were members of the government recently.

The delegates in the Yugoslav Federal Assembly will meet more often this summer than they could have expected until recently, because the reform has just begun and it presupposes many moves, a long chess party; unfortunately, figures are used less frequently than personal impressions.

Figures reveal that we went through three different periods in the last 10 years or so. One of them--until 5 years ago, when foreign funds were used as a rational complement to the internal accumulation. However, already in the mid-1970's it could be seen that the cycle of investments was too large. A second, shorter period began then, when in the space of only 3 years (1978-1981) the debts accumulated almost without any control. This is an economic, but also a political phenomenon. The third period followed when it was realized that the lay economy, according to which each new loan is good, is very costly both for the borrower and everybody else.

This had to end.

In this whole story, there is another possible end. This reform has been undertaken so that such an end would not take place.

12455

CSO: 2800/384

## HADZI-VASILEV INTERVIEWED ON NEED FOR DRASTIC CHANGES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1696, 3 Jul 83  
pp 10-13

[Interview with Kiro Hadzi-Vasilev, member of the LCY Presidium, by Milica Josimovic-Knezevic: "A Change of Course Is Inevitable"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Where is Yugoslav society going, what does the further development of self-management mean at this point, and in particular what is the League of Communists expected to do in order to preserve its leading role--those are only some of the questions which are being mentioned more and more often in various discussions and indeed polemical debates. Kiro Hadzi-Vasilev, member of the LCY Presidium, feels that we now face a change of direction, that we have come to the very junction as to the further development of our society, that we need to discover in the Marxist way the foundations, causes and reasons of our problems in order to be able to truly make clear to ourselves what is happening and why.

[Question] For a long time now there have been discussions in various gatherings, lecture series and also in the pages of magazines and newspapers both about the present situation and also about possible directions of society's further development. How do you evaluate them?

[Answer] It is obvious that certain discrepancies have occurred between our strategic commitments and certain processes and relations in practice. This is being noted and expressed in various ways. The lawyers, for example, speak about the gap between the normative and the actual, and Tito referred to this as the gap between words and deeds.

Many issues are being raised thereby, and some of them are extremely important to our future social development. One can understand people's need to seek answers to these questions, since they are disturbed by them. This explains the breadth of the discussion which you mention, which in and of itself is unquestionably a constructive fact. Both the dimensions and in general the character of that discussion are proving to be a specific attribute of our society and of the system of socialist self-management. If that system signifies ever greater invigoration of an ever larger number of people as independent agents in society who are concerned not only about their personal, but

also about the broader social problems, who are reflecting about them, who are engaged in discussion and who are taking part in the search for solutions, it is clear that this general social discussion is also testimony to the achievements of socialist self-management which are already in place. This is a fact which many people, especially abroad, fail to see or do not sufficiently take into account, so that when they are assessing our current social developments, there are many things which they are unable to explain to themselves.

But all this together does not mean that everything in our present social discussions is constructive. There are controversial and indeed even markedly adverse manifestations in it.

#### Nationalistic Lamentations

[Question] Would you say something more definite about these manifestations?

[Answer] Those outlooks which are by far the most predominant in the discussions are those which express firm commitment to socialist self-management and its future development. However, even within the limits of that commitment one can note differences, sometimes even quite profound differences, in what is meant by socialist self-management and especially in what is meant by the preconditions and forms of its future development. Those differences are largely inevitable, natural and understandable, and discussion within that framework is necessary and worthwhile.

But there are also those who declare themselves in favor of socialist self-management, sometimes perhaps even sincerely, though their conception and modes of behavior express real ideological and political commitments which are altogether incomparable with the essential defining elements of socialist self-management and with the needs of its development.

All of these manifestations taken together offer the picture of a fair amount of ideological confusion, which, of course, is also being taken advantage of by forces aimed at altering and negating our social order either in the direction of the multiparty bourgeois system or in the direction of Stalinism. There are even extremist antisocialist and anticommunist counterrevolutionary forces which see some chance for themselves, among them profascist groups like the Ustashi, the Chetniks, the Ballists and others like them. Exploiting for their own purposes the atmosphere of open ideological and political exploration and especially the present aggravated economic difficulties, they are all seeking in some way to infiltrate the public ideological and political discussions in order to influence the shaping of social consciousness and thereby the direction of political developments.

[Question] Do these forces and their activities represent any very serious danger?

[Answer] In and of themselves--no. The dangers do not lie so much in them as in the fact of a fairly widespread ideological confusion, wandering, confusedness and disorientation of a segment of the public and of those forces which are in favor of self-management, but, under the pressure of aggravated current

difficulties, they have lost their sense of perspective and have become discouraged and demoralized. Under such conditions those forces sometimes fall prey to demagogic ideological-political manipulations of our ideological adversaries and political enemies, and they may even unwittingly serve their goals. That is where the true dangers lie, since for many people it is not easy to draw a clear line between an authentic critical attitude aimed at overcoming the problems, difficulties, shortcomings and deformations in our system toward the goal of its future development, and pseudocritical activity whose true purpose is to destroy the system.

Usually quarrelsome nationalistic whining and lamentation over the supposed miserable fate and present condition of their nationality and also uncritical idolatry and glorification of their own former national greatness by contrast with that of others are the favorite means which our adversaries use for this purpose. It is obviously felt that it would be easiest to accomplish a turn toward destruction of our society and community by enflaming ethnic enmity and by provoking conflicts.

Thanks to a collection of circumstances markedly ideological and political moves of this kind, which sometimes like to disguise themselves in literary, dramatic or some other purportedly artistic or pseudoscientific form, unfortunately exert a certain ideological influence mainly on a portion of intellectual circles and young people in school and at the university.

We Need Clear and Convincing Answers

[Question] You mentioned a collection of circumstances which are bringing about such occurrences. What do those circumstances consist of, how do you explain them?

[Answer] They lie above all in the fact that we find ourselves in a phase of our social development which has key and decisive importance to the definitive foundation and achievement of the system of associated labor and socialist self-management. We have already accomplished historic achievements on that road, especially with the 1974 Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, but aside from that, or, more accurately, precisely because of that, we have now found ourselves faced by the most hidden essence of the production relations of associated labor, with all their objective contradictions, which is confronting us with new and complicated problems in the struggle for the further development of socialist self-management. We need accurate, clear, elaborate and convincing answers to these problems so that the present difficulties are corrected successfully and effectively in practice and so that the real possibilities and authentic relations of associated labor and socialist self-management make a breakthrough.

This is expected and demanded of the League of Communists as the force which has up to now given evidence of its successful and authentic ideological and political leadership. The League of Communists is aware that it is not guaranteed this leadership role in advance, but that even now it must, both in theory and practice, in deeds, confirm that it is the leading force of the working class and of society as a whole. It is in a mobile condition, at the

height of efforts to respond as quickly and as well as possible to these tasks, which are the most important for it, but before that large, difficult and complicated job is brought to a conclusion, there still remains quite a bit of space for ideological confusion and for the ideological influences of anti-self-management and antisocialist forces on a segment of the public which we have mentioned.

[Question] When can we expect this job to be brought to a conclusion?

[Answer] Soon. That is, the major part of this job has already been done, though it has not yet been made public, but that also is to come very shortly. I am referring not only to a very large amount of work, but also to the very significant fruits of the Commission of the Federal Social Councils for the Problems of Economic Stabilization. This brings its work to an end and actually brings to the light of day the recent, and I would say most important, results of its long and strenuous research undertaking, not only in the realm of policy, but also in the realm of science.

There is an extensive discussion ahead about the proposals of the Committee as well as an extremely important and formidable job of putting the views adopted into operational terms, of translating them into practical solutions, and then also that most difficult thing, their implementation.

The League of Communists is faced with two very important tasks in this connection: the first has to do with the need for the broadest and deepest possible ideological and theoretical grounding of what it has learned most recently, knowledge which has been the basis for the proposals of the Commission for the Problems of Economic Stabilization; performance of that task has great importance both to the ideological and political unity of the League of Communists and also to creation of a broader and firmer foundation of theory for a more far-reaching projection of the future development of the authentic relations of associated labor and socialist self-management; the second task has to do with the need for appropriate political mobilization of society's broadest forces of self-management, since this entire regenerative process which lies ahead cannot be accomplished successfully unless they are acting vigorously and creatively in the direction of self-management.

Discussions and Indeed Polemics Are Indispensable

[Question] You have mentioned the problem of the ideological and political unity of the League of Communists. What form does this problem take today and why has it arisen?

[Answer] Both today and always this problem arises, put simply, for two main reasons: that is, differences in the views and commitments of party members, that is, certain manifestations of disunity among them, arise either as a consequence of the effect of differing and contradictory, above all material, interests of individual communities, or because of differing and more or less accurate or inaccurate ideas and thinking of party members about essential social phenomena, relations and processes. Usually both these factors are operative, since in most cases they exert a mutual influence on one another: people's conceptions are usually strongly colored by their interests.

However, at this moment, I am persuaded, the most important thing for strengthening the ideological and political unity of the League of Communists is for us to free ourselves more quickly and fully of superficial ideas and vulgar, supposedly common sensical, conceptions and deepen our Marxist theoretical knowledge more successfully. This presupposes a spirit of exploration, discussions and indeed even certain polemics, sometimes even among members of the party.

[Question] What are the typical controversies in those discussions?

[Answer] Put simply, two basic interpretations of our present social situation are still noted in the League of Communists: according to one of them, all the essential problems arise from the fact that we have not been sufficiently persistent, consistent and effective in carrying out our system and have not guaranteed that all social factors carry out the agreed policy responsibly and in a disciplined way; according to the other interpretation, that is not the real explanation, since however right we may be in taking note of all sorts of inappropriate and untoward subjective types of behavior (from that of individuals, including that of organizations of associated labor, and all the way to that of responsible factors in the republics and provinces), they do not explain our problems--on the contrary. But they need to be elucidated in the Marxist way, their foundations, causes and reasons need to be discovered if we are to truly explain to ourselves what is happening and why. Otherwise we would find ourselves--as Marxists--in an unenviable position: we are interpreting all the essential flows of social consciousness and the behavior of principal forces in society in terms of the development of social existence, i.e., primarily in terms of real social relations. What would we look like if we now offered a subjectivist explanation for the adverse phenomena and unfavorable developments in our social relations? The problem lies in subjective forms of behavior, that is, in people's consciousness, and ultimately in the fact that people are what they are.

It is not a question here just of some theoretical discussion, but also of what is to be our reference point in practice: Will it be above all people's appeals and demands for correct behavior, or will we endeavor to discover and overcome in practice those things which in real social relations (and that means primarily in production relations) facilitate, cause and reproduce the very widespread spontaneous developments, serious disruptions in flows of social reproduction, as well as the untoward subjective types of behavior which have been noted.

Should we take the first road, we would not be able to truly work out an authentic revolutionary and activist line for our society's further development; we would be operating pretty much helplessly, we would soon end up confining our efforts to tightening discipline and accountability, we would founder more and more in the waters of statism, and we would not achieve the goals we have proclaimed.

## We Have Not Made Everything Clear to Ourselves

[Question] What is the best way for the League of Communists to oppose this danger?

[Answer] We have to arrive at a clearer idea of current developments in our society by deepening our knowledge so that we can base our practice on the best and most accurate possible examination of the objective laws of the evolution and development of the authentic relations of associated labor and socialist self-management. We do not harbor any illusion that in this respect we have already arrived at a clear conception of all these things.

The development of socialist self-management to date has brought us to the very heart of the essence of socialism. It is a question of the authentic foundations and all the essential prerequisites of production relations and associated labor. That is why the road we have traveled to date, regardless of certain fluctuations, which in large part were inevitable, and shortcomings and defects which have been evident, has been the right one and by and large the only one for consistent revolutionary achievement of the essential interests and historic role of the working class under our conditions.

That is why the League of Communists is resolutely opposed to those who are attempting to dispute the essential foundations of our system and thereby to turn us away from the road of socialist self-management. By virtue of their principles and basic commitments the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor represent epochal achievements, even though in the struggle to implement we have found ourselves in serious difficulties, but the latter do not arise out of their principles and basic provisions, but from certain shortcomings and inappropriate solutions in their translation into operational terms. It is not, then, the foundations of our system which are the cause of the present situation, rather the reverse; they are the condition for successfully overcoming this situation, since our aggravated economic problems cannot be solved at the expense of self-management, but only through its further development.

But precisely for that reason there is a need on the other hand to stand apart from those who in defense of our system have dug in their heels as though a spell had been cast over them, in the position they already occupy, they stand resistant to any sort of critical reassessment of the individual solutions of our system, indeed even those which practice obviously has not confirmed. We need to be clear in advance that in that way it is not only impossible to develop socialist self-management further, it cannot even be successfully defended that way.

## Self-Management Is Not a Right to Arbitrariness

We have to soberly, but boldly, confront the fact that in some of the solutions embodying the system there are certain gaps which have to be filled and errors which have to be corrected, since otherwise it will not be possible to develop further the authentic production relations of associated labor.

[Question] Incidentally, early this year you wrote more extensively about this in KOMUNIST?

[Answer] Yes, but now on this occasion I will attempt only to indicate what is most important.

In the system of associated labor the worker is a dual socioeconomic creature: on the one hand he has become an independent agent of social appropriation of the means of production, while on the other he must still provide for his personal and family existence through his labor. For that reason, so long as work is a condition of people's survival and existence, the product will necessarily take the form of value, and distribution of that value will be determined by objectively necessary relations, not by people's free will, not even under the conditions of associated labor and socialist self-management. In the distribution of the social product, then, a necessary line has to be drawn between that which the associated workers set aside not by their own free will, but on the basis of objective necessity, for their own existence, for reproduction of their labor power, and to satisfy their personal and family, and indeed even broader immediate community [social service] and general public [government] needs, on the one hand, and that which, as accumulated past labor in the form of an ever greater monetary value, must be set aside for expanded reproduction of the productive forces, i.e., for society's further development.

Those are objective necessities toward which no one, not even the workers in associated labor, can take an arbitrary attitude without harmful consequences. On the contrary, we have to arrive at the best possible awareness of those necessities and build into our system the inevitable forms of economic coercion in an appropriate form. This we have not yet done, at least not to a sufficient degree. With respect to those necessities self-management cannot be conceived as a right to arbitrariness, since self-management represents liberation of the workers from class (and government) subjection and tutelage, but not from objective necessities and economic laws. It not only does not negate self-management, but indeed generates and facilitates it to acknowledge the necessity which they impose and to deliberately yield to it. Otherwise the self-management of the workers in associated labor and their complete mastery of the income which they realize could not even be maintained; it would be shattered against the iron laws of economic necessity.

Unless this is provided for in a more reliable way, excessively great opportunities will remain in the system of self-management for all sorts of arbitrary behavior on the part of everyone in disposition of the resources for social reproduction.

The First Job: Correcting the Weak Points in the System

[Question] And what are the consequences?

[Answer] The consequences are developments which run out of control and serious disturbances in the flows of reproduction, with an adverse impact on production and labor productivity, unbalanced distribution, and excessive

consumption, which has led to a weakening of the economy's accumulative capability, to excessive indebtedness, to the occurrence of encapsulation and hindrance of necessary integrative processes, to various egoistic, particularistic, localistic and nationalistic confrontations. All of this has imposed the need for a broader range of temporary administrative measures.

At this point we cannot do without that, but it is precisely that which emphasizes the need for the greatest speed in correcting the weak points in our system so that we can truly guarantee that the workers in associated labor master the entirety of income on sound economic foundations, along with full respect for objective necessities and economic laws, without the danger of the spontaneity and disruptions we confront today. Only under that condition can the workers truly take command of income and in particular the resources for expanded reproduction. The fact that we have so far not been successful enough in providing for those conditions is the main reason why that essential goal of ours has not been achieved.

[Question] How is that achieved?

[Answer] The working class has to confirm itself as the decisive protagonist in society, it must prove in practice that it can manage the resources for reproduction more successfully, better and optimally than other forces in society. It has to fully discover the way in which this will be done. That is why the true orientation of the workers, the revolution and self-management cannot lie in crying for help, because the bureaucracy and technocracy are still too strong and influential, but rather lies in working out a positive program whereby the associated workers will displace the bureaucracy and technocracy from those positions and take all the controls in their own hands. After all the working class should not and cannot implore to be given self-management as a gift from the state; it takes command of it through its real liberation as the leading force of society.

[Question] Does this mean that the keys are in the hands of the working class?

[Answer] Certainly, it has to solve the problems it confronts and not wait for a solution from outside. But it cannot do this by some spontaneous movement of its own, nor can it be the resultant of the conceptions and actions of the workers as individuals, on the basis of the average consciousness of the average worker, but it can only be as a highly organized and integrated force whose revolution action is based on the highest attainments of class consciousness and of Marxist theoretical knowledge. The organization of the workers in associated labor through self-management, and then the Federation of Trade Unions and the League of Communists as the force representing the leading consciousness and political action of the working class, have an indispensable role in this sense. And as for the latter, it is an objectively and essential internal need, part and instrument of the working class, to the degree, of course, in which it successfully stands in the forefront in theory and sheds light on the confused pathways of achievement of its historic interests and to the extent that it provides skillful and consistent political guidance along those pathways.

[Question] What at this point is most essential and most urgent for the more successful achievement of those goals?

[Answer] We have to ascertain in what way and in what form we can guarantee through self-management decisionmaking of the entirety of associated labor reliable criteria governing the division and distribution of income and personal incomes consistent with authentic socialist principles, optimum circulation and allocation of the resources of society for expanded reproduction so that they bring the fastest possible return and thereby produce the fastest possible growth of output and labor productivity, so that they stimulate broad and sound integrative processes through purposive pooling of labor and capital in conformity with objective needs and economic laws. Solutions of this kind should be defined as well as possible and built into the system, and then their implementation should be fought for, which under those conditions should be uncomparably easier for us than it has been up to now.

7045

CSO: 2800/387

## HEAD OF TITO SCHOOL ON IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL EDUCATION

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 83 p 6

/Interview with Ivica Racan, director of the Josip Broz Tito Political School in Kumrovec, by Tamara Indik; date and place not specified/

/Text/ Recently the eighth generation attending the Josip Broz Tito Political School in Kumrovec finished its schooling, which was the motive for a conversation with Ivica Racan, the school's director, member of the LYC Central Committee and member of the Council of Schools since its inception. The conversation encompassed a series of questions on the actual themes of ideological-political education and training of communists.

/Question/ The eighth generation has finished the Josip Broz Tito Political School in Kumrovec. What was their experience like?

/Answer/ For the last 8 years over 800 students have completed this school. It is my opinion, and some exact studies confirm this, that these students return to the party the quality expected. A huge proportion of the students, in the good sense of the word, are party activists, from the OOUR, to the commune, the republic and federation. There are those, let us say, in the organs of self-management, in the administration of the party and in the presidency of the central committees. It is significant that only a few of them are professional party cadres. Because there is some confusion that the Political School in Kumrovec is a cadre school. It is that in the broad sense. Cadres in the LC are perhaps not only professionals, but all people who are fighting for the party by the quality of their argument.

/Question/ What specifically can be said for the eighth generation of students?

/Answer/ The present generation and its work in the school was good and we considered the results successful, but a definite evaluation of the schooling in Kumrovec will depend only upon their work. Therefore, evaluations on the basis of impressions, positive or negative, are not good. Success can be verified only in the practical work of earlier students. The work itself in the school depends upon three factors: first, is selection of the student. I personally think that it is possible to do more so the selection will have more quality. What is more, I think that this is the key moment, because if those who select the student know why they wish someone to spend a year studying in Kumrovec, and select the proper student who is capable of optimally finishing his schooling, then that is a great guarantee for success.

The school's program is the second factor. It is necessary to continuously test and adjust it. I think that the present program is good because it encompasses the key questions--from the fundamentals of Marxism, the Yugoslav revolution, its historical and real dimensions up to socialism as a world process. The third is the manner and method of work. We insist upon quality lectures and I would like to say that we do not have problems in obtaining the necessary public, scientific and political workers. Hundreds of people, from all republics and regions were here as lecturers during the last school year. Prescriptions and answers to all questions were not offered. Rather it was a question of groups and discussions. We are stimulating the students into critical analysis of our reality, which lies at the bottom of the quality selection of a student. Because prescriptions are sought by those who, in ideological and other views, are immature and not independent. Dogmatism is not only a matter of ideological determination, but also a low quality of creativity and independence in understanding social conditions.

/Question/ You said, during the awarding of diplomas to this eighth generation that Yugoslavia writ small was gathered in the school, in Kumrovec. That was, moreover, Tito's wish when he sought the founding of this school.

/Answer/ The school is interesting in that in it, in a condensed manner, is expressed the party's stand, atmosphere, differences in approaches to individual questions, different interests. Around a hundred people, of all nations and nationalities, from all republics and regions, who bring much that is good from their regions, but also that something else, live together for a year, 24 hours daily. Interesting and stormy discussions take place here about many real questions of our political and social life. But, the sense of community between people becomes more solid, because discussions flow without moderator or opportunism. Besides, I do reflect upon what kind of drawback there is in direct communication between people from various regions, peoples, republics and regions. The school is a good specimen for the study of the many aspects of the Yugoslav community.

/Question/ At the first conference of the LCC and before it, there were demands for greater ideological-political training and education of communists. How do you interpret this?

/Answer/ It is good, and to me also logical, as a demand, because I think that pragmatism and practicality in the LC is one of the great dangers. It allows and demands manipulations and bargaining. Dissatisfaction with the ideological-political level in the LC is also contained in this demand. Unfortunately, this critical dissatisfaction is not also self-critical. However, in relation to ideological-political education, two lines are expressed. One is to disregard that work, treating it as a loss of time and resources, a formalistic treatment of that work, as if the ideological construction of the party is not its basic question. The second line--the stressing of ideological-political education as an explanation of those problems, weaknesses and even crisis problems in the party's life, as the low ideological-political level of communists, who must quickly be educated, and everything will be all right.

The many weaknesses and the passivity and opportunism in the LC are the results of a weak ideological-political level of communists, but not only that. For example, they are also the result of conclusions of those without models for real problems and the moment, of opposite positions and interests which are easier to present in the form of verbal agreements or passivity, than as direct opposition. There are also those who think that ideological-political education must be in the unquestioning performance of directives, for which they are the ones who formulate the tasks--probably they themselves do not understand this demand for ideological-political education. I think that all these lines are unacceptable.

Question What, in your view and experience from Kumrovec, must ideological-political education consist of?

Answer Such education understands the mastering and realization of the basic elements of the program and politics of the party, but it also understands the complex and contradictory social conditions in which the party's line must be fought for. For this it is necessary to enrich the party's line. This knowledge and understanding is necessary, but it is essentially a wanting to be working in this direction. Someone can know much about self-management, and not contribute to its strengthening in our society. As for our party, Marxism is not a dogma, so in the process of ideological-political training and Marxist education, we cannot offer dogma, prescriptions and ready solutions for all open questions. It is quite essential to stimulate communists to uplift themselves ideologically, but it is really a question of motive; why is someone in the LC, why struggle or be passive.

Question What can we expect from the idea that the school in Kumrovec will become the center for the gathering, discussion and stimulation of ideological-theoretical ideas in Yugoslavia?

Answer Much, because for our party, it seems ideological-theoretical work is becoming a more and more significant problem. Of course, falling behind in this plan has severe consequences for training communists to struggle today and directly negates the LC's avant-gard and creative essence. Of course, on this line there must also be a broad process of critical analysis of open questions, the gathering of the ideological-theoretical potential in discussions on this. The school will also further develop in this direction as the organizer of forums and discussions because we have had good results here.

In developing the Political School in Kumrovec further, we will see the formation of Marxist studies in the school, which will contribute to the party's ideological-theoretical work and the formation of cadres for this work. But, the fate of this idea rests upon the broad realization of this need in the LC and, on this basis, for presenting a clear mission to the school in Kumrovec.

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## OLD FIRM SAID TO REFUTE BULGARIAN CLAIM TO MACEDONIA

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Ljubomir Kostovski]

[Text] The Film Library of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia has acquired the original 1923 documentary film "Macedonia." That work, of as yet undetermined authorship, has great historical importance, but in the hands of Bulgarian historians it was something to be concealed long and well.

In Skopje, a 407-meter documentary film has been greeted with unconcealed excitement. It is the documentary "Macedonia," which was filmed precisely 6 decades ago by a group of progressive intellectuals who had fled to Sofia from the Turkish authorities. (Actually, some people believe the author to have been Arsenije Jovkov, an important fighter for Macedonian independence.) It is believed that the presentation of that film a week ago ended the silence of all those who believe that the truths it contains contradict "official history." This applies primarily to Bulgarian historians, in whose hands the film was "a hot potato" for many years, a secret to be kept long and well.

## Content

The film has two separate parts. In the first, it shows in sequence the Macedonian cities of that time and the revolutionaries who were born there and were active in them. The second part shows the transfer of the bones of the ideologist of Macedonian resistance, Goce Delcev, to a large church. All the progressive Macedonian intellectuals who were living temporarily in Sofia are taking part in the ceremony, along with relatives of the deceased and convicts of the "Illinden" [St Ilija's Day] uprising. In the foreground is a wreath with the statement: "We swear future generations to the oath to bury these bones in the capital of an independent Macedonia." The next footage is devoted to Dimitar and Konstantin Miladinov, the progressive poets who were poisoned in a prison in Istanbul in 1962 at command of the Greek church authorities.

It is hypothesized that a significant part of the original film is missing. It would have contained footage dedicated to other fighters for an independent Macedonia, and as the Macedonian emigrant press of that time stated, a significant demonstration to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Ilinden uprising was also filmed on Holy Week Square in the capital of Bulgaria. It involved 40,000 patriots who, by force of circumstances, were far from their homes.

### Consequences

The slogans on the demonstration that was shown, the faces seen in the film and the overall idea that led to it brought its creators innumerable difficulties. According to documents that have been discovered, while the camera was still operating the project was characterized by official Sofia as "bad manners" that contradicted its makers' status as guests in a foreign land. The right wing of the VMRO (Domestic Macedonian Revolutionary Organization), in concert with its sponsors, the fascists of the Aleksandar Cankov regime, also applied pressure to prevent the film that had already been shot from being presented in Sofia, since it would "cause difficulties." On 10 February 1924 an official ban against presenting the work in movie theaters (or the legitimate theaters of the day) was announced, with the personal signature of the president of the government! That time also saw the arrests of members of the left wing of the VMRO and the "Ilinden" organization, and other activities were also banned that defended the independence of Macedonian revolutionary actions and the right to liberty. All of this ended with a bloody slaughter of Macedonian intellectuals who did not sell their ideals to the Bulgarian court. Those fascist orgies also brought the demise of the hypothetical scenarist of the film, Arsenije Jovkov.

The acquisition of the documentary film "Macedonia" by the Macedonian Film Library has made a significant contribution to both film and general history. The film is being shown often, because the Macedonian populace is truly interested to see "in real life" a part of its past, to feel part of the myth that sustained it and that led to the moment when the bones of Goce Delcev, as one frame has it, as a message, came to lie peacefully in the capital of a truly independent Macedonia.

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END