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# East Europe Report

# POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

ETIC QUALITY ENERGY SU

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JPRS-EPS-84-127

12 October 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

# POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

HUNGARIANS REPORT ROMANIAN DEMOGRAPHIC GOALS--In Romania, 6 months after the adoption of the demographic policy resolution, the Supreme Council of Health met, and it affirmed that the health workers are endeavoring to achieve ambitious demographic goals. In fact, this time the goal as to achieve even a higher birthrate than in March. This rate was somewhat more than 14 per thousand last year in Romania. It was decided 6 months ago that it must increase to 19-20 per thousand, and now 21 per thousand; that is, 21 births per 1,000 inhabitants, was set as a goal. According to the communique issued on the session of the Romanian Supreme Council of Health, the activity of the health organs was analyzed in a critical and self-critical spirit. It was established that the Romanian health workers must influence the demographic attitude of young people, they must improve the health provisions of mothers and infants, and in this manner, they must contribute to achieving the targeted number of births. [Text] [LD230235 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 84 LD]

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ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

HOXHA'S WORKS PUBLISHED--Tirana, 26 Sep (ATA)--The 42d volume of the works by Comrade Enver Hoxha came off the press. It contains materials of the period October 1969-February 1970; most of them are published for the first time. Among the main materials of this volume are: speech at the 9th plenum of the CC of the PLA "Let Us Improve the Revolutionary Style in Education Organisation, Work," "25 Years of Struggle and Victories on the Road of Socialism," "The Rights and Freedoms of the Women and Youth Should Be Understood Profoundly and Protected by All," "Our Power, Set Up on the Blood of the People, Is Run by the Working Masses Themselves," "Historic Studies Serve in Explaining the Problems of the Genesis of Our People," articles, speeches, talks, letters, etc. The volume has an index. [Text] [AU261228 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 26 Sep 84]

EGYPTIAN ENVOY'S ARRIVAL—Tirana, 26 Sep (ATA)—The newly-appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, (Abouserie Soliman Metvalli), arrived in our country yesterday. The ambassador was welcomed at the airport by the chief of the Protocol Branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jovan Antoni. [Text] [AU261734 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 26 Sep 84 AU]

YAR OFFICIAL GREETED--Tirana, 26 Sep (ATA)--The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, sends the following message of greetings to the President of the Yemen Arab Republic, 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih. "On occasion of the anniversary of the Day of the Revolution of the Yemen Arab Republic, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium and the People's Assembly, and on my behalf, I convey to you warm greetings and to the friendly people of the Yemen Arab Republic, the best wishes for their happiness and the continuous progress of the country." [Text] [AU261238 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 26 Sep 84]

'HEROINE MOTHERS' MEETING-Tirana, 30 Sep (ATA)-The mothers with many children, who have been awarded the highest medal heroine mothers by the party, gathered in a meeting in the capital, organised by the General Council of the Womens Union of Albania, in the context of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland yesterday afternoon. Present in the meeting were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Comrade Rita Marko, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and first secretary of the party committee of Tirana District Comrade Foto Cami, the secretary of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, Xhorxhi Robo, and other comrades. [Excerpt] [AU301445 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 30 Sep 84]

BULGARIA

### FAMILY CODE DRAFT PUBLISHED FOR PUBLIC DISCUSSION

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Aug 84 pp 1-4

[Draft Family Code]

[Text] The heightened demands made on the family to produce a healthy and properly trained generation necessitate a corresponding change likewise in family law. The draft of a new Family Code published in today's issue will undergo public discussion for maximum improvement of the legal procedure pertaining to family relations.

We invite the readers of this newspaper, starting today, to send their opinions, suggestions and recommendations to the editors.

### DRAFT FAMILY CODE

Introduction

The socialist revolution brought about fundamental reforms in marriage and family relations. They are erected on a new economic and social foundation in keeping with socialist ideological and moral principles. Marriage has become a union of equal rights between a man and a woman, alike responsible for the upbringing and training of children. The Bulgarian family as the basic cell of society with common concern and labor provides for the spiritual and material development of its members.

Socialist society protects the family, in which social and individual interests are harmoniously combined, and bestows thorough care on its well-being.

The welfare of the Bulgarian socialist family is inseparably linked with the performance of its reproductive and training function. A guarantee of the performance of these functions is the rise in the people's economic prosperity and their spiritual and cultural growth, as well as the consistent policy of the encouragement of motherhood and the provision of increasingly better conditions. for the bearing, rearing and training of more children. The profound qualitative changes which are taking place in society, the strengthening of the socialist way of life, the molding of the socialist individual make new and higher demands on the family for the nation's growth and vitality, for the training of socialist citizens. These progressive changes in society and family relations are reflected in the Family Code.

The Family Code has as its purpose to help preserve and enrich the age-old virtues and best national traditions that have maintained the Bulgarian race throughout its centuries-long history for the further upward development and strengthening of the Bulgarian family.

Chapter I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Scope

Article 1. The Family Code regulates relations based on marriage, consanguinity and adoption, tutorship and curatorship.

Purposes

Article 2. The purposes of this code are as follows: the protection and strengthening of the family; the multifaceted development of the individual; the comprehensive protection of children and inculcation in them of devotion to the homeland and active participation in the building of a socialist society; the development of mutual assistance, devotion and respect among all family members and of a sense of responsibility to family and society; the defense of the rights and interests of those placed under tutorship and curatorship.

Principles

Article 3. Family relations are regulated in conformity with the following principles: protection of marriage and the family by state and society; equal rights of husband and wife; the voluntary nature and stability of the marital union as the foundation of the family; the comprehensive protection of children; the equality of legitimate, illegitimate and adopted children; respect for the individual; the mutual concern and support of family members.

Functions of the Family

Article 4. The basic functions of the socialist family are as follows: childbearing, rearing and training; the provision of opportunities for the development of the capacities of all family members, as well as conditions for the performance of their labor and social duties; creation within the family of relations based on respect, devotion, friendship, common efforts and mutual responsibility for its development; the bestowal of care and assistance, moral and material, on elderly, ill and incapacitated family members.

Protection of the Family

Article 5: Socialist society and state provide conditions for the development of the family, encourage births, protect and give incentives for motherhood and assist parents in child rearing and training:

### Chapter II. CONTRACTION OF MARRIAGE

Civil Marriage

Article 6. (1) Only civil marriage, contracted in the form prescribed by this code, shall give rise to the consequences legally associated with marriage.

(2) A religious ceremony may be performed only after the conclusion of a civil marriage. This ceremony shall have no legal effect.

Consent of Parties Entering Into Marriage

Article 7. Marriage shall be contracted with the mutual consent of a man and a woman given personally and simultaneously before a civil officer.

Documents Required for Contraction of Marriage

Article 8. Parties desirous of marrying shall declare this in the registry office. Each of them shall submit a declaration that there are no barriers to their marrying, as established in articles 12 and 13, and a medical certificate that he or she does not suffer from the diseases indicated in article 13, paragraph 1, subparagraphs 2 and 3.

Place of Contraction of Marriage

Article 9. (1) Marriage shall be contracted publicly and solemnly at the obshtina people's council.

(2) Whenever any marriage contractants cannot appear at people's council for reasons that are valid in the opinion of the civil officer, the marriage may be contracted elsewhere.

Procedure for Contraction of Marriage

Article 10. (1) Marriage shall not be contracted sooner than 30 days from the declaration at the Obshtina people's council. With the permission of the civil officer, a marriage may also be contracted sooner if substantial reasons necessitate.

(2) The civil officer shall verify the identity and age of the parties and the declarations and medical certificates submitted by them. If there are no barriers to the marriage, the civil officer shall ask the parties whether they consent to marry each other and upon an answer in the affirmative shall draw up a marriage certificate which shall be signed by the parties, by two witnesses and by him.

(3) The marriage shall be considered concluded with the signing of the certificate by the marriage contractants and the civil officer.

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Surname of Spouses

Article 11. During the drawing up of the marriage certificate each marriage contractant shall declare whether he is retaining his surname or taking that of his spouse or adding the surname of his spouse to his. As surname may be taken or added the name of the other spouse by which he is known in society.

Age of Marriage Contractants

Article 12. (1) A person who has reached the age of 18 may marry.

(2) By way of exception, if substantial reasons necessitate, a person who has reached the age of 16 may marry with the permission of the rayon court in the person's place of residence. If both marriage contractants are minors and are from different rayons, permission shall be given by the president of the rayon court in the place of residence of one of the marriage contractants of their choosing. The president shall give a hearing to the minor, his parents or his curator. The opinion of the parents or of the curator may also be given in writing with notarized signature.

(3) Upon marrying a minor becomes competent, but he may dispose of real property only with the permission of the rayon court in his place of residence.

Barriers to Marriage

Article 13. (1) A person may not marry the following:

1. anyone who is bound by another marriage;

2. anyone who has been placed under complete judicial disability or suffers from mental illness or imbecility, which are the grounds for his complete judicial disability;

3. anyone who suffers from a disease presenting serious danger to the life or health of offspring or of the other spouse unless the disease is dangerous only to the other spouse and he knows about it.

(2) The following may not marry:

1. relatives in a direct line of descent;

2. brothers and sisters, their children and other relatives in a lateral branch of the family to the fourth degree inclusive.

Chapter III. RELATIONS BETWEEN SPOUSES

Equality Between Spouses

Article 14. Sponses shall have equal rights and doties in marriage:

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### Reciprocity Between Spouses

Article 15. Relations between spouses shall be based on mutual respect, understanding and fidelity.

Cohabitation of Spouses

Article 16. Spouses shall live together unless substantial reasons necessitate their living separately.

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Freedom in Choice of Occupation

Article 17. Each spouse shall have freedom in choice of occupation.

Care of Family

Article 18. Spouses must by their common efforts and mutual understanding provide for the development of their family and see to the rearing, training and support of the children.

Marital Community of Property

Article 19. (1) Chattels and rights to chattels, as well as monetary deposits, acquired by spouses during their marriage as a result of their joint contribution shall belong to both spouses jointly regardless of whose name they were acquired in.

(2) The joint contribution of spouses may take the form not only of the investment of money and labor, but also of child care and housework.

(3) Joint contribution shall be assumed pending proof to the contrary.

Individual Property

Article 20. (1) Chattels, rights to chattels and monetary deposits, acquired before marriage, as well as chattels, rights to chattels and monetary deposits acquired during marriage by inheritance, by gift and from prizes, shall belong to the spouse who acquired them. Also individual property are chattels and rights to chattels acquired by one spouse under article 389a-389e when chattels which are marital community property are attached for personal debt of the other spouse.

(2) Chattels acquired by one spouse during marriage which are for ordinary personal use or for the practice of his occupation are individual property.

-Reconstitution of Individual Property

Article 21: (1) Chattels, rights to chattels and monetary deposits acquired during marriage entirely with individual property in accordance with article 220; paragraph 1; shall be individual property.

(2) When chattels, rights to chattels and monetary deposits are acquired in part with individual property in accordance with article 20, paragraph 1, a corresponding part of what has been acquired shall be the individual possession of the spouse.

Administration and Disposition of Community Property

Article 22. (1) Spouses shall have equal rights of ownership, use, control and disposition of community chattels and rights to them. As long as the marriage lasts, neither spouse can dispose of the share of community property which he would receive on the termination of property relations. Either spouse may performs acts of administration pertaining to community chattels and rights to chattels.

(2) Community chattels and rights to chattels shall be disposed of jointly by both spouses. When one spouse does not participate in a transaction, it shall constitute an act on his behalf unless he contests it by legal proceedings within 6 months of learning of it.

(3) The disposition of community chattels in a compensatory transaction by one spouse without the consent of the other shall have no force for the latter if the third party knew or, depending on the circumstances, could have learned that consent of the other spouse was lacking.

(4) The spouse in whose name a bank deposit is opened shall have disposition of it. On written request of the other spouse to the manager of the depository institution, sums above a specified amount may be withdrawn from the deposit with the consent of both spouses.

Disposition of Individually Owned Family Dwelling

Article 23. When the family dwelling is individually owned by one spouse, he may dispose of it only with the consent of the other spouse. If this consent is lacking, disposition may be made with the permission of the rayon court only if it is established that this is not to the detriment of the children and family.

Expenditures and Debts for Family

Article 24. (1) Expenditures to meet the needs of the family shall be assumed by both spouses.

(2) Spouses shall be jointly responsible for debts which one or both of them have contracted in order to meet the needs of the family.

Transactions Between Spouses

Article<sup>®</sup>25. Spouses may do business between themselves with their individual property.

Termination of Community of Property

Article 26. (1) The community of property shall terminate on the death of one spouse, in the event of divorce or annulment of the marriage.

(2) The community of property may be terminated judicially during a marriage as well on the request of one spouse if substantial reasons necessitate.

(3) Execution against specific chattels which are community property for the personal debt of one spouse shall terminate the community of these chattels.

Spouses' Shares

Article 27. On termination of the community of property the shares of the spouses shall be equal.

Determination of a Spouse's Larger Share

Article 28. (1) On termination of the community of property due to divorce, the court may assign a larger share of the community property to the spouse to whom the rearing and training of minor children is granted if this creates particular hardships for him.

(2) The spouse to whom the rearing and training of minor children is granted shall receive, in addition to his share, those chattels which are intended for their children's rearing and training.

(3) On termination of the community of property due to divorce, the court shall assign a larger share of the community property to one spouse if his contribution to their acquisition significantly exceeds the other spouse's contribution.

Receipt of Share of Individual Property

Article 29. In the event of divorce each spouse shall have the right to receive part of the value of the chattels for the exercise of his occupation and part of the receipts of the other spouse acquired during the marriage if they are of significant value and he contributed to their acquisition by his labor, with his funds or by his household chores. This claim may be brought also before the divorce if the conduct of the spouse who acquired the property is jeopardizing the interests of the other spouse.

Time Limits for Presentation of Claims

Article 30. Claims under articles 28 and 29 may be presented until the expiration of 1 year from termination of the marriage.

Chapter IV. PARENTAGE

Maternal Parentage

Article 31. (1) Maternal parentage is determined by childbirth. This shall whold true also when the child is conceived with genetic material from another woman.

(2) Maternal parentage established by the act of childbirth may be contested by a suit instituted by the child, by the woman indicated in the birth certificate as the mother, by her spouse, by the woman who claims that she is the mother of the child, and by the man who claims that the child was borne by his wife.

(3) The husband of the mother, the spouse of the other person who is challenging the parentage and, in all instances, the child shall be summoned as parties in the case.

Paternal Parentage

Article 32. (1) The husband of the mother shall be considered the father of a child born during the marriage or before the passage of 300 days from its termination.

(2) If a child is born before 300 days have passed from the termination of a marriage but after the mother has contracted a new marriage, the mother's spouse in the new marriage shall be considered the child's father.

(3) In the case of the reported absence of the husband the assumptions of paragraphs 1 and 2 shall not apply if the child is born after the passage of 300 days from the last news of the husband and, in the case of his declared death, from the date of the presumed death.

Contestation of Paternity

Article 33. (1) The husband of the mother may controvert that he is father of the child by proving that it could not have been procreated by him. This action may be brought up until the expiration of 1 year from learning about the birth.

(2) The mother may controvert that her husband is the father of the child by proving that it could not have been procreated by him. This action may be brought up until the expiration of 1 year from the birth.

(3) In the case of article 32, paragraph 2, if a challenge on the part of the second husband is granted, the first husband shall be considered the father of the child; he may bring suit challenging paternity until the expiration of 1 year from the entry into force of the decision.

(4) Contestation of paternity shall not be permitted when, with the written consent of her husband given to the director of the institution in question, a woman has been artificially inseminated or has borne a child conceived with genetic material from another woman.

Parties to Paternity Suits

Article 34. Parties to be summoned in a paternity dispute are the mother, the child and the husband, and when paternity is contested by the second husband, the first husband shall be summoned as a party.

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Formal Acknowledgment

Article 35. Any legally competent parent may formally acknowledge his own child. Both children in utero and deceased children who have left descendants may be formally acknowledged.

Form of Acknowledgment

Article 36. Formal acknowledgment shall be made personally in a written declaration to a civil officer or in a declaration with a notarized signature given to a civil officer. A declaration may also be submitted through the director of the institution where the child was born.

Contestation of Acknowledgment by the Other Parent and Child

Article 37. (1) The civil officer shall advise the other parent of the acknowledgment if he is known, and the child if it is of age. If within 3 months of being informed these persons do not contest the acknowledgment in a written declaration to a civil officer, the acknowledgment shall be entered in the birth certificate.

(2) When formal acknowledgment is contested, the acknowledger may within 3 months of receiving the information bring action to establish parentage.

(3) If at the time of the acknowledgment the child has not come of age, it may challenge up to the expiration of 3 years after coming of age or after learning of the acknowledgment if this discovery occurred later. If the suit is granted, the acknowledgment shall be deleted with an appropriate notation in the birth certificate.

Third-Person Contestation of Acknowledgment

Article 38. Apart from the cases under the preceding article, a formal acknowledgment may be contested by any person who has a legal interest by bringing suit within 1 year after learning of it.

Invalidation of Formal Acknowledgment

Article 39. The acknowledger may seek invalidation of his acknowledgment by reason of error or fraud within 1 year from the acknowledgment, in case of threat within 1 year from termination of the threat, and in case of legal incompetence within 1 year from gaining competence.

Action to Establish Maternal Parentage

Article 40. Action to establish maternal parentage may be brought by the child, the mother or father. The mother's husband who is considered to be the child's father in conformity with article 32, paragraph 1, shall also be summoned as a party.

Action to Establish Paternal Parentage

Article 41. Action to establish paternal parentage may be brought by the child until the expiration of 3 years from the time it comes of age, and by the mother within 3 years from the child's birth. When action is brought by the child, the mother shall be summoned also.

Parental Rights on Establishment of Parentage by Legal Proceedings

Article 42. When the court grants suits under articles 40 and 41, it shall officially decree measures regarding the exercise of parental rights and shall settle the personal relations between the child and its parents, as well as its support, in conformity with article 106.

Barriers to Establishment of Parentage

Article 43. Suits to discover parentage may not be brought nor may a formal acknowledgment be made until the apparent parentage, established by the birth certificate, by presumption according to article 32 or by acknowledgment, is approved by legal proceedings. Two suits may be consolidated.

Suits by and Against Heirs

Article 44. (1) Heirs shall have no right to bring the suits envisaged in this chapter, but they may continue proceedings in a suit brought by a testator.

(2) When the father or mother is deceased, a suit to establish or challenge parentage shall be brought against their heirs.

Time Limitations

Article 45. The time limitations in this chapter shall be enforced officially and are not subject to stay or suspension.

Chapter V. CONSANGUINITY

Lineal and Collateral Consanguinity

Article 46. (1) Lineal consanguinity is the relation subsisting between two persons, one of whom is descended directly or indirectly from the other.

(2) Collateral consanguinity is the relation subsisting between two persons who have a common ancestor, without one being a descendant of the other.

Degrees of Consanguinity

Article 47. (1) There are as many degrees between two relatives in a direct line of descent as there are generations.

(2) There are as many degrees between two relatives in a lateral line of descent as there are generations from one of them to the common ancestor and from the latter to the other relative.

Kinship by Marriage

Article 48. (1) The relatives of one spouse are relatives by marriage not only of the other spouse, but also of the latter's relatives.

(2) In the line of descent and the degree to which a person is a relative of one spouse, he is a relative by marriage of the other spouse.

(3) The degree of consanguinity by marriage between the relatives of one spouse and the relatives of the other spouse shall be determined by adding the degrees of consanguinity between one spouse and his relatives and the other spouse and his relatives.

(4) The wives of two brothers or the husbands of two sisters are relatives by marriage in the second degree.

(5) Consanguinity by marriage shall be of legal significance only in the cases provided for by law.

Chapter VI. ADOPTION

Age of Adoptee

Article 49. Only a person who at the time of filing of the adoption petition has not reached the age of 18 may be adopted.

Adopter

Article 50. Only a legally competent person who has not been deprived of parental rights may adopt.

Age Difference

Article 51. The adopter must be at least 15 years older than the adoptee. The age difference shall not be required when a spouse is adopting the natural child of his spouse. When an adoption is effected simultaneously or consecutively by both spouses and for one the age difference exists, such difference shall not be required for the other spouse.

Prohibition of Adoption Between Relatives

Article 52. (1) Adoption between relatives in a direct line of descent and between brothers and sisters shall not be permitted.

(2) A grandfather and grandmother or one of them may adopt their grandchild only when it is illegitimate or when both of its parents are deceased or when one of them is deceased and the surviving parent fails to care for the child, fails to provide support or rears and trains it in a manner harmful to its development. The court shall also hear the other grandfather and grandmother of the adoptee.

(3) In case of a request for adoption of a grandchild from the grandfather and the grandmother on both the maternal and the paternal side, the court shall decide the question with a view to the child's interests.

Prohibition of Adoption by two Persons

Article 53. (1) No one may be adopted simultaneously by two persons unless they are spouses.

(2) No one may be adopted a second time until the existing adoption has been terminated. This prohibition shall not apply in respect of the spouse of the adopter.

Consent to Adoption

Article 54. (1) The consent of the following persons is necessary for adoption:

1. the adopter;

2. the parents of the adoptee;

3. the spouses of the adopter and adoptee;

4. the adoptee if he has reached the age of 14.

(2) The consent of these persons shall not be required if they are incompetent or their place of residence is unknown.

(3) When a child is left to be reared in a public institution and its parents have given advance consent for its adoption or are unknown, the director of the institution shall give consent for adoption.

Opinions About Adoption

Article 55. (1) An adoptee from 10 to 14 years of age shall be given a hearing by the court unless there are sufficient data that the adoptee knows the adopter to be his parent.

(2) The tutor, curator, as well as the parents and spouses under judicial disability or deprived of parental rights shall give their opinion about the adoption.

Form of Consent and of Opinion

Article 56. (1) The consent of the adoptee must be given personally to the court.

(2) The consent of the adopter, the adoptee's parents and the spouses of the adopter and adoptee, as well as the opinion of parents and spouses under limited judicial disability or deprived of parental rights and of the tutor or curator may be given to the court personally or in writing with notarized signature, or by a special attorney. The court may summon and give a personal hearing to any of these persons when it finds this necessary.

(3) The director of a public institution may give his consent in writing.

### Adoption Without Consent of Parent

Article 57. By way of exception, adoption shall also be permissible when a parent does not consent if he regularly fails to care for the child, fails to provide support or rears and trains it in a manner harmful for its development.

### Jurisdiction

Article 58. (1) An adoption petition shall be considered by the rayon court.

(2) The rayon court shall gather information regarding the adoptee and adopter from the obshtina people's councils in their places of residence and shall take opinions from them as to whether the adoption is in the adoptee's interest. Information regarding the child shall not be collected when it is taken from a public institution.

Decision on Adoption Request

Article 59. (1) The rayon court in a closed-door judicial session shall render its decision after hearing the evaluation of the public prosecutor.

(2) An adoption shall be permitted only if it is in the adoptee's interest.

Appeal of Decision

Article 60. The decision of the rayon court may be appealed in accordance with general procedure by the public prosecutor and by the persons specified in article 54, paragraph 1, subparagraphs 1, 2 and 4.

Complete Adoption

Article 61. (1) When the adoptee is a child of unknown parents or has been left in a public institution with consent for adoption, there shall come into being between the adoptee and his descendants, on the one hand, and the adopter and his relatives, on the other, rights and duties like those among relatives by birth, and the rights and duties between the adoptee and his descendants and their relatives by birth shall terminate. The same consequences of complete adoption shall also ensue when the persons indicated in article 54, paragraph 1, consent thereto. In these cases the barriers to the contraction of marriage by reason of consanguinity under article 13, paragraph 1, subparagraphs 1 and 2, shall not lapse. (2) The rayon court shall decree the drawing up of a new birth certificate in which the adopter is entered as the parent. The certificate shall be drawn up by the obshtina people's council for the seat of the court that permitted the adoption.

### Incomplete Adoption

Article 62. Apart from the cases in the preceding article, adoption shall be incomplete and from it there shall come into being rights and duties like those among relatives by birth only between the adoptee and his descendants, on the one hand, and the adopter on the other, while the rights and duties between the adoptee and his descendants and their relatives by birth shall be preserved. In this adoption parental rights and duties shall pass to the adopter, and the natural parents shall not inherit from the adoptee.

Adoption by Spouse of Parent

Article 63. In the case of the adoption of a child by the spouse of its parent in accordance with article 61 and article 62, the rights and duties between this parent and his relatives, on the one hand, and the adoptee and his descendants, on the other, shall be preserved.

Termination of Adoption

Article 64. (1) An adoption shall be terminated by the court, as follows:

1. in the event of invalidity by reason of violation of articles 49, 51, 52, paragraphs 1 and 2, 53 and 54, paragraph 1, subparagraphs 1, 2 and 4;

2. by mutual agreement of adopter and adoptee when both are competent;

3. in the event of a serious offense by one party or if there are other circumstances profoundly disrupting the relations between adopter and adoptee.

(2) Action for invalidation of an adoption by reason of violation of article 54, paragraph 1, subparagraphs 1, 2 and 4 may be brought only by the adopter, the adoptee's parents and the adoptee within a period of 1 year, which for the adopter and the adoptee's parents shall run from the discovery, and for the adoptee from the attainment of his majority.

(3) Apart from cases under the preceding paragraph, termination of an adoption under paragraph 1, subparagraph 1 may be requested by the adopter, the adoptee and the adoptee's parents, and under paragraph 2, subparagraph 3 by the adopter and the adoptee. The public prosecutor may also request termination of an adoption if the public interest is affected.

(4) The participation of the public prosecutor in cases for termination of an adoption under paragraph 1, subparagraphs 1 and 3 shall be mandatory.

### Termination of Adoption on Death of Adopter

Article 65. (1) In the case of an adoption under article 61, the court may terminate the adoption at the request of the adoptee, his parents, tutor, curator or the public prosecutor if the sole or both adopters are deceased and this is necessitated by the adoptee's interests.

(2) In the case of an adoption under article 62, if the sole or both adopters die, the adoption shall be considered terminated, but the adoptee shall inherit from the adopter.

Continuation of Case for Termination of Adoption

Article 66. When the death of the adopter or adoptee occurs in the course of proceedings for termination of an adoption under article 64, paragraph 1, subparagraphs 1 and 3, the case may be continued by the heirs or by the public prosecutor. If the court grants the suit, the guilty party (surviving adopter or adoptee) shall not inherit from the deceased.

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Effect of Termination

Article 67. The effect of the adoption shall cease with its termination.

Chapter VII. RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Parental Care of Children

Article 68. (1) Parents have the obligation to take care of their children and train them for socially useful activity.

(2) A stepfather and stepmother have the obligation to assist the parent in performing these duties.

Children's Duties to Parents

Article 69. (1) Children have the obligation to respect their parents and assist them. Children have the same duties towards their stepfather and step-mother.

(2) Adult children have the obligation to care for their elderly or ill parents.

Relations between Grandchildren and Grandfather and Grandmother

Article 70. (1) Grandchildren have the obligation to respect their grandfather and grandmother and assist them.

(2) A grandfather and grandmother shall have a right to personal relations with minor grandchildren. If the maintenance of personal relations is prevented, the rayon court in the place of residence of the grandchildren shall, on request of the grandfather and grandmother, decide on measures for personal relations with them unless this is not in the children's interest.

### Children's Place of Residence

Article 71. (1) Minor children must live with their parents unless substantial reasons necessitate their living elsewhere. In the event of deviation from this duty, on request of the parents the rayon court in their place of residence shall, after hearing the child if it has attained the age of 10, issue an order for its return to its parents. This order may be appealed to the president of the okrug court, but appeal shall not stay execution. The order shall be executed administratively.

(2) When parents do not live together and cannot reach agreement regarding which of them their children are to live with, the dispute shall be decided by the rayon court in the children's place of residence after they have been heard if they have reached the age of 10. The decision may be appealed in accordance with general procedure.

Exercise of Parental Rights and Duties

Article 72. Parental rights and duties shall be exercised by both parents jointly and individually. In case of disagreement between them the dispute shall be decided by the rayon court after hearing the parents and, if necessary, the child. The decision may be appealed in accordance with general procedure.

Representation and Curatorial Assistance

Article 73. (1) Each parent alone may represent his minor children and give consent to the legal actions of his minor children in their interest only.

(2) The alienation of real and personal property with the exception of fruits and things which are rapidly perishable, the encumbering of these properties with burdens and, in general, the performance of dispositive acts affecting the properties of minor children shall be permitted, with the permission of the rayon court in their place of residence, only in case of need or their obvious benefit.

(3) The granting or renunciation of rights, the making of loans and the securing of another's debts through a pledge, hypothecation or surety by a minor shall be invalid. This does not apply to the transactions of a married minor, for whom only the limitation under article 12, paragraph 3, shall hold true.

### Limitation of Parental Rights

Article 74. (1) When the conduct of the parent jeopardizes the person, training, health or property of the child, the rayon court by virtue of its office or at the request of the other parent or of the public prosecutor shall take appropriate measures in the child's interest, finding accommodations for it, where necessary, in a suitable place.

(2) Such measures shall be taken also when the parent by reason of long physical or mental illness or by reason of long absence or other objective reasons is not in a position to exercise his parental rights.

Deprivation of Parental Rights

Article 75. (1) In especially serious cases under the preceding article, at the request of the persons indicated therein or acting by virtue of its office, the rayon court in open session, with the participation of jurymen and after hearing the public prosecutor, may deprive the parent of parental rights.

(2) In the proceedings the parent, deprivation of whose rights is sought, shall mandatorily be given a hearing unless he fails to appear without valid reaons.

Measures Regarding Personal Relations

Article 76. In all cases of limitation or deprivation of parental rights the court shall also decide upon measures regarding personal relations between the parents and the children.

Change of Measures and Restoration of Parental Rights

Article 77. (1) In the event of a change in circumstances the court may change the measures under articles 74, 75 and 76.

(2) A parent may request the court to restore his parental rights if the ground on which he was deprived of them has ceased to exist.

Registration

Article 78. In instances of articles 75 and 77 the court shall officially advise the obshtina people's council in the parent's place of residence to register the deprivation of parental rights or, as the case may be, their subsequent restoration.

Chapter VIII. SUPPORT

Right to Support

Article 79. Only a person who is incapacitated and cannot support himself by his property shall have a right to support.

Order of Persons Owing Support

Article 80. (1) A person entitled to support may seek it in\_the\_following\_order:

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1. from his spouse or former spouse;

2. from his children:

3: from hissparents;

444. Ffrom his grandsons-add gradddaebterst:

5. from his brothers and sisters;

6. from his grandfather and grandmother and from relatives of higher degree in a direct ascending line.

. . . . .

(2) When the persons in the preceding rank are unable to provide support, the persons in the next rank shall owe support.

(3) When several persons in the same rank owe support, the duties shall be allocated among them in keeping with their means. If support is given by one of them, he may sue the others for what they should have given, plus interest.

Order of Persons who Have a Right to Support

Article 81. A person under obligation to several persons entitled to support must give it in the following order:

1. to children, spouse or former spouse;

2. to parents;

3. to grandsons and granddaughters;

4. to brothers and sisters;

5. to grandfather and grandmother and to relatives of higher degree in a direct ascending line.

Support of Minor Children by Parents

Article 82. Parents owe support to their minor children regardless of whether they are able-bodied and can support themselves with their own property.

Support of Former Spouse

Article 83. (1) Only the innocent spouse in a divorce has a right to support.

(2) Support shall be owed at most for up to 3 years from termination of the marriage unless the parties have agreed upon a longer period. The court may extend these periods if the former spouse receiving support is in an especially serious condition and the other spouse can give it without special hardships.

(3) The right of a former spouse to support shall cease when he marries.

Amount of Support

Article 84. The amount of support shall be determined according to the needs of the persons entitled to support and the means of the person who owes it.

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### Amount of Support of Minor Children

Article 85. (1) The amount of support that a parent owes minor children shall be determined according to the children's needs and the parent's means within limits established by the State Council.

(2) The court may set support in less than the established minimum amount when:

1. the child is provided for by the state;

2. other substantial circumstances necessitate.

Change and Termination of Support

Article 86. In the event of a change in circumstances the awarded support may be changed or terminated.

Past Support

Article 87. Past support may be sought for at most 6 months prior to the filing of suit.

Renunciation of Support

Article 88. Renunciation of future support shall be invalid.

Payment of Monetary Support

Article 89. Monetary support shall be paid monthly. In the event of delay, 1 percent monthly interest shall be due.

Prohibition of Deduction

Article 90. It shall not be permissible to deduct a claim from one's support obligation.

Loss of Right to Support

Article 91. (1) A person may not sue for support who has committed a serious offense against the one who owes him support, against the latter's spouse, in descending or ascending line of direct descent.

(2) The foregoing provision shall not be applicable to children prior to their reaching the age of 16 years.

(3) A person who has been deprived of parental rights shall not be exempt from the obligation to support his children. A person who has been deprived of parental rights by reason of culpable conduct may not sue his children for support.

Payment of Awarded Support by State

Article 92. When the person under obligation to pay the awarded support fails to do so, it shall be paid by the state and charged to him under the procedure and conditions specified by regulations issued by the Council of Ministers.

Assumption of Support by State

Article 93. In accordance with public assistance procedure, the state shall assume the care for needy persons when there are no responsible persons under article 80 or they are unable to provide support.

Chapter IX. TERMINATION OF MARRIAGE

Grounds

Article 94. A marriage shall be terminated:

1. on the death of one of the spouses;

2. by annulment of the marriage;

3. by divorce.

Termination of Marriage on Declared Death

Article 95. (1) When the death of one of the spouses is declared by the court, the marriage shall be terminated on the entry into force of the decision.

(2) If it proves that the spouse declared to be dead is alive, the terminated marriage shall not be reestablished.

Grounds for Annulment of Marriage

Article 96. (1) A marriage shall be annulled when:

1. the contracting of the marriage violated articles 12 and 13;

2. a marriage contractant was compelled to enter into it by threat of grave and imminent danger to his life, health or honor or to the life, health or honor of his relatives.

(2) No one may allege annulment of a marriage until it is decreed by the court.

Filing of Suit for Annulment of Marriage

Article 97. (1) Suit for annulment of a marriage may be filed:

1. in the event of violation of article 12--by the underage spouse only, not later than 6 months after attainment of majority, if there are no children from the marriage and the wife is not pregnant; 2. in the case of article 96, paragraph 1, subparagraph 2--by the threatened spouse only, not later than 1 year from contraction of the marriage;

3. in the case of article 13, paragraph 1, subparagraph 1--by either of the spouses, by the public prosecutor and by the spouse of the first marriage;

4. in the cases of article 13, paragraph 1, subparagraphs 2 and 3, and paragraph 2--by either spouse and by the public prosecutor.

(2) Suit under article 13, paragraph 1, subparagraph 2, may be brought not later than 6 months from rehabilitation or cancellation of the judicial disability.

(3) In the event of violation of article 13, paragraph 1, subparagraph 3, the marriage may not be annulled if the sick spouse has recovered.

(4) The public prosecutor may request determination whether grounds exist for annulment of a marriage contracted in violation of article 13, paragraph 1, subparagraph 1, even after the death of one of the spouses.

(5) In the case of bigamy the marriage may not be annulled if the marriage contracted previously has been terminated.

Consequences of Annulment of Marriage

Article 98. (1) The provisions pertaining to the consequences of divorce for personal and property relations between spouses, as well as for relations between them and the children shall be applicable also, mutatis mutandis, in case of the annulment of a marriage. Bad faith in the case of the annulment of a marriage has the significance of fault in the case of divorce.

(2) Children conceived or born during an annulled marriage shall be considered legitimate and the presumption of paternity in accordance with article 32 shall apply for them.

Grounds for Divorce

Article 99. (1) Either spouse may sue for divorce when the marriage is profoundly and irreparably disrupted.

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(2) In the decision granting a divorce the court shall officially rule on the fault for the dissolution of the marriage unless it is due to objective reasons with which the spouses cannot be charged.

(3) A divorce shall not be granted if the dissolution of the marriage is due solely to culpable conduct on the part of the plaintiff while the other spouse insists on preserving the marriage, unless weight circumstances necessitate granting the divorce.

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Divorce by Mutual Agreement

Article 100. (1) In the event of serious and unshakeable mutual agreement of the spouses to divorce, the court shall grant the divorce without inquiring into their motives for termination of the marriage.

(2) Suit for divorce by mutual agreement may not be brought until 4 years have elapsed from the contracting of the marriage.

Spousal Understanding in Divorce by Mutual Agreement

Article 101. (1) In the case of divorce by mutual agreement the spouses must set forth their understanding regarding the exercise of parental rights, personal relations with and support of the children, as well as property relations, use of the family dwelling, alimony between the spouses and surname. The understanding shall be approved by the court after verifying that the children's interests are protected.

(2) If the understanding is incomplete or the interests of the children are not well protected, the court shall allow a period of time for rectification of the deficiencies in the understanding. If the deficiencies are not remedied within the given period of time, the court shall dismiss the divorce petition.

(3) Suits regarding the exercise of parental rights and child support after termination of a marriage by mutual agreement shall be granted in the event of a change in circumstances.

Continuation of Divorce Proceedings by Heirs

Article 102. (1) The right to sue for divorce shall not pass on to heirs. They may, however, continue proceedings to establish the well-groundedness of a suit that has been filed if it is based on culpable conduct of the surviving spouse.

(2) The court shall dismiss the suit if the surviving spouse is not at fault for the dissolution of the marriage.

Surname After Divorce

Article 103. (1) After divorce a spouse may bear the name of the other spouse if the latter has given consent.

(2) If one spouse has become known by the name of the other spouse, the court may decide that he should continue to bear the same name.

(3) In the event of a change of circumstances the former spouse may request the other spouse to cease bearing his name.

Cancellation of Arrangements in Event of Death

Article 104. After divorce, former spouses shall cease to be legal heirs of one another and lose all benefits flowing from arrangements in the event of death, made prior thereto. The same consequences shall also ensue when the validity of a suit for divorce is established after the death of the petitioner.

Revocation of Gifts

Article 105. (1) After divorce, gifts of property of significant value, made in connection with or during the marriage to one spouse by the other spouse or by his relatives, may be revoked in so far as what was given is still extant, unless revocation is in conflict with socialist morality.

(2) Items shall be returned as is. If what was given has been alienated for compensation, the recipient of the gift shall owe whatever he has received, and if the alienation was uncompensated, he shall owe the equal value of what was given at the time of alienation.

(3) Revocation shall not affect rights over real property acquired by third persons prior to the filing of the statement of claim.

Parental Rights After Divorce

Article 106. (1) In granting a divorce the court shall officially decree to which spouse the exercise of parental rights is awarded and shall specify measures regarding the exercise of these rights, the personal relations between children and parents and child support.

(2) The court shall award the exercise of parental rights after evaluating all circumstances with a view to the children's interests. These rights may not be awarded to the spouse at fault for the divorce if this will adversely affect the rearing and training of the children.

(3) The court shall give a hearing to the parents and children if the latter have reached the age of 14. If appropriate, it shall also give a hearing to the children who have reached the age of 10, as well as relatives of the family.

(4) By way of exception, if the children's interests necessitate, the court may decree that they shall live with a grandfather, grandmother or other person, with the latter's consent, or in an appropriate public institution.

(5) If circumstances change, the court at the request of one of the parents or by virtue of its office may change the measures decreed earlier and specify new ones.

Use of Family Dwelling-After Divorce

Article 107. (1) In granting a divorce the court shall award use of the family dwelling to one of the spouses if it cannot be used individually, taking into account the interests of the children, fault, state of health and other circums stances.

(2) Use of the family dwelling may be granted to the spouse who is solely at fault for the divorce only when parental rights over the children born from the marriage are granted to him for his exercise.

(3) When there are no minor children from the marriage and the family dwelling is the property of the other spouse, his ascendants or descendants or his brothers and sisters, the court may grant the use thereof to the spouse not at fault for termination of the marriage only for a specified period.

(4) When the family dwelling is the property of one spouse and there are minor children from the marriage, the court may award use thereof to the other spouse to whom the exercise of parental rights is entrusted, until the children come of age.

(5) When the family dwelling is the property of one spouse's ascendants and there are minor children from the marriage, the court may grant the family dwelling to the other spouse to whom the exercise of parental rights has been entrusted, until the children come of age, if there is sufficient living space in the same dwelling for the owner, or for a shorter period in the event of a lack of sufficient living space in the same dwelling for the owner.

(6) When the family dwelling is the property of descendants or of brothers and sisters of one spouse and there are minor children from the marriage, the court may grant the use thereof to the other spouse to whom the exercise of parental rights has been entrusted, only for a specified period, provided that there is sufficient living space for the owner.

(7) The provision of paragraph 5 shall be applicable, mutatis mutandis, also when the family dwelling is the spouse's joint property with third persons.

(8) The use of the family dwelling under paragraphs 3-7 shall terminate even before the expiration of the time period if the spouse contracts a new marriage.

(9) When there are minor children from the marriage, the court shall rule officially on the use of the family dwelling.

Notification of Conduct of Culpable Spouse

Article 108. When a marriage is terminated through the fault of both spouses or one of them, the court shall send a copy of the decision to the labor collective at their (his) place of work or to the public organization at their (his) place of residence for the exerting of public influence.

Chapter X. TUTORSHIP AND CURATORSHIP

Conditions for Establishment

Article 109. (1) Tütorship shall be established over young children (children who have not reached the age of 14 years) whose parents are unknown, deceased or have been deprived of parental rights. Tutorship shall also be established over persons placed under complete judicial disability. (2) Curatorship shall be established over minors (children from 14 to 18 years of age), whose parents are unknown, deceased or deprived of parental rights, as well as over persons placed under limited judicial disability.

(3) Officials, public organizations and citizens to whom it becomes known that the establishment of tutorship or curatorship over someone is necessary must without delay inform the obshtina people's council in the place where the person is residing or staying.

Tutorship and Curatorship Authority

Article 110. The tutorship and curatorship authority shall be the chairman of the executive committee of the obshtina people's council.

Tutorship Council

Article 111. (1) The tutorship and curatorship authority in the person's place of residence shall appoint a tutor, deputy tutor and two advisers from among the relatives and friends of the young child or person placed under complete judicial disability who will best see to his interests. They shall constitute a tutorship council.

(2) Where possible, membership of the tutorship council shall also include persons with pedagogical training.

Appointment of Curator

Article 112. The tutorship and curatorship authority shall appoint a curator and deputy curator from among the relatives and friends of the minor or person placed under limited judicial disability who will best see to his interests.

Changes in Tutorship Council and Curators

Article 113. (1) The tutorship and curatorship authority may at any time make changes in the tutorship council and curators when the interests of the young child, the minor or persons placed under judicial disability require this, when the duties of tutorship or curatorship are not being performed or when their performance is extremely burdensome because of age, illness, official duties, etc.

(2) Before ruling on the changes in accordance with the preceding paragraph, the tutorship and curatorship authority shall also take the opinion of relatives and friends of the person placed under tutorship or curatorship.

### Protective Measures

Article 114. (1) Prior to the appointment of the tutor or curator, the tutorship and curatorship authority shall personally or through a person appointed by him make an inventory of property and take other protective measures for the person and interests of the person placed under tutorship or curatorship. If necessary, he may entrust a designated person to temporarily perform tutorship or curatorship functions. (2) If necessary, the tutorship and curatorship authority may place the young child or minor in a public institution.

Appeal of Actions

Article 115. The actions of the tutorship and curatorship authority, as well as a refusal to establish a tutorship or curatorship, or to take other measures provided for in this code, may be appealed by interested persons or by the public prosecutor to the rayon court, which shall decide the question upon its merits. The decision of the rayon court shall not be appealable.

Persons Who May not Be Members of Tutorship Council or Curators

Article 116. The following may not be members of a tutorship council, curators or deputy curators: persons who are incompetent, have been deprived of parental rights or convicted of serious deliberate crimes, as well as persons who by reason of illness, alcoholism, an immoral life, mercenary conduct, a conflict with the interests of the persons placed under tutorship or curatorship or for other reasons are not in a position to perform the functions of tutor or curator.

Rights and Duties of Tutor

Article 117. (1) The activity of a tutor shall be unsalaried.

(2) A tutor must attend to the needs of the person placed under tutorship, must administer his property and be his representative to third persons. He must see to the rearing, training and education of the young child.

(3) A tutor must within 1 month inform the tutorship and curatorship authority of property of significant value acquired after the establishment of the tutorship, which shall be entered in the inventory.

**Dispositive Acts** 

Article 118. (1) In disposing of property of a person under tutorship, article 73, paragraphs 2 and 3 shall be applied, mutatis mutandis. Authorization of the rayon court shall also be required for the withdrawal of sums from the person's deposits.

(2) The tutor shall also attach to the request for authorization the opinion of the tutorship council.

Duty to Deposit Cash Resources

Article 119. A tutor must deposit the cash resources of the person under tutorship into the bank in the latter's name. For tardily deposited sums he shall owe legal interest and indemnity for the damage caused. Place of Residence of Person Placed Under Tutorship

Article 120. (1) A person placed under tutorship shall live with the tutor unless weighty reasons necessitate his living elsewhere.

(2) When the place of residence is changed without the consent of the tutor, he may request the rayon court to issue an order for the return of the person placed under tutorship to his appointed place of residence. This order may be appealed to the president of the okrug court, but the appeal shall not stay execution. The order shall be executed administratively.

Councillors in the Tutorship Council

Article 121. The councilors shall assist the tutor and deputy tutor in the performance of their duties and shall inform the tutorship and curatorship authority of failures in the rearing and training of the young child and in safeguarding the rights and interest of the person placed under tutorship. They shall hear the tutor's report and participate in its acceptance by the tutorship and curatorship authority.

Rights and Duties of Curator

Article 122. (1) The activity of a curator is unsalaried.

(2) A curator must care for the person and safeguard the interests of the person placed under curatorship. He must give his consent to the taking of legal actions by the latter. He must see also to the rearing, training and education of the minor.

(3) The rules regarding dispositive transactions under article 73, paragraphs 2 and 3, regarding the property inventory under article 114, paragraph 1, regarding new acquests under article 117, paragraph 3, and regarding change of place of residence under article 120, paragraph 2, shall apply also in the case of curatorship, mutatis mutandis. Authorization of the rayon court shall be required for the withdrawal of sums from monetary deposits.

Deputy Tutor and Deputy Curator

Article 123. (1) The deputy tutor shall replace the tutor if he is prevented from performing his duties or if a conflict arises between his interests and the interests of the tutee. In these cases the tutorship and curatorship authority may appoint a special representative.

(2) This provision shall apply also to a deputy curator, mutatis mutandis.

Assistance by People's Council

Article 124. The obshtina people's council shall assist the tutor and curator in the performance of their duties.

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### Oversight of Tutor's Actions

Article 125. The tutorship and curatorship authority may, after taking the opinion of the tutorship council, halt a tutor's actions and prescribe the taking of actions.

Report of Tutor and Curator

Article 126. (1) Every year by the end of February the tutor shall render a report of his activity to the tutorship council, after which the report shall be submitted to the tutorship and curatorship authority. A report shall also be rendered by the tutor on his discharge, as well as whenever the tutorship and curatorship authority requests.

(2) The curator at the request of the tutorship and curatorship authority shall give an explanation of his activity in the presence of the deputy curator.

(3) The tutorship and curatorship authority shall pass judgment on the tutor's report and the curator's explanations and if he finds irregularities, shall request their elimination.

(4) At the request of the tutorship and curatorship authority the rayon court shall issue a writ of execution against the tutor for unreported sums.

(5) When the tutor or curator without valid reasons fails to appear or fails to submit a report or, as the case may be, an explanation, the tutorship and curatorship authority shall draw up a statement of the case against him, on the basis of which the chairman of the executive committee of the okrug people's council shall levy a fine in the amount of 200 leva. The tutorship and curatorship authority may require a report or, as the case may be, an explanation from the deputy tutor or deputy curator.

(6) The establishment of a violation, the issuance, appeal and execution of the punitive decree shall be effected in accordance with the procedure specified by the Law on Administrative Violations and Penalties.

Transition From Tutorship to Curatorship

Article 127. (1) On reaching the age of 14 a child shall by right be released from tutorship and the tutorship and curatorship authority shall appoint a curator and deputy curator. Pending the appointment thereof, the activity shall be performed by the tutor.

(2) On the transition from complete to limited judicial disability, pending the appointment of a curator the activity shall be performed by the tutor.

Special Cases of Tutorship and Curatorship

Article 128. (1) The tutor of a young child with unknown parents shall be the director of the public institution in which the young child has been placed.

(2) The curator of a minor with unknown parents shall be the director of the public institution in which the minor has been placed.

(3) The tutor of a spouse placed under complete judicial disability and the curator of a spouse placed under limited judicial disability shall be his competent spouse. If there is none such, parental rights and duties shall be exercised by his parents unless they are unknown, deceased, have been deprived of parental rights or are not in a position to exercise them.

(4) In the cases under the preceding paragraphs no tutorship council and deputy curator shall be appointed and no tutorship records shall be set up.

Contracting of Marriage Abroad

Article 129. (1) Marriage between Bulgarian citizens abroad may be contracted before a Bulgarian diplomatic or consular representative in conformity with this code. A marriage may also be contracted before a local authority in keeping with the form prescribed by local law.

(2) Marriage between a Bulgarian citizen and a foreign citizen may be contracted abroad before a Bulgarian diplomatic or consular representative in conformity with this code if the foreign citizen's national law permits. Marriage may also be contracted before a local authority in keeping with the form prescribed by local law.

(3) A marriage contracted between foreign citizens abroad shall be recognized in the Bulgarian People's Republic if the form prescribed by the law of the place where the marriage is contracted is observed.

Contracting of Marriage Between a Bulgarian and a Foreign Citizen in the Bulgarian People's Republic

Article 130. A foreign citizen who marries a Bulgarian citizen within the Bulgarian People's Republic or before a Bulgarian diplomatic or consular representative abroad or before the captain of a Bulgarian ship on the high seas must certify that according to his national law there are no barriers to the contracting of the marriage.

Contracting of Marriage Between Foreigners in the Bulgarian People's Republic

Article 131. Marriage between foreigners in the Bulgarian People's Republic may also be contracted before a foreign diplomatic or consular representative, only if both marriage contractants are citizens of the country in question.

Conditions for Marrying

Article 132. (1) For Bulgarian citizens who marry abroad the provisions of articles 12 and 13 are binding. Authorization according to article 12, paragraph 2, may be given by a Bulgarian diplomatic or consular representative.

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(2) For a foreign citizen marrying a Bulgarian citizen before a civil officer in the Bulgarian People's Republic or before a Bulgarian diplomatic or consular representative abroad or before the captain of a Bulgarian ship on the high seas, the conditions for the contracting of marriage shall be determined according to his national law, with the provisions of article 13 of this code being binding.

(3) For foreign citizens being married before a civil officer in the Bulgarian People's Republic or before the captain of a Bulgarian ship on the high seas, the conditions for the contracting of marriage shall be determined in accordance with their national law. In these cases the provision of article 13, paragraph 1, shall be binding. Moreover, marriage may not be contracted between relatives in a direct line of descent or between brothers and sisters.

Annullability of Marriage

Article 133. The grounds for the annullability and the consequences of the annulment of marriage shall be regulated, as follows:

1. by Bulgarian law if the marriage is between a Bulgarian citizen and a foreigner;

2. by the law of the state of which both foreign spouses were citizens at the time of the contracting of marriage, as well as by the law of the place where the marriage was contracted, in so far as it was binding for the marriage contracted by them;

3. in the case of marriage between foreigners of different citizenship--by their national laws if they concur, and by the law of the place of the marriage in so far as it is binding for the marriage contracted by them. In the event of disagreement of their national laws, that law which permits annulment shall be applied, and as regards the consequences of annulment, that law which is more favorable for the children or for the good-faith spouse, if there are no children from the marriage.

Personal and Property Relations Between Spouses

Article 134. (1) Personal and property relations between spouses, one of whom is a Bulgarian citizen, shall be regulated by this code if they occur in Bulgarian territory.

(2) Personal and property relations between foreign spouses of the same citizenship, if they occur in Bulgarian territory, shall be regulated according to their national law. If the spouses are of different citizenship, these relations shall be regulated according to the concurring provisions of their national laws, but if there are none such, by this code. In the disposition of real property Bulgarian law shall apply.

Divorce

Article 135. Divorces and the consequences thereof shall be regulated, as follows: 1. by Bulgarian law if one of the spouses is a Bulgarian citizen;

2. by the national law of foreign spouses of the same citizenship that are in force at the time of the decreeing of the decision;

2. in the case of marriage between foreigners of different citizenship--by their national laws if they concur. In the event of disagreement of their national laws, that law shall be applied which permits divorce, and as for the consequences of divorce--that law which is more favorable for the children or for the innocent spouse, if there are no children from the marriage.

Parentage 👘

Article 136. Regarding parentage, the national law of the child at the time of birth shall apply.

Adoption

Article 137. (1) Adoption between persons, one of whom is a Bulgarian citizen, shall be permitted in conformity with the provisions of this code. When the adoptee is a Bulgarian citizen, the consent of the relevant state authority shall be requested.

(2) Adoption between foreign citizens in conformity with the provisions of this code may be permitted only if one of them has a permanent place of residence in the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Relations Between Parents and Children

Article 138. Relations between parents and children shall be regulated according to the child's national law, unless the parents are of different citizenship and their national law is more favorable for the child.

Tutorship and Curatorship

Article 139. (1) The institution, operation and termination of tutorship and curatorship shall be regulated according to the national law of the tutee or curatee.

(2) The obligation of accepting and performing the duty of tutor, curator or member of a tutorship council shall be regulated according to their national law.

Support

Article 140. The obligation of support, for which suit is brought by a Bulgarian citizen shall be regulated by this code, and suits shall lie within the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian courts.

National Law of a Foreigner With Dual Citizenship

Article 141. For a foreigner who has several foreign citizenships, his national law shall be the law of the state where he has his permanent residence.

Applicable Law for Stateless Person

Article 142. A stateless person shall be equated with a foreign citizen. His national law shall be the law of the state where he has his residence.

Application of Foreign Law and International Treaty in Bulgarian People's Republic

Article 143. (1) When the application of foreign law is incompatible with the basic principles of the law of the Bulgarian People's Republic or with socialist morality, the provisions of this code shall apply.

(2) The provisions of this chapter shall not apply when other provision is made in an international treaty to which the Bulgarian People's Republic is party.

Additional Provisions

\$1. In the sense of this code, rayon people's councils and city councils shall both be considered to be obshtina people's councils, and the functions of the chairmen of the executive committees of obshtina people's councils shall be performed both by the chairmen of the executive committees of rayon people's councils and by mayors.

TRANSITIONAL AND FINAL PROVISIONS; CHANGES IN AND ADDITIONS TO OTHER LAWS

Section I. Changes in Law on Persons and Family.

§2. Articles 59, 60 and 96-110 are rescinded.

Section II. Changes in Civil Procedure Code

§3. In article 7, paragraphs 3 and 4 shall be created:

"Marital suits lie within the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian courts if one of the spouses is a Bulgarian citizen."

"The Bulgarian courts shall consider marital suits between foreign citizens if the place of residence of the defendant is in Bulgaria, or if one of the spouses lives in Bulgaria and the laws of the state of which the spouses are citizens do not preclude the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian courts."

§4. A new article 133a is created:

"Article 133a. Gifts made to the benefit of one of the spouses by his parents during the marriage may, in the event of property disputes between spouses, be established only by reliably dated written proof." §5. In article 258, paragraph 1, and article 261, the words "declaration of invalidity" are to be replaced with "annulment."

§6. Article 259 is changed as follows:

"Article 259. Proceedings in a divorce action shall begin with a reconciliation session, at which the spouses must appear in person. In the event of the nonappearance of the plaintiff without valid reason, the proceedings shall be terminated. Nonappearance of the defendant shall not be a barrier to consideration of the petition, but the court may direct him to appear in person.

"The reconciliation session shall be conducted behind closed doors. The court must hear the positions of the parties, require explanations of the reasons why the request for a divorce is made and explain to them the adverse consequences of divorce for them, for the children and for society, with an invitation to them to be reconciled.

"A new reconciliation session shall be scheduled no sooner than 2 months if:

"a) the defendant did not appear at the first reconciliation session;

"b) the spouses or one of them desire(s) to continue their (his) efforts for reconciliation and rehabilitation of the marriage;

"c) the court's assessment is that reconciliation can be reached.

"In order to strengthen the family, the court may summon, to the reconciliation session and at any juncture of the case, representatives of the public organizations at the place of work and place of residence to assist in settling any sociodomestic questions which are of significance for strengthening the marriage.

"Measures of reconciliation shall not be undertaken if, due to judicial disability, absence or other difficultly surmountable reasons, reconciliation between the parties cannot be expected.

"When reconciliation is not reached, the court shall schedule the case no sooner than 4 months from the date of the last reconciliation session. If it is convinced that postponement of the case for such a period of time is harmful for the children, the spouses and society, it may also schedule the trial earlier."

§7. In article 259b the words "article 24" shall be replaced by "article 101."

§8. Article 260 shall be changed as follows:

"Article 260. In a divorce the petitioner must present all the grounds for complete and irremediable dissolution of the marriage. Uncited grounds occurring before the entry into force of the decision and known to the spouse may not serve as grounds for bringing a new suit for divorce.

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"All marital suits may be consolidated. Suits for the exercise of parental rights, personal relations with and support of children, use of the family dwelling, alimony between spouses and surname must be brought and considered with them. Suits regarding property relations between spouses may also be joined with marriage suits.

"The provisions of the preceding paragraphs shall apply also to the defendant in respect of the suits which he was able to bring.

"Suit may not be brought for the annulment of a marriage by reason of the violation of age conditions under article 12 or by reason of threat under article 98, paragraph 1, subparagraph 2 of the Family Code after a divorce suit has been dismissed.

"A new divorce suit may not be brought before the expiration of 1 year from the entry into force of the decision by which the previous suit was dismissed."

§9. In article 261 the following changes shall be made:

1. A new paragraph 3 is created:

"A husband may not file suit for divorce without the consent of his wife if she is pregnant before the child reaches the age of 12 months."

2. The present paragraph 3 becomes paragraph 4.

§10. Article 262 is resconded.

\$11. In Article 267, first sentence, the words "declaration of invalidity" are replaced by "annulment," and in the third sentence the word "invalidity" is replaced by "annulment."

\$12. In article 268 the words "articles 9, 10 and 91, paragraph 2" are to be replaced by "articles 13 and 132, paragraph 2."

\$13. In article 303, paragraph 4 is created:

"The decision of a foreign court in a marital suit pertaining to a Bulgarian citizen shall be recognized even in the absence of the conditions under paragraph 1, if at the time the suit was brought the defendant had his residence in the country where the decision was decree."

\$14. In article 395 the following changes shall be made:

1. In paragraph 4, the first sentence is changed as follows:

"A writ of garnishment for a claim of the state or socialist organization shall be entered in the labor book, and for a support claim in the labor book and internal passport of the debtor by the person who pays the debtor's labor remuneration at the institution, enterprise or organization." 2. In paragraph 5 the words "in the labor book" shall be deleted.

Section III. Change in Law on Inheritance

\$15. The following shall be added to article 9, paragraph 1:

"When a surviving spouse inherits with the children of the deceased spouse, he shall not receive a share of the deceased's portion of their community property. This portion shall be received by the surviving spouse if all children renounce the inheritance."

It is proposed to change the current departmental schedule No. 1 of the Ministry of Justice, approved by Order No. 501 of the Council of Ministers, dated 29 December 1969, by increasing the state fee of up to 100 leva for divorce cases to 500 leva. The sums shall be entered in a special account and used to assist families with many children and to encourage births.

6474 CSO: 2200/195

## NEPSZABADSAG COMPARES SOCIALIST, WESTERN MEDIA OBJECTIVITY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Aug 84 p 7

/Article by L. Istvan Szabo: "Red Pencil"/

/Text/ I received the letter of my journalistic career which most raised a smile at the beginning of the 1960's from a retired teacher who authenticated his criticism with signature and precise address. A short time before I had written one of those amusing reports -- perhaps the reader still remembers our extensive foreign letters which appeared every Thursday--about the Epsom Derby. The article included my great surprise at how small a role the competing horses had in this great popular holiday. At least 750,000 people had gathered together that year on the slopes surrounding the track and in the long winding valley--for a good summer outing. I wrote that the line of caravans of the Gypsy ladies dealing in palm reading was at least a kilometer long. The area was one great amusement park to which some had moved days before with tents and camping vans. There was an open air striptease, with temptresses weighing over 80 kilos, and for 5 pennies you could see the "world's smallest horse" in a tent. There was a shooting gallery and a merry-go-round, and naturally there were bookmakers, who from time to time would rise above the crowd on stools they dragged along and sell betting tickets which they had manufactured themselves. To their credit, let it be said that if they lost they paid. In the high boxes, naturally, there were a few lords in top hats and ladies in big bonnets, and something wafted about them which a European thinks of in connection with an English derby. Up there the game was for big money, down here it was for pennies....

I will never forget a few lines of the outraged teacher that there were those who were not loath to undertake to undermine the norms of civilization, but I could be certain that the "cultured Hungarian public would not long tolerate" such activity.

Of course, I am not writing this now for the sake of amusement, but rather for what is certainly, from another viewpoint, behind the lines of the honorable teacher, because with his letter he was actually calling into doubt the honesty of the work of our press in providing international information. It would not be worth mentioning if his Anglophile illusions were unique; if there were not so many delusions in so many people, differing from one another of course, naive presumptions about the outside world on the one hand and about us on the other, those of us who have chosen information as a profession. I keep a copy of that letter which I sent as an answer from London at the time, where I was on permanent foreign assignment, and whither the editors had forwarded the chiding lines. Motivated by the principle that a good Christian should do everything to save even a single lamb, I described to him in detail the rules of international journalistic life. For example, something that Mr Burgoin, then deputy chief of the press department of the British foreign ministry, brought to my attention at the time, when I was just preparing to occupy the post of permanent correspondent. Namely that "you can have an opinion about anything you think of, we are interested only in facts. And facts are holy things."

Later, in practice, I understood what this meant. A foreign correspondent registered in the Foreign Press Association, a professional federation established on his behalf and even enjoying material support from the government; he got his credentials from this organization, his work was helped most there, and there they judged him if ethical objections were raised. As I said, there are rules to the game, first among which figures the untwisted communication of the facts, but they also include, for example, that we cannot refer in our articles by name to a conversation partner without his consent, and if we get an interview then we quote what is said word for word and not out of context. We have here, for example, "indulging in personalities" or publishing facts about people which could cause them harm. In the latter case one must answer before the courts, or at least before the ethnics committee of the FPA, and if the case is closed by withdrawal of your journalist credentials then, after a time, the authorities will automatically raise the question: "You got a visa as a journalist, but since this activity has lost its legality, would it not be timely for you to leave the country?"

So much for communicating the facts. Let me add to all this that together with this the field of play of a journalist dealing with things foreign is quite broad. And here I am talking not only of those working abroad but also of those who write here at home about other countries—on the basis of personal experience or on the basis of the world papers. Some evaluate events and phenomena from this and some from that perspective, some are more prejudiced, others more balanced, so there is no uniformity either within the country or internationality. Actually I would rather talk not so much about the possibilities as about the limits on them, as I mentioned, in defense of our honesty. Because there are not only individual limits but institutional ones as well. And these latter are most diverse. Let me mention a case that happened as an example.

More than once a television team form this or that Western country has looked up our editors. There are television reporters who in the first minute are relieved of the anxiety of having "entered the lion's den"; there are others who try to put just this mood on film and tape. Perhaps I would put among the latter the hero of my story. He had a truly obliging manner. A number undertook to talk about various questions sitting in front of his camera. If I recall correctly I was the last which the staff subjected to its lamps and all sorts of complicated instruments. My colleague from afar already knew everything he wanted to know about our paper, so he began with what was most essential for him: "Tell me, what degree of journalistic integrity do you feel you have?" Speaking frankly, I was taken aback, for I would never have thought that the freedom with which I thought and formulated my thoughts could be measured at all. But just as the funk of an examination usually accelerates one's nebulous thinking, I too found myself: "I believe that my integrity may be about 90 percent."

I have rarely seen a happier man. He leaned closer to me so that his hand microphone might record better and said: "Great, so tell us about the 10 percent."

"The 10 percent is you. Not you personally, but those in the Western countries or perhaps in their embassies who read with a red pencil the articles which appear here in Hungary about international questions (and anything else); who seek whether in some question we do not express ourselves precisely as they do in this or that, also socialist, coutnry; who hunt for differences, even for contradictions, in order to create a sensation or newspaper articles out of something which in our opinion either does not merit comment or is a natural consequence of the specific features. /There are those/ who exploit the differences thus discovered for political or even diplomatic games, so that in this way they might cause complications for us or others. Yes, I reckon with these red pencils even if I do not think about them. I arrange my notes and my clippings and sit down at my typewriter, and although I feel myself to be unprejudiced, I am a little prejudiced--perhaps 10 percent-because I do not want to give cause for misunderstandings; perhaps I watch over my words a little more than need be. Perhaps all this hurts the professional level of our papers--it certainly harms them literarily."

My colleague thanked me for the interview with a little disappointment. Later I inquired with great excitement of an acquaintance returning home from there whether he had seen the program. I was curious, if only because the time limitations are strict in television, almost everying has to be cut down. What had come of all this? My acquaintance said, "I saw the program. Frankly I do not understand you. You ended by saying that you have only 90 percent integrity...."

I consider it important to mention this last thing because it is very difficult to draw the line of a certain sort of "twisting," and perhaps this cannot be regarded as a boundary case. I any case I am very sorry that I could not see the program in question. But I have seen enough TV reports about Hungary, and I have read many foreign newspaper articles about us and on the basis of this I can say with a clear conscience that in general our readers and our viewers know more about the capitalist world than people living there know about us.

Of course there is an old joke, from the time of the first world war, when it was announced in a Hungarian village how great the losses of the enemy were and an old peasant asked: "And how many fell from our ranks?" To which the town crier replied: "They are announcing that there!" When I dare to say that our readers are better informed I am thinking, among other things, that we very frequently mention the results achieved on the other side. We praise not only their technology, but in some countries the effort and diligence of the people. We readily recognize the positive political changes, take very seriously the significance of interstate contacts, and we treat with appropriate respect, in the press and in practice, our high ranking guests, even if we make no secret of the things on which we cannot agree. Over there—at least at present—the tone in regard to us is harder, sometimes offensive, and the selection of what to announce where is excessively strict—to stick with the old joke quoted.

So, seeing some significant Western achievement they can hardly cast it up to a Hungarian journalist: "Well, Mor Colleague, will you write this or not?" Of course he will. But I would not put my hand in the fire that this same thing would always happen in the contrary case.

We were discussing such things one time in a journalists' club in a Western capital and one of my colleagues, whose age made it obligatory that he say something wise, cooled the tempers in this way: "If you please, every journal has its own master." I confess, I found this attractive and I thought a lot about it, until I came to the conviction that this is only one side of the truth. Because it is true that there is no newspaper, radio or television without a master, even if they try to make it appear so as a result of certain circumstances. There was a time when they saved LE MONDE from bankruptcy by having the community of journalists elect the editor and director, but this did not last long because this was not a source of money, and those who finally provided the money were very careful of the content of the goods, even if they entrusted the packaging to others. Then there are things like the English BBC, which is not headed by capitalist owners. This institution is maintained from public moneys, and a part of this must be paid in by postal check by every television set owner. There is nondoubt that they prepare progressive reports too, sometimes they ask the cooperation of left thinking editors, so sometimes they do something like what would be "announced on the other side." This greatly increases the international credit and prestige of BBC, but it cannot make one forget the fact that those who handle the money and represent the line behind the gigantic, multichannel radio and TV program factory are in general the masters of public moneys in Great Britain. And they belong to the British ruling class even if, relying on their traditions and strength, they sometimes permit a little laxity.

And here? Is there no direction, no "property," here? Naturally there is. But no one can say of the leading organs of Hungary today that they were educated and trained to represent capitalist, large estate, antipeople interests, or that they embody a caste of chief officials alienated from the working people. Of course, here also there is a press policy; it would be a big problem if there were not. Once or twice in our history we have tried press anarchy. Nothing good ever came of it. But to what extent, if you like in what "percentage," does this press policy limit journalistic integrity? What sort of "violence" does it do to him who, for example, decades ago voluntarily committed himself to a progress based on all people's property and socialist democracy? This commitment does not oppose, rather it coincides with the requirement to provide sincere and honest information.

8984 CSO: 2500/594

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# EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM SEEN FAILING TO MEET SOCIETAL NEEDS

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 1, Jan 84 pp 44-53

[Article by Peter Lukacs, Gyorgy Varhegyi: "Crisis or Renewal; Services and Social Policies Among the School Age Population"]

[Text] At the start of the renaissance of Hungarian educational sociology in the 1960's the following questions connected with social mobility captured the attention of researchers: the functioning of our schools' selection mechanism, the problems facing students in choosing a career or a school, the manner in which schools tend to regenerate social inequalities in the course of fulfilling their functions.<sup>1</sup>

The almost 20 years that have elapsed since then have brought no significant changes: to this day our more important educational sociology studies have consistently neglected the fact that students are not in school only to learn. This despite the fact that the school is becoming an institution which is viewed less as a place where classes are held, and where children are educated within the framework of those classes; increasingly it is becoming an institution which organizes the entire day of its students, including their provisions and supervision, or which is assuming more and more elements of their care. Presently, however, our schools are unprepared to fulfill these tasks, both in terms of their objective and professional conditions. Consequently, they have been using emergency measures to perform these activities, treating them as involuntary activities that are external to their traditionally accepted functions which has resulted in poor quality.

### New Demands

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The socio-economic changes that have occured during the past decades have transformed the demands and expectations facing our schools. Here are some of the reasons why this process has taken on momentum:

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1. As it is well known, since the second half of this century, children and an increasingly larger segment of young generations around the world have been spending an increasingly longer time in the educational system. Starting from the end of the 1970's, secondary education has also become universal in our country: today nearly 80 percent of certain age groups volunteer to attend some type of secondary school which almost half of them successfully complete. Judging on the basis of our international experiences there is no doubt that popular demand for extending the length of secondary education and other types of schooling can be expected (even if at an unpredictable rate) to continue to rise.<sup>2</sup>

The reason is that just as the parents, the social leadership also expects our schools to keep young people "within their walls" for as long as possible. At the same time, our economy's need to hire young people, especially those under 16-17 years of age, as employees is constantly declining which means that the age level below which a producer cooperative or the social environment (and even more, the affected youth himself) considers someone (himself) a "child" is being pushed even higher.

2. During the past few decades accelerated changes have taken place in the family structure, in the meaning of family life as well as in the functions of the family. The details of these changes are so well known that it is enough to recall them simply by listing them. The number of multigeneration families has dropped, in other words, there are increasingly fewer cases of parents, children and grandparents living together; an increasingly greater percentage of women are doing wage-earning work; in connection with this there has also been a gradual change within the family with respect to the distribution of authority and the division of labor; there has been an increse in the number of divorces, and consequently, also in the ratio of single parents.<sup>3</sup> Our families are becoming less and less able to take care of their children in the traditional sense, if for no other reason, because there are increasingly fewer young parents who as school children had been cared and provided for exclusively by their families, and there are more and more among them those who had attended nursery, kindergarten or day-care facilities, and therefore consider it natural that their children should be raised in the same manner. Often they have no real understanding of how to provide all-day care, meals, free time and play for their children.

3. Compared with the social average, our workers' actual working time--concurrently with the formally stated growth of their free time--has increased. There has been a rapid growth in the number of people producing to sell on their household plots and small gardens, and the possibilities of taking a "second economy" job have widened.<sup>4</sup> Hence many parents have less and less time and energy to attend to their children, and, therefore, they rely more and more on institutionally organized assistance in taking care of and raising their children. 4. In the past 2 decades we have been facing increasing difficulties with respect to the value socialization of young people. While the youth subculture which began evolving in the 1960's was still only manifested in outward appearances pertaining to clothing and behavior, in new cultural consumption habits, etc., in the early 1970's young people already began to show signs of becoming a large unified social group. By the turn of the 1970's and 1980's our youth has begun to form into a, in many respects, seemingly unified stratum which has often turned against the values of their parents' generation, while on the other hand it has also begun to undergo a new type of differentiation: smaller, isolated groups of various value orientations (the punks, the "csoves, " etc.) appear to be evolving.<sup>5</sup>

Hence, while displaying open or disguised opposition to the values of their parents is becoming an increasigly general characteristic of the youth "stratum," there is another type of value pluralism evolving which for adults is just as strange in terms of its meaning. Parents faced with this situation are at a loss trying to undrestand this phenomenon, and are also looking more and more toward institutional assistance to provide solutions to such problems.

5. Due to their deprived situation, the families of a--probably growing--group of school students are unable to provide their children even what from the social point of view could be considered minimal care. Given the lack of suitable socio-political institutions, it is the school which--starting from the distribution of clothing assistance through the organization of feeding to the coordination of health care--which has gradually become and continues to remain the basis of state assistance to the children who belong to this stratum.<sup>6</sup>

In summing up the above, it could be said that while the tendency during the past few decades has been to treat young people as children for longer periods of time, the family has been taking an increasingly smaller part in fulfilling the tasks involved in providing daily care for children. On the one hand, there is a growing group of parents who for objective and/or subjective reasons are increasingly less capable of fulfilling certain functions, and on the other, there is a growing group of young people whose rejection of the life-style models offered by their parents begins at an increasingly early age.

Given the absence of other, efficiently functioning institutions, all of this is presenting new requirements and expectations for our schools. In particular, it requires a carefully considered development of "school service activities" (child-care supervision and free-time activities) which for some children (i.e., in the case of deprived families) at the same time also constitute a form of assistance which is socio-politically justified. This change in needs has been virtually ignored by our educational policy makers: there is presently no educational policy concept or school planning and construction program in force that would, in terms of principle as well, look upon the school as something more than just an institution which educates students within the framework of class hours (or perhaps day-care periods).

To this day, the way the central regulation of our schools' programs' are set up is as if students only spent half of their day in school. Or if they did have afternoon activities, as if those not enrolled in day care were going home before these activities for lunch, etc. This kind of regulation considers it natural that --with the exception of those not enrolled in day care--the meals, the afternoon accomodations and care, and generally speaking, the education to be received by children are provided by "someone" (the family), hence the school's responsibility toward the students extends only to half of the day.

Yet for a long time our students and children in the lower grades have been spending more than a half a day in school. Even if for now we disregard children enrolled in day care (which already includes more than a half of the students attending the lower grades today) who "officially, too" are spending their day in school from 7:30 am until 4:30 to 5:00 pm, because of various openly or implicitly required remedial studies and make-up activities, semi- or fully required study circles, pre-admission preparatory classes, movement-related duties, for the past decade the school hours of the other students have also begun to reach well into the afternoon. In the schedule of secondary school students having six classes a day was not a rarity even in the early 1970's, but with the shifting of physical education, practical and later elective and especially pre-admission preparatory classes and apprentice training over to the afternoon hours, since the middle of the decade this has become even more common.7

So far, however, our schools have been forced to be hypocritical and ignore--as much as possible--these facts, since in the absence of appropriate conditions and educational policy decisions they have been simply unable to sincerely accept and consciously plan the development of a type of institution that would be able to manage the entire day of our students.

With the introduction of the 5-day school week, and with the subsequent "official" lengthening of the daily working time of our children, however, by now this situation has changed: it is no longer possible to simply "pretend" as if the great majority of our students were not in school practically for the entire day. And if they are there "officially, too" and if the reason why they must stay in school until late afternoon is not only because of various (in principle voluntary) "activities," but also because they must attend mandatory classes, then our educational authorities should also draw some obvious conclusions from this.

Earlier, in the 1950's and 1960's, ensuring the institutional feeding of children and providing them with all-day accomodations could still be considered emergency measures used by the state to provide assistance to a small group of needy families that were unable to meet these needs on their own. With the introduction of the 5-day work week, and what is even more important, as a result of the above described social changes this kind of interpretation is generally disappearing: Something which must be gradually extended to everyone cannot be considered charitable aid to a small group of needy recipients.

This is what the plain statistical data indicate:

Year	Grade School Students		Secondary School Students
	Enrolled in Day-	Eating at	Eating at
	Care Centers	School	School
1965-66	12.7	12.8	19.8
1970-71	18.8	21.6	26.2
1975-76	30.5	32.8	32.9
1980-81	38.2	44.6	35.9
1981-82	39.9	47.0	38.1
1982-83	41.6	50.7	88.6

Roughly counting (and here we have left out some important differences between certain years, counties, settlement categories, etc.), we can say that during the past nearly one and a half decades the ratio of grade school students who presently receive all-day accomodations has nearly tripled, while the proportion of those eating at school has almost quadrupled. In the 1970's this process was accelerated, and as a result today it can be shown that four out of every ten school children are spending their whole day, and another one at least part of the afternoon at school. Also, more than one-third of our secondary students have been taking advantage of school-provided meals--despite the fact that the development of these services are not included among our top-priority plan objectives.

This is because according to the central planners of education there is no "real" need for continuing to make significant improvements in providing all-day accomodations. For they believe that after their children get out of third or fourth grade the majority of parents would rather leave them unattended than to force them to be in day-care centers that operate under extremely poor conditions, and where due to a--virtual--lack of financial means these conditions cannot be significantly improved.

What qualifies as a "real need," and what does not, of course, is very hard to determine within our existing system of educational planning. According to our experiences, this will continue to be so until our population, acting as the "manpower" with the appropriate economic organizations behind it, begins to exert strong pressure on the administration of education. There are examples for this as evidenced by the nursery developments of the 1960's and the kindergarten developments of the 1970's, where a significant number of the "spaces" were built with the help of enterprises, factories and voluntary work on the part of the population, upsetting all previous plan concepts.<sup>9</sup>

There can hardly be any doubt that in the 1980's we can expect the number of students requiring all-day accomodations to continue to rise at an even faster rate, since a part of the age groups presently entering grade school have attended nursery, and a great majority of them (more than 70 percent) have been enrolled in kindergarten. Since the parents of these new students have already received institutional assistance in providing care for their children on work days, most of them can be expected to continue to request this service in the future. In our present economic situation we can no longer count as strongly on the "assistance campaignes" of plants and enterprises, and education has neither the objective and personnel conditions, nor the conceptual capacity it would take to be prepared to satisfy changing demands at an acceptable level of quality. Yet we have had many experiences to prove that something which in the case of a fraction of a given age group may still be accepted as an "emergency measure" of a temporary nature, will probably exceed the level of tolerance of those affected when the majority of the age group demands something.

# The "Conditions"

It is common knowledge that after the demographic ebb of recent years today there are, and in the coming period we will continue to have increasingly larger age groups (born in the mid-1970's) entering grade school: right now the pressure of the demographic wave is on the lower grades, but in 2 years it will also affect the higher ones.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, the existing 3,020 gradeschool day-care facilities are already unable to provide home for more than 19 percent of our day-care groups.<sup>11</sup> while the majority of day-care recipients are forced to spend their days in crowded classrooms, desks, uncomfortable chairs and under extremely tiring circumstances, and have very little chance to rest or to get involved in free-time activities. More than a half a million children eat at day-care centers operating with relatively low norms--which are only adjusted price increases after great delays--in extremely poorly equipped eating facilities, and in some schools there are no day-care centers at all.

The money allocated to our schools for providing day-care recipients in most cases does not go far enough to ensure even the most basic toilet, hygiene and feeding needs, while buying toys and activity aids has been virtually impossible. In this situation the administration and the educators of our schools have been relying on various "forms of parental contribution": in most cases contributions are solicited in kind (parents are asked to donate toilet paper, paper tissues, toys, books and volunteer work), because--for "ideological" reasons--collecting money is forbidden. Some of our more astute school administrators have been obtaining popular support" and the "patronage" of enterprises and producer cooperatives by way of building "connections" or "panhandling."<sup>12</sup>

Compared with the conditions of most families, our existing schools, for the most part, are more crowded, less comfortable and more dismal. At the same time, today there is still a whole series of schools being built in which some of the more necessary service units, such as day-care rooms, dining halls, washrooms, etc., have either not even been built "to save money," or have been kept to a minimum.

As for personnel conditions, some areas of our country have been suffering from a chronic lack of educators. The area where the primary impact of this has been the most acutely felt is precisely in our day-care centers: here the ratio of pensioners and uncertified educators has been higher than average.<sup>13</sup> This is another indication of the otherwise well-known fact that "daycare work" is at the bottom of the prestige hierarchy of school activities. Most grade-school and secondary-school teachers only accept non-classroom-type tasks out of necessity; often they have no understanding of these tasks, and they may even consider them humiliating. Our schools have no personnel at all (aside from kitchen workers) who would be trained, or would consider it their mission to take care of, provide for and organize the free-time activities of children.

Obviously, also related to this is the fact that in addition to the objective conditions, the child's school situation and life style is also--often alarmingly--different from what he has been used to in the family. The period of entering school--compared to his previous life style--brings significant changes into a child's life: he spends 8 to 9 hours in the institution, at least half of which behind a school desk, another 1.5 to 2 hours in "neutral," i.e., waiting and standing in line in hallways, staircases and dining rooms, and only about 1 hour outdoors in the courtyard, on the street or perhaps on the palyground (weather permitting: if not, even this 1 hour is spent behind a desk). He spends almost three-quarters of an hour eating. In the meantime, he studies, reads, writes and counts under the increasingly strict supervision of teachers, having to work with more and more, and increasingly hard-to-handle teaching aids (books, workbooks, assignment sheets and a variety of work-demanding objects). And this is only the beginning, for in the later years this burden becomes evengreater

as school activities begin to take up 10 to 12 hours, of which 8 to 9 hours are spent behind a desk.

It seems doubtful that given its present characteristics our schoolorganization will automatically be able to expand its functions in the required directions, or to upgrade its existing ones to a satisfactory level of quality. This is very unlikely to happen, not only in view of the historically developed and unequivocally instruction-centered logic of the instruction, but also because of the training traditions, values and prestige needs of our educators. As we are unable here to treat this subject at greater length we would bnly like to point out one, quite expressive example: for decades our government agencies in charge of education have tried in vain to get the schools to agree to organize ways of providing their students with a glass of milk and a roll a day. The struggle ended with what could be considered a symbolic "victory" for the educators: some schools have begun to install coin-operated vending machines for dispensing quick -lunches.

Presently we only know of one domestically conceived educational policy concept which aims to reflect directly on forseeable problems in the coming years: the concept of "all-day" school." In some respects, we could also include here the integration-oriented education policy trend which aims to increase the possibilities of our institutions of public education several-fold by developing so-called "combined educational institutitons."<sup>14</sup>

These concepts, however, are fundamentally educational in their origin, and as such they look upon students as "beings" who are in school almost exclusively to be taught and educated. Hence, in their their view the problems involved in satisfying and "taking care" of other student needs--which they believe will be of central importance in the coming years--do not really present a problem, and since they assume that these problems will be "automatically" solved, they pay hardly any attention to them.

In its locally known form the idea of all-day school aims to lengthen the regular school day by introducing rest and play time, by shifting some classes over to the afternoon, and by creating a more relaxed atmosphere. (This--in practice--has meant that the children's school day ends with home study which extends into the evening.) In the "combined institutions" educational activities are--in a disorganized but inevitable manner--also intertwined with school activities, hence the forms which earlier had been considered to fall within the realm of "extra-curricular education" are rapidly becoming "school" functions.

Although--we believe--in some respects the mass realization of these concepts would alleviate our problems, looking at it from a different standpoint it would further aggravate them, and under no circumstances would it be a genuine solution. If for no other

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reason, because if the activity system requiring "student-like" behavior extends to the entire day, then this would create a situation where the use of a whole line of "miscellaneous" school services would be mandatory even for children who do not need them because their families are able to educate and provide for them, or because they want to and can organize these functions regardless of school.

At the same time we must also not forget that today the school is one of the main "channels" of social mobility and will remain that in the forseeable future. As such, its functions also include selection, in other words, the evaluation, rating and picking of students. Consequently, whether they want to be or not, its students must be in constant competition with one another. If in addition to studying our schools also want to include other life activities in their everyday operation, turning them into "school" functions, then it will be unavoidable to have competition in these areas as well which would not only be unnecessary, but would actually be harmful. For students who fall behind, or from the outset refuse to compete, i.e., the "poor students," further extending the school life form to their entire day would probably be unbearable, and would cause them to resist even more than they do now: it would virtually provoke them to become deviant.

New Phenomena In Student Attitudes Toward School

Closely connected with this is the problem that our education policy (but the same could be said about our youth and social policy as well) is not prepared even in concept to deal with the fact that the age groups which are soon to enter the higher grades are not only numerically larger than the previous ones, but they also have new characteristics: our grade schools and secondary schools will hardly be able to handle them using their traditional means. Plainly speaking, it seems clear that beyond teaching them, and even beyond providing for and taking care of them, our institutions will have to assume increasingly greater burdens of their socialization. Which again will require them to perform not only more, but compared with what they have had to do so far radically different tasks.

Faced with the task of dealing with the--above mentioned--difficulties which since the second half of the 1970's have suddenly arisen in the value socialization of our youth, not only many parents, but in certain respects even our schools have proven to be powerless. (Although as of yet we have no comprehensive data regarding this, there is every indication that, for example, the majority of our young drug users and the "csoves" are not from among children who start working at an early age, but from among the upper grade students of grade schools and the students of our secondary schools.)<sup>15</sup> As a result of the social processes which we have mentioned at the beginning of our paper and, naturally, also because of the relationship between school achievement and future earnings has grown lax, there are more and more young people among the students of our various types of schools who attend school for reasons other than to obtain a high level of knowledge or a good report card. Often even their parents and environment only ask the schools to provide services which pertain to their care, accomodations and safe-keeping, and in the broader sense, to promoting their "social adjustment."

Hence for a great many young people entering adolescence--although since they do not wish to start working they do sign up for school--it is no longer natural to identify with the traditional school values, consequently, our schools can also no longer relate to them in the traditional manner. (This "manner" can be retained only as long as--and for the sake of simplicity let us use this example--the student, jittery as he has been for centuries, continue to try to prove that: "but Sir, I did prepare." Those who are aware of the present realitites of our education know that with the exception of certain "elite schools" today educators in virtually every type of school can often hear the following comment: "I am not prepared today either, so go ahead and give me the F.")

Decades ago our schools could still afford to simply expel those students from among their walls who did not identify with their professed values, and who were unwilling or unable to live up to their requirements (by "dropping" them, allowing them to "drop out," failing them or by not admitting them to begin with); today they have literally no chance to do this. While in the 1950's and in part also in the early 1960's the reasons why they were not able to do this were mainly political, today they cannot do it even for "purely social reasons": our other social institutions (including the family and the economy) are increasingly less able or willing to assume the responsibility of handling dropouts and young people who are not going on to secondary school. One of the main characteristics of the currently evolving situation is that instead of the earlier slogan "we must not fail anyone," our schools are finding themselves faced with the fact of "we cannot fail anyone," for what is happening increasingly is that they are expected, not only by the social leadership, but also by their entire environment to be the sole source of the solution to the "youth problem," or at least to keep adolescents "within their walls" for as long as possible.

At the same time, neither the school as an institution, nor our individual educators seem to have the means to exert the necessary influence on students who do not wish to study or "behave in a school-like manner." (In the higher grades of grade school and in the secondary schools we often find that some teachers are unable to teach because they spend their time disciplining, while others just "teach" and do not care about the students who pay no attention to them.

It would be pointless and impossible here to discuss in detail the causes and effects of this already well-known phenomenon. One thing is certain, however: the demand for all-day institutional accomodations to children is becoming massive during a period when our schools--even in terms of their traditional teaching and educational functions--are going into an increasingly deeper crisis.

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# In-School and Extra-Curricular Solution Possibilities

We consider it unavoidable for our education policy to accept, both in principle and in concept the idea that our schools' tasks go beyond teaching and educating in a class setting: Today's "child-care work" must be reevaluated and changed in content. After this has been done our school organization and administrative views will also have to undergo radical changes. Giving "official" recognition to these new types of school functions will also place the problems of teacher training and staffing in a new light: on our part we feel that it is also important to give more thought to whether our math and literature teachers and teachers in general are really the best qualified to organize our children's rest time, afternoon soccer games, etc. One thing which, nevertheless, appears unavoidable, however, is that we give a "legally" significant role in our schools to "social worker" type activities and to workers with this kind of training.

On the other hand, however, if we are to improve the quality of child care we must, by adjusting to our local conditions and possibilities, also make use of every "extra-curricular" solution. even if today they may still appear unusual. A few years ago, for example, when following an increase in their prices business in our restaurants began to stagnate, the trade departments of the local councils helped to work out an arrangement between our schools and various restaurants: under the arrangement, all the teachers had to do in many places was to accompany the children to nearby restaurants. Since then the price structure has changed again, and the restaurant industry is once again reluctant to accept children. Even though experience showed that the atmosphere was different and more relaxed in those schools from which students were going over to a restaurant to eat than in those where under the supervision of their teachers, and amidst constant discipline problem students merely try to get lunch over with as a required part of their daily schedule in crowded school-operated "state buffets."

Using this analogy, it would probably be expedient to establish other, non-school type organizations, or to use already existing ones, to satisfy needs which still today inevitably will arise in our schools, and have the schools worry only about organization and especially coordination-related problems.

It is also not impossible that just as some of our nurseries, kindergartens, summer day-care centers and vacation camps today are operated by enterprises and institutions, as demand grows a similar situation may develop in the near future with respect to the mid-year provisions of school-aged children. In many places it is the relationship between our schools and these "partner institutions" which should be clarified and made the basis of workable ties, instead of waiting for the establishment of some ideal all-day school. Hence our schools could devote more energy to carrying out their traditional tasks, and would to some extent be relieved of these service activities which today they are only able to fulfill at a low level of quality and laden with tensions.

In reality, incidentally, the spreading of private day-care centers and of the various forms of "family assistance" services, sponsored by different organizations, associations, private enterprises and groups has already begun. This is clearly evidenced by the growing number of advertisements placed in newspapers in which they offer supervision, tutoring and even private day care. Other examples of this include a kindergarten operated by the "LARES" cooperative for hard-to-discipline children, and the Family Protection Service of Gyal which had been established with the help of the almost campaign-like cooperation among several social and state organizations, including the schools, and private persons with the primary aim of solving the problems of drugusing grade schoolers, but also of assisting families of all kinds of child-related questions. Today these initiatives still often run into strictly forbidding statutory provisions and official stands, but their legalization has already begun.

We also know of proposals according to which the parents would be chiefly responsible for covering the costs of good-quality school services (day care, study hall, teaching by sections, various courses, weekend programs). Various direct (as in the case of day-care centers, for example) and indirect forms of popular contributions already exist, and not just in kind as mentioned earlier, but also in the manner of legally administered self-supporting courses in the schools (including, for example, various physical education, foreign language and so-called preparatory courses). Increasing the current level of popular contributions would help to make these services more diverse, and would, at the same time, improve their quality by providing educators with greater financial incentives to form service work partnerships that offer such activities; extra-curricular service organizations (educational institutions) and enterprises (trade and the restaurant industry) could also be better involved in these activities.

Those who propose that school services should be organized purely or primarily in the form of private enterprise, however, fail to realize how capital intensive these activities are, and that there is not a country in the world where keeping their costs low--on a mass scale--would be possible without the financial and political support of the state. Given our present income conditions, today there would be relatively limited solvent demand for these kinds of services. We feel that it is not only possible, but is also necessary to establish an institutional system of the most diverse and differentiated childcare possible that takes into account the multiplicity of demands, and in which private businesses and enterprise, cooperative, etc., initiatives can equally assert themselves. The only way, however, to make these services widely available and attainable for all children is by transforming our present wage and income conditions, or by developing a child-care financing system in which most (in the case of families less well off the entire amount) of the maintenance costs are paid by the state.

## Additional Conclusions

What would really be a good solution, of course, is if our schools could be turned into living spaces for our children's day-time activities and places for developing social relationships which ensure at least the same conditions and cultural setting, and provide the same program which an educated Hungarian family of average income can currently provide for its children.

What are the basic objective conditions that are necessary to bring this about in our grade schools? Every class would have a separate classroom of its own where students can study and live under cultured conditions. In every school or institution which cooperates with our schools there would be a sufficient number of day-care rooms, study halls, club facilities, reading rooms and libraries to make all-day long activities possible. Every school or school district should have facilities to play sports and games, in other words, they should all have game rooms and gym halls (or rooms) and a sports yard. Every school or school vicinity should offer some possibility for eating: They should have a kitchen or a warm-up kitchen and a normally equipped dining hall. They should meet the basic hygienic requirements; there should be a toilet, a wash room, a shower and a place with beds where small children can rest and sleep. (We could outline a similar list of requirements for secondary schools.)

A school equipped this way could, to some extent, make up for the imperfect objective and cultural conditions at home in the case of children from low income families living under poor housing conditions, and would be able to provide them with the kind of care and cultural activities which these families are unable to provide. The most important socio-political objective of education should be to create these conditions. Another reason why this is important is because of the ratio of grade-school children be-longing to low-income families.<sup>16</sup> At the same time it is the children from these families who attend the schools which operate under the worst conditions.<sup>17</sup>

However, we have no illusions. Just as our other infrastructural branches, education is also characterized by the basic conditions

of shortage management. We are well aware of the limitations of the load-bearing capacity of our society: for decades now, our state has not been able to meet even some of the most basic traditional school-related objectives, or build the minimum number of classrooms necessary.

During the past 30 years, taking our grade schools as an example, --as an average per year--13,200 study groups have had no classrooms of their own that would be suitable for the purpose of instruction. As a result, in 30 to 60 percent of our classrooms students have had to study under emergency conditions (in makeshift rooms, using staggered or afternoon shifts), or during certain periods, in large-size classes.<sup>18</sup> Twenty-six percent of our school buildings date back to before the turn of the century, and only 35 percent of them have been built since 1945. Three-quarters of these buildings--according to the professional opinion of architects--are in need of renovation, or are ready to be demolished. Seventeen percent of our grade schools were built of adobes, while one-third of them have no gym halls or rooms.<sup>19</sup>

We know that we cannot expect our country's financial situation to show rapid improvement. Yet, we believe that we cannot postpone for long spending a greater ratio of our national income on education, and a 2 to 3 percent greater share of our investment funds on educational investments.<sup>20</sup> Only this way will we be able to ensure the conditions necessary for the normal functioning of our schools. Which--we repeat--would not mean more than ensuring similar cultural and educational conditions for children in our schools to what they already enjoy in the average Hungarian family.

In order to achieve this, however--and here we have again come back to the question of finance--it appears vitally necessary that our educational organs review the existing over-centralized planning and financing system of education. This system--i.e., the present mechanism of taking resources away from the local levels and redistributing them centrally-- its advantages aside, can be characterized by significant, and today already obvious shortcomings: it hinders the local administration of education in developing a school organization that could be rationally adjusted to the changing needs of a given segment of the population<sup>21</sup>, while at the same time it is not even capable of implementing central education policy decisions. To this day, for example, we have not implemented the regulations of either the 1961 education act, or the 1972 education policy resolution, according to which education's share of the national income should have been significantly increased, just as, for the most part, we have failed to realize those centrally set objectives that were to pro-mote accelerated development in the underdeveloped areas.22

One reason why it is important that the planning-financing system of education be reviewed is because the forms of school activity which presently need to be developed--as we have already mentioned-also require a new approach to certain socio-political questions. We believe, that both from the point of view of content, administration and financing, and from the standpoint of their users we must clearly identify those from among the above mentioned activities which

--are prescribed for everyone as mandatory by the state and local authorities, usually free of charge;

--forms which are provided by the state or some local agency as a selectively available service which can be bought (occasionally, for a progressive fee);

--and finally those which provide a clearly socio-political benefit to everyone who needs it.

There is no question that, although today it mainly affects our education policy, the organization of our schools' "providing" functions is at the same time also a task of socio-political importance to which occasionally it would be expedient to subject our various pedagogic and educational considerations. In certain respects our schools must use their own resources to help bring about a solution to our socio-political problems, while in other cases just the opposite needs to be done, i.e., our social policy must help to ensure that our children's schooling, or more broadly put: their upbringing is acceptably realized. In the case of the needy, here we could include the need to provide access to basic health care, clothing and school supplies, hygiene, transportation, meals, sports, free-time and summer activities, just as we could add dormitory accomodations and the coordinated functioning of the rational and operational forms of monetary and in-kind assistance and of legal and emotional counseling.

We believe, therefore, that these services must be provided selectively by our state and local communities. (they must coordinate and organize the establishment of schools and other institutions by private individuals.) In other words, the only persons to whom they must provide -- a part of -- these services without charge, or "public service" prices are those who need it -- to them, howat ever, they must provide these without any conditions, and not as emergency solutions but at an acceptable level of quality. As for other types of recipients and services (starting from intensive language instruction to free-time type programs), they should be treated as a function of local demands and possibilities. This latter concept should also include state subsidies, on the one hand, and the sum of our progressive repayment fees and the various forms of support received from different (economic) organizations, foundations, etc., which do not fall under central regulations.

Should we fail to more clearly identify, and at the same time better coordinate our system of educational and socio-political activities, the coming years will bring considerably greater tensions than what we have experienced so far. While part of this can also be worked out theoretically, we cannot do without the collective data of empirical research. It should also be stressed that it is not feasible to renew the operation of our schools or any of our child-care organizations according to a uniform, centrally defined "model" that would apply to our entire country.

On the contrary, the only workable solution for developing a system of administration, planning and finance is one which goes beyond the central regulation of expenditures, and which in addition to ensuring that we have the minimum amount of necessary funds, allows greater freedom for the initiatives of local communities, institutions and individual persons to assert themselves, so that they can, on their own, work out the manner in which they aim to satisfy our growing needs while making certain that they retain a say in the implementation process.

# FOOTNOTES

- What we are mainly thinking of are the works of Zsuzsa Ferge, Ferenc Gazso, Judit Haber, Ferenc Pataki, Pal Santha, Gabor Tancos and Gyorgy Varhegyi.
- 2. Ph. H. Coombs, "The Global Crisis of Education; A Systems Analysis," Textbook Publishers, Budapest 1971.; V. Turchenko, "The Scientific-Technical Revolution and the Revolution of Education," Kossuth Publishers, Budapest, 1973.; Tamas Kozma, "Demographic Processes and Cultural Policy," In: "Population Growth and Population Policy; Studies," Ed.: Kalman Kulcsar, Kossuth Publishers, Budapest, 1983.
- 3. Laszlo Cseh-Szombathy, "Problems and Methods of Family Sociology," Gondolat Publishers, Budapest, 1979.; Judith H. Sas, "Life Style and Family; The Development of Human Relations in the Family," Akademia Publishers, Budapest, 1976.
- 4. Istvan R. Gabor, Peter Galasi, "The 'Second Economy'," Economic and Legal Publishers, Budapest 1981; Rudolf Andorka, Bela Falussy, Istvan Harcsa, "Time Equilibrium; Detailed Data I-II," Main Department of Social Statistics of the Central Statistical Office, Budapest, 1982.
- 5. See, for example, the works of Janos Kobanyai, "Beat Holiday" VALOSAG, No 8, 1978 and "The Solidarity Clash" VALOSAG, No 5, 1979 or Peter Erdos, "Remarks on the Dirt Wave" KRITIKA, No 7, 1983.

- 6. Zsuzsa Ferge, "Social Reproduction and Social Policy," Economic and Legal Publishers, Budapest, 1982; Radmila Versztovsek, Jozsef Enyedi, "The Differentiation of Consumption According to Social Classes and Strata in Hungary," Akademia Publishers, Budapest, 1981; Agota Horvath, "The Anatomy of an Assistance" (A Case Study on Regular Educational Assistance), In: "On Education and Social Policy," The Social Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 1982.
- 7. See the 1982-1983 debate published in KOZNEVELES on the introduction of the 5-day work week in the schools.
- 8. Sources: the annually published statistics of the Ministry of Education on elementary and secondary education. According to the reports, in 1982 the number of day-care applicants turned down for lack of space was 12,700. This, however, does not reflect actual needs, for the number of applicants rejected are only counted where such services exist to begin with and, therefore, "may be requested." Yet, in more than 17 percent
- of our schools there are no day-care facilities.
- 9. Peter Lukacs, "An Outline of the Central Planning of Education," Educational Research Institute (mimeographed), Budapest, 1983.
- 10. Mrs. Tibor Erdesz, "The Passage of a Fluctuating School-Age Population, 'the Demographic Wave' through Our School System," (Manuscript), Educational Research Institute, 1983.
- 11. Ministry of Education Statistical Bulletin, 1982-1983, "Elementary Education," Institute of Science Organization and Information, Budapest, 1983.
- 12. Julia Szalai, "Shortages and Social Selection," VALOSAG, No 8, 1981; Gyorgy Varhegyi, "Educational Development Strategies and Our Grade Schools," (Manuscript), Educational Research Institute, 1983.
- 13. See the annual statistics of the Ministry of Education on elementary education.
- 14. Janos Veszi, "Alpha Is Born; Uniformity of Public Instruction and Public Education," Textbook Publishers, Budapest, 1980; Zsuzsa Kereszti, "The Application of the Plan of Grade-School Education and Instruction to All-Day Activities," Capital City Pedagogic Institute, 1980.
- 15. See, for example, Odon Kisszekelyi, "The Abuse of Narcotic Substances in the Schools," BUDAPESTI NEVELO, 1982, No 1, pp. 77-84.
- 16. Zsuzsa Ferge, "The Income Situation of Families with Children," VALOSAG, No 8, 1980.

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- 17. Concurrently with the implementation of the settlement policy of the past decade there has been a growing differentiation among our schools as evidenced, for example, by the deterioration of the circumstances of schooling in the so-called nonprovincial settlements. There are nearly 32,000 students living in villages which in recent years have been affected by school closures, who must--often by way of exhausting travel--commute to the nearest schools. In the non-provincial villages presently there are 1,423 schools operating where at the beginning of the 1980's there were 183,000 children studying, under constantly worsening conditions: one-tenth of them attended combined study groups, of those in the upper grades only 74 percent received specialized training, and only one-third of the schools had a gym room or a hall. At the greatest disadvantage were those children who attended the 120 schools where mostly gypsy children were enrolled. (25 percent of them were in combined study groups, 45 percent were over-age, etc.) See: Robert Kravjanszki, "A Few Statistical Data About the Grade Schools," (Manuscript), Educational Research Institute, 1983.
- 18. Julia Varga, "Classroom Shortages and Investments in the Grade Schools," (Manuscript), Educational Research Institute, 1983.
- 19. See: Mrs Andras Beothy, Mrs Tivadar Laszlo, Gyorgy Terjek, "Report on our Existing Stock of Educational Buildings," (Manuscript), Institute of Science Organization and Information, 1983.
- 20. For decades now, only a very small portion of the national income has been committed to education. Since the post-war reconstruction and the period of industrialization began, i.e., ever since productive utilization has been looked upon as an objective of virtually absolute importance, these ratios have remained unchanged.... Thus the ranking of total investments for education is still around 3 percent.

Percentage of the socialist sector's investments for educational institutions:

Time frame, year	Percentage	
1951-1960 (average)	2.26	
1961-1965 (average for		
the years)	2.30	
1966-1970 (average ")	2.27	
1971-1975 (average ")	1.92	
1976	2.37	
1977	2.47	
1978	2.31	
1979	2.68	
1980	3.02	
ource: EDUCATION TRAINING	1950-1980 VCU	Budapoat

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Source: EDUCATION, TRAINING 1950-1980, KSH, Budapest, 1982.

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- 21. See for example Maria Nagy: "Local Strategies in Influencing Educational Decisions." (Duplicated), Educational Research Institute, Budapest, 1983.
- 22. For development-financing problems of the infrastructural branches see: Gabor Vagi: "Competition for Development Sources." Economic and Judicial Book Publisher, Budapest, 1982.

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#### KISZ EFFORTS FAILING TO WIN OVER YOUTH

#### Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Jul 84 p 3

/Article by Istvan Nyitrai, secretary of KISZ Central Committee: "Youth's Reckoning at Half Time"/

/Text/ There is no lack of desire to act--this could be the summary of the political experiences that were discussed earlier this year at the evaluating and planning meetings of the nearly 40,000 local units of our youth organization and at the delegate meetings of its factory, institutional and regional KISZ units.

The Central Committee of KISZ put recently on its agenda the discussion of the most significant lessons of the spring meeting of its 900,000 membership. The report that has been accepted by the membership gives a full picture of the opinion of the party's youth organization at the time when KISZ has started its second term between two congresses. Special emphasis was given this time to the authentic summary of political experiences by the presently ongoing preparation of an all-encompassing evaluation and development of MSZMP's youth policy.

### Ready to Act, Critically

The picture emerging from the current summary gives reason to hope, but we should definitely not be satisfied. It is good to know that members of KISZ are acutely interested in the problems of their environment, the difficulties of our national economy and social development, and in the specifics of building socialism in today's Hungary. It is also good that young people realistically view the external and internal difficulties of this construction; chasing illusions or unfounded demands are not typical of them. What they are looking for in battling the unfavorable consequences of a more difficult situation and in founding a qualitative development is the role of KISZ and the place and responsibilities of the individual. The overwhelming majority of young people will stand up for our social goals, work for them, and increase their individual and collective efforts; on the other hand, they are reacting more sensitively than in the past to undesirable phenomena. For many young people there is not enough room for social and economic activities. It is true, perhaps, that the number of people complaining about the cumbersomeness of their environment and the frequent failures of their and their colleagues' efforts to improve things is not larger than before. The critics' opinions, however, are incom+ parably sharper and more passionate.

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It is more obvious than ever before--and in this the KISZ membership must be a reliable mirror for all of Hungary's youth--that regardless of their jobs and occupations, young people expect to be seriously considered partners, insiders, in solving society's problems; not to be hindered in their efforts to work according to their training, talents and enterprising spirit because of complacency, professional jealousy or unprincipled interrelationships.

Naturally, supporting the goals and efforts does not mean uncritical satisfaction. It was precisely on the basis of agreement that many considered, justifiably so, the development and the extent of changes too slow. Criticism was presented that in many KISZ organizations KISZ-life gives an adequate opportunity for action and political experience still only to a small group of activists. So while the leaders are frequently overworked and consider their social responsibilities toward KISZ too heavy, a large number of local units cannot provide its membership with interesting and attractive programs, making them indifferent as a result.

#### Something Different for Each Group--and Differently

When the central committee stated that at the spring meetings the membership expressed its agreement with the declared goals of the Congress of KISZ, one of the most important factors for its evaluation was the support for the definite strengthening of the so-called group work. Unanimous praise was given to the various programs that were developed in the spirit of the resolution of the congress; these programs more accurately reflect the differences in the goals, aspirations and interests of the various youth groups. The forms and methods of leadership are more varied, too. The need and intention to decentralize the wide range of decision affecting KISZ-work and to abolish overregulation have met. In every basic KISZ question--that is, in delegation of work, leadership and other organizational questions--the goal is to give prime importance to local characteristics, to focus the work of the managerial units at various levels on questions stemming from concrete, real conditions. The central committee not only considers it desirable to see the more and more marked differences in the activities of the various groups of youth, but it itself gave special attention to the analysis of the accumulated experiences done by the groups.

Among the typical opinions of the working youth in KISZ organizations is that the overwhelming majority approves of the experiments with new paths and new forms of enterprise in our socialist economy. Many mention that it is becomin increasingly difficult to meet realistic demands and make an adequate living by working a decent 8-hour day. This is why they strongly promote the consistent, socialist implementation of the idea of income commensurate with work and output.

In recent years the youth organization has given more attention to young white collar workers. As a result, the organization and influence of KISZ has become stronger in their circles. The latest analysis, however, also pointed out that representation of their interests--mostly because of the indifference of the social environment--has only been achieved partially. Search for new paths, a strong desire to express idiosyncracies and individual talents are typical of this group. It is perhaps in their circles where it is most important to widen the range of social activities related to their careers. Given meaningful tasks and enough opportunities these young people like to work.

Among college and university students this spring as well as before the modernization of higher education and a long-range development program were central issues. At youth forums and at the parliament meeting last year KISZ tried to put the students' endeavors on a realistic foundation---and as a result provoked greater respect in this group. Unfortunately, the debates have not brought many results, and this has caused disappointment. It has been mentioned that lately there are somehwat fewer KISZ members in colleges and universities, and that local organizations are not truly community workshops, they are not forums of student activities.

#### Together, Responsibly

KISZ-life has become more lively in high schools and vocational-technical schools. Old, nearly forgotten student traditions are being revived in many places. There has been a jump in the number of colorful activities tailored to students' interests. It is too bad that the organizers have still not satisfactorily taken advantage of the energy, imagination and initiative of teenagers. This, of course, is partially due to the fact that the atmosphere in schools is changing only slowly, and frequently teachers are afraid to give more autonomy to student groups. It is also true, though, that because of ever-increasing workloads and students being overburdened relatively few students volunteer for social work in schools. Important debates were going on in school KISZ organizations about the role and importance of study and knowledge and the loss of prestige of the study movement as well. We were justifiably criticized for not finding the right form of the study movement that would primarily cater to the gifted and help bring the disadvantage into the mainstream; all this is done with unique methods, not just copying school patterns.

From among the many valuable lessons learned at the member and delegate meetings we only have had the opportunity to discuss a few experiences--the most important or timely ones. To prove a point: youth's expectations of KISZ have risen. They expect us to help them in their efforts to overcome the increased problems of starting a career and a family and narrow the gap in opportunities through our more determined, goal-oriented work, bearing their interests in mind. This was the spirit of the message from the member and delegate meetings received by the Central Committee of KISZ, and sanctified by a new way of interest representation that more fully considers the power of the public. We do not merely want to record the tensions, inequities and injustices, but seek and want to take part in constructive solutions that are based on youth's desire to act and on the results of our collective work. Youth does not expect assistance or handouts from society, but as partners in the production of common goods, with the right they have earned through work and public duty, they want to participate in the settling of our common affairs.

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#### HUNGARY

#### DANUBE DAM PROJECT SEEN THREATENING DRINKING WATER SUPPLY

#### Detrimental Aspects Examined

Budapest BUDAPEST in Hungarian No 8, 1984 pp 6-8

[Article by Mihaly Erdelyi: "Budapest's Water Resources"]

[Text] From the 1860's on, there was extensive debate on the mode of obtaining water. The debate was decided in favor of so-called riparian natural strained wells. Much of the credit for this goes to Janos Wein, the first director of the Budapest Municipal Water Works, who said: "Europe would justifiably ridicule use if we failed to utilize what nature provides for us economically and practically free."

The siting of the wells of the Budapest Municipal Water Works was preceded in the 1870's by detailed exploration that can be termed modern even by today's standards. Many wells were drilled to the bottom of the gravel, especially along the river where water is being obtained even today. The area of exploration extended on the Buda bank from Acquincum to the lower end of Margit Island; and on the Pest bank, from Ujpest to Bathory Street, in a belt about 750 meters wide extending to the eastern edge of Vaci Road. Exploration was less detailed from the Western Railroad Terminal to Ujpest, west of the Vac railroad line.

In addition to the area of detailed exploration, test wells were drilled in a belt about 1.5 km wide extending from the Vac railroad line to the slaughterhouse. The outer boundary of this belt forms an arc running from the junction of the belt railway and the Vac railroad line, to the way station on Soroksari Road. More than a century has confirmed the soundness of basing Budapest's water supply on riparian natural strained wells.

Water consumption in Budapest during the summer peak exceeds 1.0 million cubic meters a day. More than 80 percent of this water is obtained along the Danube. The thick sandy gravel of the Danube's banks and islands is an abundant aquifer that stores water of good quality (see Fig. 1). The water flows continuously to replenish the water drawn from the shaft, pipe and radial wells through infiltration galleries. When the Danube's water level is above average, the water is replenished mostly from the direction of the river. When the water level is low, it is mostly the water stored in the gravel that flows into the wells. Along the washed sections of the Danube's banks the water is of good quality. Elsewhere the water contains some iron and manganese.

Practically full use is being made of the possibilities to obtain water on Szentendre Island. Here natural straining is more effective, and therefore the water is of better quality. Lately there has been more nitrate and ammonia contamination, mostly of agricultural origin. But a contributing factor is the pollution, albeit difficult to prove, due to sewage discharged into the old dug wells after the construction of the water supply system.

On Csepel Island, measures to reduce the iron and manganese content are adding to the cost of water treatment. In the right (main) channel, city sewage is causing less deterioration of water quality than has been expected. The wells on Csepel Island are supplying about 200,000 cubic meters of water a day. The island's entire area suitable for obtaining water can be expected to yield 760,000 cubic meters a day.

The Soroksar branch is practically stagnant and unsuitable as a source of water supply.

At Kaposztasmegyer, a plant for the treatment of Danube water has been in operation for three decades. Its peak output is about 200,000 cubic meters a day.

The foreseeable demand by the year 2000 can be supplied from the existing and planned wells, and with treated surface water, if the Danube barrage being built northwest of Budapest does not cause significant changes, especially along the washed banks on Szentendre Island.

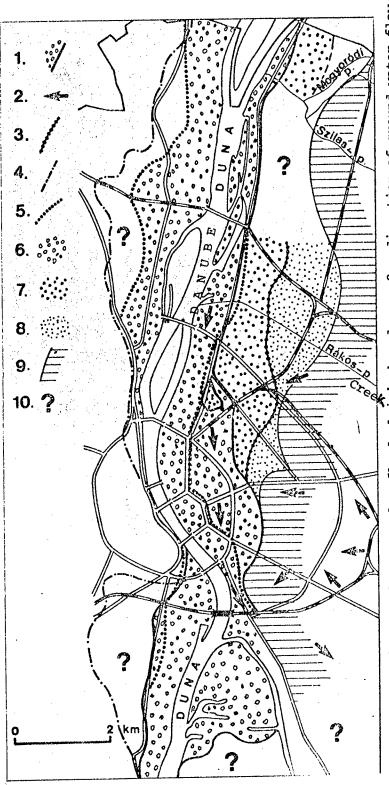
In recent decades, a huge volume of gravel has been removed from both channels of the Danube at Szentendre Island, through uncoordinated and haphazard excessive dredging. The absence of the removed gravel will make itself felt in a significant reduction of natural straining. The damage that excessive dredging has caused in terms of water quality and quantity is already noticeable at some of the well sites. With the construction of the barrage, the damage can only increase.

The quality of Danube water likewise can be expected to deteriorate considerably, because the significant natural self-purification along the steep gradient of the "Old Danube" between Deveny [Devin] and Szap will mostly cease.

West of Nagymaros, the gravel in many places has been removed not only from the river bed down to bedrock, but also along the banks. This has been the case in the vicinity of Pilismarot, for example. All this has been done knowing that the area will be inundated anyhow.

Water for Budapest Industries

Industry accounts for 30 to 35 percent of the capital's water consumption. It is preposterous to use drinking water for cooling, car washing, construction, watering parks and spraying streets when drinking water is becoming more and more expensive, due not only to higher energy costs, but also to increased pollution and longer transmission distances.



2 - direction of ground water flow ac-4 - boundary of Danube valley in Buda, according to Gyula Scheuer; 5 - inundation boundary of the great Danube flood of 1965, according to Gyula Szabo; 10 - area that 7 - valley bottom's gravel with abundant 9 - western boundary of discontinuous thin gravel; Budapest's ground water: 1 - flood plain's boundary; 6 - valley bottom's gravel with very abundant ground water; 3 - boundary of thick gravel; ground water; 8 - thinner gravel; cording to Horusitzky; cannot be evaluated. Figure 1.

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The Kaposztasmegyer plant for the treatment of surface water was established three decades ago to supply the northern part of Budapest with industrial water. In view of the rapidly rising demand, it became necessary to treat surface water to make it suitable for drinking, even though the quality of such water is deteriorating sharply.

A separate system for the supply of industrial water is not necessary, except where the demand for such water is heavy.

Often the demand for industrial water can be supplied locally, because the gravel on a large part of the city's area contains a large volume of water.

The local supply of water for industry has traditions of long standing in Budapest. Very many plants obtained water from their own dug or drilled wells.

On the Danube's left bank, proceeding eastward from the river, a large area of rising terraces is covered with sand and gravel. The ground water of these terraces flows toward the lower-lying Danube valley. Faster along the glens of the (Rakos and Szilas) creeks, but more slowly under the entire city. As a result of this flow, the amount of water that can be obtained from the gravel gradually improves as we proceed toward the most favorable natural strained belt along the river.

The reasons for the ground water under the lower-lying districts of the capital are twofold: the abundant flow within the gravel, and replenishment from the Danube along the banks (see Fig. 1). Proceeding eastward, the gravel bed becomes more and more discontinuous, and the aquifer's thickness also declines.

The valley bottom, the lowest-lying section of the city, is more or less the area inundated by the biggest flood to date (on 6 March 1838).

Along the boundary of the valley bottom, ground water from the first low terrace flows under a steep hydraulic gradient into the valley bottom's gravel. The main roads (Szentendrei, Fehervari, Vaci and Soroksari roads), the municipal sections of the old highways, run along the edge of the first terrace, i.e., above the highest recorded flood stage.

The abundant ground water in the valley bottom's gravel has been causing much damage since ages. As a result of human interference, the phenomenon of socalled cellar flooding may extend even to areas of the lower terraces where it previously was unknown. When at the edge of a terrace the free flow of ground water toward the lower level is restricted or stopped, the ground water backs up and floods the cellars in the low-lying sections of the terrace. This is the situation also along the Budapest metro's Vaci Road section, specifically in the zone where the first terrace's ground water flowed under a steeper hydraulic gradient onto the valley bottom.

In the 1920'a, to permanently solve the damage caused by the high water table, Henrik Horusitzky proposed building a sewer along the then still undeveloped Hungaria Boulevard to drain into the Danube the ground water flowing from the upper terraces.

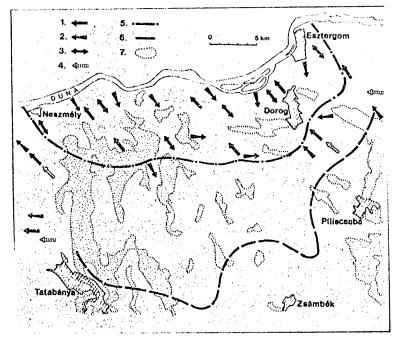


Figure 2. Relationship of karst water, ground water and the Danube. Plan of observation wells to monitor karst water. Prepared by Tivadar Bocker, VITUKI [Research Institute of Water Resources], in 1979. Directions of subterranean water flow: 1 - in the late 1950's; 2 - in 1967; 3 - after 1975 (depending on the Danube's water level); 4 - after 1975, in areas undisturbed by mine drainage; 5 - boundary of the penetration of Danube water and ground water into the karst water system, based on computations; 6 - boundary of Danube water and ground water 10 to 15 years after the commencement of mine drainage in Nagyegyhaza; 7 - karstic rock on or near the surface.

To illustrate the history of local water supply, mainly for industrial use, from the gravel's ground water, the following table shows the number of wells by Budapest districts, based on the 1959-1960 data of the national cadaster of wells. The table does not include the riparian natural strained wells, only the wells that provided or are providing ground water in the city's valley bottom zone.

<u>Districts</u>	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	XI	XIII	XIV	XX	XXI	XXII
							15							

These districts are located entirely or predominantly on the first terrace.

Budapest's Future Reserves of Water

Does the Budapest Municipal Water Works have any reserves other than along the Danube on Csepel Island?

After the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system, we can expect water quality to worsen considerably, due to nearly complete absence of the Danube's

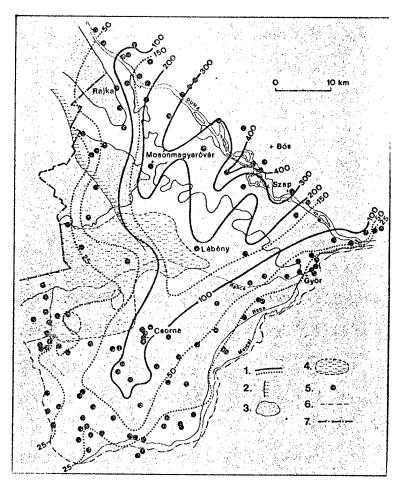


Figure 3. Thickness of the Gyor basin's gravelly sediment (according to Mihaly Erdelyi, 1983): 1 - thickness of gravelly sediment, meters; 2 boundary of Danube-fed ground water; 3 - gravel with thin soil; 4 - area and boundaries of the Hansag marsh, based on Johannes Muller's 1769 map; 5 - well drilled through gravelly sediment; 6 - boundary of Gyor basin; 7 - Hungarian border.

natural self-purification, and also because pollution along the Bratislava-Szob section is unlikely to cease or abate. Three-fourths of this section's pollution does not originate in Hungary.

As we have seen, utilization of the possibilities to obtain water from wells along the Danube on Szentendre Island is practically complete. Because of indiscriminate excessive dredging, natural straining capacity has declined at several sites. The quality and quantity of the already inferior water from riparian natural strained wells on Csepel Island can be expected to decline, whereby the cost of treating this water will increase per cubic meter.

Where can we expect replacements?

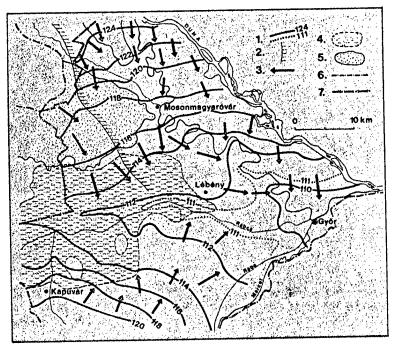
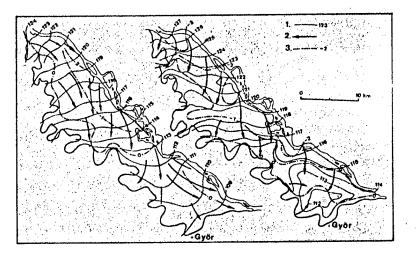


Figure 4. Multiyear average water table in the Gyor basin (according to Pal Major, 1975): 1 - water table's level above sea level; 2 - area of ground water fed by the Danube; 3 - direction of ground water's flow; 4 - area and boundary of the Hansag marsh, on the basis of Johannes Muller's 1769 map; 5 - gravel with thin soil; 6 - Gyor basin's boundary; 7 - Hungarian border.



Figures 5A and 5B. Dunakiliti barrage's effect on the ground water of Szigetkoz [Little Schutt]. VITUKI summary report, 1977: 1A - water table when Danube's water level was high (on 26 Jun 65); 1B - when Danube's water level was low (on 29 Mar 72); 2 - direction of ground water's flow; 3 - difference between measured and calculated water table, in meters.

#### 1. Karst Water

The extent to which Budapest can rely on the karst water of the Buda Mountains has been a recurring question for more than a century. According to several estimates, this water resource can yield between 100,000 and 200,000 cubic meters a day. On closer examination, however, the karst water in this area is sufficient to supply only the local demand. The drawbacks of this water are its hardness and frequent pollution.

More recently, this karst water is sustaining losses in several ways. A map by Tivadar Bocker in VITUKI's 1979 report (Fig. 2) shows that the highly polluted ground water in the gravel of the Danube valley between Neszmely and Esztergom penetrates the karst water, depending on the Danube's water level. The natural balance between the karst water and the valley's gravel has been upset long ago. Earlier the karst water's level was constantly higher than the valley's water table, which meant flow in one direction only: from the karst water into the gravel's ground water.

The pollution can be expected to worsen in the future.

The Lencsehegy II mine of the Dorog Coal Mines is lowering further the karst water's level. If the proposed large volume of coal is removed (under the so-called Eccene Program), the karst water's level will fall even lower.

The water impounded by the planned Nagymaros barrage will increase considerably the difference between the karst water's level and the Danube's water level, and thus a larger volume of water will flow over a longer period of time into the karst water, the level of which will be falling anyhow. Not only will the proportion of originally Danube water be greater within the karst water, but the quality of the Danube water will sharply deteriorate, due to the absence of most of the river's natural self-purification. Thus Budapest can hardly count on the karst water as a reserve.

2. The Komarom-Nagymaros Section of the Danube Valley

Neither water from riparian natural strained wells nor ground water can be expected from here. This narrow belt is one of Hungary's highly industrialized regions that has no water for "export." The Nagymaros barrage will also affect this belt.

3. Terrace Between the Danube's Moson Arm and Almasfuzito.

The gravel of this wide terrace has two drawbacks.

First, a part of this terrace is highly industrialized (Komarom, Szony, Almasfuzito), and most of it is farmed intensively. Consequently, there is considerable pollution. The terrace's soil is mostly loose sand that changes downward into gravel. Thus the gravel's ground water is not protected from pollution. Here and there the ground water is already strongly polluted by pollutants of agricultural origin. And this pollution can be expected to worsen in the future. The other drawback of this terrace is that sites along the river suitable for natural strained wells are few. Already the more than 100-year-old geological map on a 1:144,000 scale shows that long strips of the agrillaceous rock lie above the Danube's low water between Gonyu and Komarom. At low water, small springs and seeps flow from the bottom of the gravel. In the early 1800's, when Danube barges were still drawn by horses, the water from the springs was led into watering troughs for the horses. The resting places were at these springs, and horses were changed here.

#### 4. Gyor Basin

The lowest section of the Little Alfold, filled with thick gravel, is known as the Gyor basin (see Fig. 3). South of the Danube's main channel, this gravel contains an estimated 5.4 cubic kilometers of excellent drinking water, even if we assume an effective porosity of only 25 percent. On the same basis, the Csallokoz [Velky Zitny Ostrov or Great Schutt, in Czechoslovakia] has an estimated 8 cubic kilometers of water. Use of a 25-percent effective porosity in the calculations gives very conservative estimates because the effective porosity of sandy gravel is actually 30 to 32 percent.

The view that the Szigetkoz gravel's ground water is completely polluted is unfounded. So far pollution has been detected only in a few small spots because the ground water fed from the Danube flows rapidly, the pollutants are diluted continuously, and the pollution departs in the direction of the Moson arm of the Danube and the Hansag marsh, the natural areas of discharge.

From riparian natural strained wells, Szigetkoz would be able to produce a million cubic meters of water a day, as much as Budapest's present water consumption. In addition, this water is of very good quality due to vigorous natural self-purification along the "Old Danube's" steep hydraulic gradient.

Foreseeable Effects of Planned Impounding and Barrages

Impounding below Bratislava and the Gabcikovo barrage will affect two areas of the Gyor basin: Szigetkoz, and the wide belt west of it (Fig. 4).

The following losses of subterranean water may result:

a. Abandonment of the "Old Danube" arm will end the possibility of gaining 1.0 million cubic meters of water a day from riparian natural strained wells.

b. The flow of ground water in Szigetkoz will slow down. At present the Danube's main channel, which runs along the ridge of its own sediment, has an annual average flow rate of 1,800 to 2,000 cubic meters a second. Through the gravel on the channel's bottom, the river feeds the ground water which in its turn flows in the gravel toward the Moson arm of the Danube (Fig. 4). The direction of the ground water's flow depends on the Danube's water level (Figs. 5A and 5B).

c. West of Szigetkoz, the ground water is fed mainly by the Austrian and Czechoslovak sections of the Danube (Fig. 4). In both countries, agriculture

is intensive in this area. There is also a considerable concentration of industry at the Bratislava bridgehead.

In the Leitha valley, the soil layer over the gravel is thin on both banks. Therefore the danger of pollution is very great, not only from agriculture but mainly from the Bratislava bridgehead's industrial and municipal sewage. The volume of municipal sewage is expected to increase rapidly.

d. It is typical of the entire Gyor basin that the settlements, large farms and industrial plants are located on the wide flood-free strips between depressions and plains, and on flood-free islands. This is also where the most fertile farmland is to be found. The soil is mostly light loam that changes downward to increasingly coarse sand and then gravel. Neither the loam and the smaller area of sandy soil, nor the sandy subsoil is impermeable. Thus the danger of pollution is the greatest specifically in the most valuable part of the Little Alfold, where the ground water's flow rate is the fastest and hence its quality is the best; in other words, where the ground water is not slack as is generally the case on plains.

The danger of pollution is intensified by the fact that most localities now have piped water, but treatment of industrial and municipal sewage is the exception rather than the rule. In many places, household sewage and even industrial sewage are discharged into the abandoned dug wells, i.e., directly into the gravel. These wells are so-called absorbing wells, and at present the flow of ground water removes most of the pollutants. But if this flow slows down, also the purification will cease. Nothing much can be done against this type of pollution until sewer systems and sewage treatment plants are built everywhere. And this is more costly and less spectacular than the development of water supply systems.

As we have seen, streams are the main sources from which ground water is fed. They ensure the rapid flow of a large volume of ground water. This dilutes the pollutants that are formed continuously in the fertile, densely populated and industrialized flood-free areas, and also removes the pollutants into the ground water's natural discharge areas, the Moson arm of the Danube and the belt of the Hansag marsh. But this favorable situation will cease when the channel of the "Old Danube" is abandoned, and little water is discharged into it and only periodically.

At a flow rate of 50 to 100 cubic meters/second, the canal that is planned to replenish the ground water and regulate the water table will be able to compensate only to a small extent for the Danube's natural supply of ground water. And it will be unable to remove the pollutants that are produced.

Together with its surroundings, the canal for replenishing the ground water and regulating the water table resembles a tub into which a thin stream of water is flowing, while water is being drained from it at the same rate. Thus the tub's water level remains unchanged. Add a few drops of bluing to the water; it becomes diluted and leaves through the drain. In contrast, the present natural situation resembles a tub into which a thick stream of water is flowing, and the same amount of water is draining from it. Here the "bluing" quickly disappears. It is true that the planned feeder canal will be able to regulate and maintain the water table, but it cannot replace the present natural flow whose large volume now ensures rapid exchange of the water, and hence the rapid removal of the produced pollutants.

Little Alfold's Artesian Water

Under the Little Alfold's gravel there is a substantial volume of artesian water of excellent quality. The view has been expressed that this water may be sufficient to supply the demand for drinking water when the quality of the gravel aquifer's water deteriorates. But at some sites the artesian pressure has been dropping rapidly during the past 10 years. And the volume of water that can be obtained from artesian wells is only 5 percent of the water that can be obtained from the gravel.

The large volume of water of excellent quality that can be obtained from the Little Alfold's gravel and from riparian natural strained wells along sections of the Danube is one of Hungary's greatest natural resources. But only as long as the present natural balance is maintained. This natural resource could be an essential factor also of the wider area's development. Water from the Little Alfold could easily be transmitted to the Komarom-Tata-Esztergom industrial region. (The elevation of Szigetkoz near Gyor is 112 to 130 meters above sea level. Dunaalmas lies 109 meters above sea level.)

This water resource could be an important factor also of Budapest's long-range water supply, considering the threats to the present sources of supply and the quality problems of the reserves on Csepel Island.

Because of its great economic importance, and of the threats to it from the planned large-scale hydraulic engineering projects, the Little Alfold's water should be studied more thoroughly.

It will be remembered that Hungary, according to the ECE, will belong by the year 2000 among the countries with drinking-water shortages. By then the daily consumption during the summer peak could be as much as 1.8 to 1.9 million cubic meters. The concern to preserve for Hungary and Budapest their greatest reserve of fresh water is understandable.

Panic Unwarranted

Budapest BUDAPEST in Hungarian No 8, 1984 p 9

[Interview with Miklos Frommer, technical deputy director of the Budapest Municipal Water Works, and Dr Julia Tomka, inspector of the Budapest Public Health and Epidemiological Station, by Istvan Illes: "Best Drinking Water in Europe?"]

[Text] [Question] What is chlorinated, dreggy, turbid, and drinkable only after boiling? Budapest tap water, according to some. The best drinking water in Europe and perhaps the world, in the opinion of others.

[Frommer] I share the latter view because, in my opinion, one of Europe's best drinking waters flows from the taps in Budapest.

[Question] On what do you base your nearly biased opinion? For it is undeniable that the water from the taps is often chlorinated and dreggy. From its announcements on the maintenance of its network of water mains, moreover, the Budapest Municipal Water Works has been omitting lately its stereotype statement that the water, despite its turbidity, is not injurious to health.

[Frommer] The water that the Budapest Municipal Water Works produces can enter the distribution network, and hence reach the consumer, only if it is excellent from the viewpoint of public health. The KOJAL [Public Health and Epidemiological Station] and we ourselves strictly see to this. Regularly and continuously, the water undergoes 40 to 50 kinds of tests daily. We check the water chemically, biologically and for bacteria. Depending on the quality of the water obtained from the wells, we use so-called water treatment equipment. At our water works below Rackeve, for example, we have installed an ozone water purifier because the iron and manganese content of the water here is high. Such an installation costs 600 million forints, and it has trebled the investment cost of the Budapest Municipal Water Works. But drinking water of excellent quality must not become a question of money.

[Question] If the water is treated, then why is it dreggy?

[Frommer] Even the iron and manganese content that the drinking-water standards allow can cause precipitation which is deposited as scale on the walls of the mains, together with the corrosion products formed in the system and with the solids in the water of the wells. As the conditions of flow change, some of this scale breaks loose and reaches the consumer. This is noticeable especially in the case of maintenance and repairs. We call this to the consumers' attention through announcements in the press. As a rule, such cases affect only limited areas of consumption, and they usually last only a short time. We help to end the water's turbidity also through intensive flushing.

[Question] We are consuming more than a million cubic meters of water a day. Are there any problems with maintaining the quality of this water?

[Frommer] The water from wells on Csepel Island is playing an ever-greater role in supplying the peak demand of about 1.3 million cubic meters a day. But this water must be treated because its iron and manganese content is considerably higher than in the water from the Szentendre wells. The [Kaposztasmegyer] plant for the treatment of Danube water already requires renovation and has difficulty in coping with the Danube's increasing pollution. However, the commencement of its reconstruction must wait until we have enough wells to be able to dispense with the 200,000 cubic meters of treated Danube water a day that this plant now supplies. With the present technology--it includes filtration, clarifying, and routine treatment--treated Danube water will never match the quality of the water we obtain from wells. Development and reconstruction of the water supply system are able to keep pace only haltingly with Budapest's growth. A quarter of the 5,320-kilometer network is over 72 years old, but we are able to replace only the very worn-out sections, about 22 to 25 kilometers a year. Under the 6th Five-Year Plan we are investing roughly 4.0 billion forints for development and the maintenance of present capacity.

But we should be installing more of the better and hence more expensive materials to be able to cope confidently with droughts such as last year, the rising summer peak consumption, and the frequent breakdowns. Last year alone, we had to repair 15,800 ruptured and damaged mains.

[Dr Tomka] We are having problems primarily with the water drawn from the Danube. The Budapest Municipal Water Works finds that it is more and more difficult to remove the pollutants of domestic and foreign origin. The technology of water treatment has to be adapted to the tasks, and this is not always successful. The water works is not always able to maintain the limits specified in the water-quality standards. In the interest of water quality and reliable supply, therefore, a large-scale reconstruction program would be necessary.

[Question] Has tap water caused any illness?

[Dr Tomka] No, not during the past 10 years. But, regrettably, it does happen repeatedly that factories and plants connect untreated industrial water to the network, or that sewage contaminates the drinking water when the water mains rupture. There were a few cases of such illness, but their course was mild.

[Question] Besides its many different tests, is the Public Health and Epidemiological Station attempting to detect also the viruses in the water?

[Dr Tomka] Experiments of this type were begun this year. Testing for viruses is instrument-intensive and time-consuming and, unfortunately, we are not equipped for such tests. However, viruses are present not only in the drinking water, but in foods as well. And I must add that some viruses cannot be detected even with the most modern equipment. But this problem must not be exaggerated, and we have no cause to panic. We are testing regularly the water in the distribution network and in the wells, and our instruments and test methods are more and more modern. This guarantees that the water flowing from Budapest taps tastes good and is safe.

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## EVOLUTION OF SOCIALISM REVIEWED

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[Article by Augystyn Wajda: "The Polish Working Class in the Process of Socialist Transformations"]

[Text] By liquidating the ownership of means of production by big and medium owners, people's rule in Poland has provided the necessary conditions for the broad development of the Polish working class.

POLAND

Owing to its historic political actions represented by the nationalization of industry and the land reform, the socialist revolution in Poland has primarily abolished the deep social differences reflecting the influence of the socioeconomic structure of underdeveloped capitalism during the interwar period. The fundamental revolutionary reforms, including the shaping of the operating principles of the socialist political and economic system, were a first step toward creating the material base of socialist construction and at the same time evolving a new class-stratum structure from which the system of antagonist relations was eliminated. It was precisely the working class that became the basic element of the new structure.

The 40 years of development of People's Poland, while not free of obstacles, contradictions and crises, demonstrate the importance of the general law according to which the working class is the principal force directing and implementing the processes of social development. Contrary to the recently widespread views, the role of the working class is not diminishing but growing in measure with the consolidation of socialist social relations in town and country. As the leading force in socioeconomic and political transformations, this class is responsible for fulfilling the program of socialist construction to other social classes and strata, to which it is linked by common class

# Quantitative Changes in the Working Class

At the moment of liberation and commencement of work to rebuild the country, our working class had to form its ranks nearly from the scratch. The small core of the working class that had been during the initial period formed by

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the workforces surviving in the plants existing on Polish soil began to be augmented by workers returning from labor camps and forced labor as well as by repatriates. In addition, the influx of labor force from agriculture had then begun. From the very beginning, the Polish working class arose from extremely heterogeneous elements. It was replenished with representatives of various social classes and strata, chiefly of the rural community.

The needs ensuing from the necessity of rapidly rebuilding the devastated country as well as the socialist prospects for socioeconomic development served as the basis for the mushrooming of employment in the socialized economy in general and for the development of the working class in particular. As a result, as early as in 1946 the number of workers (1,746,600) was only slightly lower than before the war, in 1937./1/

Under the influence of the new socioeconomic relations, the working class underwent not only a numerical growth but also far-reaching--compared with the prewar situation--changes in its internal stratification. From the very beginning of socialist construction, mechanisms obliterating any glaring differences among the three strata of workers--the relatively privileged workers, the fundamental core of the working class, and the most disadvantaged stratum, which also included farm laborers--began to operate, even if not always uniformly.

The transformations that took place in Poland following World War II also caused major changes in the proportions among discrete strata and classes as well as within discrete classes and social groups. The dominant trend was the rapid quantitative growth of the working class and the intelligentsia and the decline in the rural population. During 8 months alone, i.e., between October 1944 and mid-1945, an overwhelming majority of farm laborers changed their status to that of peasants, while the remainder switched to blue-collar occupations.

The agricultural reform assured the attainment of the dreamed-of social status of the peasant-private farmer to many thousands of landless and land-poor peasants. With time, however, these new farmers, like the other farmers besides, would undergo polarization into either complete autonomy as peasantsprivate farmers or peasants-workers [i.e., workers who are spare-time farmers]. Lastly, a part of the former farm laborers whom the land reform granted land, and especially their next generation, would switch to factory jobs and move to the cities. A stimulus in this process has been the development of all fields of the socialist national economy, which enabled the fragmented and economically and culturally backward countryside to eliminate the burden of overemployment and agrarian unemployment. The cities provided a chance for getting the desired jobs, occupations and social status and thus achieving one's aspirations. During 1945-1955 alone some 2 million people migrated from the countryside to the cities, with youth 14 to 18 years old representing a relatively high proportion of that influx. It was they chiefly who provided the manpower for the new industrial plants and great construction projects of the 6-year Plan, that first stage of socialist industrialization.

The possibilities for full employment that arose with the advent of socialist construction afforded, despite the low wages paid in the initial period, great chances and satisfaction to masses of workers who had before the war been completely or partially unemployed. Thus, the social revolution offered advancement primarily to the formerly worst-situated, relatively unskilled and unemployed workers. During the next period, new chances for advancement were afforded to the other groups of workers. Primarily, the number of blue-collar workers employed in small industry, artisan trades and cottage industry began to diminish. During the 6-Year Plan period, owing to the shutdown of a number of privately owned plants, a large part of workers in small industry switched to industrial plants, especially the newly rising ones.

The metals, electrical engineering and chemical industries, e.g., which provided more favorable working conditions and wages, began to develop vigorously. In addition, a growing number of workers found employment in large plants that were, as a rule, technically better equipped and in every respect more modern.

Thus, after the 3-Year Plan was fulfilled and the tasks of the 6-Year Plan began to be translated into reality, another important stage in the development of the working class, related to the formation of new subsectors of industry and the development of comprehensive mechanization, took place. In connection with the depletion of the urban labor force, rural population began to migrate to the cities, and a relatively large part of these migrants retained their own private farms, thus forming the group of peasants-workers.

Altogether, employment in the socialized economy during 1950-1955 grew to 6,779,000 from 4,307,000, i.e., in 6 years it increased by 2,472,000 or 56 percent./2/ The highest increase in employment occurred in industry: to 2,695,000 from 1,736,000 during the 1949-1955 period, that is, by 55.2 percent, with blue-collar employment in the industrial group rising to 2,055,000 from 1,312,000. /3/ During the same period, employment in the socialized industry grew to 2,691,000 from 1,670,000, that is, by more than 1 million persons.

The further growth of the national economy, serving as the basis for the growth in employment within discrete socio-occupational groups, and primarily blue-collar employment, was closely related to the successively implemented 5-year plans. However, the 1955-1960 period, which was to be a continuation of the 6-Year Plan period, differed from the latter in fairly basic respects, particularly as regards the growth rate of employment. During that period, employment in the national economy grew to 7,524,000 in 1960 from 6,779,000 in 1955. Thus, the increase in employment was 745,000 or nearly 15 percent and was close to one-fourth of the increase in employment during the 6-Year Plan period: until 1957 the annual growth rate was approximately 500,000, and between 1958 and 1960, 245,000./4/ In 1958 the policy of a more rational evels, technological progress and organization of labor, which are the basic prerequisites for the growth of labor productivity. This policy was linked chiefly to the resolutions of the 3rd PZPR Congress (10-19 March 1959).

It is worth noting that the extensive nature of economic development had been a necessary and just approach under the contemporary socioeconomic conditions of our country. That development was based on the mass socio-occupational activation of the country's population. The pursuit of the principle of full employment, inclusive of eliminating the "surplus labor force" in the countryside, had dictated the choice of the corresponding model of economic development. Such were the objective requirements of socioeconomic development, ensuing from a shortage of funds for promoting the economic domains in which more rapid technological progress and a higher labor productivity could have been achieved. The transition from the stage of extensive to that of intensive development was related to a situation in which technological-organizational progress, consisting not only in the development of new technologies but also in the proper shaping of the social division of labor and the occupational structure and skill levels of the labor force, became possible.

Following the completion of the stage of basic industrialization, which comprised the 6-Year Plan and the subsequent 5-year plan period, an industrialization process termed complementary commenced in the 1960s. This process consists in adjustment to appropriate proportions between the industry producing means of production and the consumer goods industry.

During that period the working class underwent not only a rapid quantitative growth but also changes, compared with the interwar period, in the proportions of its deployment among discrete branches of the national economy. Above all, the employment of hired labor in agriculture shrank abruptly to 8.2 percent in 1977 from 48.6 percent in 1921, while at the same time blue-collar employment in two basic branches, industry and construction, increased at a particularly rapid rate: in industry, to 48.4 percent in 1977 from 21.5 percent in 1921, and in construction, to 11.1 percent in 1977 from 1.7 percent in 1921.

The Polish working class is young, because, as revealed by the 1978 Census, in 1978 64 percent of its membership was represented by persons not yet 40 years of age, and nearly 25 percent by those not yet 25./5/ Thus, the following thesis still applies: the Polish working class is young in a threefold sense: demographically, sociologically and technically. The youth of the working class is one of its major social assets. At the same time, young workers create various problems relating to occupational work and social adaptation to the worker community as well as to political and ideological maturation, which is reflected in, as shown by the experience of recent years, their relatively high susceptibility to various slogans formulated by nonworker milieux and directed against the interests of the working class as a whole.

The growth in blue-collar employment has been accompanied by the concentration of workers in large and giant industrial plants. The degree of the concentration of industrial workers in the late 1970s and early 1980s was as follows: the industrial enterprises employing up to 1,000 workers accounted for 79.8 percent of all such enterprises and 33.6 percent of blue-collar employment; those employing 1,001 to 5,000 workers, for 18.5 and 49.2 percent, respectively, and those employing more than 5,000 workers, for 1.7 and 17.2 percent, respectively. Thus, nearly every fifth worker was employed in the giant industrial enterprises. This trend persisted in the subsequent years, even though after 1980 it came to an explicit halt owing to the drastic curtailment of investments in general, and giant investments in particular.

The majority of the working class is concentrated in the basic branches of the national economy: thus, blue-collar employment in industry and construction taken together accounts for 59.5 percent of the total blue-collar employment in the socialized economy; in transport, communications, trade and municipal services, 22.1 percent; and in agriculture and forestry, 9.3 percent./6/

The development of socialism and the attendant socioeconomic progress thus promoted and will continue to promote the concentration of the working class in large production establishments, which by the nature of things will favorably affect qualitative transformations of that class.

Qualitative Transformations of the Working Class

The numerical growth of the working class has been accompanied by a difficult and extremely complex process of the formation of its new qualitative attributes. In a sense, these transformations are of a complementary nature and their course is not analogous to that of quantitative changes.

An important source of knowledge about the qualitative transformations of the Polish working class following World War II is familiarity with its genealogy.

The initial period of growth of the working class was characterized by its great mobility. On the one hand, it was above all the rural and small-town population that joined the ranks of the working class, and on the other, a large part of the worker cadre was promoted to executive posts in the political, state and economic aparat.

The many-sided mobility characterizing the working class of the 1940s and 1950s, i.e., the departure of the experienced senior worker cadre and the influx of new, mostly young and inexperienced, workers was bound to influence the integrative processes within that class and the evolution of its attitudes and awareness. Although the formative processes of the working class in a socialist society occur under completely different socioeconomic conditions and in the presence of other class relations than those under capitalism, here too considerable mobility is a factor that does not promote integration, stabilization and the formation of features of a [worker] community that are consonant with worker traditions. The influence of workers who are toughened in the class struggle and politically aware is of tremendous importance to the processes of the adaptation of new workers, to their ideological-political maturation. This is a question that is particularly important in a period when the working class is augmented by the influx of a large number of persons from nonproletarian strata, most often lacking vocational training, unaccustomed to the discipline of labor required by industrial organization and displaying--at least in the initial period--a deficient sense of rapport with the working class and a low state of political awareness.

However, the formation of the socialist working class (e.g., the evolution of its new qualitative attributes and the changing recruitment base) has been taking place in a highly differentiated fashion during the past 40 years.

This is because in the 1960s and subsequently there arose the model of the skilled worker with high occupational qualifications who is trained to service modern machinery and equipment, understands technological processes, readily adapts himself to rapidly changing technological and organizational conditions and skill requirements, and is aware of his role and tasks in the production process.

In this connection, the social-class base from which the working class is recruited becomes altered.Although large numbers of rural youth still are switching to jobs in industry and other branches of the national economy, they are no longer the majority of new workers, because an overwhelming majority of these workers are young people belonging in the second and subsequent generations of the working class. Owing to these processes, descendants of worker families belonging to the working class for at least two generations are beginning to prevail numerically in the working class.

Since roughly the mid-1960s the process of the influx of new groups to the working class has acquired a different nature, which is related to the establishment of a new system for the basic and advanced skills training of the worker cadre. Owing to these processes, the number of skilled workers is steadily rising while that of unskilled workers is diminishing. According to the 1977 cadre census, 55.3 percent of the working class had an elementary educational background; 28.5 percent, basic vocational training; and 5.9 percent, secondary vocational, high-school and higher educational background. The rise in the educational level of the whole of employment in the national economy, including blue-collar employment, represents a steadily growing trend throughout all the periods of development of People's Poland.

A significant testimony to the qualitatively new attributes which increasingly determine the nature of the Polish working class is the degree of its participation in the co-management of work establishments as well as in governing. However, that degree has to be evaluated as still insufficient, which requires taking various measures to improve the existing situation. It appears that one reason for this situation is the insufficiently precise understanding of the dual status and role of the working class in a socialist society.

This duality consists in that workers have, on the one hand, become the legal co-owners of the nationalized means of production but, on the other, they remain hired employees of particular enterprises and hence are obligated by their labor contracts to carry out all the tasks ensuing from these contracts. As the socialist social relations develop, its awareness grows, and personal interests become convergent with the interests of the society, the working class increasingly feels a proprietary interest in the state. But this feeling remains in conflict with the traditional role and status of the worker as a hired employee. An important way of overcoming this contradiction is the various forms of self-government and co-governing and, within their framework, activities eliminating the traditional barriers between blue- and white-collar work, between the implementor and the executive, between routine and creative work, between production and sociopolitical activities, etc.

The dual nature of the situation of the working class represents at the same time a motive power for the development of the society. As a class of "hired employees," workers are inexorable enemies of anything that could lead to the preservation of classes and social injustice. As a co-proprietor class, it binds ideologically to itself other classes and social strata and inoculates them with its ideals as well as leads their common struggle for socialism.

Despite many shortcomings in the co-governing activism of workers, throughout the period of existence of People's Poland we have been dealing with an unusually positive process, namely, the growing feeling of self-identity among the working class as well as its growing self-integration. This process has been highly influential to the development of new attributes proper to the working class in a socialist state. Numerous sociological studies conducted in both old and new industrial centers by the nation's research institutions corroborate these trends. These studies indicate that an overwhelming majority of workers identify themselves strongly with their own class and feel gratified to belong to it. This is at its most explicit among the workers employed in large industrial centers, those living in a stable situation and enjoying a high work seniority, particularly those who also are party members, and the young workers associated in and belonging to the youth movement./7/

Both the formation of the awareness and attitudes proper to the industrial working class and the adaptation to the worker milieu are longlasting processes.

The historical experience of the revolutionary worker movement and the practice of building socialism have proved that the working class does not gain all at once awareness of its role and historic calling. It gains this awareness through a complex and multifarious process which, in the worker movement, from the very beginnings of its existence, constitutes a determinant of the political maturation of the working class and does not end with the seizure of political power by that class; on the contrary, it becomes deepened in the course of building socialism.

A large part of the working class gains a new status under socialism owing to systemic changes and, subsequently, migrational movements. This new working class inherits different value systems and different modes of perception of the reality, consolidated under different social conditions and in a different class perspective. Hence also focusing effort on disseminating the meaning of scientific socialism among the worker community is a primary task. This means propagating among the working class, and the general society, the Marxist-Leninist ideology and socialist moral principles. This also means nurturing a new attitude toward the socialist state and toward labor and public ownership as well as the formation of a new socialist face of culture. Building socialism denotes an incessant formulation of tasks and goals determined by objective processes of social development and the subjective expectation of a just social order. Hence ensues the need to prepare the society to exercise new social roles and implement growing tasks and duties in the presence of a changing occupational structure and growing possibilities for benefiting from the achievements of science and culture as well as from the values of democracy and self-government.

Thus it becomes necessary to implement a program for propagating and consolidating in social awareness such cognitive contents of ideological values as would promote coping with the dilemma of contemporary life of the society, life of the man building a new system of society, and providing favorable conditions for the development of both.

But this concerns orienting these processes so that the awareness of the working class would become a premise for modifying and refining the mechanisms and component elements of the systemic structure of socialism. As is well known, social progress does not occur automatically. Analysis of the causes and unfolding of sociopolitical crises, and particularly of the present crisis, indicates, moreover, that the justifiable critical response of the working class may, in a crisis situation, be exploited by groups ideologically and politically alien to socialism for purposes other than those mentioned above.

Three Planes of the Political Activism of Workers

A major aspect of the awareness of the working class is its activism in various planes, which manifests itself both in the work community and in varied non-production spheres of its life. Political activism is a particularly important proof of the primary role of the working class in a socialism-building society. The extent of that activism and the richness of its forms are yardsticks of that primary role of workers. The integration of the quantitative and qualitative attributes of the working class manifests itself in a particular manner precisely in the sphere of political activism./8/

Under socialist systemic conditions the political activism of workers manifests itself principally in three fields:

-- in the activism of workers in trade unions;

--in the participation of worker representatives in the activities of worker self-government;

-- in party work.

The political activism of workers within the framework of trade unions represents the broadest and numerically predominant form of such activism. Although the purpose and aim of the activity of trade unions in a socialist system of society is, on the one hand, the defense of the just rights of workers in their economic-social dimension and, on the other, the adherence by employees to the mandatory and previously commonly accepted [labor] law code regulating the relationship between the socialist state enterprise and the personnel it employs, this sphere of activism has at the same time a definite political significance.

In People's Poland the trade-union movement has traveled a tortuous and difficult road. It arose as a component part of the socialist political system, and the scope of union rights and duties has been steadily expanding. From the standpoint of theory, the role and place of trade unions in the political system of the PRL have indeed been quite clearly defined. In addition, trade unions have gained much positive experience in the provision of social and other services directly in behalf of the working class.

However, despite all the attendant positive trends and accomplishments, the performance of the trade unions as such prior to the events of 1980 was negatively assessed by the working class. It is still too early to carry out a thorough analysis of the processes and trends which led to the collapse of the former trade unions. But even now it is possible to formulate the view that, while the diminishing role of trade unions in the political practice of People's Poland was chiefly due to restrictions on their statutory role as well as to their progressive bureaucratization, the essence of the crisis and disintegration of the trade-union movement in the years 1980-1981 consisted in that it did not provide a plane for social activism to many millions of (chiefly non-party member) citizens of our country, did not provide a plane for expressing their interests, and did not operate as a factor relieving the tensions and assuaging the contradictions inevitable in labor relations.

Hence also, the new solutions spelled out in the parliamentary decree of 8 October 1982 regarding the nature and place of trade unions in the country's social and political reality represent an attempt to meet half-way the needs of the working class which had been expressed in, among other things, the well-known social agreements of 1980 [i.e., the agreements between Solidarity and the authorities].

The second plane of activism of the working class is the participation of workers in the activities of worker self-government. Activism at this level reveals highly complicated linkages to the whole of the formation of the socialist political system. This is because self-government, including worker self-government, has to be assessed against a broader background rather than in isolation from the system of society.

It was surely this holistic interpretation of self-government that had been the starting point for that spontaneous movement which, in late 1956 and early 1957, took shape in the form of worker councils. These new structures in the political system influenced positively the degree of the political activism of workers. For it was within them that a critical attitude toward centralized methods of management of the economy and the state had grown, along with expectations and hopes for changes in the existing structures as well as for a definite improvement in the living and working conditions of workers. The critical reappraisal of experience of the past and the sum total of the reflections suggested by the most recent period in the life of People's Poland led to evolving the concept of worker self-government formulated in the parliamentary decree of 25 September 1981./9/ This concept, oriented toward authentic worker initiative and providing that initiative with strong legal foundations in the aforementioned parliamentary decree, is however at present as yet more a foreglimpse of the growth of worker self-government and the political activism of the worker class than an actual social practice.

In a socialist system of society the political activism of workers manifests itself optimally and most strongly through party activism. The party, being the leading political force of the working class, was and remains a natural platform for such activism. This manifests itself in various forms by means of which workers-party members, as well as non-party workers, express their political activism. Of the many forms of the activism considered here, let us mention the following:

--participation ensuing from the election of workers to party echelons or from their work on the executive boards of branch and basic party organizations; in gmina, city and province party committees or on their executive boards; and in the Central Committee and its organs;

--the participation of workers in the committees, teams or working groups established by party organizations or echelons with the object of accomplishing immediate or longrange tasks within the party's purview;

Workers-party members manifest their activism in such forms of party activity as, e.g., the club of [party-member] deputies in the Parliament and the party teams within people's councils. In addition, they undertake varied initiatives within trade unions, self-government bodies and public organizations, including the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Without delving more deeply into this topic, let us merely state that it is precisely these forms of the manifestation of party activism that will gain an increasing importance and exert a growing influence on the evolution of qualitatively new elements in the methods whereby the party exercises its leading political role in the society and state.

On viewing from the perspective of time the aforementioned forms of the political activism of workers within the framework of the party itself, emphasis should be placed, as in the case of trade unions and worker self-government, on the fact that the participation of the working class in various

forms of party activity is irregular and disproportionate to the objective possibilities. The chief causes of the insufficient and even, in the late 1970s, rapidly diminishing activism of workers in party activity, were: the growing divergence between the policies and activities of the party and state leadership and the feelings, moods and opinions of the working class; the trend toward eliminating party organizations, especially the worker ones, from the process of making and implementing decisions; and the process of growing bureaucratization of the activities of party echelons.

There exist many factors instrumental in regaining the trust forfeited by the party as well as in regaining the active support of the society for the party's program line and practical activity. The most important of these factors are: a return to Marxist-Leninist principles of party activity during the building of socialism; emulation of the best experience of the fraternal parties and the entire international communist and worker movement; and a creative application of the universal laws of socialism-building to the conditions of our country, with allowance for the traditions of the Polish worker movement.

Of crucial importance is shaping the premises decisive to the fulfillment by the working class of its primary role in the whole of activities creating the material and spiritual base of socialism. This goal can be accomplished if bonds exist between the working class and the nation and if the working class bears responsibility for the nation. V. I. Lenin repeatedly stressed that bonds with the class and the nation are a fundamental prerequisite for both the validity of the party's program and the many-sided activism of the working class. A consistent adherence to this fundamental principle enables the party to constantly keep track of the directions of its action and magnifies its influence on the masses. The constant relating of the party's intentions and actions to the feelings and needs of the working class protects the party against making mistaken decisions. In their turn, when the working people understand properly the party's intentions and political goals, this liberates in them the potential for political and social activism.

The Primacy of the Working Class in the PRL

Despite all the difficulties and obstacles that arose in the development of the working class in our country, it is indisputable that the gradual transformation of the working class from a "class in itself" to a "class for itself" has been a dominant feature of the entire period of building socialism in Poland. This means, as Karl Marx puts it, that the working class has been becoming increasingly aware of its class interests and tasks as well as of its role vis a vis other classes and strata of working people. But one consequence of this process has been an increasingly tangible need for fundamental changes in the traditional status and role of the worker as labor force. From the very beginning of People's Poland, and particularly since the mid-1950s, this question has been of basic importance to the nature and mood of the socialist working class. This problem was reflected in the increasingly vocal postulates of workers for such changes in the system of work as would, within the economic and social system, increasingly meet their aspirations to participate in decisionmaking and reflect all the humanist aims of socialism. This growing need for many-sided worker participation could be perceived in the postulates formulated by workers on the Coast in December 1970. Unfortunately, the 1970s witnessed no solution to this problem. Even so, during the 1970s major shifts took place in the internal structure of the working class as well as in its relations with other classes and strata of the society. Two trends in particular merit special attention: first, the membership of the working class was largely replaced owing to the influx of the rising new generation of workers estimated at altogether 2 million; second, an extensive redeployment of the worker cadres took place owing to the implementation of many new industrial investment projects undertaken in the 1970s; it is estimated that this redeployment affected about 3.7 million persons. During the same period, the number of workers-peasants also increased, which could not but influence the two estates they represent.

At the same time, the 1970s witnessed transformations which have unfortunately to be viewed as less favorable from the standpoint of interests of the class as a whole. For example, the number of workers with multigenerational traditions declined, along with a concomitant increase in the number of workers belonging to the first worker generation, chiefly newcomers from rural communities, who moreover raised an extensive number of demands (demands that quite rapidly began to collide with the with the possibilities for meeting them, as brought into the open by the protest of July-August 1980). Furthermore, the proportion of young workers in the working class increased, and this, as I noted previously, while having many advantages, has also led to many unfavorable phenomena (among other things, susceptibility to frustrations and sociopolitical demagoguery, lack of political experience, lower awareness of class identity); lastly, a certain destratification took place within the working class, resulting in an increased role of group and parochial interests.

The events of the last 3 years also revealed many unfavorable trends as regards the awareness of the Polish working class, from which the conclusion can be inferred that extensive gaps have arisen in socialist class awareness and that an awareness alien to socialism has entered through these gaps.

The following phenomena revealed themselves in this connection: first, it turned out that the awareness of part of the working class still exists at the level of syndicalist awareness (resulting in the growth of both anarchosyndicalist tendencies and the ideological concept of the trade-union state); secondly, the awareness of the working class is burdened by various ressentiments as well as by proneness to accept other and often nonsocialist systemic solutions; thirdly, the awareness of the Polish class is extensively influenced by the ideological thought and social doctrine of the Church; fourthly, that the loosening of ideological bonds with the party has resulted in the loosening of organizational bonds, that is, in the departure of a substantial number of workers from the ranks of the party.

The weakening of the bonds between the authorities and the working class as well as other shortcomings and mistakes in the functioning of the authorities that have been widely and multisidedly discussed in recent times, on the one hand, and the aforementioned state of awareness of the working class, as well as the growing needs as regards economic and social matters and participation in the exercise of power, on the other, prompted workers to formulate sharp postulates during the period of strikes which, in July and August 1980, spread to all major concentrations of the working class in this country, thereby opening a new page in the annals of worker affairs under socialism-building conditions. And yet, the rich experience in building socialism in our country demonstrates with sufficient clarity that the working class cannot fulfill its ideologically determined functions as the principal class in the socialist system of society by merely performing well its functions as labor force. It other and no less essential task is activism in non-economic domains and participation in the exercise of the non-economic functions of socialized enterprises and, on a broader scale, of the socialist state as well.

This influences the nature of the aspirations and expectations of workers and determines their entire complexity. Even so, however, crude as the premises for doing so may be, the main trends and directions of these aspirations may be reduced to the following three:

The broadest criterion, and one most deeply rooted in worker history as well as providing the strongest testimony to the identity of the working class, is the aspiration to translate into reality the proletarian social ideal. In this ideal a special place is assigned to the principles of equality and social justice, whose integral context is most eminently reflected in the doctrine of egalitarianism. These principles are linked to various domains of social practice, and primarily to material, sociopolitical and cultural practice.

A major aspect of the aspirations of workers is the struggle to translate proletarian moral values into the practice of everyday life. A particular form of moral values is the personal ideal, whose principal attributes are personal dignity, self-esteem and a kind of class pride.

And lastly an integral part of the moral ideals of the working class is respect for work. This distinctive worker ethos causes the following values to remain important to workers: industriousness, solidity, occupational diligence. Work was and remains to workers not just a way of making a living but, and above all, the source of their ideological, political and moral power.

The situation of the contemporary working class thus demonstrates the intellectual and ideological values of the thesis of scientific socialism claiming that everyday practice and actual life of the society shape the awareness, attitudes and reactions of workers. From this ensue extensive and important consequences to the party in its striving to consolidate the primary role of the working class in building socialism in our country.

A measure of the importance attached by our party's leadership to the primacy of the role played by the working class is the recent 16th Plenum of the Central Committee (1-2 June 1984), attended by more than 800 invited party and non-party members of worker origin, which was entirely devoted to the principal problems of the working class, to strengthening its leading role in building socialism, and which, as emphasized by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, "became a kind of a worker parliament..., a great consultation."

The leitmotif of the quiddity of the working class and of the constant strengthening of its leading role in the process of building socialism in our country received particularly strong emphasis during the deliberations of the l6th Plenum, and in greatly differing contexts at that. Particularly strong emphasis was placed as well on the problem of permanent quotidian bonds with the working class and the laboring masses. The Politburo report states: "The party's most important duty at present is the complete restoration and consolidation of bonds with the working class and the nation. A criterion of the bonds between the party and the masses is its ability to organize working people and liberate their creative activism in fulfilling the party program, as well as its ability to fuse its program with the activities of the masses."

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1. "Rocznik statystyczny" [Statistical Yearbook], 1947, p 149.
- 2. Ibid., 1960, table 1/65, p 47.
- 3. Ibid, 1957, table 11/65, p 77. The figures comprise average annual employment inclusive of socialized crafts and private industry.
- 4. Ibid., 1960, p 49.
- 5. K. Zagorski, "Workers and Socio-Occupational Structure," in: "Narodziny socjalistycznej klasy robotniczej" [The Birth of the Socialist Working Class], ed. by J. Szczepanski, Warsaw, 1974, p 217.
- 6. Own estimate based on "Spis kadrowy, 1977" [1977 Cadre Census], Warsaw, 1979, pp 51-52; cf. also J. Waclawek, "The Party and the Class," in "Narodziny socjalistycznej klasy robotniczej," op. cit., p 104, and A. Owieczko, "Changes in the Class and Stratum Structure of the Polish Society," in: "Organizacja polityczna społeczenstwa socjalistycznego w Polsce" [The Political Organization of the Socialist Society in Poland], op. cit. [as published], p 49.
- 7. Explications of this dual role and status of the working class in the socialist society are presented in, among others, works by J. Szczepanski (e.g., "Przemysl i spoleczenstwo w Polsce Ludowej" [Industry and Society in People's Poland], op. cit. [as published]), W. Wesolowski (e.g., "Klasy, warstwy i wladza" [Classes, Strata and Power], Warsaw, 1977), S. Widerszpil (e.g., "Sklad polskiej klasy robotniczej. Tendencje zmian w okresie industrializacji socjalistycznej" [the Composition of the Polish Working Class. Trends of Changes During the Period of Socialist Industrialization], Warsaw, 1965), and others.

- 8. H. Jankowski makes the astute comment that broadly construed activism ensues from an ideal whose integral element is a pro-social attitude and activity prompted by suprapersonal motives. Cf. H. Jankowski, "Etyka marksizmu a praktyka" [Marxist Ethics and Practice], Warsaw, 1982, p 103.
- 9. Cf. Décree of 25 November 1981 on Workforce Self-Government in State Enterprises, DZIENNIK USTAW POLSKIEJ RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ LUDOWEJ, No 24, Item 123.

1386 CSO: 2600/1270

POLAND

### SECURITY SERVICE GOALS, ACTIVITIES OUTLINED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Sep 84 p 3

[Interview with Brigade Cen Henryk Dankowski, director of the MSW department [Ministry of Internal Affairs], by Jerzy A. Salecki: "The Protection of the Security of State Is Our Constant Duty"]

> [Text] Historians occupying themselves with our nation's recent history invariably stress that in the memorable days of the year 1944 Poland was not reborn suddenly and miraculously like the proverbial Phoenix from ashes. The July Manifesto of the PKWN [Polish Committee of National Liberation] predetermined the revolutionary changes: the people's state was created in labor, difficulties and struggle. In this strife for the creation and consolidation of people's power, the functionaries of the militia and security service were from the beginning at the frontline...

Dankowski: One could write more than a dozen monographs about the creation, contemporary development, role and function of the security apparatus protecting People's Poland for 40 years and the subject would still not be exhausted. Let us then establish that we shall talk only about some selected aspects of the problem.

On 21 July 1944, the KRN [People's Council in Poland] proclaiming the statute on the formation of the PKWN, called into being the department of public security as a constituent part of the Committee. Three legal acts became the legal basis for the action of the security apparatus: the PKWN decree of 4 September 1944 "On security measures with regard to the traitors to the nation," the decree of 31 August "On the punishment measure for fascist-Hitlerite murderers and the traitors to the Polish nation," and the decree of 30 October "On the protection of the state," determining high treason and crimes against the state.

The issue generally speaking was the security of the reemerging state and cassurance of conditions for the creation and functioning of state power; order and peace that would guarantee the effective actions of society. During the days of the ongoing war; the capture of Hitlerite criminals and traitors against the nation in the newly liberated lands was a crucial task. The spold de stations of the created of Hitlerite scrucial task. The 2,000 member group of Polish volunteers who together with Soviet soldiers participated in the stormy assault on the Citadel in Poznan. The security apparatus workers from July 1944 to May 1945 uncovered and liquidated many Hitlerite espionage and subversion groups, discovered SS radio stations, as it was, for example, in Olsztyn, and captured parachutists, in Zamosc, for example...

Salecki: The country was thus being cleaned of the remnants of the German occupation...

Dankowski: The magnitude of the actions is attested to by accounts and reports preserved in our archives. In the period between 1944-1949, 276 collaborators of German intelligence, 2678 Gestapo workers and agents, and over 16,000 collaborators were captured. The Security Service [SB] gathered in that period evidence against criminals, utilized later by both the Polish jurisdiction and the international tribunal and foreign courts.

Salecki: This took place in particular conditions, when the aims of people's power which wished to organize the life of the state and society as soon as possible, were opposed by various forces and groups.

Dankowski: That was the reality. While the occupation still continued, from 1943 some combat organizations alarmed about the development of people's conspiracy and guerrillas began development of various intelligence, police and repressive cells directed against the whole left, particularly against the PPR [Polish Workers Party]. The freeing of successive areas of Poland from occupation did not determine internal peace. There was an intensification of orders, commands and decisions by reactionary leaders who ordered obedient organizations and military groups to intensify the battle against communists. The victims consisted not only of PPR and ZMW [Rural Youth Union] members and representatives of people's power from a soltys [village administrator] to a starost [district administrator], from an enlisted man of the Polish Army to a militiaman. Land surveyors dividing lands of landowners, workers taking over factories, teachers, physicians, clerks and even officers of the prewar Polish Army who offered themselves for service in the restored motherland, were being murdered. In the days of the war soldiers were incited to desert, recruits not to report for the army. Peasants, who could finally be farmers of the land they had toiled for centuries, were killed. Many, very many members of the PPR, PPS, SL and other groups of Polish democracy as well as nonparty members died because they dared to change the old order, put into action the ideas of the July Manifesto, realize the social revolution.

Salecki: Indeed, not long ago a corner-stone was laid for the monument honoring the dead in defense of the people's power...

Dankowski: The monument will be a commemorative symbol for posterity. It will commemorate the tragic and fraternal battles in which over 12,000 functionaries of the security service and police, KBW [Internal Security Corps], WP [Polish Army] and ORMO [Volunteer Reserves of Citizens' Militia] members died. It will be a monument to those who lost their lives while defending social property and carrying out service tasks. After all, about 10,000 members of the PPR and other political and social organizations of the left perished.

Over 100,000 people took up arms against the legal authorities of reborn Poland in the years 1944-1948. Security organs, militia and the army liquidated about 3,500 armed groups and illegal organizations. We must remember that. Not in order to reopen old wounds, return to old conflicts and recall or renew old divisions, but in order to make successive generations aware of the enormity of efforts of the first years and the truth of the past. The truth whose tragedy results, among other things, from the cynical exploitation of patriotic feelings, abuse of trust, gullibility and emotions based on false sentiments.

Salecki: Source studies stress that in creating the security apparatus, the PPR displayed not only a great organizational energy but also an impressive political maturity.

Dankowski: For the party which was the leading force of the democratic camp, the development of the security apparatus constituted a particular subject of concern and attention. From the first moment, both in the security service and in militia, PPR cells began their activity. Political education, the shaping of high discipline and responsibility, the maintenance of the bond with the nation, and a thorough realization of the party program, were of fundamental significance. By the end of 1945, 66 percent of the MO and SB functionaries were from working class milieus and 23 from the peasantry. The figures speak about the class character of these services and explain the close ties with the working masses and the determination to defend the people's state. I would like to stress here that the course of time determined a greatly higher level of education of the functionaries and contributed to their gaining professional qualifications and experiences that influence the methods and effects of their actions. The passage of time did not change, however, the party's concern about the quality of the security apparatus and its moral and ideological-political level. The education of our young cadres, who invariably regard the protection of the state as their sacred duty, goal and task, and fidelity to the ideas of the party as their obvious obligation, no longer takes place during a course lasting a few months, but in Officer Academies and schools of higher education.

Salecki: The latter statement by the Comrade General refers to current times. On 14 July 1983, the Sejm passed a bill on the office of the Minister of Internal Affairs and the scope of action of its subordinate organs. This legal act specified the tasks of the Minister as a superior organ of state administration, and the tasks of the Security Service.

Dankowski: This statute is of particular importance. Postulates on the strengthening of law and order and the state's socialist forces, contained in the resolution of the Ninth Congress of the PZPR, were the desideratum inspiring its preparation and passage. At the same time the statute was the fruit of the realization of the government program, a program assuming the undertaking of various actions, including legislative, that would serve both the state and society. The strengthening of obedience to the law and

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socialist democracy together with a normative formulation of citizens' laws and obligations, serves both the state and all its citizens.

Article 1 states that the Minister of Internal Affairs "within the framework of his authority guards the people's law and order and cooperates with other state organs with regard to the protection of citizens' laws and freedoms." To the scope of the minister's actions belong, among other things, the issues of "...protecting the security of the state, including the fight against espionage, terrorism, subversion and sabotage, and other actions against the constitutional principles of the PRL's political system..." Article 5 states that the minister carries out his tasks "...with the help of Security Service, Citizens' Militia, subordinate military units and fire brigades. The protection of state security and public order belongs to the basic tasks of the Security Service and Citizens' Militia."

Salecki: The Security Service as one of the sections of the MSW occupies itself with the protection of our statehood...

Dankowski: By state security one should not understand only the protection of its socioeconomic system, political system structure and administrative authority. In fact, by protecting the above values, the SB carries out very concrete actions, of nearly material dimension. By fighting espionage, ideological, economic and political subversion, by eliminating in the highest degree various external and internal threats, by taking action against the disclosure of state and trade secrets, the Security Service protects our motherland, our home, the present and the future common to Poles.

The specialization of the sections of the Ministry of Internal Affairs determines their basic interest and the specifics of their actions. After all, when we look at the examples, the SB employees not only uncover and liquidate illegal organizations, secret radio stations and printing shops. The investigative section of the SB undertakes broadly conceived operations covering economic and criminal delinquency, particularly when the dimension, scope and character of these crimes is especially significant, when it causes negative phenomena in large communities and influences the attitude and evaluations of the public opinion. For example, the economic affair in Wloclawek became the subject of the investigation of the SB investigative section. The Security Service cooperating with the militia section also brought about the discovery and apprehension of the perpetrators of many serious economic crimes.

Here I would like to recall a very important area of our actions: preventive, explanatory and instructive actions which are not widely known to society. The protection of people who accidentally, unknowingly are drawn into the way of crime is the daily duty of the Security Service. We warn them against the effects of the actions into which they may be drawn by seasoned, professional political players. We inform the appropriate state and party organs about the realization of important state and social decisions. The evil which may generate sociopolitical conflicts, harm the working people and cause disturbances in social consciousness does not escape the attention of our employees. The uncovering of the true sources of the shortcomings, soullessness, and contempt for the interests of the working people is the party and professional duty of the Secret Service functionaries. The preventive activity of the Secret Service also plays to a certain extent a didactic-educational role.

Salecki: The concrete facts from the activity of the Secret Service are not always known to society. Western centers of subversion and their executors in Poland try to present the SB as tormentors of western visitors.

Dankowski: The actions of the services of security and public order must by their nature be discrete, which of course does not contradict to any degree the minister's rights to control and supervise the work of these services, as the central organ of state administration, and by the chairman of the Council of Ministers and bodies created by him, and finally by the Sejm by the right of its constitutional authorities. For example, the periodic information presented to the Sejm on the subject of state security...

As for the question of those visitors, in the period of the 40 years, the Security Service not so much "tormented" many of them as rather prevented them from carrying out espionage tasks. For example, Wilhelm Ahlrichs, former Abwehr officer, who acted as a pilot of FRG ships sailing to Poland while being at the same time an agent of the BND; Egon Arnd, a "tourist" working for U.S. intelligence; Johannes Wenzel from the FRG, photographing the port of Szczecin. We have many times been forced to expel from Poland pseudodiplomats and foreign emissaries, as when, for example, a "tourist" from France recently attempted to bring into Poland material, equipment and means for the antisocialist underground. A duel has been going on for 40 years with foreign centers hostile to Poland, who blackmail and search out people lacking character and patriotism, recruit agents among Polish citizens, and send "tourists" eager for profit and strong emotions. We, on the other hand, attempt to paralyze these actions, which can be illustrated by the arrest of Norbert Adamasch from the FRG and Jacek Jurzak, a Polish scientific worker, who were CIA agents.

Finally, a few words about the so called democratic opposition. I emphasize what is actually generally known: we do not fight against convictions, views, and ideological choices, even when they are hostile to socialism. We counteract concrete organizational, propaganda, and instructional activity, defaming Poland through disinformation, and against all that is aimed against the security and position of our country.

Salecki: Subversion, above all ideological and economic, which the CIA and NATO intelligence services organize, provokes our actions, namely the work of Polish counterintelligence.

Dankowski: The issue is what the functions of the security forces are and what the enemy's aggressive goals are. I will use a simple example: the ideological subversion carried out by Radio Free Europe and Voice of America broadcasts and by the Paris KULTURA aim at bringing about destructive changes in the sphere of social consciousness and shaping sentiments which would facilitate counterrevolutionary attempts. The economic subversion aims at paralyzing and weakening the national economy, thus reducing Poland's strength, independence, and defense capacities. The political subversion consists in efforts to drive a wedge between society and the authorities, weakening Poland's position on the international distrust in the socialist camp, in sum, destabilizing and isolating the Polish state. In this way specialized NATO centers want to create a set of conditions that would enable to realize their unilaterally aggressive plans. The realization of these plans in the same degree threatens the permanency of the socialist system as the independence and integrality of Poland. It is enough to mention the dreams of people inspiring or directing FRG intelligence. Not less significant is the fact that the intelligence services of imperialist states use repulsive methods; sabotage and perfidious provocation are not an exception but a rule.

Salecki: To put the issue concretely, the Security Service liquidates illegal organizational structures and underground propaganda centers, and counteracts attempts at subversion. It is probably for these very reasons that, particularly in recent years, the Security Service has been the subject of violent assaults by Radio Free Europe and Voice of America, KULTURA and the whole network of western media, who have been trying to deprecate it...

Dankowski: In the period which we all remember, initiated by August 1980, in the months of martial law and until the present day, the Security Service has been the subject of slanderous attacks and defamation. We simply have contributed significantly to thwarting the attempts at dissassembling of the socialist state and to halting the forces of counterrevolution. Our actions against the anarchization of public life and the occasions when the circumstances and development of events compelled us to use force have been presented by foreign and domestic enemies of socialism in the darkest colors. Their attacks are understandable: we stand guard over the security of the people's state. We act decisively, respecting the legal norms, bearing in mind the ideas which are the basis for the socialist renewal and national understanding.

12270 CSO: 2600/1240

## GENERAL SWITALSKI DISCUSSES TANK, TRUCK EXPENSES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 28, 8 Jul 84 pp 5, 9

[Interview with Gen Brig Mgr Inz Stanislaw Switalski, head of Tank-Motor Services, Ministry of National Defense, by Marek Soroka: "We Do Not Squander State Money"]

[Text] [Question] General, on behalf of the readers of ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, I should like to ask you for some reflections on the subject of the economic aspects of military operations, because they are an encumbrance on the national economy, on the one hand, and encumber it to various extents and in various ways, on the other. Often they are rather significant in the whole system of actions aimed at overcoming the current difficulties in this area.

[Answer] Perhaps I can begin by saying that arms, technical equipment, and materiel of the army correspond in a material way to that part of national income which is allocated for defense purposes. For example, with the tankmotor service you can see most clearly the relationship between the armed forces and the country's whole economy, especially engineering industry, because our army's tractor and wheeled equipment comes largely from domestic factories. For example, the basic vehicles in the Polish Army are the Star trucks, all models, produced by the Truck Factory in Starachowice. Here we must emphasize that this equipment enjoys great trust among drivers, staff, and commanders. It is just good. All soldiers, from generals down to privates, give high marks for the work the engineers and workers put into producing the equipment that goes to the army. This makes for good design and good quality of combat vehicles and transport vehicles of domestic production.

Realizing that equipping the armed forces with modern tanks and trucks is a specific burden on the national economy, we too try within the service to pay it back in various ways or, if not to make up for it, to make it less. Thus, the service's training activity sees to it that the national economy is periodically enriched with reserve specialists who are very useful there. One out of every four or five soldiers in the basic service is a tank truck specialist. Each year many thousands of drivers, mechanics, electrical mechanics, welders, lathe operators, crane operators, and other specialists. Heave the army for civillan plant jobs. The reservists enjoy a good reputations there. [Question] It is worth adding that there is also public approval of the attitudes of reservists on the job and soldiers' contribution to the universal production effort while they are still in the service. I am thinking about the way certain training elements are related to work on behalf of the national economy.

[Answer] We treat our training activity, among other things, as one of the planes of action aimed at making up at least in part for the expenditures related to outfitting the army. For example, this is the nature of the assistance soldier repairmen render to farmers.

[Question] And other realms in which deeds repay the outlays?

[Answer] I would include in the list the utilization savings which ease the burden on the national economy. As everyone knows, the quantity and type of equipment given depends not only on military factors but also on the country's economic capability. We make every effort to see that the effort of the designers and laborers represented in this equipment is used as long and purposefully as possible.

As an example of the effort aimed at structuring conditions insuring the thrifty, proper use of motor vehicles, we could cite the formation of a centralized system of material supply providing for the armies' immediate needs. This system has been operating in our service for more than a decade. Owing to its virtues of savings, it is also being used in other technical and quartermasters' services. The network of this system takes in just about all the garrisons in the country. The overall savings resulting from using this system annually come to several tens of millions of zlotys.

[Question] Of course this is not the sole source of savings...

[Answer] The next source is to be found in rational planning and careful implementation of training tasks and economic tasks at all levels of command. As a result of such action in 1983 these tasks were carried out with the lowest number of kilometers used over the past 10 years. Systematic super-vision and in-depth analysis play a very important role. One of the results is reduced fuel consumption.

[Question] With regard to fuel savings, we must not overlook the service of vehicles to keep the tanks and motor vehicles in good operating condition, and along with operating effectiveness there is also the savings in gasoline, and lubricants. This is also related to the problem of wear and tear on spare parts.

[Answer] In the army we have drawn up a system which we are using in practice daily, a rational system for the technical operation of vehicles with a fixed diagnosis of the equipment. This ongoing diagnosis insures that only equipment in good order is used. It insures faultless operation of the various assemblies, mechanisms, and systems, along with the thrifty use of fuel and spare parts. Despite the fact that military equipment is often operated under difficult field conditions, there are few breakdowns, and the result is long life of the equipment. We are seeing a great improvement in the technical culture of repair specialists and drivers.

[Question] Since we are talking about repair specialists, I would like to ask you to say something about the economic aspects of modernization being conducted by the tank-motor vehicle service.

[Answer] One of the thrifty ways to face the armed forces' demand for modern equipment being used in our service is to modernize the vehicles which the armies have on hand. This makes it possible to adapt the equipment available to the requirements of technical progress and to the conditions of modern combat. The economic effectiveness of modernization consists of reducing the replacement of certain types of vehicles and using the money thus saved for other more important purposes. The savings gained thereby can be calculated in the billions of zlotys.

Certain modernization projects are based on our own repair-service people. This arrangement is good for both the army and for the national economy, because it does not weigh on the civilian production-service capacity, it makes full use of comparable military facilities, and it creates the conditions for the practical upgrading of the vocational qualifications of the soldier specialists in the tank-truck service.

[Question] Could I ask you for some example of modernization?

[Answer] Of course. One example of the modernization being done in the army is the use of the start-up heater for the Star-266 truck. It provides optimal engine operating conditions to get going at low temperatures. We also have very impressive examples of modernization of combat equipment.

[Question] Getting back to repairs. Everyone knows that these things are very expensive. What improvements have been introduced to save on the cost?

[Answer] An example of improving repairs management in our service is the utilization of a military repairs base for making what we call conservation and upkeep repairs to vehicles. A substantial proportion occursduring peacetime, without great intensity. In this connection, before the vehicles wear out physically, they lose their operating reliability owing to natural aging of the rubber, leather, and plastic components. Overhauls consisting of periodic replacement of these components and parts restores the required level of reliability to these vehicles.

Like the national economy, the army is suffering keenly from the shortage of material supply. For this reason in our service for many years there have been projects in the realm of thrifty materials management involving tightening up consumption standards, making proper use of reserves, and also developing production and remanufacturing of parts, utilizing the reserve processing capacity of our own technical resources. For example, last year spare parts and assemblies valued at several hundred million zlotys were produced or remanufactured in the army. Our service is also the inspiration behind the production that is commonly called "anti-import production." Civilian and military repair and production plants carry it on. The results are favorable, but regardless of how much we remanufacture and repair, there is still the very important problem of not allowing any slack in the distribution of spare parts. In this area we conduct regular technical-economic analyses, in which the value of the consumption of the spare parts wearing out in comparable army units is presented. This teaches people economic thinking, encourages them to be creative, and above all, teaches them to be thrifty.

[Question] The examples of initiative could be multiplied, but the medium limits us. If you will permit, I should like only to ask for one more illustration of economic thinking and thrift.

[Answer] In the realm of management of mechanical vehicles, for example, we introduced the idea that the automotive industry which produces van chassis also used on domestic motor vehicles could use far-reaching unification of the reinforcement. This makes it possible to store just the body in our warehouses, freeing the armed forces and the national economy from the great expense related to storing whole vehicles.

[Question] In closing, General, I should like to ask you to sum up our interview with a general statement.

[Answer] Our effort in the area of rational management is directed mainly at exploiting the reserves to be found in the realm of organization. In accomplishing of goals of thrift and upgrading the management process, we do not lose sight of the basic task of the service, to provide a high level of technical efficiency for tanks and trucks. This efficiency is one of the factors involved in maintaining the required level of combat readiness.

[Question] Thank you very much for the interview.

10790 CSO: 2600/1202

#### BRIEFS

WROCLAW DEFENSE COMMITTEE -- The Wroclaw Voivodship Defense Committee reviewed and favorably assessed the conduct and outcome of the campaign for the recruitment of candidates for enrollment in professional military schools. The committee received a report on the implementation of the amnesty law and on the state of public law and order. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Sep 84 p 5]

BIALYSTOK DEFENSE COMMITTEE--On 5 September the Bialystok Voivodship Defense Committee met to discuss the patriotic and defense training of young people. Representatives of youth organizations, the National Defense League, the Polish Scouting Union, and the local school system were also in attendance to review this important issue. All of these organizations were called upon to draw up their own action programs for work in this area. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Sep 84 p 5]

KALISZ DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The Kalisz Voivodship Defense Committee has held a meeting to review the progress which has been made in the implementation of the law on ammesty, the security situation, and the state of public law and order in the region, and also prospects for keeping the market supplied with green vegetables, fruits, and potatoes during the forthcoming fall-winter season. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Sep 84 p 5]

POLITICAL SCIENTISTS ON SOCIAL UNREST-A scholarly conference was held from 2 to 5 September in Rydzyna (Leszno Voivodship) to discuss social conflicts and contradictions and their political consequences. The keynote lecture titled "Methodological Problems in Interpreting the Causes of Social Crises" was delivered by Professor Dr Hab Jerzy Topolski from Adam Mickiewicz University, a prominent historian and member of the Polish Academy of Sciences. A total of 16 papers were presented, all of which were the topics of a lively series of debates. For the most part, the conference agenda focused on such problems as the theoretical aspects of social conflict under socialism, industrialization policy and the crises that have erupted in People's Poland, different concepts of social self-government seen as an integral part of social conflict management machinery. The participants also examined the interdependent relationship between the level of a society's political maturity and sophistication and emerging social and political crises, the effects of propaganda on the evolution of social conflicts, the theoretical and practical problems of conflict resolution in the development of socialism, and so on. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Sep 84 p 2]

POLAND

GORYWODA VISITS LUBLIN PLANT--One of the most important topics under discussion right now at Lublin's largest industrial plant--FSC [Truck Manufacturing Plant]-covers the economic and technological problems that must be overcome in order to start producing modernized delivery trucks equipped with prototype versions of diesel engines being manufactured in Andrychow. Manfred Gorywoda, vice premier and chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, who together with leaders from the Lublin area paid a visit to the FSC plant on 18 September, has been following this debate with interest. The tour of the factory's casting plant and face-to-face talks with plant workers also afforded an opportunity for briefing the vice premier on the difficult working conditions that exist in this division where the heaviest and dirtiest work is done, a division that is in need of rapid modernization. Both at this casting plant and also during a visit to the EDA Electrical Machinery Plant the Planning Commission chairman expressed a special interest in the problem of unused factory floor space. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Sep 84 p 2]

1.500

CSO: 2600/3

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ROMANIA

#### CHERNENKO WRITERS UNION SPEECH CITED

AU271407 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Sep 84 p 6

[Text] Moscow, 25 Sep (AGERPRES)--In a speech to the plenum of the management of the USSR Writers Union, K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, reviewed the distance covered by the Soviet literature in the 50 years since the first congress of Soviet writers and pointed out the role and importance played by art and literature in molding and raising the awareness of the broad masses in the activity of building developed socialism and communism in the Soviet Union.

Referring to certain foreign policy issues, the speaker stressed—according to TASS—the seriousness of the international situation which is endangered by great nuclear threats. The speaker said that efficient and concrete steps should be taken to remove this danger. Stressing that the status of relations between the USSR and the United States depends to a large extent on international developments, K. Chernenko said that there is no rational alternative to normalizing Soviet-U.S. ties on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in domestic affairs. Emphasizing that the maintenance of a strong nuclear potential is a huge and most expensive burden, the speaker highlighted the particular responsibility devolving upon politicians in responsibly tackling the problems of peace, war, and conflicts. According to TASS, K. Chernenko stated that the USSR firmly speaks out against military confrontation and for radically limiting and reducing the arms race and for completely banning and eliminating nuclear weapons.

CSO: 2700/2

#### ACHIEVEMENTS, LOYALTY OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY WRITERS

Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian 21 Jul 84 pp 1, 6

Article by Dezideriu Horvath: "Poems From the Poems of the Country"

<u>Text</u> The fertile era inaugurated by the ninth party congress also opened up for culture, literature and art wide possibilities of affirmation of the strong talents, increased energetically the elan of their creative faculties, propelled the organism of Romanian culture along a line of major creation, launching an extensive process of reopening the sources, of bringing the writers closer to the realities and people of socialism. Romanian culture thus regained, on another historical plane, dignity and the eminence of values from which it can hold a dialogue with the world space. At the same time, as an integral part of the values, of the "assets" of our socialist homeland, culture entered into common possession, always aspiring to a balance of themes, methods and artistic consciousness with the space and world to which it was addressed.

To the broad and rich content of today's literature there also belong the literary works of the writers belonging to the coinhabiting nationalities, among whom those who have the mother tongue of Hungarian, they too being inspired from the inexhaustible sources of our Romanian reality, have produced and are producing a number of enduring works of a high artistic bearing, they too configuring a strong, living literature.

As well as those bearers of fitting words from the generations at the beginnings of our socialist revolution, among whom there stand out especially those who have already been in the pages of history for years, such as Ferencz Szemler, Andras Suto, Istvan Horvath, Istvan Asztalos, Imre Horvath, Eric Majtenyi, Laszlo Szabedy, Sandor Huszar, Zoltan Marki, Lajos Letay, Andor Bajor, Geza Domokos, Zoltan Veres, Janos Szasz, Zsolt Galfalvi, Maria Berde, Zsigmond Vita, Eva Lendvay, Jozsef Balogh, Gyorgy Beke, Katalin Bokor, and the list could continue even further--whole generations of writers, poets, critics and playwrights who have gained a name and reputation in the country and beyond its borders through their distinct and deliberate voice uttered clearly and through their direct involvement in the great socialist epic of our common country, in the great and fervent everyday life of molding a new socialist and communist era.

Especially after the ninth congress, in the nearly two decades--the most fertile era in these wonderful years--since the first man, our beloved leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, has been at the helm of the party leadership and the country, literature and art have experienced a true explosion of generations, filled with talents who, in their capacity of penetrators into the depths of the soul in order to serve a just and worthy cause, in order to contribute through their humanistic revolutionary messages to the formation of the new man, a conscious builder of our new life, all of them, together with their Romanian brothers or with those among the other nationalities, faithfully following the valuable advice of the leader, are forging the new culture of the country.

This mission is not easy, but, benefiting to the full from the advice of the party, from the sage counsel of our leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, these creations are becoming our everyday possessions. "It is a great satisfaction for us," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes in the theses on art and literature, "to be able to note that, in the years of socialism, the writers in Romania have committed themselves strongly, through their works, through their entire activity, to the service of the noble goals of our Communist Party, of the Romanian people, both in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of our society and in the efforts to promote the policy of friendship and cooperation with other peoples, for a world of collaboration, peace and progress. The writers of all generations, regardless of nationality--Romanian, Hungarian, German, Serbian and of other nationalities -- have given to society literary works of value, in all genres of creation and in a great variety of styles, which bear the imprint of the new, revolutionary spirit that animates our socity, of the people's concerns and aspirations, of their magnificent successes in building our socialist order on the land of Romania."

The Hungarian writers in Romania, alongside their Romanian brothers or those of other nationalities, have produced and are producing, without sparing their creative forces, works of value in the true sense of the word, just as, in their everyday labor, the Romanian, Hungarian and German builders or those of another language, are working together, living together and enjoying together the fruits of their creative and free labor, put in the service of the people and our common socialist homeland.

The above list of names should be forgiven me. It is not in chronological order, and all the less in one of merit, perhaps, and I am sure that it also has omissions, especially as the large number of writers from the Hungarian nationality is also growing visibly, along with our advance in time and in space, in this so rich space that constitutes the main source, the inexhaustible fount of literature.

With nearly every day, new names ring out. Whole generations of writers, poets, playwrights and aesthetes, grouped around the branches of the Union of Writers, in the associations of writers throughout the country and within the literary reviews or literary clubs, are asserting themselves fully as active participants in the spiritual life of the country, entering into the great community of contemporary writers.

Thousands and thousands of young Hungarians, be they workers, peasants or intellectuals, the members of the literary clubs and the associations of writers, especially in the counties of Cluj, Timis, Mures, Covasna, Harghita, Brasov and others, are writing real literature today.

Their involvement in life, in work, in the fervent days of building socialism in our common homeland, in all aspects of our internal life and in international life, in a great variety of genres and styles that, although they bear the imprint of each one's personality, giving them that distinct note of their voice as authors, are bringing, through themselves, their part of a contribution pledged to the new spiritual life of the country.

We note with pleasure and satisfaction the appearance of new, valuable names also grouped around the IFJUMUNKAS gazette's monthly literary supplement, managed by one of the livewires of the literary life of the young Hungarians in Romania, Laszlo Lazar--crystal-clear and golden voices of young poets such as, among many others, Laszlo Bogdan, Katalin Naszta, Jozsef Gagyi, Laszlo Petho, Arpad Farkas, Geza Szocs, Maria Andony Nagy and Karoly Hunyadi, faithful contributors to the gazette, names that already command attention through volumes published by the Kriterion Fublishing House, young people whose vigor and firm commitment come to bring newer and newer generations into the future of our literature, distinguished voices in our great and durable socialist culture.

Their natural affiliation, just as tens of thousands of poets in the country are developing, together, in everything which is valuable and enduring and which brings after it, also naturally, the great symphony, in diversified colors, of our great ode of socialist accomplishments, poems from the poems of the country for the song of Romania--forever the homeland of the Romanians, but also of ours--through their pure, crystal-clear voice, a voice of the citizenry, of our new founders who are ascending with dignity toward our great common dignity.

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ROMANIA

#### BRIEFS

MANESCU TALKS WITH COLOMBIANS -- Comrade Manea Manescu, vice president of the State Council, who is in Colombia participating in the proceedings of the Cartagena meeting for international cooperation and collaboration, met with Misael Pastrana Borrero, president of the governmental Conservative Party They examined the present status, of Romanian-Colombian relations of Colombia. and noted that these relations were continuously developing in the spirit of the Joint Solemn Declaration, signed at summit level. At the same level, they stated that there were possibilities for further intensifying and expanding the production sharing, commercial exchanges, and scientific, political, and cultural contacts between the two friendly countries. Comrade Manea Manescu also met the minister of economic development, the general director of the Foreign Trade Institute, and other Colombian government personalities in the field of economics. The Romanian representative also met a group from a Colombian mining corporation and had talks on several aspects of cooperation in the production of coking coal. [Summary] [AU251858 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 24 Sep 84 p 6 AU]

LIBYAN NATIONAL DAY MARKED--On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Great 1 September Revolution, the national day of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the People's Committee of the People's Bureau of that country in Bucharest gave a reception on Wednesday [12 September]. The reception was attended by Comrades Marin Enache; deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government; Ion Patan and Nicolae Busui, ministers; Constantin Oancea, deputy foreign minister; representatives of other ministries and central institutions; men of letters and artists, and reporters. Also in attendance were heads of diplomatic missions accredited to our country and members of the diplomatic corps. [Text] [AU181212 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Sep 84 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2700/2

# LJUBISA RISTIC INTERVIEW NOT PUBLISHED IN BORBA

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on page 9 of its 15-16 September issue, informs its readers that the interview with controversial drama director Ljubisa Ristic will not be published, although it had been announced the previous week as the 49th installment in its weekly series on "The Party and the Intelligentsia." "The editors of this paper are not in agreement with some of Ristic's views and he did not consent to having them excluded, so as a result we are publishing another...discussion [instead]," BORBA said.

Ristic recently returned to Belgrade, after a 20-year absence, to direct the play "Ljubinko i Desanka" by Aleksandar Popovic at the summer-long Godot festival. In an interview in the 4 September 1984 issue of Zagreb DANAS, on pages 54-55, Popovic recalls the early days in 1964 of avant-garde theater in Belgrade and the last-minute banning of his play "Uvek Zeleno" which Ristic had directed and which "was, of course, one of the reasons [Ristic] left Belgrade." Popovic said the play was not allowed to be presented "because we were not suitable at that time and today [we are] not entirely suitable either."

Described as the unofficial leader of the Godot festival and head of the bestknown Yugoslav itinerate theater group (having performed in Washington and other cities in the world), Ristic gave his views in the 10 September 1984 issue of EKONOMSKA POLITIKA, page 16, on the economic and ideological aspects of his type of theater, indicating in this economic journal perhaps some of the reasons he was not interviewed in BORBA. Entitled, "Not Waiting for Anyone," the article cites quite favorable sales figures on the Godot festival, noting low overhead for Ristic's kind of production that plays in vacant buildings, public squares, streets, etc., and his aim to make theater pay for itself based on market conditions. In addition, "understanding the relation of the economy and politics and the place of culture in all this, Ristic has conceived a 'provocation,'" namely, "a big socialist theater project," which would in, say, 5 years be a system of from 20 to 30 dynamic drama groups with opera and ballet, technically equipped and market-researched. Ristic says theater is the sensitive segment of culture supporting the same values and standards as society does. But, he says, "that which is considered culture in our country is actually bourgeois culture... aimed toward pacifying (waiting for Godot)." We, on the other hand, he says, critically confront this, offering a culture of challenge." ... We are the

dissatisfied ones, frustration is the real parent of creative need." He says his kind of theater will survive and grow as long as three major economic situations exist: that farmers produce only for their own needs, that workers work as little as possible so as to be rested for their real work after hours, and that the state has a nice rich life.

Those who are making the Godot festival, the article says, want to present "radical political theater, to make radical esthetic demands; as Ristic says, this then would no longer be making political theater but politics itself."

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# FEDERAL ASSEMBLY POSTPONES KOSOVO EMIGRATION DEBATE

LD261348 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1032 GMT 26 Sep 84

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)--At its session today the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly (chaired by Stojan Bjelajac) adopted the law on the use of the name and image of Josip Broz Tito, a report on the work of the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center, the law on the protection of citizens against contagious diseases threatening the whole country, the law on the resources and financing of the Yugoslav People's Army and several drafts concerning the adoption of new legal enactments.

The debate on the forced migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo was awaited with great interest. An interesting discussion concerning this matter has already been held in several committees of this assembly house and this was to have been followed today with the final debate on the implementation of the federal chamber's conclusions on arresting the emigration. However, the discussion has been postponed, and rightly so, it seems. What happened was that Miodrag Trifunovic, a delegate from Serbia, asked for information as to what is happening with the Yugoslav Constitutional Court information which is dealing with emigration problems. Delegate Trifunovic stressed that he has not received this information. It has not been discussed by the main committee dealing with sociopolitical relations either. He suggested that this committee should first examine this Yugoslav Federal Court information, as this is very important material having a bearing on the discussion of the problem of emigration, and that only then should this point on the agenda be discussed, after the view of the committee has been obtained.

After a brief discussion, with arguments for and against, the federal chamber decided that the main committee responsible for sociopolitical relations should meet as early as today to discuss this information. Accordingly, the delegates will discuss the implementation of the conclusions of the federal chamber of the Yugoslav assembly conclusions on the forced emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo tomorrow.

CS0: 2800/1

MEMBER OF FRANCISCAN ORDER IMPRISONED

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 84 p 15

[Article by I.S.: "Franciscan of Herzegovina, Brother Vlado Buntic, Imprisoned"]

[Text] On Tuesday, 26 June 1984, at about 1800 hours, Internal Affairs Secretariat officials of the Gruda Municipal Assembly removed Brother Vlado Buntic from the Drinovce parish residence. At about 2000 hours on the same evening 2 policemen brought Brother Vlado's habit to the parish residence and informed the parish personnel that Brother Vlado has been taken to the prison in Mostar. On the following day the vicar of Drinovce and president of the Franciscan residency, Brother Dobroslav Begic, accompanied by the vicar of Gorican, Brother Zoran Senjak, went to Mostar prison asking to visit Brother Vlado. The constable told them that Brother Vlado could not be visited before 8 July, but agred to pass along to him the clothing and food that had been brought. For all other information on the prisoner he referred them to the criminal court judge of Gruda Municipal Assembly. On 28 June the vicar of Drinovce visited the Gruda criminal court judge and learned from him that on that evening Brother Vlado had been sentenced to 2 months' imprisonment. Brother Dobroslav Begic then asked for a written decision regarding the sentence, which he needed as comrade and superior, both for the purpose of reporting to the appropriate higher authorities of the church and for the purpose of forwarding protests to higher government agencies. However, the judge replied that the decision has been transmitted to the prisoner and that he would not issue another one, and said nothing about the reason for the sentence. Unfortunately, neither Brother Vlado's vicar nor the attorney retained by the vicar could obtain a written verdict as of 30 June.

6115 CSO: 2800/419

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### CATHOLIC PRESS NOTES CLIMATE OF OPINION TOWARD CHURCH EVENTS

Zagreb GLAS KONCILA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 84 p 2

[Unsigned article: "'Fear Not, For I am With You'"]

[Text] In recent weeks a number of articles relating to faith and the Church have been published in various newspapers and magazines around the country. In the NEDJELNJA DALMACIJA of 8 July Miljenko Smoje does not hesitate to offer witty thanks to Our Lady of Citluk, that is, of Medjugorje, for attracting guests spending foreign currency to our country from all over the world. Ivica Mlivoncic quite correctly denies the frivolous rumors about the supposed poisoning of Pope John Paul I, but also there is a very unpleasant article by Goran Babic on "The Demon of Clericalism." Babic arrogantly attempts to imitate Kerlez, but confuses both the NEK [National Eucharistic Congress], Merza, believers with the League of Communists, Stjepan Radic, and many other things. It is difficult to finish reading his article and it is unnecessary to reply,

In the VJESNIK of 3 July someone seeks to convince us that near Opuzen a religious teacher required a student to draw a death's head and swastikas. In the SLABODNA DALMACIJA of 7 July a journalist named Kljakovic tries to find out what is going on, and then leaves his readers confused. Why is publicity given to absurd accusations which show that the accusers are not familiar even with very recent history? It is utterly impossible for any Catholic clergyman to promote Nazism. This gesture is openly godless and antichristian.

Is it really any wonder that, among other things, the writer of a truly good article on the archaeologist Fran Bulic in the VJESNIK of 30 June is careful not to mention that this archaeologist was a priest? Or why the obituary of a recently deceased mother superior could not contain the notice that she had founded the first Croatian Carmel? Could persons asking such questions at an information window obtain in writing a list of the combinations in which the names of our country may and may not be used?

But in spite of all these and other cases, it appears that it is more a question of embarrassed and uninformed uncertainty than of dangerous conceit. More serious to us appear to be the statements of responsible officials in the presidium of the republic conference of the SSRNM [Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia] as reported in the VJESNIK of 30 June. It appears that the officials are coming more and more clearly to understand that the Church is not a danger to society and that there is no other solution but coexistence with it. Certainly no one has yet openly called that hotel manager to account, nor has anyone fired the young man with a crucifix. Nor are there any illusions regarding similar atheistic pressures in other places. But all this is nothing new; the Church has grown accustomed to such pressures and has grown stronger under them, as regards both endurance and clear witness, against the wisdom of the moment. In this entire context what appears to us to be the most interesting is a certain turning of public attention toward three large religious ceremonies that are to take place precisely in upper Croatia this fall. They are our NEK, the dedication of an Orthodox church in Jasenovac, and the formal opening of a mosque in Zagreb. According to an article entitled "The Temptations of Religious Festivals" in the weekly DANAS of 26 June, these major celebrations of three religions in a relatively small area could possibly cause mutual disturbances.

It may be useful to note the warning of a potential rise of intolerance. It is well for the guardians of public order to take care to assure that there will be no political agencts provocateurs among the bona fide believers at these festivities, from whatever quarter they might be dispatched. But we must not forget the corresponding experience with the great celebration in Nin in 1979, when religious people brought together in a large assembly proved that it can be its own guardian, and no agent provocateur dared make an appearance.

It is interesting nevertheless that among believers, at least insofar as we have been able to determine, there is no diquiet over the fact that these three major celebrations by different religions are soon to be held in this area. On the contrary, mutual kindness is more and more clearly to be observed. Catholics were saddened by the news of the fire in the Zagreb mosque building. In Zagreb, as in Split and in Rome, Catholics are not bothered by mosques. The Moslems here are not like the former Osmanli Turks or the present-day followers of Khomeini; they are our fellow countrymen and fellow citizens who have peacefully inherited from their forefathers a different belief in the same God. It is more precious to us to pray to God than to sink into atheism without our places of worship. As regards the church in Jasenovac, we hope that it will not be the first time that Catholics from surrounding areas come in great numbers to a liturgical celebration by their Orthodox brothers. In all our Catholic regions a predominant number of Catholics are to be found in Orthodox churches. People want to praise God together, and the greater boldness which preachers display in giving such praise will be much more carefully recorded by history than religious tolerance. If our Orthodox brethren want to honor the memory of their own who perished here, and if believers of the Croatian, Jewish, and other nationalities wish to do so, among the vicitms they could find many of their own names for correspondingmemorial tablets. And our atheist fellow citizens have among these victims persons to be proud of. The evil that has occurred at all wartime places of execution is certainly a source of sadness. It is appropriate to pray for the victims and to admire everyone who preferred to die rather than be a criminal. But Christians praise their dead in order to strengthen love among the living rather than to reinforce mutual blane and seek revenge. Despite all the

difficult experiences and well-founded fears, it seems that the people, believers of all religions in our area, are thinking in increasingly sober and human terms about both the past and the present. In the contemporary upsurge of interest in faith, it is becoming more and more obvious that it is not a question of "3 gods walking on 3 feet," as the commissar says in the film "When You Hear the Bell Toll," but of a single God who loves mankind. The proclamation of his love is the best remedy for all the darkness of hatred. Herein lies the topical message of the refrain of the eucharsistic congress hymn echoing with ever greater assurance throughout our churches: "Fear not, for I am with you."

6115 CSO: 2800/419

# MAMULA VISITS MILITARY TECHNICAL INSTITUTE

LD260003 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1219 GMT 26 Sep 84

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG) -- Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for National Defense, has paid a visit to the Military Technical Institute in Belgrade, where his hosts informed him of the work, current tasks and future plans of this scientific-research institution of our armed forces. The institute's director, Major General Djordjije Jaukovic, acquainted the federal secretary and his colleagues with specific tasks in the realm of scientific research work in which the institute's experts are engaged. Jaukovic also spoke about certain questions relating to the organization and technical equipment of the Military Technical Institute, stressing in particular the measures being taken in the area of updating the work of this institute.

Noting the importance and role of the Military Technical Institute as a modern scientific-research and development organization, admiral of the fleet Branko Mamula particularly stressed the importance of equipping our armed forces with modern military resources and systems. The experts of this institute were the creators of the modern weaponry and equipment which is manufactured in the factories of the domestic military industry. Many types of weapons and military equipment which for their categories are among the most modern of world designs have been constructed on the basis of their plans.

This is one of the reasons why this institute must continue to keep pace with modern developments and in this way guarantee society's requirements for the constant modernization of our armed forces, and thus also the constant development of their combat capabilities. The institute is in fact facing the implementation of very important tasks and this is why it is essential that all members of the institute and other units and institutions of the armed forces invest maximum efforts to fully realize them. In this context the federal secretary particularly noted the need for more comprehensive cooperation between the institute and domestic industry, and in particular the major industrial systems, since this is how the planned tasks can be most successfully and best realized.

The federal secretary for national defense also mentioned the previous forms of cooperation between the Military Technical Institute and the relevant institutions of our armed forces, suggesting the need for closer interaction and cooperation in the sphere of scientific-research work. Pointing out the importance of the tasks planned within the framework of appropriate projects, Admiral Mamula called in particular for the strict observance of deadlines and concrete plans for manufacturing of weapons and military equipment for the army, air force and territorial defense. Also taking part in the tour of the laboratories of the Military Technical Institute and in the talks together with the federal secretary for national defense were the federal secretary's assistant, Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, Lieutenant Colonel General Avgust Vrtar, Major General Bogdan Rencelj and Major General Stanko Mihalic.

CSO: 2800/1

# NOVI SAD LC ASSESSES JUGOALAT FACTORY SITUATION

LD252014 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 25 Sep 84

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—In a debate lasting several hours at the expanded session of the Podunavlje Municipal LC Committee Presidium last night, Communists in the Novi Sad Municipality of Podunavlje and in the city of Novi Sad indicated they are ready to struggle even more resolutely against any ideological deviation and build their ideological unity. The session focused on proposed conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee and events at the Jugoalat Factory.

The report of the municipal LC committee presidium, submitted as the basis for the debate, in which secretaries and members of the basic organizations in Jugoalat also participated, pointed out that for quite some time, individual persons in leading posts at this Novi Sad factory were acting from technocratic and typically private ownership positions, and usurping the self-management and other rights of the working people. Djordje Scepancevic, president of the collegial management organ, and Slobodan Mandic, president of the workers' council, are at the head of this (?group). As stressed in the report, they have systematically and in an organized manner falsely described the situation in the collective, abused their positions in management and self-managing organs, exerted open and aggressive pressure on LC organizations and members, and prevented the cadre policy from applying the criteria of skills and knowledge. Scepancevic played a special role in all this. He specifically tried to isolate the factory within "its four walls," to isolate it from any kind of external social influence, and to create inside the factory his own domain where he reigned supreme. At all self-managing or party meetings "his had to be the first and last word" and he crudely opposed all who did not agree with him. He had been building an entire system of activity, as Aleksandar Dobanovacki pointed out, which ranged from demagogy to chicanery. Scepancevic tried to present his disagreement with the leadership of the municipality and the city as a clash between the political leadership of the Podunavlje municipality and the Novi Sad city community and the Jugoalat workers, and in this he used perfidious methods.

In last night's debate, there were speakers from Jugoalat, admittedly small in numbers, who presented a different view about Scepancevic and the circumstances at the factory. Nedeljko Jokic, for instance, said that the president of the collegial management organ had been an industrious and conscientious expert. One of the most important conclusions of last night's session had been that the debate on the situation in Jugoalat, as well as the ideopolitical action, be continued. It will be held at basic LC organizations in Jugoalat, accompanied by consistent ideopolitical differentiation. Members of the LC and the collective must emerge from this action more united and stronger.

# LC COMMITTEE CRITICIZES FACTORY MANAGER'S BEHAVIOR

LD252247 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1740 GMT 25 Sep 84

[Text] Novi Sad, 25 Sep (TANJUG) — The presidium of the Vojvodina LC Municipal Committee in the Novi Sad municipality of Podunavlje has adopted attitudes, assessments and directions of activity by which all LC members and organizations as well as communists in other sociopolitical organizations pledge themselves to set in motion a critical debate in their environments. The aim of these debates is to strengthen, in the spirit of the 13th LCY Central Committee session, ideopolitical and action unity and to intensify the struggle against the penetration of foreign ideas and influences into the LCY. Communists must more resolutely oppose activity by groups and individuals who try to present themselves to the working people and citizens and to LC members as "defenders" of their interests, using in this context all possible methods—from pressure to disinformation, the spreading of demagogic slogans, the overt violation of working people's self-managing rights, and unconstitutional and illegal conduct and activity. Such conduct has been manifested in the sphere of cadre policy in the Jugoalat factory,

The text of the conclusions also draws attention to the fact that, precisely at the moment when the LC is raising a series of problems in society and mobilizing the action and work of all self-managing forces, various vociferous speakers on various ideas and aims--from anarcho-liberalist to bureaucratic--are coming to the fore more openly and more aggressively. What is common to them all is that they attack self-management, revolutionary achievements, the LCY, and thus also the interests of the working people and the working class.

The presidium of the PC municipal committee aims for a more severe and more consistent ideopolitical struggle and differentiation and for determining specific responsibility. Statements by Djordje Scepancevic, president of the Jugoalat management, and by Slobodan Mandic, president of the Workers' Council, as well as by several other leading officials at this factory clearly show their organized activity of opposing the LC policy and action from certain political positions. With regard to Scepancevic's behavior toward the broader public, it is said he does not shrink from going as far as to convey messages such as that, allegedly, he alone is the only real social force in Jugoalat, as if there are no working people, no LC and no self-managers there.

It was decided that a debate on this should also be set in motion at the session of the Podunavlje LC municipal committee.

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#### BRIEFS

SERBIA, KOSOVO COOPERATION--Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG)--Continuing their established cooperation and joint work Colonel General Bogoljub Djordjevic, Serb republican secretary of national defense, and Remzi Koljgeci, provincial national defense secretary of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and their associates held a joint working meeting in Belgrade today. As reported they discussed questions of interest for the further development and consolidation of all-people's defense in the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a whole. Experience has been exchanged on the activity pursued so far and on the measures and tasks regarding further activity for the development and strengthening of all-people's defense, especially the activity for the implementation of the provisions of the republican law on all-people's defense which is applied uniformly on the whole of the territory of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and also on the organization and implementation of other all-people's defense measures and tasks of joint interest. [Text] [LD251342 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1228 GMT 25 Sep 84]

KOSOVO EMIGRATION--Belgrade, 27 Sep (TANJUG)-The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly said today that the problem of the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from the country's southern province of Kosovo had been reduced in recent time but that the process of migration under pressure had not been stopped. The chamber said even more resolute action was necessary to resolve the question completely. It stressed that efforts so far had produced certain positive results in stabilising the political-security situation in the province. Chamber delegate stressed in the debate that the pressure brought to bear on Serbs and Montenegrins to leave the province was part of a programme to establish an "ethnically pure Kosovo" inhabited only by members of the Albanian nationality. This is the first step creating a greater Albania they warned. Delegates said this represented an extremely dangerous form of endangering Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and sovereignty and thereby peace and security in this part of Europe. Delegates said that in discussing the problem of Kosovo, the term "irredentism" was often wrongly used instead of the term "separatism." This must be borne in mind simply because the Yugoslav province of Kosovo has never been part of the Albanian state, they stressed. [Text] [LD272202 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1928 GMT 27 Sep 84]

LCY CONCLUSIONS--At the Kosovo Assembly tonight, Azem Vlasi, president of the Pristina LC Communal Committee, addressed representatives of the organs and organizations of the province. He familiarized those present with the overall party debate in connection with the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee, whose aim is to put the problem of the LC at the present moment on the agenda. Azem Vlasi stressed that we have had a similar situation in the postwar period, but that the current situation calls for a change in the development and an urgent solution of problems. The basic condition for solving problems is an organizational and ideological strengthening of the LCY. In the LCY we are facing negative tendencies that are noticeably contributing to a weakening of the LC. Azem Vlasi stressed that the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee and the party debate demand that a greater unity in the workers class be secured. We must achieve a democratic debate when we adopt a position on specific problems. All of us are obliged to implement the positions consistently. We must not allow the fact that in certain circles members of the LCY lose their authority, Azem Vlasi said, among other things. [Text] [AU271951 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 27 Sep 84]

NIGERIAN MINISTER---Milenko Bojanic, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for foreign trade, on 18 September received M.S. Adigun, minister of national planning of Nigeria, who is visiting Yugoslavia for the session of the Yugoslav-Nigerian Committee for Economic Cooperation. Trade and cooperation in agriculture in particular were discussed. [Summary] [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Sep 84 p 2 AU]

BELORUSSIAN DELEGATION--A delegation of the government of the Belorussian SSR headed by Vladimir Brovikov has left Slovenia after a 5-day visit, during which it had talks on how to advance cooperation. "A joint protocol makes a number of proposals for further cooperation, especially in the field of trade and higher forms of economic relations." [Summary] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Sep 84 p 6 AU]

ARMENIAN TU DELEGATION'S VISIT--Titograd, 25 Sep (TANJUG)--A delegation of the trade unions of the SSR of Armenia, led by Martin Karapetrovich Arutyunyan, chairman of that Soviet republic's trade unions, has arrived for a 4-day visit to Montenegro. Milutin Vukasinovich, president of the council of the Federation of Montenegrin Trade Unions, and his associates, had talks today with his guests on promotion of the already successful cultural and economic cooperation, which has in fact been going on for many years, between this Soviet republic and Montenegro. [Excerpt] [LD260534 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1117 GMT 25 Sep 84 LD]

INDONESIAN PARLIAMENT GROUP-Belgrade, 21 Sep (TANJUG)--In closing talks between a delegation of the assembly of Yugoslavia and a delegation of Indonesia's Parliament here today (Friday) emphasis was laid on the need to further consolidate friendly relations and expand all-round cooperation between the two countries. Special stress was laid on the need to strengthen economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Indonesia in view of their complementary economic character, lasting orientation of the nonaligned and developing countries for closer economic cooperation and an enviable level of the two countries' political relations and cooperation. The two delegations were led by Nusa Kersevan, vice-president of the assembly of Yugoslavia, and Amir Murtano, vice-chairman of the Parliament of Indonesia. They pointed to the identity or closeness of stands of their two countries on the most important international problems. Within this context, the two countries' parliamentarians today also discussed some concrete activities and cooperation in the activities of the Interparliamentary Union (IPU) and UNESCO. The Indonesian parliamentary delegation had come to Belgrade for a four-day return visit at the invitation of the Assembly of Yugoslavia and left Yugoslavia today. [Text] [LD220356 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1752 GMT 21 Sep 84 LD]

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